

MEMOIRS
OF THE
American Museum of Natural
History.

Volume VIII.

Part I. — The Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands by John R. Swanton.

[Reprint from Vol. V, Part I, of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.]

1905.

Leiden,
E. J. BRILL Ltd.,
Printers and Publishers,
1905.

New York,
G. E. STECHERT & Co.
American Agents,
1905.

The Jesup North Pacific Expedition

Edited by FRANZ BOAS

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Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History

NEW YORK

Volume V

I. — CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE HAIDA

By JOHN R. SWANTON

II. — THE KWAKIUTL OF VANCOUVER ISLAND

By FRANZ BOAS



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL LTD
Printers & Publishers
1905-1909

NEW YORK
G. E. STECHERT
American Agents
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I. — CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE HAIDA.

By J. R. SWANTON.

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EXPLANATION OF ALPHABET USED IN RENDERING INDIAN SOUNDS.

A,
i e, î, a, ô, o u
ī ē, ä ā, (â), ō ū
 a o u

- A obscure *a*.
i, e, are probably the same sound, intermediate between the continental values of *i* and *e*.
î = *i* in *hill*.
a has its continental value.
o, u, are probably the same sound, intermediate between the continental values of *o* and *u*.
ä = German *ä* in *Bär*.
â = *aw* in *law*, only in foreign words.
^{a o u} indicate that the preceding consonant is pronounced with *a*, *o*, and *u* position of the mouth respectively.

	<i>Sonans.</i>	<i>Surd.</i>	<i>Fortis.</i>	<i>Spirans.</i>	<i>Nasal.</i>	
Velar	ḡ	q	q!	x	—	
Palatal	g	k	k!	ḡ	ñ	
Alveolar	d	t	t!	s, c	n	
Dental	dj	tc	tc!	—	—	
Labial	b	p	—	—	m	
Lateral	ḷ	L	L!	ḷ	—	l
Laryngeal catch and breathing	ḡ			x		
	h, y, w.					

I have omitted the anterior palatal series, because the Haida sounds which should be classed under that head seem to me accidentally produced, owing to the presence of a following close vowel. *p* seems to occur only in onomatopoeitic elements; *b* occurs not more than two or three times in strictly Haida words; and *m*, although considerably more abundant, is by no means common. The catch (⁸) is used in Masset instead of Skidegate *g*, and *x* instead of Skidegate *ch*. *x* is like German *ch* in *Bach*; *ḡ* is similar, but

pronounced farther forward. Even among old people the fortis-sounds are frequently reduced to simple pauses. This is particularly true of sounds formed far forward in the mouth. At other times they are uttered with rapidity and force. In recording my texts, I found it difficult to distinguish fortis-sounds from sonants. ɮ sounds something like $d\text{ɮ}$, and ɭ something like $t\text{ɭ}$ or $k\text{ɭ}$; in both the tip of the tongue touches the back of the teeth, and the air is expelled at the sides: ʈ is similar, but more of the tongue is laid against the roof of the mouth, and a greater volume of air allowed to escape. ɳ is identical with English ng in such words as *string*.

I. — INTRODUCTION.

I SPENT the ten months from the end of September, 1900, to the beginning of August, 1901, on the Queen Charlotte Islands; in the interest of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, my primary task being the investigation of the religious ideas, social organization, and language of the Haida Indians. Accordingly the greater part of my time was consumed in taking texts, in securing interlinear translations, and in questioning the natives regarding matters intimately associated with these three subjects.

The principal topic treated in the following description is the social organization of the Haida: consequently certain sections, such as those upon "Songs" and "Games," which might have been enormously expanded, are represented by a very few pages. I have endeavored, however, to render available all the more important bits of information contained in my texts and all the information contained in my notes, except those upon "Industries" and "Art," which are reserved for separate publication. I should have been glad to carry my investigations further in certain directions, and to review certain points somewhat more thoroughly; but, as is usually the case, many questions did not present themselves until I had reviewed all of my work at home.

My chief native authorities, apart from the texts and what my interpreters could tell me, were two Skidegate men, — Walter McGregor, who belongs to the Sea-Lion-Town-People, an Eagle family; and "Abraham," an old man of a Raven family named Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgō-Creek, of the old town of Kloo, — and the most intelligent old man at Masset, who belongs to the Rear-Town-People, a Raven family.¹ My interpreters were, at Skidegate, Henry Moody; and at Masset, Mary Ridley and Henry Edensaw. I am under particular obligations to the last named and to Mr. and Mrs. Tennant (now of Victoria) for very many kindnesses received during my stay on the islands.

To Dr. Charles F. Newcombe of Victoria, who joined me in the spring, I am indebted for assistance in placing Haida local names, in the identification

¹ See Chapter XIII, List of Families, E 9, R 3, 15; also p. 29, footnote 2.

of many plants and animals, and in many other ways. The accompanying maps are the results of Dr. Newcombe's work. The illustrations were drawn by Mr. Rudolf Weber.

I have not had occasion to make use of any previous literature upon the Haida, except Dr. George M. Dawson's "Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands" (Montreal, 1880), and material contributed by Professor Boas to the Fifth and Twelfth Reports of the Committee appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science to investigate the North-Western Tribes of Canada (London, 1889, 1898).

II. — COSMIC NOTIONS.

Since some knowledge of the social organization of the Haida is indispensable to a proper appreciation of their cosmic notions and religious ideas, I will prefix a short statement of the essential points.

In the first place, the whole Haida stock is divided into two "sides," or, as I have usually denominated them, "clans." One of these is called the Raven clan; the other, the Eagle clan or the Gítí'ns. There is no such thing as a clan government, however, the significance of these divisions being purely social. Each is strictly exogamic, a Raven man being compelled to marry an Eagle woman, and an Eagle man a Raven woman, while the children always belong to their mother's clan.

The clans are subdivided into an indefinite number of groups, which I have called "families." They usually take their names from towns or camping-places, and are evidently simply local groups. With the exception of some low-class families, each had its own chief and often its own town; but the internal constitution of a family was such that there was always a tendency for it to segregate into minor groups, some of which might in time become equal or superior in rank to the parent family. This "internal constitution" was the organization of each household within the group into a little state of its own, under one house chief. There were thus three sorts of chiefs, — town chiefs ("town mothers" or "town masters"), family chiefs ("heads of families"), and house chiefs ("heads of houses"). A town chief was always a family chief as well, but a family chief was not necessarily a town chief. On the other hand, a family chief might be chief of people in more than one town; while, in his capacity of "town mother," a chief's authority did not extend beyond his own village. Finally, a house chief was a family chief in miniature. The difference between the two was only one of degree.

Each family had certain prerogatives which it guarded jealously. Such were the right to use certain personal, house, and canoe names, and the right to wear certain objects or representations of objects upon their persons or clothing, especially at the great winter potlatches, and to carve them upon their houses and other property. These latter I have called "crests." They are generally representations of animals; but trees, shells, and figures of objects used in daily life, also occur. They were originally obtained from some supernatural being or by purchase from another family. Although referred to by most writers as totems, they have, however, no proper totemic significance, their use being similar to that of the quarterings in heraldry, to mark the social position of the wearers.

NATURAL PHENOMENA. — According to the Haida, the earth is flat and has a circular outline. Above this hangs the solid firmament, like an inverted bowl; and upon its top is the sky-country, inhabited by some of the supernatural beings. According to one tale,¹ there are five of these sky-countries, one above another, but they play no very important part in Haida stories or in Haida religious beliefs. On the lower side of the firmament are fastened the sun, moon, stars, and clouds, though not so tightly as to prevent them from moving about.² Mr. Henry Edensaw of Masset gave me the following account of some of the constellations. He obtained it from his father, Chief Eda'nsa, and I am not sure whether it is really a Haida or a Tlingit story.

Once a man went out hunting. On the way he saw a canoe-load of people paddling about in the air. They pursued him, and he took refuge behind a tree. They came around the tree, and he fled to another. After he had done this many times, he became tired, and, when they got over him, pressed the end of his bow against the bottom of their canoe and upset it. Then the canoe people struggled about in the air as if it were water for a time, and finally sank out of sight. Their bailer floated up into the sky and became the Pleiades, the board on which skins were stretched became the bowl of the Great Dipper, and their roasting-stick became another constellation [perhaps the belt of Orion].

Beneath the firmament stretches an expanse of sea upon which two islands are floating, — Inland-Country or Haida-Land, and Seaward-Country or Mainland.³ There seems to be a notion that the surface of this sea rises gradually towards their own country. The firmament rises and falls at regular intervals; and the clouds, which strike against the mountains in consequence, produce a noise. It may be distinctly heard, but is quite different from thunder. Although said to float, the Haida country, at least, has a firmer foundation in the shape of a great supernatural being called Sacred-One-standing-and-moving (Qō'yagiaga'ndal). He, in turn, rests upon a copper box, but what supports that they do not say. Neither do they attempt to explain how Mainland is supported, apparently because that knowledge is the business of mainland people.

Upon the breast of Sacred-One-standing-and-moving rests the lower end of a pole or pillar extending to the sky; and when he is about to move (i. e., when an earthquake is to occur), a marten runs up it, producing the thundering-noise which precedes. In the days when Sacred-One-standing-and-moving was still travelling about upon the earth, he killed the first mallard duck upon the islands, and put the grease from it into a large clam-shell. Then he put a hot stone into it, and the grease boiled over; whereupon all of the forest beings said, "A a! ['Don't!'] the duck-grease might spill!" Sacred-One-standing-and-moving belongs to the Raven clan: so, when there is an

¹ See F. Boas, *Indianische Sagen der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 307.

² For further particulars about the sun and moon the reader is referred to Chapter VIII; and Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story I.

³ The Haida recognized, however, that the latter was the larger.

earthquake, the men of that clan, and of that clan only, repeat the words just quoted. Down the same pole from heaven to earth runs a string called "string of the shining heaven;" and when any one throws a stone at a buffle-head, the bird pulls this string, bringing down some of the mallard-feathers which are on top of the pole. That is snow.

When it had not rained for some time, shamans would say they intended to pull out "the knot-hole above" to bring it down.

Thunder and lightning are produced by the thunder-bird. When it hailed in the olachen season, they said, "The olachens' eyes are beginning to come down;" and when it hailed in the herring season, they said, "The herrings' eyes are beginning to come down." Only these two fishes were mentioned. The expressions given me for the Northern Lights were "the skin of the sky is burning" and "broken-up clouds travelling."

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS. — The universe is inhabited by human beings and supernatural beings, called collectively the *sgā'na qeda's*. The latter were those for whom land was first created. They inhabit the atmosphere, the ocean, the woods, lakes, and streams. One of the supernatural beings is called *sgā'na* (Masset, *s'an*) or *sgā'nagwa*, words which my interpreters liked to render by "power." *Sgā'na* also means "killer-whale;" but if there has been any borrowing of names here, I think that the first meaning given was the original one. The syllable "*sga*" seems to be the essential part, and to be the same as we have in *sgā'ga*, the word for "shaman."

I propose to consider the supernatural beings under four main heads, — beings of the upper world or atmosphere; beings of the sea; beings of the land; and those which might be called, for want of a better term, "patron deities."

Beings of the Upper World. — The highest, not only of these but of all Haida deities, was Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens (*Sins sgā'nagwa-i*). I have always had some difficulty in getting a clear idea of just what the word "*sins*" stands for. It may be translated by "day," "air," or "weather." Sometimes it seems to signify "sky" or "heaven," but the ordinary word for the sky is *qō'ya-iqā'gan*. The word for "wind" is also different. At any rate, the Haida say that *Sins sgā'nagwa-i* is the exact equivalent of the Tsimshian *lax-hā* ("the sky;" literally, "on the air"). They objected to having him reckoned among the *sgā'na qeda's*, asserting that he is higher and gives them their power. He gives "power" to all things. A Skidegate man who had been much among the whites said that his people used to pray to Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens "just as white people pray to God."

I was considerably surprised to find such an apparently lofty conception, and approached many different persons on the subject, but always with the same result. Nor do I think that we have the effects of missionary teaching here, because "white" ideas of God have been inculcated in association with another name, The-Chief-Above (Masset, *Sa nañ i'lagidas*) or The-One-Above

(Sa lā'na). Some Masset people once fell to comparing The-Chief-Above with Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens in my presence. They said they were not the same. The idea that I formed of their attitude towards this being was, that, just as human beings could "receive power" or "be possessed" by supernatural beings, and supernatural beings could receive power from other supernatural beings, so the whole of the latter got theirs in the last analysis from Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens.

An old Masset man said that this being determines who is to die: so, when any one was sick, he prayed, "Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens, save me!" They also called to him in great sorrow or misery, although, as one story shows, the help might actually come through an inferior being. A Skidegate man gave me the following prayer to Sins: "Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens, let there be peace upon me; let not my heart be sorry!" The prayer given on p. 27 as addressed to the screech-owl was also directed to him, and they put food into the fire so that he would grant them health. When a friend was dead, a man would raise his arms and say, "Look upon me, Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens!" It was also said that "one must not think against Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens; for whatever one thinks, he knows." Like the great majority of supernatural beings, this "power" was reckoned as belonging to the Raven clan. He was not a popular story-deity, only one or two tales referring to him by name; but "How Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens let Himself be born," which I have in my Skidegate series of stories,¹ was well known in the southern towns. In this the clouds are represented as his blankets. More often they are the "dressing-up"² of The-One-in-the-Sea, though the thunder-clouds are the "dressing-up" of the thunder-bird.

The thunder-bird (hí'liñā) produces thunder by the rustling of its feathers; and when it opens its eyes, there is lightning. The thunder-clouds are its "dressing-up." This being occupied a very small place in Haida thought, probably because thunder-storms are not common. They said that "up the Stikine" they knew more about it.

According to the legends,³ sun, moon, and stars are inanimate objects, yet the first two were each inhabited by a supernatural being who sometimes spoke through shamans. The sun occupies a markedly unimportant position; and at times, in recounting the Raven story, the origin of the moon only is given. In this latter body the Haida thought they saw the figure of a girl with a bucket in one hand, and a salal-berry bush in the other. Her story is contained in my Masset series of texts.⁴ The moon, at least, was reckoned as belonging to the Raven clan.

¹ See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 8.

² I use the expression "dressing up" to translate a Haida word which includes the potlatch attire and accompanying face-paintings.

³ See p. 12; and Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 1.

⁴ See Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 28.

Suspended in the air are several different abodes of the supernatural beings, the most important of which was Tā'xet's¹ house (Tā'xet nā'ga), whither went all who died a violent death. This house is occupied by Tā'xet himself, his daughter, and, according to one informant, the son of a former chief of Kaisun (a sga'ngo), whose story is given elsewhere.²

Another house, called the shamans' house (Sgas na-i), is occupied by the Above-People (Sa'gua xā'idaga-i; or, in Masset, Sa xadē'). A Masset man said that they were not longer than one's hand and wrist. They desired to help the sick, but, being so small, were not very powerful, and often failed. In their house no one was chief; but Wī'gīt, who occupied another aerial mansion (Wī'gīt nā'ga) was said to have authority over them. Wī'gīt³ is considered as identical with the Raven (Nañk'lsLas). He keeps an account of all the people on the islands. In his house he has numbers of sticks; and when a child is born, he turns around and pulls one from the bundle behind him. If it proves to be a short stick, the child's life will be short, and *vice versa*. The cry of every new-born child is heard at once in the corner of Wī'gīt's house. According to a Skedans story, Wī'gīt comes over from the Tsimshian country to the Haida country every fall.

House-hanging-from-the-Shining-Heavens (Sins gē'sta tā'-ixu) was inhabited by a "power" of the Raven clan called Great-Shining-Heaven (Sins sqan). A row of little people hung head-first from his eyelashes.⁴

Greatest-Stingy-One (Ldjuwit) lived in a house (Ldjuwit nā'ga) said indifferently to be located in The-Land-of-Supernatural-Beings.⁵

Several of the winds were also personified. The following list of winds which blow from the different points of the compass was given me by a Kaisun man, but I cannot answer for the absolute accuracy of the points with which they are identified.

Llā ("northeast").	Qlā'dasta ("southwest").
Djū'lasta ("north").	GA'ñxet qlā'dasta ("south").
Qlā'xusta ("northwest").	Xe-ū' ("southeast").
Klils ku'nsta ("west").	Gwai ya'kun xē'dasta ("east" or "northeast").

Other Haida would have named them somewhat differently; but a four-wind system is only once referred to,⁶ and nothing was known of the "cosmic symbol." The winds which impress themselves particularly upon any one living along this coast for any time are the east or southeast wind, which brings rainy and tempestuous, but not freezing weather; and the northwest wind, which, while sometimes strong, is accompanied by clear skies and a cold, bracing temperature. These (Xe-ū' and Qlā) seem to have been the only two personified by

¹ Tlingit, Ta hit ("the house above"). See F. Boas, in Report of the 59th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, p. 842.

² See p. 33.

³ In the Nisqa' dialect of the Tsimshian the mythical Raven is called Wī-g'at ("Giant").

⁴ See p. 36.

⁵ See p. 36.

⁶ See Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 4.

the Haida, most of the others being named with reference to them or with reference to prominent points along the coast. The characteristics of Xe-ū' and Q!ā are very well brought out in the story of a contest between them, contained in my Masset series of texts. Southeast-Wind is supposed to live under the sea, while Northwest-Wind abides rather among the northern mountains. The former has ten brothers who are certain kinds of winds, clouds which accompany winds, and the tidal wave. They bear such names as He-who-takes-off-the-Tops-of-the-Trees, He-who-rattles-the-Stones, and Red-passing-away-quickly.¹ A Creek-Woman² on the West Coast, named, like the northeast wind, Llā, seems to have exercised some control over it.

Beings of the Sea. — More than any other land upon the northwest coast of America, the Queen Charlotte Islands are homes for seamen. Moresby, the more southerly of the largest two islands, is nothing more than a ragged chain of mountains half submerged in the ocean. The entanglement of land and sea is much more extraordinary than any chart gives a notion of, because no thorough survey of the western coast has hitherto been made. This fact, combined with the jungle of undergrowth within the forest, which renders canoes an eternal necessity, seems to have had much to do in exaggerating the importance of those supernatural beings inhabiting the ocean, the Ocean-People. According to the Haida spirit-theory, every animal was, or might be, the embodiment of a being who, at his own pleasure, could appear in the human form. They seem to be looked at from two entirely different points of view. As animals, they were called Gí'na tē'iga, birds, salmon, herring, devil-fish, etc.; as supernatural beings in disguise, sgā'na qeda's, Forest-People, Salmon-People, Herring-People, etc. As animals, they might be hunted, or given as food to man by another animal who was a supernatural being; as supernatural beings themselves, they might entertain men in their towns, intermarry with them, help or harm them. Thus there were Black-Whale-People, and yet the black whales were given as food by the killer-whales to mankind. Devil-fishes were regular articles of diet; yet stories often tell how the Devil-Fish-People intermarried with human beings. Sometimes, as in the case of the salmon, it is said that the animal-soul, on the death of its body, goes off somewhere, and is re-incarnated; sometimes the impression is conveyed that some animals embody beings in human form, and some, which are the ones killed, do not; sometimes it would seem that there is a chief of each species who is the real supernatural being; and sometimes the animal seems to be annihilated, body and soul. When speaking generally of the supernatural beings, the Haida seem to separate them in mind more sharply from the animals. A supernatural being can be destroyed by cutting its body in two

¹ "Red-passing-away-quickly" refers to red streaks seen in the early morning for a short time preceding a windy day.

² See p. 23.

and throwing a whetstone between the severed portions. In their endeavors to coalesce, the two parts then "grind themselves to nothing." Otherwise a supernatural being quickly reweaves the fragments of its body.

There were various sorts of Ocean-People, of course, such as the Devil-Fish-People, Porpoise-People, Salmon-People, Herring-People, and Black-Whale-People; but those to which the term was particularly applied were the Killer-Whales (*sgā'na*). So far as I could learn, these were the only creatures they had supernatural dread of hunting, and in their case the dread may not have been entirely supernatural. Of all the Ocean-People, they were the most powerful; and, in fact, others seem rather to have been their servants. Just as the towns of human beings were scattered along the shores above water, so the killer-whale towns were scattered along the shores beneath it. These were located at, or rather under, every prominent cape, hill, or reef; and even hills some distance back from the coast had subterranean avenues of approach from the ocean. The chief in each of these towns bore the same name as the point or reef above, or one might equally say that the point or reef bore the same name as the chief. Like their human counterparts, many of them had several names. The killer-whale town existed simply to give honor to the chief, and sometimes the supernatural being's house stood all by itself. When travelling about, these Ocean-People appear as killer-whales, but in their submarine towns they are like men. One story, of which I obtained an abstract from Mr. Henry Edensaw, brings the anthropomorphic view of them out clearly.

Once a man in his canoe passed near a killer-whale, and struck its fin with a stone. The following morning a smoke was seen rising from a near-by point, and he and his companions went to see who was there. When they got near, they saw a man mending his canoe, which had a break in the side. The man called out to him, saying, "Why did you break my canoe?" From that they knew that killer-whales are really the canoes of Ocean-People.

The Salmon-People and the Herring-People also run up the rivers in canoes, though the latter are not seen by men. Of course this is simply one theory, and in other places the Ocean-People are said to be creatures like human beings, but covered with a killer-whale skin. In either case we seem to have a double incarnation, — the supernatural being in the killer-whale, and both the supernatural being and the killer-whale in the natural feature. Some of them, even some of their chiefs, were once men.

As custodians of the principal food-supplies, especially as the dispensers of whales, these Ocean-People were, of all supernatural beings, the most constantly in the thoughts of the Haida, and the oftenest called upon and sacrificed to. Like men on earth and like other supernatural beings, they were divided into the Raven clan and the Eagle clan. Raven killer-whales were black all over; Eagles had a white patch around the base of the dorsal fin. And just as the chiefs of some Haida towns were greater than those of

others, so there were considerable differences between the powers of killer chiefs. The standing of each seems to have been mainly dependent upon the conspicuous character of the object under which he resided. Thus the chiefs residing at Cape Ball and Rose Spit were the most powerful on the coast between Skidegate and Masset. The forms of some of the more important of them were conceived as different from those of the ordinary killers. Two of the Rose Spit Ocean-People, for instance, were called respectively Killer-Whale-with-the-Hole-in-his-Fin and Killer-Whale-with-the-End-of-his-Fin-turned-Back. Others had two dorsal fins instead of one, and Q!ā'gawa-i¹ had five. A reef on the west coast of Graham Island appears to the natives like a raven's beak standing up, and the being dwelling there came to be thought of as a killer-whale with a raven's beak upon the end of its dorsal fin. This was Raven-Fin (Tc!iliā'las). Sea-Grisly-Bear was a grisly bear with the fins of a killer-whale; and the killer-whale played the most important part in the construction of such monsters as the wā'sgo (or lake-spirit [su s'an], as it was called at Masset), which were part wolf. Tca'maos,² a personification of the snag or the "tide-walker," was figured with the fins of a killer-whale. It was supposed to live in the Skeena River, not in Haida-Land.

Grease, especially the rarer kinds, tobacco, and flicker-feathers were offered to the Ocean-People, and water and fire were the two media of their transmission. Stopping in front of a place where one of them was supposed to live, the suppliant put some tobacco and a few flicker-feathers upon his paddle, and said, "Now, chief, give us food! Let us see good things to eat!" Then he slid them quietly into the sea. When on shore, they put their offerings into the fire. The return expected was generally a black whale, which would be found floating dead at that place soon after. On the West Coast the people put black cod, grease, and tobacco into the water, and spoke as follows: "I give this to you for a whale; give one to me, chief!" As a sign of respect to the supernatural beings, when certain of them were mentioned in the stories, all the hearers would raise their hands, palms upward, and then turn them outward. Supernatural beings were particularly averse to urine, blue hellebore and certain other plants and objects. If one put urine into the sea, and a storm arose in which any one was drowned or injured, he who had done so had to pay the injured party or his family.

I have two lists of Ocean-People living along the coast, — one covering the middle section of the western coast; the other, the northern coast of Graham Island. It must not be supposed that either of these is complete, for the idea which they express was capable of almost infinite extension.

Following is a list of the Ocean-People of the West Coast of which I received descriptions.

¹ See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 4.

² Tsimshian, ts!em-aks ("in the water").

Point-towards-the-South (Q!ā'suwa-i kun) was on an island called Gwai łqela'ñgits, close to the town of Kaisun. He was an Eagle, and they prayed to him as follows: "Give me food, chief!"

Stāñ gwai was an island between Kaisun and the above point. In olden times this island was a great carver. He was a Raven. There is a fishing-ground for black cod just in front of it, and the people prayed to the island for this fish as follows: "Let the fish come in innumerable quantities to get on the hook!" (Q!ēn-s!aga's gasi'īnas dostaolē łA!)¹

There are ten islands around Kaisun, each once occupied by an Eagle killer-whale [it must be remembered, in this connection, that Kaisun was owned by an Eagle family]. One of these islands, Hole Island (Gwai xē'łA), has a hole pierced through it from side to side. The spirit of this island was the strongest of all the Ocean-People in this district, and used to give people whales. Supernatural-Being's-Child (Sgā'na gī'da), an island near by, was the child of the preceding. In olden times some people came to Gwai xē'łA and left a man in charge of the canoe, while they themselves went ashore. During their absence, he saw beneath the water a man, wearing a dancing-blanket with fins designed upon it, who walked into the hole in the island. This was the son going to pay a visit to his father.

There was a halibut fishing-ground around this island, and plenty of the small birds called ha'dja upon it. The Haida prayed to it as follows: "Take care of my canoe, chief!" i. e., "handle it so carefully as not to break it." A man of Kaisun named Standing-shining-in-the-Ocean had syphilis. He swam through this cleft, and on the way felt barnacles scraping over his body, and blood flowing out. Upon reaching the other side, he found himself cleansed and healed.

Many-Killer-Whales (Sgā'na kluna'ns²) is the most seaward of the ten islands. Formerly a bad killer-whale with two dorsal fins lived here, and destroyed great numbers of Kaisun people by upsetting their canoes. A relative of one of his victims determined to have revenge. He took two skulls and put into them the blood of a menstruant woman, blue hellebore, and bluejays' heads. Then he dried the skin of a hair-seal and got inside. The killer-whale, which had been watching his preparations, told him to come out and be killed, like his friends. When it showed itself in front of the place where the man stood, the latter ran down into the sea with his hair-seal skin on to meet it. The whale opened its mouth, and the man passed in, holding his two skulls, one under each arm. When the killer got into its own house, the man it had swallowed took his two skulls out, whereupon he was at once vomited forth. Then he broke the skulls in the house, scattering their contents all about; and, driving the whale out of doors, he killed it. Going up to land again, he told his friends what had happened. Not long afterwards he was upset out at sea and drowned, but since then there has been no killer-whale under that island.

Great-Steep-Place (Stal qō'na) is on a large island at the mouth of Gold Harbor. Puffins nest on the steep cliffs of this island. When hunting for them, the people prayed to Great-Steep-Place as follows: "Do not let me fall. Make the place good for me, for you gave me these [birds and eggs]!"

Łqwa-i is a point on the island called Gūl, looking towards Kaisun, where puffins lay their eggs.

Near by is another cliff called Tci'ngañā gā'das, and at its base live quantities of the birds called ha'dja. Usually they burrow in the earth, but here they live under the rocks. The place where the ha'dja themselves were was called Place-where-Rocks-are-moved-from-the-Ha'dja [when they are hunted], or Ha'dja gū'sta łgā'gada. Just beneath is a cave called Tci'ngañā gā'das sqā'xawa-i. It is full of cormorants. This was the scene of the adventures of the sgā'ñgo, to be related hereafter.³ Tci'ngañā gā'das was an Eagle.

Always-Wet (Tē'ldju) is a reef in front of Kaisun, over which the sea always breaks. People used to fish around it for halibut, and make prayers to it as follows: "Give me food, chief! Let fish-slime get upon my hands!" This being was a Raven.

¹ The words used in this prayer are peculiar. Q!ēn means the wood of the hook; and s!aga's, "bracelet," both together being a synonyme for tao ("halibut-hook"). Sta'olē seems to be borrowed from a child's game. The children took hold of a long rope and passed in single file between two others. When all were through, the two turned about, and all passed back between them in the opposite direction. As they marched, they sang "sta'olē gwai," the meaning of which words I could not learn.

² Spelled by Dr. Newcombe Sga'na ku'nats.

³ See p. 33.

Sgān nañ ta'lgas lived under an island on the north side of the strait between Graham and Moresby Islands. He was considered the brother of The-One-in-the-Sea, and my informant's father called him "My chief" because both were Ravens.

Island-stripped-of-Trees-as-by-a-Plague (Gwai qē'da gas) is so named from its condition [when small-pox or pestilence are around, they call it idjiqa']. This island also harbors numbers of ha'dja. People prayed to it as follows: "Do not let my canoe split, chief!" He was an Eagle.

Island-without-Trees (Gwai qē'dē gaos) is near the above. Sea-gulls breed upon it; and when people went for their eggs, they prayed to it for calm weather in which to land, as follows: "Let it be calm for me, and let your foam be wanting, chief!" He was an Eagle.

Eagle's-Skin (Got q!al) is an island with a very high cliff, and at the very top of this is a patch looking like the skin of an eagle. Birds called dji'gwana (Masset, sta'gwana), which burrow in the ground, nested here. There is a cave on the side towards the sea which is just like a house to camp in. When walking about on the cliff after fern-roots, people said, "Do not let me fall!"

Beyond Na'ñedanē, where The-Singers¹ used to dance, is a bay called Xa'ñxiu, which probably means "steep place facing out." Long, rectangular whetstones used by the people fell from this. To the supernatural beings these looked like fire, and they were afraid of them. When they were just under the cliff, people never spoke, for fear stones would be thrown down upon them. When they fished for halibut and red cod in front of it, they prayed as follows: "Let it be calm for me!" or "Give me food!" If they said this on shore, they put flicker-feathers into the fire. The cliff was a Raven.

At a point near Sta'nla-i lived a being who taught the Pitch-People, and through them the rest of the Haida people, how to cut up black cod.

South of Sta'nla-i lies a mountain called Sunshine-upon-his-Breast (QA'ñga xa'-iya), which also harbored one of the supernatural beings, but they directed no prayers to him. He seated the other supernatural beings who came to him upon a box. Then he opened a corner of the house, let in the sea, and drove them out again. He was an Eagle.

A few of the more prominent Ocean-People upon the east coast also deserve mention.

One of the greatest of these was Cape Ball, who often appears in the stories. He was generally called "Chief" (I'lgas), but had many other names, one of the most popular of which was Great-Swashing-of-Waves (Lā'djañ qō'na, or La'qona). When the people around Cape Ball made a feast, he was always invited, and food was sent to him through the fire. His wife is said to have been the daughter of Qāls, a reef in front of the town of Qañ.

One time they went to visit the latter; and he was so pleased with the way the smoke curled up from his father-in-law's house, that in jest he used a "bad word" regarding it to his wife. His wife went off at once to her father, who was out of the house at the time, and told him about it. He took it seriously, but at first concealed his annoyance, went in, and greeted his son-in-law cordially. But presently he stationed a crab outside of the door, and, when his son-in-law's people came out, the crab bit a piece out of each. Some time afterwards, Qāls and his people were swimming by Cape Ball, when his son-in-law told the waters to dry up. This they did, and the killer-whales were transformed into soft rocks, which may still be seen here.²

Another story tells how Cape Ball raised a flood to please some one who had been killed near his place, and had come down to him. Indeed, he seems to have been the flood-raising being *par excellence*, for it was he who caused the great mythical deluge.³

Killer-Whale-facing-Landward (Sgā'na a'ndjugiŋs) lived under a reef in front of the old town of Da'xua at Lawn Hill. He was also called Yā'yu. When they were fishing about there, and also in a storm, they used to pray to him. In the latter case they said as follows: "Save us, our master!" These were the words used by a Raven, to which clan the Killer-Whale himself belonged.

Near by was Supernatural-Being-whose-Voice-thunders (Sgā'na kilyi'liñas), who had formerly been a human being, Qonā'ts.

¹ See p. 30.

² There is a second version of this tale among my Masset texts.

³ See Chapter VIII, Period of the Supernatural Beings.

Many-Ledges (Tlēs qoa'ni aya), a Raven killer-whale living under a rock behind Skedans, figures prominently in certain stories.

Another lived in the Kloo country, at a place called Tci'sxit, south of Old Kloo. A man of Those-born-at-Skedans always wore, hung around his neck, a knife with a bone handle on which was a carved head. One day he went with a party of hunters after a small variety of diver called sqē'dana. He saw a young diver running about, and gave chase, at the same time making fun of the place, calling it Tci'sxit, laughing at it, and "making it small" by his words. When they started to paddle away, Tci'sxit pursued them. The man saw it, and, when it came near, he jumped into its mouth, whereupon the creature dived to the bottom of the sea. Then the man took out his knife and began slashing its insides to pieces. His companions escaped. After a long time one of his nearest friends went to see if he could find any traces of him, and behind the island he saw a big killer-whale lying dead, while the man lay dead beside it.

Qī'ngi¹ was one of the most powerful of all the Ocean-People. He was an Eagle. His real name is said to have been Thunder-Bird-standing.

Next to Qī'ngi, the greatest of the Ocean-People in the Ninstints country appears to have been Qlā'gawa-i, the five-finned killer. He figures especially in the story of Stone-Ribs (Godāñxē'wat),² by whom he was killed. There was also an important supernatural being at Sand-Spit-Point, and, indeed, the coasts were lined with them. Further accounts of them will be found in the stories, of which they are a favorite subject. In his submarine journeys around the island, Stone-Ribs visited a large number.

On the north coast we find the following Ocean-People: —

Next to Cape Ball, the greatest of the Ocean-People along the northeast coast was Qlaku'n, a name supposed to have been given by the supernatural beings to Rose Spit. There were a great many other Ocean-People around this spit, however, some of the names of which are contained in a short story in my Masset series.

Grease-Hill (Tao), popularly called "Little-Mountain," and Grease-Hill's-Brother (Tao dō'na-i), were important beings. They once lived together where the latter still stands, up Masset Inlet, and the people used to give them dried fish. Finally they stopped giving to the former, whereupon he left the inlet in anger, and moved down to his present position on the coast between Masset and Rose Spit.³

Slā'da ai'was was a small mountain in Masset Inlet, with marks like those of fingers running down its sides.

Stones-piled-up (Lā'djiwas) is a reef, seen only at the very lowest tides, about one mile out to sea from the town of Yan. It is named from its rough appearance, as if it were composed of many rocks heaped together.

Chief (I'lgas) lies in front of Mē'akun, an important camping-place halfway between Edensaw Point and the mouth of Masset Inlet. He was once given food, whereupon he immediately pushed out a whale. After that he was much thought of.

In front of the old town of Wī'dja lay a rock which harbored a supernatural being under it. If one desired to have a certain wind, he tapped a small hole in it with a stone upon the side from which he desired the wind to blow. Nothing more is reported of this being.⁴

Like-a-Large-Clam-Shell (Sqa'oal a'ina) is a reef in front of Edensaw Point, named from a basin-like hollow in the top.

Thunder (Hī'liñ) is a rock west of the prominent point at the great camp of Yets. It was never covered by the waves, and a stone lay on top which was called Thunder's-Drum (Hī'liñ gō'djao). When he was going to give a present [whale, etc.], they said that they heard his drum sound.

Sea-Otter-lying-upon-its-Back-in-the-Water (Qo ti'agans) is named from its shape. It is said to have the same appearance as a sea-otter when swimming.

¹ See Chapter VIII, Period of the Supernatural Beings.

² See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 4.

³ See Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 11.

⁴ In one of the inlets in the Ninstints country was a very large rock, which people regarded with so much respect that they would approach it backwards. My informant said he had seen this, but it was now gone; and a man of Ninstints declared he had seen it swimming in the sea far out.

Killer-Whale-with-Two-Heads (S^əan qā'dji stans) is named from the fact that it is a rock rising into two points.

There was no killer-whale under "the Pillar."

Da'dja inhabited a large stone at the west end of North Island. He always gave back a whale to those who sacrificed to him.

Ga-i sk!A'djiwas is a round reef rising into a point, whence its name. It lies far out from Cape Knox.

Barnacles (ʔa'oduns) is a reef on the northwest coast of Graham Island, just in front of a camping-place called Łaqa'kun; and behind this on the shore is another ledge called Dog (Xās).

At a hunting-place called Lī'du are two reefs or rocks, not more than a hundred yards apart, called S^əa'lgus and ʔadjō'n. The supernatural being under the latter was formerly chief of the Sand-Town-People. He killed the supernatural being living there in his day, and took its place.

Sk!a is a reef in front of the old town of Ti'an.

Raven-Fin (Tclī'lialas) I have already spoken of. He was the highest in rank of all the Ocean-People on this part of the coast.

Facing-the-Sunshine (Xa'ya A'ndju) is a rock standing straight up from the water, which surrounds it on all sides.

Noisy-Fin (Ł^əAn xē'gañ) and a reef in front of the town of Ł^əAn, of which I have a story in the Masset series, were Ocean-People of some importance.

Reef (Qā's), at the outer end of Hippa Island (Nastō'), has one tree upon it. When offerings were made to its spirit, he returned a small variety of whale called ʔā'tagal.

Crab (Q!ō'stan) is a reef just north of Qōñ kun, and is named from its shape.

Of Qōñ kun and Hippa Island themselves I have a story in my Masset series, and a Skidegate version in English.¹

I did not learn the clans to which these supernatural beings belonged; but in general, those near Eagle towns seem to be Eagles; those near Raven towns, Ravens.

Besides the littoral Ocean-People, there was a greater being whose home seems to have been deeper down. He was called The-(Greatest)One-in-the-Sea (TA'ñgwan lā'na), and also The-One-upon-whom-the-Clouds-rest (NAñ gut qwē'gaogaos). The clouds were his "dressing-up." An old man at Masset said that he was identical with Qí'ngi of the Raven story;² but at Skidegate, where the stories are kept in better shape, they denied this, and said he was a Raven. A man in his house named Qa'git could cut up fish in any way he liked, regardless of the taboos: therefore, when any one made a mistake in cutting up black cod, he said, "It was Qa'git who cut you up." If he omitted saying so, he would never catch any more fish. The Ravens addressed The-One-in-the-Sea as "My chief" (Dī q!o'lgā); the Eagles, as "My great [or powerful] father" (Dī gō'ñga qō'naga). According to the stories, everything thrown into the sea goes to his house.

The-Southeast (Xe-ū'), whom I considered under the heading "Beings of the Upper World," lives under the sea, and is rather one of the Ocean-People. He seems to have been thought of also in the form of a killer-whale.

Beings of the Land. — Killer-whales were to a certain extent land-beings, since they resided under mountains or prominent physical features; and the

¹ See Chapter VIII, Ravens of the West Coast; and Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 9.

² See Chapter VIII, Period of the Supernatural Beings.

nearness of the ocean to almost every part of the Haida country probably tended to reduce the number of land-deities strictly so called.

I have already spoken of Sacred-One-standing-and-moving, who supports the Queen Charlotte Islands. In recent times he has come to be identified with the Devil; but it is hardly necessary to say that there is no resemblance between the two ideas, except the mere fact that Sacred-One-standing-and-moving inhabits regions which, from a physical standpoint, are "downward." They used to pray to him as follows: "Upon your good land let me live long!"

A Masset man told me that there are certain spirits living in the earth, called S^an gí'djas. There are also spirits living in swamps. From a Masset man I learned that these are women, and are called Those-singing-in-Swamps. Both of these used to come to shamans.

The most important set of land-beings, however, are the Creek-Women, called by Skidegate people Women-at-the-Head (-of-the-River); and by Masset people, Daughters-of-the-River. One of these lives at the head of each creek, and owns all of the fish in it. It is to see her that the salmon and other fish run up; but all die before reaching her dwelling except the steel-head and the mountain-trout. These Creek-Women sometimes appear to be the female counterparts of the Ocean-People, who are almost always represented as males.

The greatest of them was Djila'qons, the woman at the head of Ga'oqons (probably meaning "great inlet"), a creek flowing into the western arm of Cumsheewa Inlet. She was the "powerful grandmother" — although said by some not to be the real ancestress — of the Eagle clan. There is a story about her in my Skidegate series.¹ According to one story, He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed² (Nañkí'lsLas) caught Djila'qons at the head of Nass River. He felt something go past his head, and, feeling of its feet, assured himself that it was a woman. He waited until she passed again, when he caught her and made her his wife. The old man who told me most of the Raven story, however, gave a rather different account. He said that He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed found her farther to the south, in an arm of the sea called LAlgí'mi.³ From the first authority above quoted I learned that Djila'qons and He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed had ten children, — five of each sex. Four of the boys were Stone-Ribs, He-who-shakes-the-Shining-Heaven-with-his-Feet, The-Child-that-makes-a-Noise-by-travelling-about, and Upset-by-an-Eel. This last was so named because, while playing in a canoe, he was upset, and to cover his awkwardness they said it was caused by eels. Three of the girls were Supernatural-Woman-who-hangs-in-the-Cradle, Mallard-Woman, and Abalone-Shell-Walking-Stick (so named because she carries such a stick). My informant

¹ See Chapter VIII, Descendants from Property-making-a-Noise.

² The name usually applied to the personified Raven.

³ LAlgí'mi appears to refer to Bentinck Arm, the shores of which were occupied by the Bella Coola. It is also said to be the Tsimshian word for the Bella Coola. LAlgí'mít is the name given to the inland tribes by the Kwakiutl.

had forgotten the names of the fifth boy and the two remaining girls. All of them lived in their mother's house at Ga'oqons.

Another of these Creek-Women, who lived on the West Coast, at the head of a stream called Gū'dal, was the wife of The-One-in-the-Sea. Her name was Supernatural-Woman-ruling-with-the-Fair-Weather-Clouds-upon-the-Mountains-whose-Fame-goes-around. They also had five boys and five girls. The former were named as follows: The-Child-on-whom-Lightning-flashes-when-he-goes-about, Cumulus-Cloud-Child, and Child-falling-into-the-Water. The names of the two remaining ones my informant had forgotten. The girls were Sitting-down-Greasy (indicating that there was plenty in the house), Sky-Woman, Woman-who-orders-the-Clouds, Supernatural-Woman-into-whose-House-Whales-flow, and Supernatural-Woman-who-makes-the-Water-whirl-about-at-her-Word (referring to eddies in the rising tide). The tide rises at her command. The fourth of these lives at a reef near the coast, in front of her mother's river. The other children stay with their father. When they eat, each uses a dish in the form of a halibut.

Once The-One-in-the-Sea became jealous of his wife, and sent a hair-seal up to the lake where she lives to keep watch of her. She, however, stuffed it with all kinds of good food, and went off with her lover, Tca'maos.

Woman-upon-whose-Property-the-Sea-Gulls-lay (Djat ɬa'oagut sq!ō'na) is a lake and a Creek-Woman at the head of a small stream near Kaisun. She has the name from a ridge of low mountains around the lake, upon which sea-gulls used to lay their eggs. Flicker-feathers were sent to her through the fire, accompanied by the following words: "Let salmon abound for me, chief woman!" She was an Eagle, and one of the mother's sisters of my informant was named after her.

Under a mountain near Kaisun, called Looking-at-the-Sea (Gai'yu qāns), lives a Head-of-Creek-Woman, to whom they used to pray and sacrifice as above. Her stream, Tclū'wus, is perhaps so named because the inlet into which it flows extends far inland.

At the head of Djū'gan, a stream close to the town of Kaisun, lives a woman called ɬa-ā' djat. She has another name, Supernatural-Woman-who-came-out-from-the-Woods. A man sitting near the fire once said he was going to see The-Drummer (Gō'xagans), meaning this woman. His words were carried to her by Supernatural-Woman-under-the-Fire, and she was displeased. From Kaisun the man took a short cut to a deep place in the stream called Ḡala'ñgawas. When he arrived there, he fainted, and after a time came to in front of a big house. Thence a voice sounded, inviting him in: "Did you wish to come and see me? Come into my house." He obeyed, and saw this woman seated at the upper end of the house. She had a large labret, and a big hat on her head. Upon the hat a number of flickers flapped their wings and flew about over her property, which was piled up in the rear of

the house. She said she had some black whales in her house, and told him to look at them. They were in the right-hand rear corner as he entered. In the left-hand rear corner were numbers of geese, their tails turned towards the door. When she told him to look towards the right-hand corner in front, he saw a lake full of salmon of all kinds. In the remaining corner was another lake surrounded by many cranberry-bushes of the high-bush variety. After he had seen everything, she told him to sit down, and gave him salmon and cranberries in succession. Then she said, "You wished to see me, and now you have spent some time in my house. Now go out and go home." She also told him to tell the people some time after he reached home what he had seen in her house. "After you have told them, you will die," she said. Then she said to the servants, "Throw out one of those fragments," meaning pieces left over after salmon have been eaten. She really meant a whale, which she thought so little of as to call "leavings." At once he came to on the spot where he had before lost consciousness, and, looking around, saw the whale lying beside him; but in place of a true whale-skin it had hemlock-bark. He went home and told his people about it. They went to the whale forthwith, but were obliged to make wedges to get the bark off, before they could cut it up. Inside it was like an ordinary whale. Afterwards they towed their canoes up to the deep place above referred to, and brought its meat down. Several times they asked him what he had seen, but he would not tell until a long time afterwards. Then he told his story; and no sooner had he finished it, than he dropped asleep and died. His spirit went to the Creek-Woman's house. My informant used to go up this stream, and has seen the bones of the whale lying there covered with moss. The woman was a Raven, and has many names besides the above.

Wood-creatures, such as birds, were called at Masset Ila'qeda. They were also called Forest-People, Inland-People, and sometimes The-People-of-Supernatural-Being-upon-whom-it-thunders.

My general remarks on the twofold character of sea-animals, as viewed by the Haida, apply equally well to land-animals. In various stories we hear of the Grisly-Bear-People, Black-Bear-People, Weasel-People, Land-Otter-People, Eagle-People, Raven-People, etc. Every kind of quadruped and bird seems to have had a human form as well as an animal disguise, and each might help or harm men. The stories will best explain the attitude of the Indians towards them, in so far as we can now understand it. A word or two only might be said about the Land-Otter-People, who play an important rôle in the beliefs of most of the coast tribes.

These generally appear as malevolent creatures, which seize every opportunity to injure human beings; but the notion seems to have been developed to its fullest extent among the Tlingit of Alaska. One series of stories relate how some woman was stolen away by the Land-Otters, and set to keeping

their fire; others speak of visits made by human beings to a member of their family who had married among the Land-Otters. If a person were given a name that the Land-Otters liked, they would try to steal him. They would sometimes deprive a person partially or entirely of his reason. When one of them came to anybody, it would assume the shape of whomever that person was in love with, to make him speak to her. If he did speak, he soon began to act strangely, faint, etc., and soon after died. When taking on human shape, they could not get rid of the hair between their fingers. The fingers, too, were short and round. Their voices are said to have been hoarse, as when one has a cold, in spite of which they were good singers.

When a person had been upset in his canoe and barely escaped drowning, on reaching shore, cold and wet, he would see a bright fire burning, and people standing around it. But it was really lighted by the Land-Otter-People; and if he went thither, he lost his reason and became a *gā'giḡit*. This change seems to have been directly produced by a small animal which entered the unfortunate by the anus.¹ Minks often assisted the Land-Otters.

These transformed men (*gā'giḡit*; Masset, *gā'gīd*) were veritable bugaboos to the Haida. They are described as creatures resembling human beings, but with bony faces, full of fish and sea-egg spines, wide nostrils turned so high up as to open almost straight forward, and an unclothed body covered with land-otter hair. One Skidegate man told me that the *gā'giḡit* wanders all over the Haida country for a whole year, after which he goes to the *gā'giḡit*'s island in the Tlingit country. Five years after a man had become a *gā'giḡit*, he began to walk upon his elbows and to act like an animal; and ultimately he seems to have become a land-otter. The *gā'giḡit* could go anywhere, — under the sea as well as over the land. Another person said, that, after a man had become a *gā'giḡit*, he went to the *gā'giḡit*'s country, where they told him to go out and amuse himself. Outside he found a pole, around which he began walking, as it seemed to him, but in reality he was travelling all over the Queen Charlotte Islands.

When a *gā'giḡit* suffers any acute pain, he is recalled for a time to the memory of his former life. At Masset a man once went out to get firewood, and found a *gā'giḡit* with a block of wood fallen upon his fingers. The pain had restored his memory, and he was weeping. Then the people caught him, put him in a cellar, and lighted a fire over him, upon which they threw a lot of noisome stuff, such as urine and blue hellebore. That made him a sane man again.²

The belief in these creatures was so firmly fixed, that only recently the town of Masset was kept in a state of excitement by a man who imitated one; and when the report was spread that a *gā'giḡit* belonging to one of

¹ See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 49.

² See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 5; Kaigani Series, Story 15.

these towns had been killed by people of the other, those in the former were on the point of demanding payment for him.

Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders is the greatest of Wood-Beings, just as The-One-in-the-Sea is the greatest of all Ocean-People. He is said to have once been a human being, and now appears to men as the rainbow, which is his "dressing-up." He is also called The-One-travelling-behind-us; i. e., back of the houses, or inland. In an inlet in the Land of Souls he has a town of his own. A shaman once saw that place, heard the boys and girls singing there, and saw that the bay in front of it was covered with feathers. After he had returned to consciousness in the upper world, he was so anxious to go to the place he had seen, that he was sad ever afterwards.

A man named Gu'tgunis (Masset, Gu'tgunist) went into the woods, climbed a tree to get some bark, and became the owl bearing that name, the horned owl. An old man of Kloo said that Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders and Horned-Owl, when they were men, had belonged to the Slaves, part of one of the leading Ninstints families.¹

The screech-owl (st!ao) received much more attention. It called differently from other birds, and they paid special attention to its cries. When they were out trapping, and it called near the camp, they said it came to tell them there was a bear in the trap. When they were catching salmon, and heard it call near the camp, they threw tobacco into the fire and said to it, "Let it be dry weather for me, chief!" A Masset man told me that there was a long story about the screech-owl, but unfortunately he had forgotten it. At Masset it was supposed to watch over the camp; and every time a camp was made, they poured grease into the fire for it, saying, "Watch over us; do not let bad luck stay with us!" A wizard or witch was also called st!ao, but I do not know that the fact is significant.

The raven plays a conspicuous part in Haida mythology, yet the people do not appear to have revered it very much. A West Coast man said that the people sometimes left food for a raven on the beach, and, when it got near them, told it to give them something. He thought that in old times it was called upon to some extent. A Masset man, however, said that they did not sacrifice to it or pray to it, because it stole too much, as it was. According to the same authority, the personified Raven was not expected to return again. When there was going to be a death in the village, the raven would call for some time; when it ruffled up its feathers and made itself look big, a death would soon take place. The supernatural beings always hunted at night, and returned before the raven cried. If they did not succeed in getting back, as soon as they heard it they fell down. The personified Raven was commonly called He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed (Nañkí'lsLas), because whatever

¹ See a similar tradition of the Nass River Indians (Boas, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* [Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 324, 325]).

he told to happen came to pass. He had to earn that title, however, and before he obtained it was called The-One-who-is-going-to-be-He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed; i. e., Nañkí'IsLas-in-Potency. According to Masset people, his first name was He-who-was-born-from-the-Hip (Q!ā'ŭlañ 'ai'sta nañ l! qais). Some say that He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed was a great man, and only assumed the skin of a raven when he did rascally tricks. Others say that he was great in the first part of his career, and degenerated later. At all events, during the telling of the first part of his story, which was called "The Old Man's Story," chiefs would not permit the young men to laugh, but they could when the latter part was reached.

Among Haida stories are many of visits to Eagle towns, and at Skidegate the Eagle occupies a somewhat important place in the Raven story as Raven's companion, although in Masset his place is taken by the Butterfly.¹ He was called "grandfather" by those of the Eagle clan, just as the Raven was called "grandfather" by the Ravens, not because either was regarded as a direct ancestor, but because they had been prominent heroes of the mythical period and belonged respectively to the Eagle and Raven clans. Eagle received no prayers or sacrifices in recent times, and I did not hear of any being directed to him in the olden days.

The lia was a bird whose whistling was sometimes heard, but he was never seen; and when they carved representations of him, each suited his own fancy.

The other wood-creatures were also, or might be, supernatural beings; and certain of them have special functions to perform, or appear in certain characteristic situations. Thus the divers invite a hero into the house of The-One-in-the-Sea or the houses of other submarine beings, the heron is always an old man working on a canoe at one end of the town,² the mouse is an old woman who assists heroes who have been kind to her, the marten and a small bird called Fast-Trout always pursue retreating heroes; but these points may best be learned from the stories recorded in Chapter XII. There was a curious belief that frogs turned into abelones, and snails into *Cryptochiton Stelleri*, Middf.

Besides Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders and Horned-Owl, there was a third prominent being who had once been a man; and perhaps this is as good a place to speak of him as any, although I am not sure that he is to be reckoned among the Forest-People. On earth he was known as Qona'tc, and I have the story of his doings in my collection. He was an "uncle" and great hero of the Sea-Otter family. After he had been chief on earth, he

¹ SlgAm, a story-name for the Eagle at Skidegate, is evidently the same as sLqAm, the name of the Butterfly at Masset.

² See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 43. The heron appears as a canoe-maker also in the traditions of the Kwakiutl (see F. Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 166). The spirit Mā'kakyū there mentioned is the carpenter-heron.

became a supernatural being under the name of Supernatural-One-who-makes-it-thunder-by-his-Voice. This name is also given to a reef near Lawn Hill, where he went to live. He was called upon in storms at sea. That is all I could learn about him.

Besides bird and beast powers, the existence of supernatural beings in the trees (Qa'-it sgā'nagwa-i) was recognized. When Raven went about as a woman, people asked her who her father was; and she replied, "Every one knows me. I am the daughter of a stripped hemlock [or spruce]." I might mention in this connection that cedar-bark is said to be "every woman's elder sister." It would appear that not only animals and trees, but bushes, sticks, and stones, were alive with spirits; for when one of the great heroes is about to break a taboo or commit some similar error, "everything in the forest" cries out to stop him.

Patron Deities. — Under this heading I include a number of supernatural beings which, instead of being in any way connected with natural phenomena, bear some special relation to human interests and industries.

The ones uppermost in Haida minds were the beings concerned with property. One of these was a bird called Skil (the usual word for "property"¹), which was never seen; but its voice was heard at times, and he who heard became wealthy. Its voice sounded like a bell or like two pieces of steel struck together. Property-Woman (Skil djā'ada-i) is spoken of more frequently. She has curly, slightly gray hair. When a man ate medicine, especially one plant called xat, he sometimes saw Property-Woman passing by. Then he became wealthy. If he got a piece of her blanket or heard her child cry, he became still richer. Again he might see mussel-shells laid out by her in regular order upon the beach. This also brought him wealth. Property-Woman's child, which she always carried about with her, was called Child-carried-on-the-Back, and several families used it as a crest. At Skidegate I was told that offerings of grease and tobacco were made to her, but any such custom was denied at Masset. By the former authority I was told that she had been caught three times, — once by Wa'dasdi, chief of Tc!ā'ał; another time by Yestaqā'na, chief of Skidegate; and the third time by Southeast-Wind, chief of Old Kloo. Thus they acquired great wealth. Property-Woman also appeared to shamans to promise them riches or bring them food. She was a Raven.

One of the Ravens of Tc!ā'ał (Pebble-Town-People [R 9]²) ate medicine for six days, after which he dreamed that Property-Woman's child was underneath his bed, and that she told him that she had left some food for him in the bay in front of Pebble-Town. Next day he went along the bay in a

¹ It is possible that this word was first applied to the supernatural beings, and derivatively to property.

² References of this kind refer to corresponding letters and numbers in the lists at the end (Chapter XIII): R signifying "Raven family;" E, "Eagle family."

canoe, and found certain plants called *xí'lgogan* (Masset, *xelā'k^u*) in a big bundle on the branches of a tree. He ate them, went home, and then broke his fast. When he had become stronger, he went off in his canoe to get wood. He began to take the wood down, and heard a child crying. When he saw the child, he took it up. Its fingers were red, like copper. Just then he saw a great wave coming into the bay; and when it struck him, Property-Woman took her child back. Afterwards he became wealthy.

Certain creatures called *tadja'n* — "shaped like the stomach of a halibut with the inside of the head adhering to it" — crawl about in the woods. He who finds one and eats it becomes wealthy. These objects have no connection with Property-Woman, and are not personal supernatural beings.

Master Carpenter or Master Canoe-BUILDER is scarcely less prominent than Property-Woman. He belonged to the Eagle clan. He could build a house in a single night by rolling one plank over and over, and his carving was so life-like that the eyes of the creatures seemed to wink. A Skidegate informant said that they used to make offerings to him in olden times. At Masset I learned that when people ate small mussels found upon the rocks, they used to throw the shells behind them. It was said that Master Carpenter came along afterwards and ate the "eyes" of the mussels, or the ligaments which close the shell. They were not, however, exactly "given" to him.

He-who-jumps-about-on-One-Leg, or Master Hopper, is a curious being who has only one side to his body. He and Master Carpenter are often spoken of together, though he is a Raven. From the version of the story of Supernatural-Being-who-got-Power-from-his-Little-Finger, obtained by Professor Boas, it would seem that these two are identical; but the story which I got at Skidegate makes them distinct.

Songs are learned from two sisters called The-Singers, whose story was related to me as follows: —

A man, his wife, and his wife's sister lived at a little bay north of Kaisun called Foamy-Cave (*Din sgul*), probably from a strong tide there. The women spent their time making cedar-bark mats, and, running short of bark, one day went up to the woods for more. Meanwhile the man went out fishing. While the women were on a neighboring mountain, a fog came up, and, losing each other, they wandered about a long time, vainly endeavoring to come together again. At the same time the sea became rougher and rougher, and the man, in spite of his endeavors, could not land his canoe. He heard the voices of the women, and called to them; but none of the three could reach the others. Then the man became a supernatural being called Supernatural-One-that-travels-alone. He journeys about all the time; and when people are vainly trying to make a landing, they say to him, "Power-that-travels-alone, save me!" He was a Raven. When the fog lifted, the two women went up with it into the clouds, and became The-Singers. The elder was named The-One-out-of-whose-Mouth-Songs-hang; the younger, The-One-who-dances-about. On the south side of a point on the West Coast called Towards-the-South is a mountain named Plain-Place. On the top of this is a swamp, and in spring the sisters come down there and begin to dance. When winter comes, they return to the sky. In old times a man went up to see the mountain, and found feathers scattered all about, left by The-Singers in dancing. Then a fog came on, and he could not get down for a long time. They are Eagles.

An old Kloo man said that his uncle saw The-Singers coming through the air in a canoe, and learned three songs from them. If it were bad weather, he would go out and sing them, when it would become fair. When a man had died and food was to be sent to him through the fire, the song-leader went off in a canoe, took medicine, and got a new song from The-Singers. All songs used by human beings were acquired from them; and they, in their turn, acquired them from the notes of birds, which are really songs, and which The-Singers can understand.

Ha-ik'las¹ is the pestilence, or, as they say, "the small-pox." They feared him too much even to give him food. He sails in a canoe with huge wings or sails, like the sails of white men's ships; and when the first European vessels were seen upon the coast, they were everywhere taken to be the canoes of Pestilence.

According to some, Death-by-Violence (Tia) was not seen, but those who were soon to be killed heard him groaning about the camp. Others said that he appeared like the headless trunk of a human being, with blood flowing continually from his neck, and that he flew through the air, calling "Tia, tia!" "Tia" is the singular stem of the verb meaning "to kill." Once a canoe-load of Ninstints warriors came against the West Coast Haida. One day all in the canoe except a young man named K'adjai' saw a headless bird flying about with blood flowing from its neck. In the evening, when they lighted a fire, all but the same person heard something groaning around them. Soon afterwards they were surprised and all but the youth killed.

The-Slave-Power made his presence felt to those who were about to be enslaved. One man told me that he was never seen, but in a war story it is said that some children in a fort that was soon to be destroyed saw him shortly before the approach of the enemy.

When men were beginning to increase on earth, one person lost all of his friends. Then one day he saw a woman standing in the woods, her face blackened with pitch and her hair burned off. She carried a black walking-stick with a big round knob at the end. This was The-Spirit-of-Mourning. Afterwards men dressed like her when they were mourning. Whenever The-Spirit-of-Mourning stood behind a town, there would soon be a death there. She used ten songs, which people afterwards sang on the death of a friend. The object of singing these was to bring death upon others as well, so that they would have plenty of people mourning with them. They sang these before the raven called in the morning. One runs as follows:—

"Stand there! Stand painted red there behind the town! I have become angry."

The-Spirit-of-Mourning was a Raven, and this song was used by that clan. In one of my stories a weeping spirit, or Greatest-Weeper, occurs. He was a man.

¹ Kwakiutl, Hayak'las. It is mentioned as "Pestilence" also by the Tsimshian.

Once the people saw a supernatural being called Orphan-Spirit. When all of a person's parents (i. e., near relatives) had died, he saw this being who had been the cause of their deaths. He had a small body, and his hairs were "as if all dried up and sticking out in all directions." It was not known to which clan he belonged.

The-Spirit-of-Theft, when he got behind a person's back, made him a robber. In olden times, when they lost provisions, they said that The-Theft-Spirit took them. He is a Raven.

The-Strength-Spirit tests those who are trying to acquire physical power.

According to one of my Masset stories,¹ the scene of which is laid near the Skeena River, sleep is produced by, or is under the control of, a bird with metallic feathers. A man returning unsuccessfully from hunting knocked this bird down, and when he reached the town found every one in a dead sleep, from which he could not arouse them.

In another story the echo appears personified, and the Raven story tells of a Fishing-Spirit. There is even a Greatest-Fool or Fool-Spirit.

The-Medicine-Spirit (X̄il sgā'nagwa-i) is a Raven. X̄il is the word for "leaf" and also for the juice of the elderberry. Sgaga'ngo, one of the town chiefs at Pebble-Town, "ate plants" for a long while, and, when he had finished, separated from his wife, and they slept apart for another long period. He had a wooden chamber-vessel close to his head, so that he could easily get at it; but one night he preferred to go to the outside latrine, — a board full of holes raised over the beach. While there he heard something underneath him, and, looking down sleepily, saw a good-looking woman catching his urine in a vessel. He hastened down to seize her, but she ran on ahead. From La'gin, a place up Skidegate Inlet under Blue Hawk Mountain, he pursued her down towards the sea, and caught her only after a long chase. Then she began telling him the different medicines. He asked her many things about them, and learned a great deal. He asked her where her home was, and she told him it was on a mountain called Cloud-Toucher. This is among the peaks on Graham Island, between Bear-Skin-Bay and the West Coast. After he let her go, she said she had not yet told the medicine which, when put into the grave-box, would bring the dead to life. He started to seize her again, but she escaped. If she had told him that, people might be brought to life again. Among other things, she told him to drink salt water next day at a little salt-water pond called Place-in-which-there-is-Sea-Water. So until lately the Pebble-Town-People of Tc!ā'ał drank salt water there.

The Canoe-People came especially to shamans. They were formerly men, as related in their story.² As their name implies, they always went about in a canoe.

¹ See Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 19.

² See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 12; Masset Series, Story 6.

A set of supernatural beings were connected with the secret society, and are spoken of nowhere else. Such were The-Gambling-Spirit, The-Dress-Spirit, The-Club-Spirits, Ū'lala.

Under the fire lives a woman called Supernatural-Being-under-the-Fire, who is reckoned as a Raven, and who reports to the other supernatural beings everything that is said near the fire. If one has said anything he does not want her to hear, however, some one instantly rubs his lips with charcoal. Then she knows he did not mean to mention it.

Connected with their religious ideas was the belief in "wild men." The smoke of these people was often reported as having been seen, but it was apparently impossible to get at them. Such notions took definite shape in stories about the sga'ngo, now used as a crest by the Sta'stas of Masset. I think that they got the idea from the West Coast people farther south. At any rate, though I have a story about the sga'ngo in my Masset series, a very much fuller account was given by a Kaisun man. This was taken in English, and is as follows:—

The Kaisun people used to go every night to a place afterwards named Where-they-move-Rocks-from-the-Ha'dja to hunt a bird called ha'dja with torches. A son of the town chief begged earnestly that he might accompany them, and, after having refused him a long time, they at last gave in. When he got there, he refused to return. At first he went to live at a place called House-on-the-Cliff, but later they saw his smoke on the island of Gūl. By that time he came to have wings like a bird. His house was called House-to-which-the-Tide-rises, "because he went thither by invitation." Again he came to live in a house made of branches, called Darkness-Within. This was on the same island. He killed birds with big spears, just as if they were large animals. The blood of the birds he left on his fingers, and, when his store of dried meat was consumed, he resorted to that. He soaked one finger at a time in water and drank the mixture; and when he had used up all but his little finger, it was spring again, and the birds came back. When he had caught a bird in a snare, he took pieces of it home separately, and bent under each as if it were a huge weight. Once, when crossing a log, he let out wind, as if he were carrying a very heavy burden, and next day there was not a bird on the island. The birds staid away so long this time, that he ate all of the blood off of his fingers. When he began to wonder at this, he at once remembered what had happened when he crossed the log. Going thither, he found a small black hole in the ground, which he cut out and threw into the sea; and that night all the birds came back. Since then no one going to the island has been allowed to break wind.

Next his smoke appeared opposite Łqwai. He lived close to the water there, so that his house was called Floating-House. Here he steamed birds by putting them on heated stones and pouring water over them. Going to where he kept the water, he found that he had none, and said to himself aloud, "Sga'ngo, go and get that water at Sai'ya-Creek's-Younger-Brother" [a stream on the West Coast]. From this they knew his name. In the door he had a piece of bark hanging; and when he went to get the water, he rushed against it without stopping to raise it. When he came back, he did it so expeditiously that the mat was still swinging, and people said that he flew. Thence he went to another place called Place-in-which-Feathers-fly-about, and again to Place-in-which-the-Ha'dja-are-singing. Again he lived at the very top of Powerful-Steep, where he called his house House-that-wishes-to-fall. Another house he called Singing-Fort. Finally he flew up to Tā'xet's house, where he stays and punishes those who are in the habit of starting disturbances by putting them into boiling water. He is a Raven.

After this, when a party went out from Kaisun to the island of Gūl, where Sga'ngo had been left, the last man to return to the canoe was abandoned there in memory of the previous event; but the island was near the village, and after a while they went over and brought him back.

FATE OF THE DEAD. — There are three words for "soul," or "spirit," in Haida. Two of these are applied to the soul in the living body, and one to the soul after its separation. The former, *ḡandj*¹ and *ḡā'landa-i*, are said to be two words for the same thing. The Haida denied that there are two souls. When any one dies, they say "the soul flies away" (*ḡā'landa-i xī'dañ*); and when a man was thought to be born again, they said that his *ḡandj* was born again, but they meant to include both. After death the disembodied soul was called *giet*, and the land that most of such souls inhabit was called the Land of Souls (*Giä'Lga-i* [*Giet Lga-i*]). *Gū'dañ*, the word for "mind," also means "throat." A ghost is called *q!ā'txana*. In a grisly-bear story the male bear goes hunting, and in his progress unwinds a thread of life, one end of which is fastened in his den. When this thread stopped unwinding, his wife knew that he had gone as far as he intended to, and was about to return. Desiring to kill him, she cut the thread. According to another story, every man has the same kind of thread.²

When a man was dead, he found himself on a trail, and, following it, came out upon the shores of a sort of bay. On the other side of this lay the Land of Souls. Then, standing upon the bank, he called across, and was presently answered by the appearance of a person carrying a red walking-stick, who pushed a kind of raft from the farther side. This raft looked as if it were composed of fine cedar-bark, such as is used in the rings of the secret society. It came of itself to the place where the man was standing, and ferried him over. Arrived in the Land of Souls, he immediately set out to find his wife; but there are so many towns in that country, that it took him a long time. I was told that each man had only one wife in the Land of Souls, who, in cases where he had had more than one on earth, was the first. They indicated the direction in which the Land of Souls lay by the same expression as that which is used for the mainland, "outward" or "seaward" (*q!ā'daxua*). The towns of the Land of Souls lay in numberless inlets, like Haida towns on earth; and it appears that some of the supernatural beings had their own towns there, since a shaman once visited the town of Supernatural-One-on-whom-it-thunders, according to a story already given. When a person expected to die, he named the town in the Land of Souls he wanted to go to, and messengers carried word to the chief of that place. Then the chief sent two messengers to the sick man, and, if he was to live, they would not touch him; if he was to die, they would take him with them. If the mother of the dead put a very little of various kinds of food into the fire, a great quantity of each sort went to her child in the Land of Souls. The same thing happened to any liquid poured out around the fire. Those

¹ *Xā'nadjī*, the name for "shadow," is different from this word.

² There are two or three names for this, one of which is *lis*, which is also applied to the fibres of mountain-goat wool.

to whom the living did not so minister suffered from thirst and hunger. If the family all began singing songs as soon as a man died, he entered the Land of Souls holding his head up proudly; if they did not, he went there with his head hanging down. The former gave him a "good name" in the Land of Souls. When tobacco and other things were put into the fire, and the one who offered them said, "This is for [So and so]," it reached him. One of my interpreters said he had seen a woman put a piece of tobacco into the fire, mention the name of her son, and pronounce the following words: "My child, may you have a good time [or 'good dance'] with your uncles!"

Dirty water which was thrown out around the fire went to slaves. When the soul arrived at his own town in the Land of Souls, a dance was held in his honor. One of my informants was once very sick, and heard his brother say, "Hurry up, now!" as if calling him to the dance. At one end of the town in the Land of Souls shamans said there was a pole sloping upward from the ground; and to this people went out and played upon it, and were very happy.¹ In the Land of Souls they knew what passed in this world, and, when living relatives were poor, the souls sent them property. Men still aver that they have received property in this way. A man at Kloo went around everywhere to get a white man's axe, but in vain. When he had returned home, he dreamed the same night that he heard his father's voice, saying, "Here are two axes for you; I lay them here." There was nothing there in the morning, but shortly he obtained two.

At a place beyond the Land of Souls, and just visible from there, was the dwelling of a chief called Great-Moving-Cloud. He owns the dog-salmon; and when a gambler died, and his soul went to the Land of Souls, he always came over to gamble with him. Souls were bid against dog-salmon, and, if the gambler won, there would be a great run of the latter fish; if he lost, there would be many deaths.

After remaining in the Land of Souls for some time, the dead man launched his canoe, put his property into it, and amid the wailings of all his friends, who had assembled on the beach, passed to a second land, called Xa'da. This was a second death. From Xa'da he passed to a third country, and then to a fourth. At the fifth death he became a blue-fly (di'dan) upon earth. When one of these blue-flies came against a man, he would say, "This is my friend, who thus shows that he recognizes me." Others, however, thought that the last four deaths took place after as many rebirths into the world of men.

Not all of the dead went to the Land of Souls. Those who were drowned went to live with the killer-whales. According to one man, they went to the house of The-One-in-the-Sea first, where they had their fins fitted on, after

¹ A slanting post frequently appears as a play-ground in the stories, but I have no clew to the origin of the notion.

which they went round into the houses of the other killers. When killer-whales appeared in front of a town, it was thought that they were human beings who had been drowned and took this way to inform the people. These persons thus became supernatural beings; and it appears that several of the great ones, like *ʔadjō'n*,¹ had once been men. According to a story above related, it seems that people might go to live with the Creek-Women.

Those who died a violent death went to Tā'xet's house, whence return for rebirth was difficult. It might be accomplished, however, as the following story shows:—

While working out a canoe at Masset, a man named Saqdō'dji was killed; but when he arrived at Tā'xet's house, he looked back and saw his friends weeping. That determined him to jump down, but at first he was afraid of "killing himself" against the sharp treetops. Finally his friends bothered him so much by weeping, that he did not have a good time, and he threw himself down. He seemed to strike something hard. Then he heard some one say, "Wash him, wash him!" and, opening his eyes, he found himself under a stump partly burned out, where his new mother had gone to bring forth. He knew himself, but could not speak. When seven or eight years old, he went to the place where he had formerly been making his canoe, and found his tools just where he remembered to have hidden them. When he grew older, he told the people all about Tā'xet.

The inhabitants of this house seem to have conducted themselves about as they did in the Land of Souls; yet in common with all sky habitations, it does not appear to have been thought a very delightful place.

Just before a certain man died, he said he was angry with Tā'xet, and intended, when he got to his abode, to throw coals around his house and down upon the earth. When he reached it, however, Tā'xet's daughter looked out from the door; and he forgot all about his determination, in his pleasure at the sight. Others who promised the same thing did throw coals down, so that the people knew that they had really gone there.²

One who had died of hunger went to Greatest-Stingy-One's house. The latter never fed those who came to him; and when they were hungry, they seized something hanging in the house which seemed to be a halibut, only to find that it was nothing but a white stone.

When one died from a fall, he went to an aerial mansion already spoken of, called House-hanging-from-the-Shining-Heavens. A man of the Pebble-Town-People (R 9) was once cutting off the top of a tree, when he fell, and died before he reached the ground. They took him up to House-hanging-from-the-Shining-Heavens, and he saw its owner, Great-Shining-Heavens [this is not the same as Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens]. He had little people hanging head-first from his eyelashes. The dead man used to compose songs; and when he got to this place, The-Singers rushed in and began to dance. Then they took him between them and went out. Meanwhile his child, who had

¹ See p. 22.

² The Tlingit have the same belief (see Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 322).

accompanied him to the woods, ran home and told the people that he was dead. They carried his body home and laid it down; but, as soon as The-Singers brought him into his own house again, he revived. It was just like awakening from sleep. Then he told the people what a bad place the house he had been to was.

Shamans went to the Shamans' country. According to one story, there is a Shamans' Island, having houses down its sides deep into the sea; and the most powerful shamans live in the lowest one.

If a man had been drowned, his relatives sent food to him through a fire lighted on the shore of the sea, otherwise through the house-fire. If one had died by violence, before the food was put into the fire, they dipped the heads of two arrows into the food, and shot them up through the smoke-hole; i. e., towards Tā'xet's house.

The beliefs regarding Tā'xet were apparently identical at Masset and Skidegate, and seem to have been introduced from the Tlingit country. At Masset, however, the other regions of the dead were quite different. Those who died a natural death either became wandering spirits "behind the town," or went into a single canoe called the Canoe-of-Souls. These latter were governed by a single supernatural being, but the scattered shades behind the houses did not have any chief. Among the men themselves there are said to have been no distinctions of rank after death. Shamans went to live on the sides of a certain mountain, — the more powerful near the top, the lesser proportionally lower down.

The following story is told about ghosts: —

One night, when all of the people of a certain town in the Ninstints country were out hunting, the corpses came out of their grave-boxes, went into the chief's house, and began dancing. While they were in the midst of this, one of them stepped upon a salmon-skin, and it stuck to his foot. When he picked it off, it stuck to his hand. Others pulled it from him, and it stuck to them. Now, while they were busy trying to get rid of it, morning began to dawn, and suddenly the raven cried. At once all of the corpses fell; and when the hunters reached home, they found the chief's house full of bones.

To signify the narrow margin between life and death, and what a slight cause is required to bring about a change from one to the other, it was a saying at Masset that "the world is as sharp as a knife," meaning, if a man does not take care, he will fall off (i. e., end his life quickly). A father once told his son this, saying that if he did not take care he would fall off of the earth; whereupon the latter exclaimed that the earth was broad, and that it was nonsense to say that there was danger of falling off. As he said this, he kicked upon the ground, ran a splinter into his foot, and died. By that the people knew that the saying was true. Professor Boas¹ collected this same story from the Tlingit, with whom it probably originated.

¹ Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 319.

III. — SHAMANISM AND WITCHCRAFT.

There was no priesthood among the Haida distinct from the shamans, except that town chiefs exercised the power of making those supernatural beings presiding over the secret society "come through" novices.

An idea of the form that shamanism took may be better obtained from shamans' stories than from any description. Nevertheless I will briefly summarize the more important points.

A shaman was one who had power from some supernatural being (*sgā'na*) who "possessed" him, or who chose him as the medium through which to make his existence felt in the world of men. When the spirit was present, the shaman's own identity was practically abolished. For the time he was the supernatural being himself. So the shaman must dress as the spirit directed him, and, when the spirit was present, spoke in the latter's own language. Thus, if the supernatural being were from the Tlingit country, as was often the case, the shaman spoke Tlingit, although in his uninspired moments he might be totally ignorant of the language. After he had become the mouth-piece of a spirit, a shaman ceased to be called by his own name, and was known by that of the spirit only. Thus a shaman belonging to the Rose-Spit-People, who is buried on Image Point, near Skidegate, was called *Li'nagit la*, Tlingit words said to mean "mother of the people" (*Xā'idas ḡan nañ ā'wagas*). If a shaman changed his spirit, he changed his name.

The calling of a shaman was generally hereditary in his family, the order being usually from maternal uncle to nephew. Before he died he revealed his spirits to his successor, who might start with a comparatively feeble spirit and acquire stronger and stronger ones. The principal classes of supernatural beings who spoke through shamans were the Canoe-People, the Ocean-People, the Forest-People, and the Above-People. Spirits would come down from the Tlingit country and look around a village to find "one who was clean," through whom they would act. To become "clean," a man had to abstain from food a long time. A Tlingit spirit once came down, and, looking through the smoke-hole of a house, found a youth lying almost dead; but he was so "clean," that he looked transparent, "like glass." So the spirit entered him. When the Above-People spoke through a man, the man used the Tlingit language; when his spirit was the Moon, he spoke Tsimshian; when he was inspired by *Wi'gît*, he spoke Bella Bella. It is said that shamans were never inspired by Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens. Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders did not always deal fairly by those he spoke through. Sometimes he persuaded the shaman that he was receiving his power from some other source. Thus *Tciḡí'*, a noted

shaman of recent times belonging to the Slaves of Ninstints (R 1 a), once believed he got his power from the Sun, and again he thought it came from the Moon, but they found it only came from Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders. When this fact was discovered, a shaman's reputation was destroyed.

In addition to the shamans' stories taken down in Haida, abstracts of which will be found in Chapter XII, I obtained one or two of the same character in English, which I subjoin. The last two show how Christian ideas affected established religious notions.

A man and his wife, a woman of the Slaves above referred to, went into the woods to gather hemlock-sap. When they reached home (they were in camp at the time), the woman said something that displeased her husband, and he struck her. Then he saw lightning flash in the house, "like moonlight." He struck her again, and the flash was so great that the house almost began to burn. The woman then fell down, and lay there all night. When her husband went to see her in the morning, she lay as though she were dead, but her heart was still beating. Her husband then put her into the canoe and took her back to Ninstints, where he placed her in a mat and carried her to the upper end of the house. After she had lain there awhile, she began to call out like a shaman. She said her power was from the Moon. At the same time she transmitted it to a man of her own family, named Amaḥā'ait, and lay near by while he performed. They tied the man's hair up on the back of his head with a piece of red "flannel;" and when he ran around the fire, he told the other men to take hold of this cord and try to pull him down. But, although he was a small man, he generally pulled them right after him. When the people went to the West Coast for black cod, these two accompanied them; and every time they went out fishing, they took a clean mat out doors and made this woman sit upon it. Then as long as they staid out, and she commanded the weather to remain calm, it did so. If a breeze started, she told it to stop, and it obeyed. When they came ashore, and she went in, the wind at once sprang up. Each of the fishermen usually brought two or three black cod in to her, so that she obtained a heap after each fishing. She prophesied that they would find back of Ninstints a long stick with a split in it. This she told them to put in front of the houses, and said that when it rolled down, the town would be gone. By and by some one "went with her," whereupon the spirit left her and never returned. Her name was Chief's-Child.¹

Once a man who was not a shaman got power from "somewhere above." He always observed the seventh day. Upon one occasion they wanted fine weather to dry fish-eggs, and on one of his observed days he dressed himself in his best clothes and asked his spirit for it. Then he saw a golden wagon come down from above on something like a ladder. The man in the wagon was his spirit. While the latter was down, Great-Moving-Cloud came over to gamble with the soul of a gambler who had just died; whereupon this other spirit, whose name was Wu'djixaia, would have nothing to do with him, and put a bandage over his nostrils so that he could not even smell him. The man's name was The-Living-One.

In recent times one man got a power from above and told his friends to build a house for him. No one but himself was allowed to enter it. When the power above told him to go to sleep, his heart ceased to beat, and he became like a dead person. He acted as if going through the church service, and the people say he told them nearly all that is said in the church service now. He also prophesied that frame houses like the white men's houses would be used in course of time. He said, that, if any one pointed his fingers at him, he would die. A long time afterward his wife pointed her finger at him, and thus killed him. He is the Ga'ndôx xā'tga, of whom I have a longer account elsewhere.² He was also called Standing-Thunder-Bird.

¹ Informant, Chief Nañstins.

² See Chapter XII.

The dress of a shaman, as I have said, differed somewhat in accordance with the kind of spirit speaking through him. Usually he wore a dancing-blanket (in Haida, *Nā'xin*; i. e., a "Chilkat blanket"), carried an oval rattle (see Plate xxv), and had a number of bone "head-scratchers" hung around his neck. His hair was allowed to grow long, and was never combed or cleaned. Sometimes he wore a bone stuck through it; at others he wore a cap slanting upon either side to a ridge at the top; sometimes he wore a circular fillet. He always wore a long bone through the septum of his nose. Sometimes, when he got his power from one of the Ocean-People, the shaman put two flicker-feathers into his head-dress. He carried a short piece of board upon which he beat time with a short baton, and had a carved hollow bone through which he carried on his spiritual combats and blew away disease. The latter was also the method of treatment of Tlingit shamans. Generally he had an assistant to beat a large wooden drum for him, which was hung up for the purpose in the sick man's house. Figs. 1 and 2 are from models of shamans in the collection of the Museum; and Fig. 3 represents the head of a shaman's baton, with two shamans carved upon it.

The cause of disease was uniformly some supernatural object, or some natural object supernaturally placed in the disordered part. Pursuant to the adage that it is a poor rule that does not work both ways, we find that diseases in the supernatural beings may be caused by natural objects invisible to them. These are plainly seen by shamans from among men. Every war-party must be accompanied by a shaman, whose duty it was to find a propitious time for making an attack, etc., but especially to war with and kill the souls of the enemy. Then the death of their natural bodies was certain. As among the Tlingit, shamans of the northern Haida used to cut off the corners of land-otters' tongues and catch the blood on bundles of twigs, but I did not hear of this custom at Skidegate.

Some people "almost became shamans." They went through some remarkable mental experience which almost resulted in possession. A man who had passed through one of these experiences said that during it he "felt good, better than he had ever felt in his life before," and he saw a number of shamans standing in the sea around a big crab which they were trying to throw upon him. If they had succeeded, he would have become a shaman, and he was much afraid they would succeed.

Whether a man were a shaman or not, he could increase his physical power, or obtain property, success in hunting, fishing, war, etc., by rigid abstinence from food and drink, by remaining away from his wife, bathing in the sea, taking sweat-baths, etc. He would drink warmed salt water often, and take fresh water afterwards, when all the contents of his stomach were ejected, leaving him so much the "cleaner." "Keeping run of the days" was another important point; i. e., waiting for a definite number of days between

the observance of the regulations. Sometimes these fasts were followed by experiences of a supernatural character, sometimes not.

As already stated,¹ a witch was called by the same name (st!ao) as the screech-owl, but I did not learn that the resemblance was anything more than



Fig. 1 ($\frac{1}{32}$). Wood-Carving representing a Shaman.



Fig. 2 ($\frac{1}{32}$). Wood-Carving representing a Dancing Shaman.



Fig. 3 ($\frac{1}{32}$). Top End of a Shaman's Baton.

accidental. Any one might become a wizard if he possessed himself of the proper formulæ. It was not a power exercised only by the shamans. One became a wizard because there were mice inside of him. Of these there might be as many as ten, and when they were expelled, — as they might be by some friend, — the last to come out was a white one. These wizards operated in the usual way, by obtaining possession of some article of clothing or some fragment of the victim's own person. For instance, if a wizard secured the spittle from any one, he could give him sore throat.² When a man was

¹ See p. 27.

² Although not directly connected with the subject, I might mention here a curious belief at Masset. This was that human hair severed from the body would change into worms.

believed to have been bewitched, and was very ill, as a last resort the shaman took a live mouse, and repeated the names of all in the town before it, even to the children. When he mentioned the right name, the mouse would let him know by some movement of its head. This was told me at Skidegate.

One who foretold events, such as the drifting ashore of a whale, was called a'nia. How thoroughly the Haida believed in portents is shown by the story of Djila'qons,¹ and a similar tale is related of the Ninstints town of Xō'tdjixoa's.

One time, for several evenings in succession, the boys in that village went out and shouted, as people do when a canoe is approaching, although there was none in sight, and they could not be stopped. One evening, however, a long canoe did come around the point opposite the village; but before it was all in view, night fell. This canoe was from the Land of Souls. One girl, who was behind the screen, and a boy (her father's nephew) who had gone up to the woods, did not see this.

In the evening the Canoe-People built a large fire, and all but the same two went out to look at it. People were dancing around the fire. After that, when all were out fishing, they saw an immense bear walking on Hot-Spring Island. They also saw a man walking along a steep place on the south side of Ramsey Island, head down. Shortly afterwards a large white stone which had been on the mainland was found upon Ramsey Island, and no one could tell how it got there. Then the people began to die off. Even those belonging to this town who were living at Skedans and elsewhere died; but from the boy and girl above mentioned a new town sprang up, of which he became chief.

The following notes about shamans were collected by Professor Boas from one of the Masset Haida: —

When a person is sick, they send to the shaman, asking him to heal him. When he arrives, the people beat time. At the time when they ask him to come, they give him presents in order to secure his good-will. Elk-skins and slaves are often given in this manner. Then the shaman takes his rattle and his bone tube, through which he blows on the affected part of the body. Early in the morning he and all the patient's relatives drink salt water as an emetic, and they fast for four days. During all this time the shaman swings his rattle and dances. He goes around the fire, the left hand towards the middle of the house, trying to find his power, one of the Above-People. Finally he says that the guardian spirit informed him that the patient would be well at such and such a time. He informs the people if the patient has been bewitched. He tells them the name of the evil-doer and orders them to kill him. Very often fights result from such causes. Sometimes they try to drown him; but, if the sorcerer who has bewitched the patient is very powerful (stlawā', "to bewitch"), they are not able to do so, and they tie his hands on his back, fastening the hair to the hands in the same manner as the Tlingit do, and expose him at low water on the beach. If the man who is accused of sorcery confesses to have taken some of the saliva or perspiration of the patient, and to have bewitched him, they compel him to return it. Then the patient recovers.

Sometimes the shaman goes to recover a lost soul (gā'tanda-i). After having fasted for four days, he sets out to find it. A watchman stands not far away from him. Then he walks about in the woods, looking for the soul. Finally he finds it, and he carries it between his folded hands. The patient is covered with a mat; and while people are beating time and singing, the shaman shouts, "Hwu, hwu, hwu, hwu!" He moves his hands four times towards the chest of the patient, and then he puts the soul in. Then he takes a drink of water. About midnight the patient is allowed his first meal again. First he eats the tail of a salmon; later on, the chest of a salmon.

¹ See Chapter VIII, Descendants from Property-making-a-Noise.

Then he passes around in the same direction as he moved around the room. The shaman does not wear a mask.

Certain persons are supposed to possess the evil eye. Whatever they may wish while looking at a person comes true.

From the mention of Above-People I suspect that this is a story of some particular occasion, for that was only one of the sources whence shamans derived their power. I did not learn about the exposure of witches at low tide: it may be a custom of the Tlingit and northern Haida more particularly.

IV. — MEDICINE.

Besides calling in the services of a shaman in cases of sickness, internal remedies were used; but it appears from the following prescription that actual experience of the virtues of the constituents had a comparatively small share in their composition.

On arising in the morning, one must go out without eating anything and collect the following articles: —

1. Four roots from each of two distinct species of fern. Each root must be taken from a different plant, and all four of one kind must be collected before the next is proceeded to.
2. A little hemlock-bark from four different trees. Those must be found which have slight concavities on their surfaces towards the east, and the bark must be taken out of these concavities.
3. Bark from four alders, secured in the same way, except that the trees must be found growing upon four different points or capes along shore.
4. The bark from four wild-crabapple trees, secured in the same manner as the hemlock-bark.
5. Four mussels, shell and all, taken from four different places along the shore.
6. Barnacles taken from the east side of four different stones.

All of these must be placed upon the surface of a flat rock and mashed up together by means of another stone. Then the following must be added: —

7. Salt water from the crests of four waves caught in the hollow of the hand on the beach.
8. A handful of water from each of four different rills which ooze down under the trees along the edge of the beach.
9. A handful of stagnant water taken from the east side of each of four different pools in the forest.
10. Four young spruce-trees about six or eight inches in height, found growing upon as many old dead trees.

Finally four hard round stones must be taken from as many different points along the shore.

The collector must take all of these things home, and, if he meets any one on the way, he must not speak to him. On reaching the house, he must pass around it, keeping it on the left, until he comes to the front door. Instead of entering here, he must pass on in the same direction to the back door, and enter there. If there is no back door, he must pass around to the front door again.

Arrived indoors, he first puts his four stones into the fire. If any of these bursts, it is thought that the person will die, though it is known that this does not always happen. White stones are said to be the best to choose, because they do not break easily. Next the pot containing the remaining articles collected is placed upon the fire, and the contents warmed enough to drink. There is sufficient water at first, but later about a quart of fresh and salt water in equal proportions may be added. The sick person drinks as much as possible every morning before eating anything, and continues doing so for four days. Then he stops; but if it agrees with him, a new mixture may be made.

Not only were medicines employed in cases of real sickness as we understand it, but their use was far more extended. Thus there was medicine for carving, medicine for dancing, medicine for acquiring property (such as xat, a rare plant, and devil's-club). The others are said to have been mixtures. These could be used by anybody who knew the prescriptions; but there were medicines which were the special property of certain families, and, even if any

one else had known how to make them, it would not have been safe to do so. The result might have been war. As already stated, Sgaga'ñgo obtained the secret of certain medicines from the Medicine spirit. These afterwards belonged to the family of which he was chief, the Pebble-Town-People. They included, among others, a medicine to make a person a chief, a love-philter, a medicine which prevented one from forgetting anything, and a medicine which enabled one to learn things more quickly. They were handed down from generation to generation. Professor Boas was told that "the Haida caught frogs, opened them, took out the intestines, and mashed the flesh. They formed them into balls, which were boiled and eaten. This was done by chiefs who intended to obtain great wealth. Sea-otter hunters did so also to sick persons who desired to recover. The bears eat frogs in order to have good luck in hunting." This last statement may refer to the black bear. The grisly bear is said to be afraid of frogs, and to rear up on its hind-legs in terror when it encounters one.

From another source I learned the following particulars about a "woman's-medicine." When one was in love with a woman, he would fast, collect this medicine, and sometimes act in a peculiar way. The medicine was rubbed upon the palms, and then put upon the person or clothing of the woman. One set of observances was as follows: —

After he has fasted the time determined upon, — from two to five days, — the person rises early in the morning and goes to the nearest salmon-creek on the right side of the village. There he removes his clothing and seeks for spruce-cones. Two old ones must be found lying near each other and half stuck into the ground. Taking hold of one of these with each hand at the same time, he mentions first his own name, and then the woman's, saying whether he is only in love with her or wants to marry her. These things are repeated four times, louder each time. Then he goes down into the creek and stands, facing upstream, in a deep place until the water is on a level with his heart.¹ Then, putting both cones into the water as far upstream as he can reach, he lets them float down against him, one going around one side, and one around the other; and as they drift past, he turns around and seizes them, one in each hand, repeating at the same time aloud what he wants. The same thing is gone over three times more. The last time he takes the cones into the woods, and, finding a dry place, makes a pillow, on which he lays one end of each. Then he gets leaves of the salal-berry bushes and puts them on top, mentioning what he wants four times more. After that he goes home, breaks his fast, and waits in the house until the woman sends for him.

Related to the subject of medicine is the use of a charm made of sheet-

¹ According to Haida belief, the heart is between the ribs, just over the diaphragm.

copper, which is reproduced in Fig. 4. In a letter to Dr. C. F. Newcombe it is described as follows: "[It is] called by the Haida Indians 'Hhill Ill-jow,' or sometimes 'Ill-jow Hhill,' hhill meaning 'medicine' or 'charm,' and ill-jow



Fig. 4 (88870). Copper Figure.

signifying 'riches' or 'prosperity.' The literal meaning of the name is therefore 'medicine or charm for riches.' The specimen I sent you was given me by an old woman long since dead. She would not tell me where she had originally obtained it, but said she had had it in her possession for a long time. I tried to discover who had made it, but all trace of its maker seemed to be utterly lost in antiquity. There was another reason, as I have just recently discovered, which interfered with my getting any trace of its history. To work properly, this charm, like Kipling's 'Bisara of Pooree,' must be brought into possession by theft, and I have no doubt the woman who gave it to me had so obtained it. The charm, once obtained, must be kept with the utmost secrecy. To win its beneficial influence it must be stuffed full between the front and back plates with small clippings and bits surreptitiously taken from articles of value, blankets, clothing, etc., belonging to others, such classes of articles as may be most desired. The image, thus glutted, is hidden away in the box containing the blankets and clothing of the owner. Some old people have told me that the image was afterward taken out of the box occasionally, when it was petitioned, as a person, to send the riches desired. Others of the people have denied this last idolatrous act, though I am inclined to believe perhaps they were influenced by a sense of shame to deny this to me, or perhaps were ignorant of the rite, as most of the people here I find totally ignorant of the whole thing. However this may be, the image was supposed when properly treated to exercise a benign influence causing wealth in the form of blankets, coppers, etc., to accumulate as the years went by."

There seems to have been another set of medicines which consisted of simple extracts from plants and shrubs, founded on experience, and of some actual medicinal value. These, however, were not valued nearly as highly as the symbolic compounds. Since the word *x̄il* may mean "medicine" or "leaf" indifferently, it would seem that leaves formed the principal constituent of the older remedies.

V. — CUSTOMS, TABOOS, ETC.

BIRTH. — The following information was obtained at Skidegate.

There were many things which a pregnant woman was not permitted to look at, and many things which she must not eat. Among the latter were the cormorant and the abelone. If she ate the former, the child would defecate all of the time; if the latter, it would have its neck turned around. She must not chew gum. If she looked at a bull-head, the child would be as ugly as one. If, on the other hand, she mashed upon her abdomen some of the small white flies found on the beaches, and rubbed them around, the child would be good-looking. No one in the house where there was a pregnant woman might look out of doors. He must go out and look. If he happened to forget, he must go outside, turn once to the left, and then go in again. When a pregnant woman was lying down, one must not pass between her and the fire. Infringement of either of these latter regulations would give the woman a hard time in bringing forth. No boy was allowed to play with bow and arrows in the house where she was, for he might put out the child's eyes. When she slept, she must not turn over while lying down, but get up and then lie down on the other side. This was a regulation for the early stages of her pregnancy, to prevent the embryo from splitting in two. The woman had to chew or drink some medicine. Sometimes a person would bring various ingredients together "by thinking of them strongly one after the other," and, having given them time to "come through" him, spit upon the top of the woman's head. Any one who knew the medicine could do this. Many other things were done so that the child might be brought forth easily. Thus the woman would take early morning walks; she would rise early, pick up four round stones, and drop them one by one over her abdomen, inside of her clothing; or she would swallow the heads of devil-fishes or of foetuses of hair-seals. After the child was born, she had to sit still for ten days with a broad belt of cedar-bark around her, and then bathe. This concluded the taboo period. After the birth of the child, the navel-string must be buried deep in the forest, where no dog or other animal could dig it out.

During his wife's pregnancy, a man must not talk triflingly to other women he was in love with, otherwise his wife would die.

At Masset the following observances obtained: Before giving birth, a woman took some special kind of medicine. According to the stories, she also swallowed hot water just before birth took place. Sometimes she put eels around her abdomen and let them fall down to the ground between her skin and her garments. Early in the morning, before the raven called, she

would get up, pick up chips or other small objects, and drop them over her abdomen in the same way. These things were done to enable a woman to give birth more easily. If any one in the house where there was a pregnant woman looked out of doors, he or she must go outside before looking back again. This would enable her to give birth more easily. She did not like to see a dead animal, because the child was likely to resemble anything she saw. If she happened to see one, she had to step over it four times before passing on. If she looked at a dead creature, the child was likely to be still-born. Marks made on a certain woman's arm are said to have been transferred to her child.

PUBERTY. — Among the people of the West Coast, at the time of puberty, the girl was kept indoors behind screens for about twenty days. If she sat near the fire, her face would become red, and stay so. She fasted for six days from the commencement of this period. During the whole twenty days she was allowed only a few drops of water a day. The abstinence made her healthy, and no accident would befall her. She had a stone for a pillow, and nothing soft to lie upon. When she went out, she always used a temporary door, made by removing a plank in the rear of the house. She must not talk or laugh during all that time. If she did, she would become either talkative or too much inclined to laugh. Bashfulness (or what went by that name) and silence were highly prized by the Haida. Whenever she went out of the house, the gambling-sticks, medicine, etc., had to be taken out and kept out until she came back. Otherwise they would be unlucky. It was generally found more convenient to keep them elsewhere all of the time. If there were a good hunter in the house, he must go out at the same time. Otherwise he would be unlucky. After the twenty days were over, the girl took a bath, and none of the water was allowed to be spilled. It was taken back into the woods. If this were not done, she would not live long. Whatever she did at that time would remain with her always. Until four years had passed she must eat no food except black cod. The-One-in-the-Sea, who owns the black cod, was said to feed her during this time. They thought that the other fish would become scarce if she ate them. A ring was made of something they called q!as. Through this the girl was passed four times, after which some one had to carry it into the woods to a dry place.

At Kloo, at puberty, a girl was not allowed to look at anybody, nor could she go where the grease-boxes lay. Four small hemlock-trees were broken off and hung above the place where she sat, with property, abalone-shells, etc., hanging upon them. If the people had more property to spare, they hung it around her. Then, when she grew older, she would be rich. She had gravel in a sack to lie upon, and a long, flat stone for a pillow. This was to toughen her so that she could endure hardships and would have a long life. At the end of five days of fasting, sometimes ten, her mother

led her off into the woods and took a chamber-vessel along. While doing so, she was careful that the girl did not look on the sea.¹ Then she was washed with the water that had been put into this vessel. Afterwards this water was kept, and, four tough crab-apple-trees having been found, a quarter of it was thrown on each. At the end of every five days, for a period of forty days, this was done. A large rock was taken along for her to wash upon. All this was to make her live long. When the forty days were over, she could turn around towards the fire, which she had not been allowed to look at before. All that time she drank water only once a day; and for twelve months she had but one meal a day, which was towards evening. At the end of that time she ate a halibut-tail, and each day ate a cut a little farther forward, until she reached the head. She was not allowed to eat salmon for five years. If she did not obey these regulations, the fish would become scarce. For about a year the girl was not permitted to walk upon the beach below high-water mark, because then the tide would come in, — covering part of the food-supply, — and there would be bad weather. When her family went to a salmon-creek, she got off from the canoe at the mouth of the creek, and came to the smoke-house from behind; for, if she saw a salmon jump, they might all leave the creek.

The girl's eyes had supernatural power. In Tasu Harbor a girl once stopped a dog which was rolling down a hill by looking at it. If she looked at an animal going about in any place, no animal would go there afterwards. If any one having a pain or sickness continually in one place went behind the screen in the rear of the house, and let the girl scratch the place, it would be cured.

When five years had passed, the girl came out, and could do as she pleased. The difference between the regulations observed by the child of the rich and those undergone by the child of the poor seem to have been mainly in the amount of property placed above them.

Among the Masset, the girl remained behind the screen during this period, but there was no separate fire for her. She was not allowed to eat fresh fish; else, when she grew up, she might have consumption. Fresh red cod and steel-heads, however, were excepted. She might eat any kind of dried fish. She must not eat seaweed, or later in life she would be troubled with diarrhoea. She must not eat clams, mussels, sea-eggs, etc., for the same reason. The period during which she must abstain was two years. She must not look at the sky or go down on the beach to defecate, like others, or it would become bad weather. They did not like to have her look at the sea for fear the movements of the water would cause her face to shake in after life, and make her eyes weak from winking too much. If she looked at salmon just hung up to dry, her eyes would become inflamed and red when

¹ It might be noted, in this connection, that when a person crossed to the mainland for the first time, his (or her) face was covered so that he could not see out.

she grew up. She must not step over a salmon-creek, or the Daughter-of-the-River¹ would leave, and take the salmon with her. Every time she passed through a monthly period, the implements of the hunters and the fishers, and the gambling-sticks, must be taken out when she went out of doors; otherwise they would become unlucky. She had no special door of her own. Professor Boas was told by Charlie Edensaw that among the Sta'tas the maturing girl had to wear a large hat covered with green paint, which protected her face from the sun and fire.

MARRIAGE. — In Skidegate, marriages were often arranged as soon as a child was born. If a woman wanted a certain boy to marry her daughter, she might give his mother a number of blankets while he was still quite young. This was called "putting a string on." The same expression is used when they speak of anchoring a canoe. Then he could not marry anybody else, unless the blankets were paid back, which the boy himself was seldom able to do, since in olden times young men had no property. When he came to grow up, the boy ceased to stay with his mother. There he was thought to have too easy a time, and became an object of contempt. He was generally sent to live with the uncle to whose place he was to succeed. There he was put through a rather severe discipline, being kept at work out in the cold, etc. He became engaged between fifteen and eighteen. From this time he went to live with the girl's family, if not already there, and worked for them until his marriage.

A young, unmarried woman was not allowed to do much work, and lay in bed a great deal of the time. This was so that she might marry a chief, and always have little work to do.

If a man's future wife were considerably younger than her intended husband, or their marriage were delayed for any other reason, the man might contract an irregular marriage. There were no formalities connected with this. The young people were found together in the morning; and after that, until his proper wife was ready for him, they lived together. If the man belonged to a high family, such a marriage was encouraged by the family of the girl, because they were glad to have children in the family from such an origin. If a man refused to give over a love-match of this kind and complete the "state marriage" arranged for him, trouble, and sometimes bloodshed, followed. Bloodshed often resulted also from a love-match between a man and a woman already engaged to another.

A chief might have had as many wives as he chose, and, according to the stories, the number sometimes reached ten; but polygamy does not seem to have been very common.

When the time came for the regular wedding to take place, the youth, his mother, his sister, uncles, and mother's sisters — sometimes a great body

¹ See p. 23.

of them all together — went to the house of the girl's parents and sat down in the back part of the house, facing the fire. Then the friends (i. e., the clan) of the girl, who had already been informed of the intended visit, and were assembled in the same house, pounded up tobacco and distributed it among their guests, — in olden times for chewing, in later times for smoking. When they were through, the oldest man among the groom's friends rose and made a speech consisting of "high words," abounding in metaphor, and full of allusions to the stories. In it he extolled the family of the girl, and deprecated the standing of his own family. Four or five of the people spoke in this way, directing their remarks mainly to the girl's father, but sometimes also to her mother. The father replied to them, saying that his family was low and his daughter unable to do anything, but he knew that her future mother-in-law would take care of her, he was glad that his daughter was going to live with the young man's sisters, etc. Then he called his daughter, who had hitherto been out of sight, and said to her, "Sit down with your husband," whereupon she sat down by one of the youth's uncles or by his mother, or, if not too bashful, by him. The girl's mother then gave the boy's mother and sisters some property.¹ Sometimes the mother furnished the property; oftener she did not. Then the youth's family took the bride home; but first she must go to the house of her mother-in-law and get something to eat. This was called q!a'ora ta'da. Her mother-in-law then put a new blanket upon her. This ceremony was called "new blanket." Next day the bride carried a tray of food furnished by her mother-in-law over to her father and uncles. In exchange they gave her husband four or many times as much property of all kinds. The bride left the dish in her mother's house, and her uncle's wife brought it back full of property. As long as they remained married, the girl's uncles had to help her husband, and do almost anything he wanted them to.

If a man were unfaithful after marriage, his mother-in-law exacted a large amount of property from him; if the wife were unfaithful, the husband generally took personal revenge. A man was "bashful" before his father-in-law and mother-in-law, and *vice versa*; i. e., he never addressed them directly if he could avoid it.

In Masset an engagement was often contracted while children were very young by a present of blankets from the parents of the boy to the parents of the girl they wanted their son to marry, — the reverse of the custom in the southern towns. If the marriage did not take place, the blankets were not given back. When the time came for a man to marry, his female friends went to the girl's parents and near relatives, and told them at what time they wanted the marriage to take place. When the time was up, the man's male and female friends went with him to the girl's house. When her family could

¹ According to the stories, a man received presents of food when his sister was married.

afford it, the girl's mother gave away property to the women of the clan her son-in-law belonged to. It was also customary for a man to give a slave or some other present to his future father-in-law.

BURIAL. — At Skidegate, after a man died, his body was set up on a box in the rear of the house, his face painted, and a dancing-hat placed upon his head. Then his friends came in and passed by, and, if he were a chief, they sang a crying-song, the men in this case joining with the women. Before singing for the dead, the song-leader went off in his canoe, gathered medicine, and procured a new song from The-Singers. After his return, the friends of the deceased called together all of the same clan, and they danced in one house. When it was over, all of the dancers received tobacco. Those of the opposite clan then came in and smoked, after which each of his friends cut off a corner of his piece of tobacco and put it into the fire, when it went to the Land of Souls. A "crying-fire" was built as follows: Ordinarily one end of each fire-stick was laid upon a row of stones so that they sloped towards the door, but now the stones were moved over so that the sticks sloped inward. After the body had "sat up" from four to six days, they put it into the grave-box. If he were a chief, they wrapped his body in a dancing-blanket. His near relatives and friends cut their hair close to the head and put pitch on their faces. When a great chief died, the whole town sometimes did this. These signs of mourning were called xa'ndawa, which is the modern phrase "as well." The body, enclosed in the grave-box, was then carried out through a hole (made for the purpose) in one side of the house to the grave-house. There it remained, at least until a council had been called, the successor determined upon, and a potlatch made to raise the grave-post, after which it was removed, and placed in the latter. If a simple memorial column were raised, the body remained in the grave-house. The latter, however, was itself sometimes put up at this time. Occasionally it approached in size the habitations of the living, and had a small house-pole in front of it. Afterwards, in either case, the grave-boxes containing his friends were usually added. No persons of different clans could lie together.

For about ten days his wife fasted, sometimes abstaining from food absolutely. She treated herself like a slave, and used a stone for a pillow when she slept. Every day for ten days she took a bath and put the water away in a safe place. During the same time she did not wash her face, but only her fingers, before eating. When she first broke her fast, she called in several children of the opposite clan to eat with her. This feast was called "causing one's self to marry." The object of it was that she might marry some one next time who had still more property, and that she herself and her new husband might have long lives and be lucky. Another informant added, that the widow went through regulations much like those of a girl at puberty.

A shaman was stronger after death than any one else. His body was "set up," like those of other people, for four days, and during that time they made a little house for it on some point of land apart from any one else. His father's sister made a strong mat for him, with strong cords at the corners. To weave this would make her live longer. If the shaman had a nephew, the latter ran around on the top of the house, shaking a rattle, and calling on the shaman's supernatural power. Then the "power" was apt to come through him for a short time. He became temporarily a shaman. Sometimes he remained one; and at any rate, the supernatural power was more apt to come through a nephew of the dead shaman than through any one else. Then the dead man's friends pulled his body, seated on the mat, through the smoke-hole, by the use of the cords above referred to. Some say, that, if this were not done, the shaman's "power" would not come through any other members of the family. It must also be remembered that a shaman's supernatural power always spoke to him through the smoke-hole. They let his body down over the side of the house, and took it to a canoe. They did this, even though the burial-place could be reached much more easily by land. They were not afraid of a dead shaman, as they were of other dead people, but wanted to handle his things; and his property was left in the house. The body was seated in the canoe with his friends, and the canoe was then turned around four times to the left. After that, they began singing his songs; and his nephew acted like a shaman, imitating his uncle. When they came in front of the place where his body was to be put, the canoe was turned around four times more in the same direction. Then they took the body up and seated it bolt upright upon a block of cedar, facing the north end of the islands (Point [or Nose]-of-the-Island), because his supernatural power came from that quarter. His knees were put two finger-breadths apart, so that he could look between them unimpeded. The bucket out of which he used to drink salt water was placed near him, and he was shut in. Then his friends addressed him, saying, "You have alwas treated us well," "You used to send 'powers' through us sometimes," etc. Then they went away from him in a canoe, and when they got home sang warriors' mourning-songs.

The above is mainly the description of the burial of a shaman witnessed by one of my informants. He added the following particulars.

The posts for a shaman's grave-house (see Chapter X, Fig. 15) were always made of yew. They were driven into the soil by the unaided hands; and, if a person sent one of these in up to the required mark on the first trial, he would live long; if not, his life would be shorter. Before making the attempt, the man would turn around four times to the left. Men of the opposite clan from the shaman's own would put up his grave-house. If one were threatened with consumption, he would take food to the place where the

shaman's body sat, hang it in front of its mouth for four nights, and then eat it. If other dead shamans were in the neighborhood, he had to do the same to them.

In Masset¹ the funeral of a person was conducted by members of the opposite clan from that to which the dead belonged, and they were paid for their services. When a chief died, they painted his face, put his head-dress on, his rattle in his hand, and his blanket around him, as if he were going to the dance, and set him up on a box, while the people came to visit him. This lasted from three to ten days, according to the popularity of the chief. Ordinary people might be kept before burial not more than two days.

Before the body was carried out, everything was removed from the house. Then an opening was made in the wall, and the body borne through it. If his family could afford it, they made a great feast and sent food to him through the fire. The body was placed in a grave-box and put into the elevated receptacle between two posts called *sä'fiñ*, in which a few of the boxes of his nearest relatives might afterwards be deposited. His wife and her children lay with their own clan. In rare instances a chief's dancing-blankets and other paraphernalia were placed with him. This was only in the case of chiefs who were much thought of.

As in the case of the *sä'fiñ*, the grave-house was first erected at the death of some important chief, after which the bodies of his friends might be added. Those belonging to very poor families were put into grave-boxes and then behind their houses, where they were covered with leaves. In olden times the bodies of those who died far from home were burned, and the bones alone brought back. Sometimes the bodies of those who had died at home were also burned. In either case the bones were brought into the house and kept where they would be safe. The living liked to have them around. The bodies of slaves were thrown into the sea, for otherwise the owner thought he would never acquire any more property. A dead shaman was lifted through the smoke-hole four days after his death. If he were carried through the side of the house, none of his friends would receive his "power" and take his place. A shaman belonging to the *Sta'stas* revived four days after he was supposed to have died. The first intimation of this was the hearing of a noise in his stomach.² Persons killed in battle or by any violent means go to *Tā'xet na'a*.³ When killed near home, their bodies were burned; and it was thought that if this were not done, they would be refused admission there. Bodies of dead friends, however, were not brought home from war, and apparently their fortunes in the other world were not thereby prejudiced.

WAR. — In the West Coast villages, war was determined upon in the winter, arrangements being made by the family chiefs. If only one family

¹ Compare Chapter XI, The *Sí'ki*^a Potlatch.

² In Haida this word means also "heart."

³ See p. 15, *Tā'xet na'a*ga.

went to war, the chief would settle the conduct of it with his friends. Then they began to eat medicine. The canoes were raised upon two supports made of two pieces of wood in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross, and the bottoms were cleaned by burning. Each man's wife made two belts out of whale-sinew, — first one for her husband, then one for herself. Upon the back of these she worked the figure of a human being, supposed to represent the spirit of slaves they were going to capture. Early in the morning of the day they were going to set out before the raven called, each party went to their own canoe, and they patted it all around with their hands. Then they lifted it from the supports and put it into the water. When the canoe was in the water, the men wore the women's belts and the women the men's for a while; but after the men had gotten into their canoe, they exchanged again. The practical use of these war-belts was to hold in their blankets. After this, neither men nor women took off their belts until the end of the expedition. When the warriors had left, they ate nothing for four days, neither did their wives. Very early in the morning the women went behind the village and pretended that they were making war by falling upon their children and feigning to take them for slaves. This would help their husbands. When ten days had passed, the women went down, and taking up the canoe-supports, that had been allowed to remain where they had fallen, changed them around. By that time they thought that their husbands would be returning. The chief provided all of the food, which was given out in regular rations, a small amount at a time. Water was taken in the same way. After they had made a capture, they could drop all regulations, and eat and drink as they liked. Women kept the same regulations as their husbands, and continued them until the latter returned. The wives of the men constituting each canoe-load staid in one house while their husbands were away.

When the party returned, he who had made a capture stood up in the canoe and sang as they came in. One of the slaves captured by each man was given to the chief; and, if a man took only one, the chief sold it, and gave part of the proceeds back. When wars were waged in revenge, a family would be likely to call in the assistance of others; but, if it were undertaken to raise the power of their chief, they would permit no others to go with them. When rushing upon the enemy, they shouted "Hū!" to frighten them.

At Kloo a man and his wife changed belts before starting to war, and the warrior always sat in the same place in the canoe, for otherwise a fate which should have been his might overtake some one else. Just before they started off, the warriors changed belts back again with their wives. The latter wore these belts drawn tight around their bodies, and while their husbands were gone ate only once a day, towards evening. This fast was called Gutgā'tgoda. They danced and sang every day; and no children were allowed to go into the houses where this was going on, unless they were to participate

in the dance. There were female shamans among the dancers. For ten days they satisfied their thirst by putting the tips of their fingers in water and touching their tongues with them. They all slept in one house to keep watch over each other; for, if a woman were unfaithful to her husband while he was with a war-party, he would probably be killed. For ten nights all lay with their heads towards the point of the compass in which the canoes had gone. Then they changed about, for the warriors were supposed to be returning.

The Masset families generally waged war separately, under the family chiefs. If all the families of a town started out to revenge injuries, the decision for war was made by the family chiefs separately, after the matter had been talked over. Then the canoes were raised upon two pairs of crossed sticks, and the bottoms cleansed by burning. The bow must point seaward; and when the canoe was launched, the sticks which had supported it must lie as they fell, and not be touched until the return. When the canoe was launched, it was not allowed to touch the ground, but was carried bodily into the water. If a canoe lurched to one side after it had been raised, that canoe was sure to upset before it reached its destination. After the men had gone, their wives danced all the time and sang war-songs. Everything about them they had to keep in a certain order. They always slept with their heads towards the sun, and tacked their mats and pillows down, so that they should not vary their position. When the warrior was about to start out, his wife would strike him with the tongs, exclaiming, "Be sober, do not be excitable during the war;" and it was thought that this would keep him so. Women might kill their husbands by not observing the regulations. During the absence of the latter, the women drank no liquids except some saps.

The man in the bow of each canoe was called *siklā'dia*. He was not necessarily a chief, like the captain. Nevertheless he gave orders, directed the course, etc., while his wife at home led the dancing in one of the houses. Warriors never changed their seats in the canoe, or their paddles. They did not touch each other with their feet, or tumble into their canoe in confusion when embarking. All had to be done in due order. One edge of the paddle was marked, and when in use was always kept turned in towards the canoe. Dishes must be kept right-side up and in a certain order. A shaman always went with the war-party. At each camping-place the warriors all drank salt water. The shaman, before taking any fresh water, began to perform his incantations. What directions he then gave must be followed. One of his chief offices was to kill the souls of enemies.

When peace was made, a man of each side, called "the deer," was taken up and carried about in the arms of his opponents. He was called "deer" because Raven rendered the deer harmless by pulling out its front teeth with a stick.¹

¹ Compare Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 86.

HUNTING AND FISHING. — Hunters had their own rules. Before going out, they ate certain plants, and it was very important to "count the nights." After a certain number of these had passed, they bathed early in the morning, and started out the next fine weather. Sometimes they put black marks on their faces, sometimes they chewed tobacco, and sometimes they put feathers upon their heads. These hunting-rules descended from uncle to nephew, and as well from father to son.

There were some secret regulations used by the old men to bring success in fishing; but it was feared, that, if young people began to use them, they would make poor fishermen all their lives. Only members of the Raven clan, on the West Coast, used spoons when they ate black cod. The Eagles used their hands. The Ravens called this fish "our black cod," because The-One-in-the-Sea, who owned them, was a Raven.

At Masset, hunting-expeditions were ordered, like war-parties. Men and women both had to keep things in a certain order. The bow-man was called *kí'tldjua*; and when the hunters drank water, he had to drink first. The hunters also drank salt water and medicine, such plants being used as the roots of the elderberry, the roots of the devil's-club, and a plant called *xelaq!*. The root of "a kind of water-lily" was also buried in the ashes, cooked, and eaten. When a man had killed a black bear and was carrying the skin home, he tried not to sneeze; but if such a thing did happen, he exclaimed, "*Hali'xiasa!*"¹ According to one of the Masset stories, it was thought necessary to cut a bear open away from one's self.

¹ This is perhaps the Black-Bear word for "chief."

VI. — GAMES.¹

STICK-GAME. — The great gambling-game of the Haida was the same as that used on neighboring parts of the mainland. It was played with a set of cylindrical sticks four or five inches long. The number of sticks varies in the sets that I have seen, one having as many as seventy. Some of the sets were made of bone, but the most of yew or some similar kind of wood. These were finely polished, and in many cases elaborately carved or painted, but usually were simply divided into sets of from two to four by various lines drawn around them in black and red. One of the sticks was left blank, or nearly so, and was called *djil*. In playing, two men sat opposite each other with their sticks disposed in front of them. Then one rapidly selected one set of sticks and the *djil*, shuffled them up concealed in fine cedar-bark, divided the sticks into two parcels, and laid them down one on each side. Sometimes he made three parcels. The opponent had now to guess which of these contained the *djil*. If he were successful, the first player did the same thing again with another set. After each guess the sticks were thrown out on a piece of hide in front of both players. When a player guessed right, he in turn laid out his sticks. It is not so true to say that cheating was fair in Haida gambling as to say that it was part of the game. If one could conceal or get rid of the *djil* temporarily, so much the better. The people were very much addicted to gambling, and, according to the stories, whole towns were in the habit of giving themselves up to it; but the chances of choosing the *djil* were so great, that ordinarily one could not lose very rapidly. I was told that they sometimes played all day without either side winning. On the other hand, stories tell of how whole families and towns were gambled away.

The entire gambling-outfit was quite extensive. There were the gambling-sticks themselves; the bag in which they were carried, and the bag in which several sets were carried; the skin upon which the sticks were laid out; the mat upon which the actual gambling was done; a thick piece of hide about a foot square, upon which the sticks selected by the opponent were thrown out so that all could see them; pencils used to mark lines on the sticks. A stone receptacle with two compartments was used for grinding up red and black paint.

I obtained the following account of the game from Henry Moody, my interpreter in Skidegate.

The two players sat opposite each other, each generally provided with a number of sets of gambling-sticks, so that if one brought him no luck, he

¹ See also p. 19, footnote; and Chapter XII, *Masset Series*, Stories 16, 65.

might use another, just as white men change packs of cards. The person first handling the sticks then laid his set out in front of himself, and rapidly selected one set of sticks; i. e., one set having similar markings on them, along with the *djil* or "trump." He rolled them up in shredded cedar-bark, and separated them into two bundles, which he laid down one on either side of him. The other player then had to guess in which bundle the *djil* lay; and if successful, it was his turn to play. If he was unsuccessful, his opponent scored one point and played as before, selecting a second set of sticks. A very skilful manipulator might divide his sticks into four bundles instead of two, in which case the opponent was entitled to select two out of them. One man might lose continually, and the other gain up to seven points; and these points (or some of them) received different names entirely distinct from the ordinary numerals, first, second, third, etc. Thus the sixth point was called *mā'gan*; and the seventh, *qo'ngu*. After one person had reached *qo'ngu*, an eighth count, called *sqa*, had to be scored. The game for this score was played in the following manner. Four bundles were made of one stick each, the *djil* and three other sticks being used. The guesser was allowed to pick out three of these, and the player won only in case the fourth bundle contained the *djil*. Otherwise they began all over again; and on this last count the chances were so greatly in favor of the guesser, that they are said often to have played all day without either side winning.

The method of reaching count seven was as follows: After one player had made three points, the other was obliged to make ten instead of seven, — three to score off his opponent's points, and the usual seven points besides. And so in other cases the player had to catch up with his partner before starting to make his seven.

The gambling-sticks had separate names, most of them bearing those of animals. While many sets are marked exclusively with red and black marks, the more elaborate ones are ornamented with representations of the animal figures whose names they bear (see Figs. 26 and 27).

THROWING-GAME. — The Haida name for this game (*gu'tgi q!ā'atagañ*) means literally "they throw the *q!ā'atagañ* ['thing thrown up'] to each other." The "thing thrown up" (Fig. 5) was a piece of wood, bone, or ivory, about three inches high, with a base measuring, say, an inch and a half by an inch and a quarter, and most of the upper part cut away, leaving a thin flange extending upward on one side. It was held by the thin flange, with the thicker part up, and flipped over and over. If it fell upon either side, called *q!ā'dagañ* (marked *o* in Fig. 5), the opponent took it; if on the long, flat side or on the concave side, it counted the one who threw it 1; if on the bottom, 2; or if on the smallest side, 4, as indicated in the figure. The game was usually played at camp, in

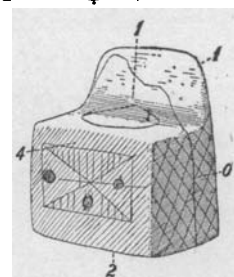


Fig. 5 ($\frac{2}{500}$). Ivory Die.

the smoke-house, and the winner had the privilege of smearing the loser's face with soot. It may be played by two or more, each for himself or by sides.

"FLIPPING A V-SHAPED OBJECT OVER AND LETTING IT DROP" (Łga sl̥a'ñ). — A straight stick was held in one hand, while a V-shaped piece of cedar about eight inches long was held in the other hand by one of its arms, and so thrown into the air that it would fall astride of the stick. This V-shaped piece is called the łga'sl̥ga'ño. When it fell to the ground, the one who threw it must yield to the next player; but before doing so he was at liberty to pull his opponent's hair violently or punch his knuckles as many times as he had made a catch.

"CARRYING EACH OTHER ON THEIR BACKS" (Unhā'la-i). — Two boys carried two girls (or sometimes boys) on their backs, and at a given signal the latter pulled each other's hair in the endeavor to upset those carrying them. A song was sung meanwhile, consisting of the repetition of one word.

K!AŁDJAMAI'QA (meaning doubtful). — In this game the boys and girls took hold of each other's hands and moved around in a circle, at first slowly, then faster and faster until some one fell, when the rest were apt to pile on top of the unfortunate. All this time they sang a song with only the one word k!ałdjamai'qa in it.

"DOING SECRETLY INSIDE OF BLANKETS" (K!îtgai'sl̥gañ). — The players formed two sides, stationed some distance apart; and the captain of one party, wearing a blanket over his shoulders so as to conceal his movements, passed down his line of players, and dropped a wooden or stone ball inside of the blanket of one of them. He did this in such a way as not to excite the suspicions of his opponents. After that he went away to some distance and lay down, so as not to cast suspicious glances at the one who had the ball. Then one of the opposite party who was good at reading character tried to discover from the players' faces who had it. When he had chosen one, he said, "You throw that out;" and if he guessed correctly, his side got it, and all of them cried, "Ā'ga, ā'ga!" If he missed, the same thing was done over again.

"A WOMAN'S PUBIC BONES" (Gao skū'dji). — This was a boy's game. Late in the spring, when a tall, slim plant called L!al, the pith of which was eaten, was at its best, the boys would collect a great quantity of the stalks. Then two would each drive a couple of sticks into the ground about five yards apart. After that, each would take about twenty sticks of the salmon-berry bush, and, using them as spears, alternately try to drive one of them between the adversary's posts, or stick it into the ground beyond, so that it would rest on their tops. Each boy would then bid a certain number of L!al-stalks; and after they had used up all of their spears, he who scored the most "hits" won all that had been put up by his adversary. If he were one point ahead, he got nothing more; but if he were two points ahead, he won as much again; if he were three points ahead, twice as much again; and so on.

XATXADI'DA (perhaps a name for the pieces of spruce-bark used in it). — This game was played in the spring. Two boys provided themselves with ten pieces of spruce-bark apiece, each of which was doubled over and fastened along one edge. The opposite edge was the one on which they were to stand. Then they were set up in a row upon the ground, and the players endeavored to drive the same spears as those used in the previous game into each of them. He who first sent a spear into each of his opponent's pieces of bark won, although the opponent was sometimes allowed to have additional pieces.

"KNOCKING SOMETHING OVER BY SHOOTING" (Tc!ítgada'ldaña). — This was played by older people. Towards the end of spring a crowd would go out and set up a piece of board about three inches wide and four feet high. Then, forming a line some distance away, they would shoot at it with blunt arrows in succession, beginning at one end. He who struck the stake first won all of the arrows shot that time around, except the others that struck. Each person had one shot at every round. Sometimes they played against each other by companies, of which there might be as many as five or six. Indeed, a whole town often seems to have turned out, and the resulting contests to have extended over a long period of time. Towards the end some of the players, their supply of arrows being exhausted, would be compelled to manufacture new ones, often of inferior make. Two of these had to be paid in as an equivalent for one of the better class. For some religious reason they ceased playing with arrows as soon as winter began.

"ARROWS STUCK UP" (Sq!a!nā'da). — Some one shot an arrow up into the branches of a tree near the town until it stuck there. Then all would try to shoot it down, and generally succeeded in getting more up. He who knocked an arrow down owned it.

"WAVING THINGS BEFORE EACH OTHER" (Gu'tgi daslxí'sgalañ). — In the autumn, when the young people collected gum, they would form two sides (or simply play by twos). Then the best player on each side was given a piece of gum; and as they waved the pieces of gum in front of each other's faces, each tried to make the opponent laugh by saying funny things. He who laughed first lost the gum, and his side had to give him more. This was kept up until all of the gum on one side was exhausted.

VII. — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

CLANS. — As already stated, the whole people is divided into two strictly exogamic clans, — the Raven and the Eagle, — with descent in the female line. The Eagle clan also go by another name, Gî'tî'ns, the meaning of which is uncertain. So close was relationship held to be between persons of the same clan, that marriage within it was viewed by them almost as incest is by us.¹ On the other hand, the members of the opposite clan were frequently considered downright enemies. Even husbands and wives did not hesitate to betray each other to death in the interests of their own families.² At times it almost appears as if each marriage were an alliance between opposite tribes; a man begetting offspring rather for his wife than for himself, and being inclined to see his real descendants rather in his sister's children than in his own. They it was who succeeded to his position and carried down his family line.

The diagram on p. 64 explains the system of relationship.

The terms of relationship were as follows: —

TERMS USED BY A MALE.

- (1) *All generations before that of a man's parents.*
 - (a) The men of all generations before a man's father's ("grandfathers") . . . tcî'ngalañ
 - (b) The women of all generations before his mother's ("grandmothers") . . . nā'ngalañ
- (2) *Generation to which a man's parents belong.*
 - (c) The men of his father's clan ("fathers") gō'ngalañ
 - (d) The women of his father's clan before his marriage ("aunts") . . . sqā'ngalañ
After his marriage, at least one of these becomes his "mother-in-law" djigonā'nga
 - (e) The men of his mother's clan, which is his own ("uncles") . . . qā'galañ
After his marriage, at least one of these becomes his "father-in-law" (and by derivation the other members of that clan [or family] may be called "fathers-in-law") qō'naga
 - (f) The women of his mother's clan, which is his own ("mothers") . . . a'ogalañ
- (3) *A man's own generation.*
 - (g) Men of his own clan older than himself ("elder brothers") . . . k!wai'galañ
 - (h) Men of his own clan younger than himself ("younger brothers") . . . daoga'ngalañ
 - (i) Women of his own clan ("sisters") djā'sgalañ
 - (j) Women of the opposite clan before his marriage sqā'ngalañ
These are termed "cousins." Actually they are "fathers' sisters' daughters" and "mothers' brothers' daughters" { sqā'nga gî'tgalañ
lgā'ngalañ or
qā'ga gî'tgalañ
 - (k) Men of the opposite clan {

¹ See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 4.

² See account of the war between the Skidegate Inlet and West Coast people (Chapter VIII).

After his marriage, part of (*j*) and (*k*), at least, may also be called as follows: —

Males ("brothers-in-law").	qea'galañ
Females ("sisters-in-law")	hi'ñago
Wife or wives	dja'sga

(4) *Generation to which a man's children belong.*

- (*l*) Men and women of his own clan ("nephews" and "nieces") nā'tgalañ
 Some of these marry his daughters and become his "sons-in-law" qō'nagalañ
 (*m*) Men and women of the opposite clan, to which his own children belong ("children") gī'tgalañ
 (*n*) Women of the opposite clan are also called "daughters" gudjā'ñgalañ

(5) *All generations after a man's children.*

- (*o*) Persons of all subsequent generations ("grandchildren") tla'k'ñ'ngalañ

TERMS USED BY A FEMALE.

(1) *All generations before that of a woman's parents.*

- (*a*) Men of all generations before a woman's father's ("grandfathers") tci'ngalañ
 (*b*) Women of all generations before her mother's ("grandmothers") nā'ngalañ

(2) *Generation to which a woman's parents belong.*

- (*c*) Men of her father's clan ("fathers") xā'tgalañ
 (*d*) Women of her father's clan ("aunts") sqā'ngalañ
 After her marriage, one of these becomes her "mother-in-law" djigonā'nga
 (*e*) Men of her mother's clan, which is her own ("uncles") qā'galañ
 After her marriage, one of these becomes her "father-in-law" (and by extension the term may be used to cover all her father-in-law's clan) qō'naga
 (*f*) Women of her mother's clan, which is her own ("mothers") a'ogalañ

(3) *A woman's own generation.*

- (*g*) Women of her own clan older than herself ("elder sisters") k!wai'galañ
 (*h*) Women of her own clan younger than herself ("younger sisters") daoga'ngalañ
 (*i*) Men of her own clan ("brothers") dā'galañ
 (*j*) Men and women of the opposite clan ("cousins," etc.) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} sqā'ngalañ \\ sqā'nga \text{ gī'tgalañ} \\ qā'ga \text{ gī'tgalañ} \end{array} \right.$

After her marriage, part of (*j*) become —

Males ("brothers-in-law").	hi'ñago
Females ("sisters-in-law").	dji'ñagalañ
Husband	lā'lga

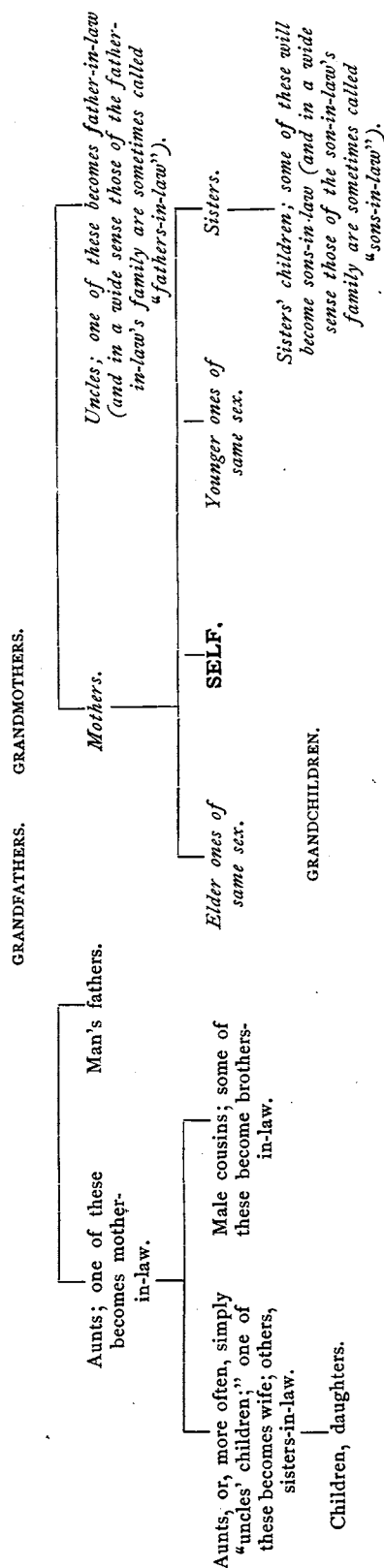
(4) *Generation to which a woman's children belong.*

- (*k*) Men and women of her own clan ("children") gī'tgalañ
 (*l*) Women of her own clan ("daughters") gudjā'ñgalañ
 (*m*) Men and women of the opposite clan ("nephews" and "nieces") sgu'ngalañ

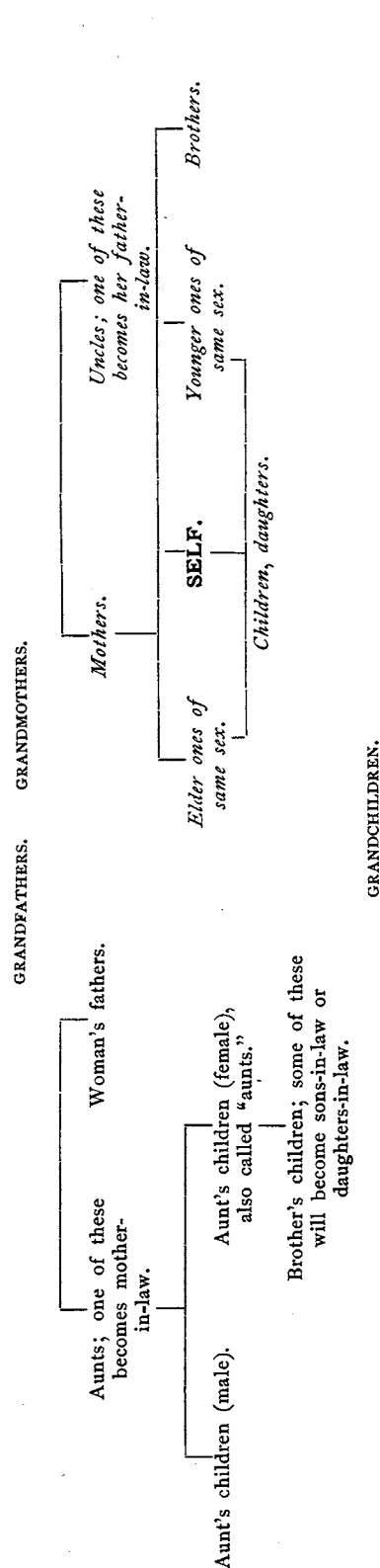
This was according to one of my interpreters. I have not found this term in the texts, and perhaps it should be sqā'ngalañ, being thus used reciprocally.

(5) *All generations after a woman's children.*

- (*n*) Persons of all subsequent generations ("grandchildren") tla'k'ñ'ngalañ

SELF (MALE).¹

SELF (FEMALE).



¹ The terms in small capitals belong to either clan; those in Roman, to the father's clan; those in Italics, to the mother's clan. Males and females under one brace belong to the same generation. Vertical lines indicate descent.

In the last analysis it would seem as if the terms *qea'galañ* and *k'ñago* were always applicable instead of *lga'ngalañ* or "uncles' children;" but in practice they do not seem to have been applied very much, except to those related by marriage in the same town and family. It is said that the term *djigonā'nga* might be extended to others belonging to the clan of a man's mother-in-law, and that the term *qō'naga* might be extended to others in the clan and generation of his uncle; but such an extension does not appear to have been common. A man called his son-in-law by the same term that the latter applied to himself, *qō'naga*; but a woman simply spoke of her daughter-in-law or her son-in-law as "my child's wife" or "my child's husband." A man spoke of his daughter-in-law similarly. Other grades of relationship were indicated by combinations of the terms already given. A man's wife's sister's husband and a woman's husband's brother's wife are said to be called *sgoa'naga*, meaning that they are partners in marriage into the same family. *Sgoan* is probably the word for "one." Since from the words *tcí'nga* and *nā'nga* one cannot distinguish to what clan the persons so designated belonged, they use the term *qā'galañ* to refer to ancestors of the same clan, no matter how many generations back. It is also used to include one's living family; but more often the term *ta'olañ*, or occasionally *hta'xui* ("friends"), takes its place. *A'olan* was sometimes translated "parents" by my interpreters, but that usage must be secondary. Another word, *yā'galañ*, was also translated "parents." From the way it is employed in the stories which I collected, however, it seems to designate more particularly the men of a man's father's clan. They were also called *gō'ñgalañ* ("fathers"); and more generally all the members of the opposite clan, both men and women, were called *q!oa'las*.

Stating this series of relationships in another way, the generation to which a man's father and mother belong results from the marriage of his *tcí'ngalañ* and *nā'ngalañ*. This generation is divided into four parts by the lines of clan and sex. His *gō'ñgalañ* marry his *a'ogalañ*, giving rise to his *k!wai'galañ*, *daoga'ngalañ*, *djā'sgalañ*, and incidentally himself. His *qā'galañ* (one of whom afterwards becomes his *qō'naga*) and his *sgā'ngalañ* (one of whom afterwards becomes his *djigonā'nga*) intermarry, giving rise to his *lga'ngalañ* and *qā'ga gīt'galañ*, who become in time his *qea'galañ* and *k'ñago*; and one or more become his *djā'galañ*. He, his *k!wai'galañ*, and his *daoga'ngalañ* marry his female *sqā'ngalañ*, giving rise to his male *gīt'galañ* and his *gudjā'ñgalañ*; while his *djā'sgalañ* marry his *lga'ngalañ*, giving rise to his *nā'tgalañ*. For a woman only a very few obvious changes are to be made.

Theoretically a man of the Raven clan was reckoned in that clan, wherever he might go; and the Ravens among whom he settled were his uncles, elder and younger brothers, sisters and nephews. This would be as true at Sitka or in the Chilkat country, or, for that matter, in Florida, as on the Queen Charlotte Islands; but it so happens that the crests of the Raven clan

agree with those of the Bear and Wolf clans among the Tsimshian, while the crests of the Eagle clan agree with those of the Raven and Eagle clans among the latter people; and, since crests are considered much more important than the mere name of the clan, each Haida clan considers the two Tsimshian clans bearing its crests its "friends." I suspect that in early times the Haida Ravens first came in contact with Tsimshian of the Bear and Wolf clans at Kitkatla, whom they came to regard as their "friends," and with whom they exchanged crests. Later, when they came in contact with the other two Tsimshian clans, they were obliged to regard them as the Tsimshian Bear and Wolf clans did. Since the crests of the Raven clan among the Tlingit agree with those of the Eagle clan among the Haida, and *vice versa*, I suspect that the same curious condition of affairs will be found there. The important point is, however, that a Haida marrying into another tribe always avoids a certain clan among them, the members of which, for one reason or another, he considers his "friends."

FAMILIES. — Each clan was subdivided into a considerable number of families, which generally took their names from some town or camping-place. The number of families composing each clan has undergone considerable changes. It would seem that originally each family occupied a certain place or lived in a certain part of a town. In course of time the families divided, owing to the fact that certain groups of individuals changed their location, and thus formed a new community. Some subdivisions arose suddenly as a result of internal dissensions. By studying these divisions it is easy to see how differentiation took place; for we observe the process in all stages, — from that where the section is as yet unnamed, to great bodies like the Middle-Town-People, Sand-Town-People, and Point-Town-People, which may or may not, so far as we can now tell, have been parts of one original family. The probable history of these families is fully treated in the next chapter.

At the present time we find each town inhabited by several families, generally belonging to both clans. This does not seem to have been the original condition, but it would seem that in olden times each town was inhabited by one family only. The women in such a town would all have belonged to outside towns; but since it is customary for the children to settle and to build houses in the town of their mother's brothers, whose successors they are, the unity of the population was preserved, and the continuity of population was secured through the return of the sister's children to the male side of the family. This complex arrangement was due to the conflict between the purely maternal family organization and paternal property laws, which made the mothers only intermediaries in the transfer of property in land and houses. We know that there have been cases when a father gave to his son a house in his own village. Such an event led to the introduction of the wife's family into the town, and accounts for the occurrence of families of both clans in the

present towns; but I doubt whether such colonization by marriage can explain the occurrence of all the families that are now settled in villages to which they originally were foreigners. especially since the traditions repeatedly tell of divisions resulting from war and of migrations *en masse*.

In my lists of houses in the various towns I find the following condition of affairs. One of the houses in Ninstints belonged to a man of the Gítí'ns of Tc!ā'ał (E 23); two houses in Cumshewa belonged to the Sqoā'ladas of the West Coast (R 10); eight houses in Kaisun belonged to Raven families from the neighboring town of Tc!ā'ał; two houses in Masset belonged to families in the neighboring towns of Yan and Q!ayā'ñ, and one to the Gítí'ns of Skidegate (E 6); one house in Yā'k!u belonged to the neighboring Sta'stas of K!iū'sta, one to the S'agā'ñusilī (R 18) of Naden Harbor, and one to the Gítí'ns of Masset Inlet (E 13). In Alaska one of the houses of Shakan belonged to the Sand-Town-People of Kasaan (R 20), and one to the Tc!ā'ał-Town-People of Howkan. In Skedans there were six houses owned by the Town-of-Dj'gua-People (E 4) and Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3), but it is not improbable that they were left behind by the Kloo people when they moved from Skedans rather than by subsequent settlers from Kloo. It must also be remembered that a chief often had houses in several towns, especially if there were a branch of his family there. It thus appears that in only one or two cases do towns contain houses owned by representatives from very distant places, while several towns have not a single house owned by outsiders. Families which were started by children remaining with their father are Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek (R 3), the West-Coast-Gítí'ns (E 20), and probably very many of those bearing place-names.

Certain special families and towns were in the habit of intermarrying. This fact was expressed by saying that such and such a family were the "fathers" of such and such another one.

Thus the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas (R 5) were called "the fathers of the Gítí'ns" of Skidegate (E 6). The latter family also intermarried with the Skidegate-Town-People (R 6), the Sta'stas of K!iū'sta (E 21), the Ravens of Tc!ā'ał (R 9-11), and Those-born-at-Q!ā'gials (R 4) of Skedans. The last mentioned also married on the other side with Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3) of Kloo; so it happened that the son of one of the town chiefs of Skidegate was town chief of Skedans, and his son was town chief of Kloo. Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3) also intermarried with the Xā'gi-Town-People (R 1) and with the Sand-Town-People of Ninstints (R 2); while more often the latter married with the Ninstints Eagles (E 1, 2). The Ravens of Tc!ā'ał (R 9-11) intermarried with the Gítí'ns of Skidegate (E 6), the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9), and of course with the Tc!ā'ał Gítí'ns (E 23). Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13) used to intermarry with the Seaward-Gítí'ns (E 11), and sometimes with the Gítí'ns of Skidegate (E 6). Among the northern towns, the Sta'stas (E 21) commonly

intermarried with the Middle-Town-People (R 19). Thus the father of my interpreter, Mr. Henry Edensaw, his wife and children, belonged to the Sta'stas, he himself being of the Middle-Town. His grandfather, however, was one of the Ravens of Rose Spit (Standing-Water-People [R 13 a]).

Town chiefs seem to have married in distant towns more often than the others, because they could not find anybody "great enough" near by. It was quite common for a man to marry the daughter of his father's own sister (English reckoning), the motive being apparently to keep property within the same set of people. It seems to me that property counted far more in making matches than any other consideration.

The terms of relationship, described before, are ordinarily applied only to persons of one's own proper town and those of the father's town, or, at most, to one's own and the father's families. When a story begins with the statement that a boy had ten uncles, we are to understand that the house chiefs of his mother's town are meant.

Notwithstanding this subdivision of the two clans into families, all the subdivisions of each clan were considered to have had a common origin, and the distinction between the two clans is absolute in every respect. As we shall presently see,¹ certain facts might be interpreted to mean that the Eagle clan was originally composed of foreigners. Still, although the traditions indicate that a larger foreign element has been taken in upon that side, there is no absolute proof that all are to be assigned to a foreign origin; and it is very difficult to conceive how the changes in social organization that such a shift from endogamy to exogamy would involve could have been brought about.

The two clans had no governmental functions. Their significance is restricted to matters pertaining to marriage and descent. When a man died, the members of his wife's clan conducted the funeral; and when his successor made a potlatch to put up the grave-post, he invited them to it. At other potlatches he only gave property to those of his own side. Families of the same clan were also more apt to go to war together than those of opposite clans.

The fundamental unit of Haida society was the family, and the family chief was the highest functionary. Generally the family chief was also town chief, — called "town mother" in Skidegate, and "town master" in Masset, — but the large places were usually inhabited by several families. In this case the town chief stood first socially among the family chiefs, sat in the highest place, directly in front of the inside house-pole at feasts, and properly had his house in the middle of the town. His social prestige was considerably enhanced by the presence of several other families; and his war power generally increased correspondingly, especially if they were related to his. Since, however, war was determined upon by the chiefs individually, he could not count upon their support in every expedition he might choose to undertake. Declaration of

¹ See p. 104.

war is said to have rested entirely with the family chief, without reference to any family council; but it is quite certain that he must have obtained the acquiescence of his house chiefs if he intended the whole family to participate. In fact, the stories speak of meetings *en masse* to "talk over" important questions.

For each household into which a family was subdivided was a family in miniature, over which the house chief's power was almost absolute. Once having obtained his position, he was only limited by the other chiefs and the barriers raised by custom. He could call his nephews together to make war on his own account; and, since he outfitted the expedition, nearly all of the slaves and other property obtained in it went to him. His actual influence among the house chiefs varied with the amount of his property; and it is easy to see how a successful house chief might overshadow the nominal head of the family and supplant him or come to found a new one. The power of the family chief was thus a varying one, dependent on, and at the same time limited by, the number and power of his house chiefs. Most questions concerning the interests of a town are said to have been decided by the town chief, though with the same probable limitations as those spoken of in connection with the family chiefs. As among the Tsimshian, the town chief always started the dances; but he was not entitled to the first berries, fish, etc., as were they.¹

The power of family chiefs living in a town belonging to another family depended largely on the number and wealth of their people. Some families, called *ā'lga*, were so poor that they formed a class of servants only slightly higher in the social order than the slaves. In this case they were usually reckoned as parts of some higher family, and often had no independent chief. Others, as in the case of the *Gít'ns* of Skidegate, might become more powerful than the ruling family itself, and in course of time supplant it. Many families owned more towns than one. In that case each town had its own chief, but one of them was considered the highest in the family. But if the separation were long continued, the parts came to have local names of their own, and became distinct families, sometimes retaining only a traditional friendship.

Success in amassing property generally governed the selection of a new chief of the town, the family, or the house. It might be the own brother, own nephew, or a more distant relation, of the predecessor. Two are known to have succeeded to one position. The election seems to have been a foregone conclusion; but, in so far as any choice was exercised, it appears to have rested, in the case of a family or town chief, with the house chiefs, while the sentiment of a household probably had weight in deciding between claimants to a doubtful position in a single house. Only the town chief's own family had anything directly to say about his election. A chief's household was made up of those of his own immediate family who had no places for themselves, his nephews, his retainers or servants, and the slaves. A

¹ When the first salmon were brought in, it was customary to allow any one to go down and take one.

man's sisters' sons were his right-hand men. They, or at least one of them, came to live with him when quite young, were trained by him, and spoke or acted for him in all social matters. The one who it was expected would succeed him was often his son-in-law as well. The discipline that young men of high family went through was thorough and severe. Haida notions of morality were not, of course, the same as ours, but they just as truly existed; and it is always said that a chief's son must excel others in living up to their ethical standards. On taking his "place," a man often married one of the wives of his predecessor; the other wives, if such existed, returning to their own families, and being eligible to marry again.

The servants seem generally to have been drawn from *ā'lga* families; the slaves were captives taken in war; and no difference seems to have been made between Haida captives and those speaking other languages. Acknowledging, as they did, a relationship between the various families speaking their tongue, there appears to have been very little national feeling outside of the more immediate family ties. When a war-party from Kloo learned that fifty canoe-loads of Inlet Haida had been killed at Port Simpson, they determined to turn their expedition against the Tsimshian, but only because a member of their families had been among the slain. To have been a slave gave one "a bad name," but a great potlatch could remove it; and *Yestaqā'na*, the greatest chief of Skidegate, was a slave on the mainland in his youth. One of the Rose Spit chiefs once went to Metlakatla, and was at first well received there. Later, however, he received an intimation that he was to be enslaved, and only bought himself off by leaving two female cousins in his place. A year later he took a copper and bought them back. The fact that the women had once been slaves gave them "bad names," and was not considered creditable to the chief, though they are said to have belonged only to a low class.

Even among families of high rank, grades of a certain kind were recognized. Thus one old woman said, that, outside of the *Ninstints* families, there were three Raven families that stood first, and three Eagle families. The former were the Raven family of Skedans (Those-born-at-Qā'gials [R 4]), the Raven family of *Tc!ā'ał* (People-of-Pebble-Town [R 9]), and the Raven family of Klinkwan, Alaska (Middle-Town-People [R 20]); the latter were the Eagle family of Kloo (Those-born-at-Skedans [E 3]), the Eagle family of Skidegate (*Giti'ns* [E 6]), and the Eagle family of *Kliū'sta* (*Sta'stas* [E 21]). This does not mean, of course, that the chiefs of those families had the slightest authority, other than a moral one, over any others. Alliances were occasionally made between different towns, but dissolved as soon as the warriors had returned. They simply "went to fight" in company.

Haida towns generally faced south, so as to catch the sunshine in the houses; but there were plenty of exceptions in case other advantages were to be obtained. Such advantages would be a particularly fine beach for landing

canoes, good streams of water, or shelter from winds. Generally there was only one row of houses to a town. They faced the beach. Very large towns might have more, one behind the other, and five is always the favorite number for "story" towns. It is scarcely likely that that number was ever reached.

Near each of the towns was a place used by the children for a playground. There they often took their lunches and spent the whole day. At Kaisun this place was a cave; at the "story" town of Dji'gua it is said traditionally to have been a hill just behind the village. The playground of the children at Tc!ā'a! was only accessible at low tide.

In times of internal or external commotion the people of a town generally occupied some steep-sided island or high hill along the shore, defended by a stockade, or sometimes only by masses of brushwood. There does not seem to have been any permanence in these forts. A new one might be selected for each new emergency.

When spring came, the people abandoned their towns and scattered to camp, where the men fished for halibut, salmon, and on the West Coast for black cod, and hunted black bear, marten, seals, sea-lions, etc.; while their wives picked berries, dug roots, and cultivated a patch of tobacco, their only agricultural labor. Each Haida family had its own creek, creeks, or portion of a creek, where its smoke-houses stood. Some of the smaller creeks are said to have had no owners; and, on the other hand, some families are said to have had no land. In the latter case they were obliged to wait until another family was through before picking berries, and had to pay for the privilege. Any family might pick berries on the land belonging to another after the owners had finished picking, if it obtained the consent of the latter and paid a certain price.

The ownership of a town and the ownership of the land about it did not necessarily go together. Kliū'sta, for instance, belonged to the Sta'stas (E 21), whose chief was chief of the town; but the land about it belonged to the Middle-Town-People (R 19). Part of the Sta'stas land was in Naden Harbor, and a still larger portion around Rose Spit.

Whatever drifted ashore belonged to the family owning that stretch of coast. In the case of a whale, the family chief received the best portion, and those lowest in rank the cuts nearest its tail. Rights to a part of the whales found on a man's section of coast could be sold to another family, at least by the chief. Land could also be parted with at any time by the family in possession. According to the stories, land, as well as the ownership of a town, might be exacted in payment for injuries.

In process of time many camps evolved into towns; others became such at a bound; and in the case of many old places it is often impossible to tell which we have to deal with. Many so-called towns were probably very insignificant.

VIII. — HAIDA HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. — In this chapter I shall attempt to construct such an account of the development of the Haida people as one of themselves might make. Like the histories of many people which are more familiar to us, it begins with a purely mythical account of the origin of things, and passes down successively to semi-historical and historical times. I do not know that it would occur to a Haida to arrange these stories in such a series; but the fact that the six great stories of Skedans were repeated in a certain order, beginning with the Raven story, shows that the historical instinct was there. The succession of events recorded here is recognized: all that I have done is to bring them together and place them in that succession.

In carrying out the Haida idea, I may have left one or two erroneous impressions. Thus the family traditions point back to the east coast of Moresby Island and to Rose Spit as the original seats of the race, but it is conceivable that the stories might have been developed with reference to a later tendency of flow of population. On the other hand, the movements to the west coast from Skidegate Inlet, and to Alaska from the north coast, were certainly real occurrences. Again, I have often spoken of migrations of families as if they took place *en masse*, and that was sometimes the case. The transference of a family or of part of a family from one place to another might be brought about, however, by the children of women married into a foreign town remaining with their fathers; still this amounts to practically the same thing as migration.

PERIOD OF THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS. — The Raven story relates how matters came into their present condition. It varies considerably as told in each town, and one of my Ninstints informants conveyed the idea that it was brought to Ninstints from Kloo in comparatively recent times; but this hardly seems credible, especially since the people of Ninstints and Skedans were supposed to know more stories than any others. Sometimes the Raven story was made to begin with Raven's arrival at Rose Spit. In the Kloo and Skedans version, which I obtained in Haida, Raven comes up the coast to Rose Spit; in the Kaigani story he comes down to that place. The former, however, seems to be the more strictly Haida narrative, and is the more circumstantial.

In earliest times, according to this, a boundless expanse of sky overspread a boundless expanse of sea, and in this sea lay a single reef (said to be one called K!l, opposite to the town of Ninstints), where all of the supernatural beings were heaped together. On top lay the strongest of these, and the weaker stretched out in lines from it in all directions. Raven flew about above,

unable to find a foothold; and at last, looking at the neighboring sky, he became fascinated by it. Then he ran his beak into it and climbed up.

In the sky-country lay a five-row town, where the town chief's daughter had just given birth to a child; and when night came, Raven entered the chief's house, scooped the baby out of its skin, and took its place. But the infant was not supposed to be old enough to receive any substantial nourishment: so Raven became hungry, and, slipping out at night, stole an eye from every one in one row of the town, and these he ate. He did this four nights in succession. A woman who was stone from her hips down, and who never slept, sat in one corner of the house, however, and observed what was happening. At last she told the people.

Then the town chief called the people together, and they sang a song for the child. In the midst of it, however, the one holding it let it fall, and it dropped down out of the sky-country, turning to the right in its descent, until it fell upon the surface of the great waters.

Now the cradle drifted about a long time, and the child within cried a long time, until it cried itself to sleep; but while it slept, something said, "Your powerful grandfather invites you in." Raven turned quickly towards the sound, but there was nothing there. By and by the same thing happened again.

Then he looked through the eye-hole in his marten-skin blanket, and presently out from beneath the water came a grebe, which said, "Your powerful grandfather invites you in." Then it dived out of sight.

Now Raven stood up, and he found his cradle floating against a kelp with two heads. He stepped upon it, and, lo! it was really a two-headed house-pole made of stone. When he clambered down, he found he could get along as well as in the air above.

Beneath was a house, and, as he stood before it, a voice came from it, saying, "Come inside, my son; I hear that you come to borrow something from me." Now Raven entered, and in the back part of the house sat a man with the aspect of a sea-gull. Then the old man sent him for a box which hung in the corner. There were four others inside of this, and, pulling them apart, he took out two long objects, — one covered with shining points; the other black. Handing them to Raven, he said, "I am you. That is you." He referred to some slender blue objects walking about upon the screen in the rear of the house. Then the old man said, "Lay this speckled stone in the water first, and last this black one; after which bite off a piece of each and spit it out again, and the pieces will re-unite."

But when Raven had gone out, he put the black one into the water first; and when he had bitten off part of the rock with shining points and spit it out again, the pieces rebounded. He had done differently from the way he had been told.

Now he went back to the black one, bit off part of it and spit it out

again, when the pieces stuck. These were going to become trees. He put this into the water, and it stretched itself out, becoming the Haida country, to which all of the supernatural beings swam over. Of the other pebble he made Mainland (Seaward country).

Now come several episodes which it will not be worth while to give at length. They are the following: —

Assignment of their respective languages and characteristics to the Haida and Tsimshian.

How the crows came to be black.

How Raven got the house and fish-weir from the beavers for mankind.

How he got his wife, Djila'qons, from an inlet called LAlgí'mi, probably Bentinck Arm, and brought her to Ga'oqons, where he also left the house for her.

His adventure with the keen-sighted person.

How he got fresh water from the Eagle and made the lakes and rivers.

How he got the moon; how he made the moon, stars, and sun out of it; and how the number of winter moons was determined.

How he got the olachen.

How he got fern-roots.

How he had himself adopted at Rose Spit, and his adventures there.

How he and his mother went to live with her brother, Cape Ball, and the events which led up to the flood which Cape Ball¹ raised.

Soon after this deluge had abated, Raven was adopted by Qí'ngi,² a mountain in the Ninstints country; and, in order to receive his new father properly, he summoned four different tribes of men out of the ground, — Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakiutl, and Tlingit. This seems to account for the various races of men; but when they speak of the beginnings of their own race, the Haida tell a quite different story.

The first cycle or age in Haida mythology extended from the production of the two islands by Raven, as above related, to the flood raised by Cape Ball. Then it was occupied by the gods or supernatural beings alone. Before finally settling into the places they were ever after to inhabit, these supernatural beings held a contest to decide which of them should lie under and support the islands. It took place on the easternmost end of Maude Island, in Skidegate Inlet, where New Gold Harbor afterwards stood. All of the supernatural beings were gathered there; and, as most of them were Ravens, they feared that Djila'qons's son, Stone-Ribs (Godañxé'wat),³ would win the place. Whoever could lie three days under a fire continually dropping upon

¹ See p. 20.

² Qí'ngi is said to mean "always looking into the sea." The mountain is said to hang precipitously over the water.

³ The true meaning of this word is somewhat doubtful, but, for the sake of the reader, I have rendered it as above.

him was to have it, and only after four days had expired was Stone-Ribs obliged to give up. Another of the old stories contained in my Skidegate series tells about this, and how Sacred-One-standing-and-moving finally won it by the aid of his wā'sgo-skin.¹ Then the supernatural beings took up their various positions under the mountains, lakes, etc., as elsewhere detailed.

THE RAVEN CLAN AND FAMILIES. — On the subsidence of Cape Ball's flood, just referred to, the cycle of human beings began. The picture presented at the commencement of this cycle is very similar to that with which the first started. In both cases we have a reef surrounded on all sides by the supernatural beings, who in this second period would seem to have been driven again from their local habitations. The second reef was Xā'gi,² which lies in Skincuttle Bay, an indentation generally called Lake Inlet by the Haida, and once one of the most thickly settled on the islands. Ten towns are said to have stood around it. It is also in the Ninstints country, though somewhat farther north.

No one living knows the full story of this island, — the last who knew it, an old woman of Ninstints, having died some ten or fifteen years ago, — but from various persons I received the following bits of information about it.

When Xā'gi emerged from the waters, Foam-Woman was sitting upon it. Around the edges of the reef were other supernatural beings, but she permitted none of them to come near. If any one attempted it, she looked at him and winked her eyes, when lightning shot forth and drove him back. From this she was also called She-of-the-Powerful-Face. When Djila'qons, the grandmother of the Eagles, approached, Foam-Woman said, "Keep away from here before I look at you;" and when she did look, Djila'qons "went down." Others say, perhaps out of respect to the Eagle side, that the latter was one of two beings able to approach. The other was a mouse, which, however, grew smaller and smaller as it came. That is why mice are so small to-day. Incidentally I might add that mice are said to be plentiful upon Maude Island, because that was the first high land to appear above the waters.

Foam-Woman had many breasts, some say as many as ten on a side, at each of which she nursed a grandmother of one of the various Raven families among the Haida. When her first child was born, foam came from its mouth and nearly produced a second flood. The rock was almost covered again by the waters; but Foam-Woman began to sing, —

"People saw dry land, when they were afraid of anything so great."

("Hō hī yī ē yē yē, hī yī hī yē, hē yē, hī yē, tcia'si gua xā'das qā'na a'gida, a'gida.")

This song was the common property of all Ravens.

From a man of the Ninstints Eagles (Ga'ñxet gîtnā'-i [E 1, 2]) I obtained an account of the ancestresses of the Haida families, from which I will quote those parts that concern us here.

¹ See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 4.

² Xā'gi is said to mean "striped."

It [Xā'gi] came to the surface like a reef in the falling tide. On top of it a woman called Foam-Woman was sitting, and the families of supernatural beings swam over to it from all sides. Only those were there out of whom the present island families were going to come. Before this, when it was not yet on the surface, and the supernatural beings tried to climb on top of it, Foam-Woman refused to allow them to. She did not look around aimlessly. She looked at them, and they went back under the water. Then they were afraid, and waited for it to come above the surface of the water, as she had said. When quite a piece of it was above the surface, they began to talk over where they were going to settle. . . . The woman out of whom Those-born-at-Rose-Spit [R 13] were going to come went to Rose Spit. . . . Then they separated, and the Sqoā'ladas [R 10] went to the west coast. Those of the Xā'gi-Town-People [R 1], who in successive generations came out of the woman's womb, are the family leaders. They told them to go where they were to settle.

The same man added, that Foam-Woman had a daughter called Flood-Tide-Woman, from whom, instead of herself, the different Raven families came. This is contrary to the prevailing belief. The story seems to differ also in making only family leaders come from Foam-Woman, while the inferior supernatural beings gave birth to those of lesser rank. Asked what finally became of Foam-Woman, they said they did not know, that she probably returned to the place whence she had come.

Before attempting to trace the history of the various Haida families, I will refer the reader to the accompanying genealogical table, showing the probable and traditional relationship of the families, and their gradual splitting-up in descent.¹ It is to be understood that this is strung together entirely on evidence derived from native traditions, and in some cases with reference to probability only. The strength of the evidence for each part of it will come out in what follows. Where the evidence is very weak, I have used broken lines.

The order in which these families "came out" is differently given. An old woman of the Sqoā'ladas (R 10) and others said that the Xā'gi-Town-People were the oldest. The latter themselves claim it, and in potlatch time used to wear a small tree or bush fastened to their hair in memory of the first tree upon the islands. The other families enumerated by this old woman were Those-born-at-Stasa'os (R 11); the Slaves (R 1 a), who were part of the Xā'gi-Town-People (R 1); the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9); Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek (R 3); and the Sqoā'ladas (R 10), who "came off last." My Kaisun informant gave the following order: (1) People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9), (2) Xā'gi-Town-People (R 1), (3) the Slaves (R 1 a), (4) Narrow-Strait-Town People (R 1 b), (5) Those-born-at-Qā'gials or Cumshewa-Town-People (R 4), (6) Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek (R 3), (7) Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13), (8) the Sqoā'ladas (R 10). Some, he said, put the Sea-Otter-People (R 7) last. Since the father of my informant, from whom he says he obtained much of his information, belonged to the first family in the series, that fact may account for its precedence.

The Ravens of Atā'na. — While all Raven families are generally traced

¹ A table giving the location of the families will be found in Chapter XIII.

back to Foam-Woman, there are two groups which sometimes form an exception, — the Raven families at Rose Spit, and those of Atā'na.¹ I shall speak of the people of Rose Spit later. In the story just quoted the origin of the Atā'na families is given as follows: —

The Sand-Town-People [R 2] and Those-born-at-Qā'gials [R 4] have one grandmother. When the island of Atā'na came to the surface, a cockle-shell was upon it, out of which a woman came of whom came the Sand-Town-People and Those-born-at-Qā'gials. Then they separated.

Others said that when the flood went down, Xā'gi was the first land to appear above it, and Atā'na the second. When the latter came up, another woman was sitting upon it, who became the grandmother of the Sand-Town-People (R 2). Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), on the other hand, were washed ashore in a cockle-shell. From this circumstance the family was said to be clean from all impurities; and when any of its members gave way to a mean action, it was common to say to him, "You did not drift ashore in the cockle-shell." At the same time Those-born-at-Qā'gials consider the woman of Atā'na their grandmother. Qā'gials, from which this family takes its name, is a reef or sand-spit opposite Dead Tree Point, on the north side of Skidegate Inlet.

According to another Skedans story, the ancestors of Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), Sand-Town-People (R 2), Middle-Town-People (R 19), and the people of the Tsimshian town of Kitkatla, were floating about together upon the waters of the flood, and when it subsided were separated into the various places they afterward occupied. At least, this shows the close relationship believed to exist between the ancestors of the Haida families involved. Of the people of Kitkatla I shall have more to say presently. They are included here, because they were reckoned as belonging to the same clan as the Haida Ravens.

Some Skedans women are said to have married among the Gīt'ns of Skidegate Inlet (E 6), then at their old town near there. Their children, of course, were Ravens, and came to be called Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4). In time this appellation extended to the family of which they formed a part. Another appellation, Cumshewa-Town-People, is said to have been given to the family by the people of Skidegate Inlet, and may mean that they once lived in or near the town of Cumshewa, or that some of them were born there.

The Ravens of Sqē'na. — The next myth which gives us a glimpse of the development of these families concerns the town of Sqē'na. The name of this place was familiar to all Skidegate Haida, and to some Masset people as well. It was situated on the eastern coast, just south of Sand Spit Point, and consisted, like all story-towns, of five rows of houses. Some say that all the Ravens of the islands once lived here; others specify only a few families, even including in the list Eagle families such as the Witch-People (E 5) and the Seaward-Gīt'ns (E 11); but what seems to be the old story says that

¹ Atā'na is an island near the hot-spring in the northern edge of the Ninintins country.

there were five Raven families here, one in each row, from which other Raven families are descended. These five were the Sand-Town-People (R 2), who were so named because they occupied the row next the beach; the Point-Town-People (R 14), whose row extended out upon a cape near by; the Middle-Town-People (R 19), who had the middle row; the Mud-People or Earth-Eaters (R 21), so named because they lived in a part of the town where trails were numerous, and where there was consequently much mud; and the Rear-Town-People (R 15), who occupied the rear row.

From statements gathered at Masset and elsewhere, it seems certain that the Point-Town-People (R 14) and Rear-Town-People (R 15) were differentiated when they lived at Rose Spit; while the Earth-Eaters (R 21) seem rather to have been added on account of their name to make up the five, and, from the account given of them by an old Kaigani, they would appear to have had a comparatively recent origin. Now, it is interesting to note that the three groups into which these five families become resolved correspond to three different traditions accounting for the origin of the Raven people. The Middle-Town-People (R 19) are always assigned to Foam-Woman; the Sand-Town-People (R 2), to the woman of Atā'na; and the Rear-Town-People (R 15) and the Point-Town-People (R 14), to another "grandmother" at Rose Spit.

This legend goes on to say that some boys in the village one day manufactured bows and arrows, and went through the town shooting at dog-fish eggs, strung up inside, through holes in the corners of the houses. When they shot into the chief's house, trouble followed, and there was a fight in the town. After it the families separated.

The Ravens of Ninstints. — One of two survivors of the Xā'gi-Town-People (R 1) denied that her family was at Sqē'na, but most said that all of the Ravens were present. The Slaves were part of the Xā'gi-Town-People, and lived in the same neighborhood. They were considered a rather low branch of the family, although, as represented in the stories, they seem to have been among the most powerful families, and their chiefs among the bravest of Ninstints. The origin of their name is said to have been as follows: A chief's wife was giving them food, and, as they never seemed satisfied, she said, "Are you slaves?" Ever afterwards they were known as the Slaves (R 1 a). Another part of the Xā'gi-Town-People were called Narrow-Strait-Town-People (R 1 b), from the town in which they lived.

The Sand-Town-People (R 2), as we have seen, were connected closely in story with the Middle-Town-People (R 19), Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), and the people of Kitkatla, with which last they were also "friends." In some way they became separated into two bands, one of which remained around their old seats in the Ninstints country; while the others, called more often by the contracted form of the name, Sand-People (R 20), reached the north-west coast of Graham Island, and subsequently moved to Alaska. Their town,

Kasaan, forms the northernmost Haida outpost on Tlingit soil; while Those-born-at-Songs-of-Victory-Town (R 2 a), a large and important branch of the Sand-Town-People of Ninstints (R 2), owned the southernmost Haida town. There has come to be a dialectic difference between the languages spoken by these two branches.

The Ravens of Skedans. — I have already given an account of the great Raven family of Skedans, Those-born-at-Qā'gials. From the number of stories regarding their origin, it would seem that they may have received additions from several independent sources. There were many divisions within a family not named independently, but none the less recognized, and indicated at the potlatches by slight differences in dress. One would refer to this by saying, "The dress is between us." Two sections of this family were named, however. The Peninsula-People (R 4 a) originally lived at the outer end of that neck of land on which the town stands. They had their own chief, and embraced three unnamed divisions. The People-of-the-Town-in-McKay's-Harbor (R 4 b) were a low class of people, who are said to have been won from their own town at the above place by gambling.

The chief of Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), who was at the same time town chief of Skedans,¹ was one of the most influential of all Haida chiefs. His importance he seems to have owed rather to the arts of peace than to those of war. As already stated, he was a close friend of the Tsimshian chief at Kitkatla, Djē'basā;² and new crests, new stories, and new features for the potlatch, came to the Haida through these two chiefs oftener than in any other way. The present chief of Skedans explained their friendship as follows: "When Djē'basā and his people came down from the Nass, two canoes came halfway over to Skedans from Kitkatla, and the people sang a song there, after which they separated. One returned and settled at Kitkatla; the other kept on and founded Skedans. After this the two chiefs always treated each other as brothers (i. e., they considered themselves of the same clan)." Skedans was thus looked up to as the town which set new fashions, and, perhaps in consequence, seems to have had an exemption from war not enjoyed by most other towns. Among the war-stories I have collected, only one involves Skedans, although its neighbors in Skidegate and Kloo were continually fighting. The near-by town of Cumshewa appears to have suffered even less.

The Ravens of the Town of Da'xua. — Another set of families, part of whom, at any rate, were Middle-Town-People (R 19), moved from Sqē'na to Da'xua, just north of Lawn Hill; but after some time had passed, trouble broke out again, resulting in the abandonment of this town also. The story was related by descendants of the Skidegate families involved as follows.

¹ The word "Skedans" is a corruption of the chief's name, Gidā'nstā ("from his daughter"). The real name of the town was Q!ō'na, though it was more popularly known as Grisly-Bear-Town (Xū'adji lnagā'-i).

² Bella Bella, Ts!ē'basā ("place of holding in talons").

The People-of-Pebble-Town [R 9] and the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas [R 5] moved from Sqē'na to Da'xua together. While they were living there, a man brought a new canoe to the village, which the chief of the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas agreed to buy; but when he was out fishing, the chief of the Pebble-Town-People purchased it. When the other returned and heard what had happened, he entered his house and sat down by the fire without saying a word. He was so angry that he could not put food straight into his mouth. His servant Yū'lañ, observing this, went out. By this time it was so dark that he could not be recognized, and coming to where the canoe lay, in which the rival chief had placed his nephews as a guard, he said, "Yū'lañ says he will break up this canoe." They said something in reply, and he went away. Later he returned and repeated the same words, with like result. But the third time there was no answer, so he knew they were asleep. Then he smashed the canoe to pieces; and next day a great fight broke out, ending in the discomfiture of the People-of-Pebble-Town [R 9], who were driven to the woods.

At that time a family called Sea-Otters [R 7] — because, it is said, they were as numerous as the sea-otter — was settled at a place just west of Skidegate, where the new oil-works now stand. They were nephews of Qonā'tc, of whom there is a well-known story. This connects them with Telēl, but nothing else is said about their origin. Their chief at that time was named Gwaxā'nda.

Here the fugitives came out, purchased the town, and re-established themselves; while the Sea-Otters settled at Q'ō'stanxā'na, just east of Skidegate village, and, when their numbers were still further reduced, moved to the latter place. The last member of this family, a chief's wife, died some time ago. Their first town was called Small-Stones or Pebbles, and thence its new possessors received the name People-of-Pebble-Town [R 9]. At the time when they lived at Da'xua they were recognized on all hands as part of the Middle-Town-People.

The Ravens of Skidegate Inlet. — There were two families of Sqoā'ladas (R 10), — the Sqoā'ladas proper, who went about with the People-of-Pebble-Town; and the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas (R 5) above referred to. It was suggested by a man belonging to one of these families that the name Sqoā'ladas meant that the bearers of it were successful fishermen. It would seem not unlikely that a family called Sqoā'ladas existed at the time of the trouble above referred to, and, taking opposite sides, split into two branches. The Sqoā'ladas, I may add, are also held to be related to the Middle-Town-People (R 19), with whom they share some personal names. The sole survivor of the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas — not, however, a very old man — disclaimed any relationship between his family and the Sqoā'ladas proper, but members of the latter family who were much older seemed to think there had been such a connection.

The Seaward-Sqoā'ladas (R 5) also occupied the old story-town of Xā'ina, on Maude Island, presumably at a later date, but still at such an early period that the man of that family just referred to suggested that they might have held it at the same time as Da'xua, ever since the days when the supernatural beings met there. At Xā'ina the family is said to have been ruled by a chieftainess called Djat gūdā'liñ [for gudañā'ñ] kiā'nans. Besides Da'xua, they later owned the town of Skidegate (Łgai-ū'), farther south, where some of Those-born-at-Qā'gials lived with them. A branch of this family, which is held in rather low estimation, occupied two miserable towns in Alliford Bay, — Mussel-chewing-Town or Woman's-Necklace-Town and Town-always-moving-to-and-fro. They are thought to have separated from the others on account of some feud.

The Skidegate-Town-People (R 6) are said to have received their name from Old Łgai-ū', the town above referred to, where it is probable that they originated. This family and the Seaward-Sqoā'ładas (R 5) were the most important Raven families in Skidegate Inlet. There is a mythical account of the origin of the Skidegate-Town-People; but it is not repeated by themselves, as it is not considered altogether creditable to them.

In very old times, the story runs, there was a town on the southwest coast of Maude Island called Xō'tao Inagā'i. For some grave offence the daughter of the town chief there was abandoned by her people, and wandered away to a part of the coast where there was a rocky shore. Here two "good fellows" met her, and she married one of them. This place was Łgai-ū', and her children received the name of Skidegate-Town-People (Łgai-ū' lā'nas). The men who met her were the Cormorants, and it was sometimes cast in the teeth of the people of this family that they were descended from the Cormorant.

Subsequently the family came to settle at Skidegate (Łgag'łda), which is said to have received its other name (Łgai-ū') either from them or from the name of the older town, by marriage of people living at Skidegate with people of Łgai-ū'. Afterwards a part of the Skidegate-Town-People (R 6) came to be called Those-born-at-Skidegate (R 6 a).

In time the Skidegate-Town-People lost possession of the place which bears their name to the Giti'ns. How this took place was told me by an old woman of the former family, as follows: —

One of the Skidegate-Town-People [R 6] had married a woman of the Giti'ns, and had a daughter by her. Once she and her father's nephew went into the forest to get gum from the trees to chew. In old times they used to light a fire under the tree and let the gum run down into hollows in kelp-stems. While they did this, the girl was looking upward; and some hot pitch, falling into one eye, put it out. In atonement for the injury, the boy's family offered three slaves to that of the girl, but it did not satisfy them. At last the boy seized his mother's digging-stick and threw it out. It was a sign that his family gave up the town, since which the Giti'ns have owned it.

Later war broke out with the Masset people, and the various families moved farther up Skidegate Inlet, founding the inner series of towns. Two of these — Drum-Town (Gaodja'os) and Gasi'ns — were settled by the Skidegate-Town-People (R 6). Drum-Town became a great story town. Once when there was a severe famine in the Inlet, and the people were completely out of food, the chief of this town, The-Possessor, still had some, and invited all to a potlatch. When they came, their faces were swollen with hunger; but he allayed the suffering, and they went home well.

The remaining Raven family in this region, Those-born-at-Skidegate-Creek, — or Food-giving-Town-People (R 8), as they were also called, — had a very simple story-history, of which I have a good account from one of the four or five survivors. He claims that his family owned Sqe'na, and at the break-up of that town was the only one which did not leave. Later they moved from place to place in the same region, occupying two or three towns

in Copper Bay and one at least in Shingle Bay. From the last, Food-giving-Town, they received one of their present names. It was these people from whose hooks Raven stole the bait, and who subsequently caught him in the form of a halibut. Recently, like all the other families, they have moved into Skidegate.

The Ravens of the West Coast. — Some time after the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9) and the Sqoā'ladas (R 10) had settled at the former place, a man of the Seaward-Eagles (E 11), then living with the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas (R 5), killed one of the members of the first family named, and a war followed in which many were killed on both sides. Finally the former ended the trouble by moving to the West Coast. This was one account. Another man gave me the following long story: —

While the two sets of families were living side by side at Pebble-Town and Skidegate, a woman at work in one of the houses at the first-mentioned place was mysteriously shot; but blame was laid upon the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas [R 5], some of whom lived in Skidegate. Her husband belonged to this family; and before she died, the woman told her friends to kill him. Then they sent his two unsuspecting sons to call him from Skidegate, "because her grave-box was about to be removed." He came, and, as he stood weeping over the box, was slain. A war followed, in which the People-of-Pebble-Town [R 9] were driven away, and settled on the West Coast, under their chief Sgaga'ñgo.

A state of terror, however, ensued in the Inlet, because people were continually coming from the West Coast to steal dried food and do damage. Then a man of the Pebble-Town-Eagles [E 8] named Shaman's-Batons pretended he wanted to marry a woman of the Seaward-Sqoā'ladas [R 5]; but after he and his family had entered the canoe, and before his wife got in, he pushed it off just as she was about to follow, saying, "No, no, no!" in English. This was the first time they had heard that language.

Of course this was intended as an insult to the Inlet people. The latter were then encamped in a fort upon a small islet close to the north shore of Anchor Cove, near the coal-mine; but later, when they heard that the same man was going to come after his wife again, they moved to a fort on a large islet west of Lina Island. When he had come thither, he would not at first go up to the house, but sent his nephews. By and by, however, some one said, loud enough for him to hear, that they were going to give the woman to his eldest nephew. Not liking this, he went up where all were sitting in a circle to receive him; but when he was inside, the head chief went out and gave a signal, whereupon his people drew concealed knives and killed all except two or three of Shaman's-Batons' companions. These were subsequently caught in hiding, and despatched. All of the bodies were then thrown off from a steep cliff, while Shaman's-Batons himself was taken as a slave.

The people now moved to a new fort on Bare Island, opposite Skidegate, and for some time were in great straits for fear of the enemy, especially since they had to bring water from the site of Pebble-Town, while the West-Coast-People were much better off at their new settlement of Nē'si (opposite Tcā'at).

After a while the West-Coast-People let a woman of the People-of-Pebble-Town [R 9] whose husband was chief of the Rotten-House-People [E 6] know that her friends were coming. On the day appointed by them, she told her husband that the water was all gone; and when he went across to procure some, he was surrounded, driven into the water, and killed before the eyes of his friends. Then they cut his head off, took their kinswoman with them, and returned. Upon this the Inlet people took a "cross-cut saw," — for this was after white contact, — and sawed Shaman's-Batons in two.

The affair seems to have occurred in the fall, and in the following spring all the Inlet people went to Da'xua. Near the end of spring ten canoe-loads of West-Coast-People came to attack them, and landed when the tide was in. Both sides lined up opposite, and a pitched battle followed. It

lasted a long time; but finally the West-Coast-People were forced slowly back, and suddenly they fell into a trench behind them, where most of them were killed. One of the Inlet men had a long pole with a hook on the end concealed by feathers. With this he pulled opponents from their ranks to a place where they could be despatched. A few escaped up the coast, but were pursued and killed; a few others took to the woods and got away. After a long and weary journey, the latter reached Tc!ā'a! again, but in crossing the channel had to float on grave-boxes, and it gave them a "bad name." Then the Inlet people smashed all of their enemies' canoes.

Besides those of the West Coast, the chief Haida enemies of the Inlet people were the people of Kloo. They remained on good terms with those of Cumshewa and Skedans.

An Eagle family called Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9), from the name of their old town in Skotsgai Bay, had preceded the families above mentioned to the West Coast; and a branch of these, the Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10), was settled at Tc!ā'a! on the south side of Kuper Island, near the sea. At first the Pebble-Town-People settled at Nē'si, opposite, but were so much bothered by the high winds there that they bought Tc!ā'a! from its first owners, and divided it between them. The People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9) occupied one end; the Sqoā'fadas (R 10), the other. The Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10) then moved to Kaisun, where they rejoined their kinsmen.

There was another family bearing the name Stasa'os; but these were Ravens, Those-born-at-Stasa'os (R 11). They seem to have originated at the same time and place. While the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9) were at their old village, and the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9) in Skotsgai Bay, relations between the families were very close, and intermarriages numerous. Part of both people were then in the habit of camping along the north side of the western entrance to Skidegate Channel, which region was called Stasa'os xie'ndaga-i (xie'ndi, "a long bay"). Children born to the campers here of Raven women were hence called Those-born-at-Stasa'os (R 11); those born of Eagle women, Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10). In their migrations each generally accompanied the side to which it was related, although half of the former went to live at Kaisun.

The Sqoā'fadas (R 10), after they had remained some time in Tc!ā'a!, moved away under Chief Qiñgā'yīñ and settled at Swampy-Village, opposite Hippa Island. While here, part of them began to be called Those-born-at-Hippa-Island (R 10 a), and they seem to have owned the town. In this region the Sqoā'fadas encountered the West-Coast-Rear-Town-People (R 15 d'), who had come around by the north end of Graham Island; but from the following story, relating how they obtained their songs, it would appear that the two families were on good terms with each other.

One day Qiñgā'yīñ went out to hunt hair-seals, accompanied by his nephews and a man belonging to the West-Coast-Rear-Town-People [R 15 d']. It was summer. When they set out on their return, evening was coming on; but after a very brief period of darkness it became light again. Then they dropped anchor close to Nastō' [Hippa Island], and presently heard a great noise and much singing. The supernatural beings under Nastō' and Q!ō'na kun were holding rival potlatches.

The hunters were taken into Nastō's house, where they learned six songs; and into Q!ō'na kun's house, where they learned seven more. These were property-songs. Three of these Qiñgā'yīñ gave to the man of the West-Coast-Rear-Town-People [R 15 d], and he kept the remainder for himself. That night was as long as two ordinary nights.

When Qiñgā'yīñ reached home, he was afraid he had become a supernatural being himself, and to find out went to where rain-water was running from the roof. No killer-whale skin was washed off of him, however, and he knew that he had not changed. Still he had had a narrow escape. Afterwards some one went out and found ten black whales floating in front of Nastō', and ten more in front of Q!ō'na kun. Then they had a great feast.

This story may have arisen to account for resemblances between the songs of the two families involved, who, according to tradition, were once at Sqē'na together. Later the Sqōā'fadas (R 10) and Those-born-at-Hippa-Island (R 10 a) moved back as far as Rennel Sound, where they built a town on the south shore called Moving-Village, or more often by outsiders Rennel Town (Tca'lo Inagā'-i), from the name of the inlet. Later still, all moved down to Tc!ā'ał again, though some of Those-born-at-Hippa-Island are said to be among the Kaigani in Alaska. Finally remnants of all the West Coast families moved to the site of Old Xā'-ina, on the eastern end of Maude Island. The first to go were the Pebble-Town-Eagles (E 8), whose chief consequently became chief of the town; and the chiefs of the two old West Coast towns, unwilling to take a subordinate position, moved back to the sites of the Inlet towns their ancestors had once occupied, and put up houses. They seem to have hoped to draw their families with them, but, if so, they were disappointed; and Xā'-ina was only abandoned when the people all moved into Skidegate. At present there are very few of the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9) and Those-born-at-Stasa'os (R 11) left, but the Sqōā'fadas (R 10) form one of the largest families in Skidegate. There are said to be two of Those-born-at-Hippa-Island still living there.

The Ravens of Kloo. — These families embraced some minor divisions, none of which is important enough to notice. One side-shoot from the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9), however, deserves further mention.

This family, Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek (R 3), were the only Ravens in the town of Kloo. According to tradition, a man of the Witch-People of Cumshewa (E 5) married a woman of the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9); and they and their children used to camp at the mouth of Q!ā'dasgo Creek, which is on Louise Island, and flows into Cumshewa Inlet from the south (sometimes this place is called Q!ā'dasgo Inagā'-i, as if it were a regular town). At times the parents took their children to see their relatives on the West Coast, and in jest the latter called them Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek (R 3), which appellation afterwards stuck to them and their descendants. In olden times they were considered a rather inferior family, but seem to have been steadily rising, and now form one of the largest in Skidegate.

The Ravens of Rose Spit. — A third story-town was House-Point-Town

(Nā-iku'n Inagā'-i). This takes its name from the Haida appellation for Rose Spit, just as the latter would seem to have been named from the settlements there. Rose Spit (or Nā-iku'n) is an immense sand-spit running northeastward from the corner of Graham Island, between Dixon Entrance on the north, and Hecate Strait on the southeast. It appears to be still growing outward; and the spot which was pointed out to me as the site of the ancient town is between one and two hundred feet back from the sea to the east, which it formerly-fronted. All around here the land is sandy and covered with dunes. Farther back this part of Graham Island is low and swampy. The spit was noted far and wide for the power of the supernatural beings living there, and it was much dreaded in consequence. Between heavy seas and cross-tides the actual terrors are sufficient, as any one who has been near it can testify.

So far, I have followed the traditions which start with Xā'gi; and that seems, indeed, to be the most important story dealing with family origins. There exists, however, particularly among the Rose Spit families, a set of traditions which assigns an equal antiquity to the people who used to live there. Although Rose Spit people at Skidegate recognized the equal antiquity of the Xā'gi and Rose Spit families, the Ninstints people did not allow it, asserting that the grandmother of the Rose Spit Ravens was a daughter of Foam-Woman. On the other hand, Rose Spit figures prominently as an old town in the Raven story, and here the hero finally came to the islands. Rose Spit is also the nearest point to the mainland, the place from which east-bound expeditions from the north coast started, and that which they made first on their return.

According to the oldest man of the Rose Spit people now at Skidegate, Xā'gi and Rose Spit arose from the ocean at the same time, when the flood raised by Raven's uncle went down. Foam-Woman was sitting upon the former, and two people were upon Rose Spit. From these latter came all of the Rose Spit Ravens. Another man said that when the flood reached its height, it did not cover Rose Spit. Two human beings were sitting there, and from these came the Rose Spit families. This agrees with a version obtained by Professor Boas.

The story told by the present chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13) was somewhat different. According to him, his people are descended from a woman who came up on Rose Spit much as Foam-Woman came up on Xā'gi. Her name was Supernatural-Woman-rolled-about-much-by-the-Waves. She had five or six breasts, one owned by each of the five families who came from her. These were the Point-Town-People (R 14), the Rear-Town-People (R 15), the Skí'daoqao (R 16), the Standing-Water-People (R 13 a), and Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13). With the possible exception of the Skí'daoqao, they seem to have originally formed one family, and they still share some personal names. The division into five is probably to fill out the usual five-row town.

Here, again, the Point-Town-People are said to have occupied a row out towards the point; and the Rear-Town-People, the one farthest back towards the woods. It is more likely that this took place here than at Sqé'na. To the number of these families we should perhaps add the S^aagā'ñusilî (R 18) and the Cod-People (R 17), who were always close friends of the Skí'daoqao (R 16).

It is likely that some or all of these had become partly differentiated from each other before the trouble broke out which scattered them. The story of this disturbance is given as follows: —

At one time the people of Rose Spit set snares to catch eagles, under which they concealed themselves in hollows in the ground, or, as some say, in houses. They were catching them to sell to the Tsimshian. When they had caught them, they broke their wings, and at evening knew how many they had caught. One evening a man of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit [R 13] went to get his eagles, and missed one. By the tracks he discovered it was a blue hawk. By and by it was rumored about that one man of the Rear-Town-People [R 15] had a blue hawk. The first man knew it was his, and went to demand it; but the one in possession would not give it up. Some fights followed. Then all put on their armor, took their spears and bows and arrows, and fought. After a while they stopped, and, moving away from each other, abandoned the town.

According to a Masset version, the Rear-Town-People (R 15) were victorious, driving Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13) and the Standing-Water-People (R 13 a) out of the village, which they themselves soon after abandoned, going in the opposite direction. The Rear-Town-People always had a reputation for causing trouble.

The Ravens of Cape Ball. — The Standing-Water-People (R 13 a) seem to have moved first to the mouth of Raven Creek. Thence they passed down the coast to Cape Ball, and established a town called Town (Lā'nas) just south of it. Later they changed to a position just north of the cape, which they called High-Point-Town, after one name of Cape Ball. The owners of both of these towns were Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13), who seem to have been a sort of aristocratic branch of the Standing-Water-People (R 13 a). Another town occupied by the same family was called Town-of-the-Ditches. The Standing-Water-People had a small town of their own near by; but in course of time the sea cut away much land at High-Point-Town, while the numbers of the people probably began to fall off: so at last they moved to Skidegate, where they are still fairly well represented. According to one story, they moved to Skidegate twice, — once after leaving Town and before settling at High-Point-Town, and the second time from the latter place, — but this statement is probably incorrect.

The Masset Inlet Branch of the Rose Spit Ravens. — The Skí'daoqao (R 16) are said to have received their name from an uncle, Skí'dao. They seem to have left Rose Spit somewhat in advance of the other Masset Ravens, and to have settled in Masset (°atai'was, "white slope") before any of them came up. The Cod-People (R 17) and S^aagā'ñusilî (R 18) probably accom-

panied them, the former passing on to the west coast, where they occupied Swampy-Village and the neighboring places, while the latter settled upon a stream flowing into Naden Harbor.

When the Rear-Town-People (R 15) came up from Rose Spit, they lived for a time in Masset with the Skí'daoqao¹ (R 16). One summer, however, while both families were encamped in the expansion at the upper end of Masset Inlet, trouble arose, and they engaged in a running fight all the way down to Masset. The Skí'daoqao landed first, however, and their opponents were compelled to begin a new town. This they built at Yan, on the opposite side of the Inlet, and considerably lower down. The war seems to have broken out in comparatively recent times, and was continued with varying success until the small-pox appeared, which proved a more formidable foe to both.

Meanwhile the Rear-Town-People (R 15) had been giving off branches in various directions. One, the West-Coast-Rear-Town-People (R 15 *d*), went to the west coast, where, after the emigration of the Kaigani, they were the principal Raven family; and one, the Yā'gun-River-Rear-Town-People (R 15 *c*), went to the Yā'gun River, which flows into Masset Inlet. Those who were in the habit of encamping on the coast between Masset Inlet and Virago Sound, which was called Rocky-Coast (T!ē'es), were called the Rocky-Coast-Rear-Town-People (R 15 *b*); while, in contradistinction to all of these, the main family at Yan came to be called the Masset-Inlet-Reār-Town-People (R 15 *a*).

The Point-Town-People (R 14) also became split up and scattered. The Point-Town-People proper lived at Lī'elañ, whence they moved to Masset, and settled around the hill ʔ'djao. Part of them came to be called Lī'elañ-River-Point-Town-People (R 14 *b*). In addition, there were the Up-(Masset)Inlet-Point-Town-People (R 14 *c*) and the Rocky-Coast-Point-Town-People (R 14 *a*).

The North Island Raven Group. — While two of the reputed families of Sqē'na were associated with the northeastern corner of the island, the three remaining settled at its extreme northwestern corner, around North Island. This is all the more remarkable, since they are the very ones connected most closely with a Ninstints origin; the Middle-Town-People (R 19) reckoning their descent from Foam-Woman, and the Sand-Town-People (R 2) from the woman of Atā'na. Of their hypothetical journey from the south there is not the least tradition. It is simply said that they came from that direction. Since the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9) are a branch of this family, they may all have lived together at Lawn Hill before that town was broken up, but there is nothing to prove it. All of them afterwards went to Alaska.

If the story told me by an old man of the Middle-Town-People (R 19) is correct, the Earth-Eaters (R 21) would seem to have been differentiated after they moved north. He said that they used to live at Dorsal-Fin-Town.

¹ It is altogether possible that the two families were not differentiated until after they lived in Masset.

This is named from a town in front of it, which stood up like the dorsal fin of a killer-whale; and thence the people received their earliest name, Holding-up-the-Fin-Town-People. Afterwards they began to cook and eat a vegetable growth found under the salmon-berry bushes (Łk!ū'nīt). Some of them made fun of this, saying, "Only earth we eat," and so the family came to be called Earth-Eaters (R 21). But of course this story may have been invented to explain a name already old.

The principal settlement of the Sand-Town-People (R 2) was T!ē, on the western coast of Graham Island; and there is a popular flood-story connected with that town. The Middle-Town-People (R 19), however, constituted the greatest of these families, its main seat being Dā'dans, on the south shore of North Island. There the Earth-Eaters (R 21) and the (Masset) Inlet-born (R 22) lived with them. According to an old Kaigani, there was once a small family called T!ā'ał-Town-People,¹ probably Raven, living at the town of T!ā, on North Island. He remembered having seen the last member of the family.

The Kaigani. — This brings us to the great migration to Alaska. Statements regarding the location of the several families before they moved, and regarding the movement itself, are so definite, that it can have occurred only in very recent times. The explorer Douglas speaks as if Dā'dans were a regular inhabited town at the time of his visit. If so, and if it be true, as they now maintain, that Dā'dans was never regularly occupied after the migration, it is possible the latter did not occur until after white contact, much more recently than the date (about 1720) fixed by Dawson. Otherwise I should have said that his estimate was about correct.

An old Kaigani of the Sta'stas family (E 21) told the following story of this movement: —

One of the Sta'stas lived at Yāk!". His wife was very fond of dried cod-fish. Once she still had some dried cod-fish on hand, but told her husband it was all gone. So he went out fishing. The woman's name was Sā'wa. She knew how to weave blankets of mountain-goat wool. While her husband was out, the wind blew him out to sea and he was drowned. By and by his friends who lived at Dā'dans came to Yāk!" to see what property he had left; but when the woman brought forth her husband's box, only two pieces of wood dropped out. Then the friend of the man who was lost felt so much ashamed that he took the woman out, saying he was going to make a slave of her, because she had caused the death of her husband. He brought her to Dā'dans. She belonged to the [Masset] Inlet-born [R 22]. When they reached the beach, the woman's brother's son came down to see his aunt. Then the chief who had brought her over asked him if he came down to take his aunt away. He said "Yes." Then the chief seized him and took him up to the house, saying, "I will make a slave of you, too." The chief held this man, who was also one of the Sta'stas, by the neck; but just as they reached the house door, the latter turned around and drove a knife down through the chief's shoulder into his heart, so that he died on the spot.

Then they arranged the corpse as was customary, and set it up. The brother of the murdered man was out fishing, and all of the Sta'stas, ranging themselves on opposite sides ready to fight, awaited his return; but when he got home that evening, he told them that no death was to take place. He only wanted them to pay for his brother. Still he himself was a great warrior. As soon as they heard that, they threw down all their armor and weapons. Then they began to pay him,

¹ See Chapter XIII, end of list of families.

and they paid him the biggest blood-money that was ever paid. Next day he went out and told them to separate for a time, and he told some to go over to Alaska. Part did so, and part went to Virago Sound. Those who went to Virago Sound were the Up-[Masset]Inlet-Town-People [E 19]. Taking their wives with them involved the emigration of other families as well.

An old man belonging to the Middle-Town-People (R 19) gave the following version: —

One of the family Q!ā'was, part of the Sta'stas [E 21], married a woman of the Earth-Eaters [R 21]. Her husband went out fishing and caught many halibut. The Tc!ā'a!-Town-People [E 23] came down out of Masset Inlet and wanted to buy his halibut. He did not want to sell them: he wanted to keep them for his brother-in-law. For that, they tied him up, and took away all of his halibut. They lived seaward, at the town of Tc!ā'a!, whither they now went. One who was with the man they had left untied him, and he went home. His brother-in-law had a nephew. The former came to know what had happened, and talked severely to his nephew, upon which his nephew slammed the door to in haste. Next day, very early, his nephew went out and returned at once. Then he took out a bow that his uncle owned; and his uncle asked him, "What do you want it for?" He said to him, "I want it for an eagle which is sitting on the point."¹ [His uncle said,] "Be brave. Do not let it escape." Then he went to the town of Tc!ā'a!. Very early they all went out fishing from there. The chief was called Gi'tans'-Box. He lay against a stone in front of the town called Lying-Greasy. He turned his back to the rising sun; and his copper, too, lay beside him.

Then the youth came to the town, ran in front of it, and ran back by the beach. While the chief was still warming his back in the sunshine, he shot an arrow through it. When he came back, he told them that he had killed the chief, and they began to war with each other.

At that time they first came to Prince of Wales Island. The Yā'das [E 21 g] went off first, and came to live at Tc!atcheenie. Then the Tanta-People (i. e., Tongass) lived around here [Klinkwan]. The Tanta-People made war on the Tc!atcheenie-People, and they killed all of the Tc!atcheenie-People [see Chapter XIII, Towns, No. 126].

Since they thought there were very few Haida left behind, they went off to destroy them too.² These Tlingit were called DA'qoades. Then the news of this reached North Island, and all the Haida also went to war together. They met each other to fight just west of Howkan. Then the Haida smashed all of the Tlingit canoes and killed half of the people. One that escaped they chased, and at the end of Stals it landed at the bow. When they all ran to the bow, they upset the canoe; and right there they speared all of them. Thence they went to Shakan, and from behind Shakan saw that people were living there; and they remained there all night. The [Tlingit] warriors' wives were dancing there, and, while they slept, the Haida encircled the town. Early in the morning they came down and destroyed the town people. Some men that were in the houses they also destroyed, and took very many slaves. As soon as the warriors had come home [to North Island], all went over to make war, — the Tc!ā'a!-Town-People [E 23], the Middle-Town-People [R 19], the Earth-Eaters [R 21], the S^aala'ndas [E 22], the [Masset] Inlet-born [R 22], the Sand-Town-People [R 2], the Yā'das [E 21 g]. Then they lived at Kasaan and at Shakan and Howkan. After that, they came to live at K!aiga'ni.³ The Middle-Town-People, the Tc!ā'a!-Town-People [E 23], and the S^aala'ndas [E 22] lived there; but still they did not stay there in winter. Only when spring came they began to live there; and when the salmon began to run, they started off. They lived there a long time. But at length Xā'dasgot came thither and killed a Skidegate man there, named Ū'djiwas.⁴ After that, they ceased living there. After they had entirely given it up, they came to live at Klinkwan, where they staid. They stopped going about.

¹ The Tc!ā'a!-Town-People (E 23) belong to the Eagle clan.

² It is said that formerly the Tlingit did not know that the Queen Charlotte Islands were inhabited, and first became aware of the fact by seeing a gull with a rag tied to its foot.

³ From this summer town they received their popular name, Kaigani. Their main object in collecting there appears to have been to meet white trading-vessels.

⁴ Another informant said it was because they had killed Lagie'x, head chief at Port Simpson.

These may contain the proximate occasion for the movement, but are, I think, only half of the story. It would appear that the people were increasing in numbers, and that this corner of the island was becoming over-populated. The Haida seem to have been moving in this direction for generations, and the next step to Alaska was only a little greater than some of the previous ones. On clear days the mountains on Prince of Wales Island are plainly visible from any part of the north coast of Graham Island. An occasion was the only thing needed to induce the people to move northward.

The Middle-Town-People (R 19), Sand-Town-People (R 2), Earth-Eaters (R 21), and Inlet-born (R 22) constituted the Raven clan in this new country; and the Tc!ā'a!-Town-People (E 23), the S^aalā'ndas (E 22), and the Yā'das (E 21 g), the Eagle side. The Inlet-born came from Masset Inlet. There are said to have been several divisions to the family, one of which lived in Q!ayā'ñ, though the bulk of them were on a small stream north of Yan. A member of this family killed one of the Gítans¹ of Masset, and all fled to Alaska, where, along with the Tc!ā'a!-Town-People (E 23), they occupied Howkan. The Earth-Eaters (R 21) and S^aalā'ndas (E 22) went to Shakan; the Eagle-House-People (R 19 e), a branch of the Middle-Town-People (R 19), went to Muddy-Stream-Town, and the rest of the Middle-Town-People to Klinkwan; while the Sand-Town-People (R 2) settled in Kasaan, far around on the east side of Prince of Wales Island.

Contact with the Tlingit modified the social organization of these families in such a way that all except the Sand-Town-People (R 2) became divided into "house-groups." This does not mean that each group lived in one house, — it often had several houses, and in one case occupied the larger part of a town, — but each received its name from some house, or as if from some house. There were enumerated to me four divisions of the Middle-Town-People (R 19), five of the Earth-Eaters (R 21), and two of the (Masset) Inlet-born (R 22). A side-branch of the first of these families, the Inlet-Middle-Town-People (R 19 a), lived in Masset Inlet.

The Pitch-Town-People. — Before leaving the Raven families, I must say something of a curious people who formerly inhabited the west coast of Moresby Island. These were called Pitch-Town-People (R 12), and are said to have belonged to the Raven side; but I am not convinced that they were entirely exogamic. Although their history is shrouded somewhat in fabulous details, there is no doubt that such a people actually existed. They are said to have been Haida, speaking the same language as the rest, only, in the estimation of the other families, they were somewhat uncultivated, and are said to have lacked a crest system. Their story is as follows: —

They "started" from the neighborhood of a small lake lying back from a steep part of the western coast, south of Tasu Harbor, called Gambling-

¹ Masset form of "Giti'ns."

Sticks. In the night they would go out to a certain creek to club seal. From there they moved to Fat-Game or Fat-Fish, where they built a town; and thence to Winter-Village, where "they became more civilized." They do not remember hearing the name of any chief of these people while they were at this place, but one always hears of a chief woman called Going-to-be-a-Chief's-Daughter, and also of Woman-whom-they-always-think-too-High-to-marry. While they were living at Winter-Village, the Low-Ground-People (E 5 a), a branch of the Witch-People (E 5) of Cumshewa, came over to live with them, and they intermarried. It is said that when one of these Low-Ground-People put up a house here, called Grease-House, tattoo-marks were first introduced among the Haida. At Masset I was told that tattoo-marks had been used only in recent times.¹

From Fat-Game and Winter-Village the Pitch-Town-People (R 12) seem to have extended their settlements still farther up the coast; and when the people of Kaisun moved down from Skidegate Channel, they had several encounters with them. There are a number of stories regarding these in circulation among the former. The site of Kaisun itself is said to have been occupied by one of the towns of the Pitch-Town-People (R 12): but before the new settlers came, all had died out except one man named Taogā'ñat, who was so large that it took two entire bear-skins to make his blanket. All of them are described as strong men of gigantic stature, but "barbarous" and "foolish." They used to put feathers on the ends of poles, and, if the wind stirred these in the least, they would not go out of doors. They lived largely on sea-eggs, etc., but at night went out to spear fish. Taogā'ñat used to smell whales, and would direct the people where to go, when they would find at least part of one. Another village of the Pitch-Town-People (R 12) stood on an island in front of Kaisun, called Tc!i'da. This faced the north, and was consequently called Town-that-the-Sun-does-not-shine-upon. Its chief was called Łgā'gos (the action of putting stones into the fire and then into water to cook food). At the northwest end of Kuper Island is a small island called Gūl, on the eastern coast of which stood a town called Throwing-Grease-about-Town. The people of this place were attacked and exterminated by the people of Kaisun, with the exception of four, who ran across the island into a salt-water pond where kelp grows, and were changed into rocks. These knock against each other when there is going to be a storm. A short distance east of Hewlett Bay stood still another village, called Songs-of-Victory.

The Pitch-Town-People (R 12) thus occupied a section of wild coast between Kaisun and the Ninstints territory, of which the northern part afterwards fell to Kaisun.²

¹ My informant on the above particulars was one of the Low-Ground-People (E 5 a), himself a descendant of the Pitch-Town-People (R 12).

² Compare Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 40.

THE EAGLE CLAN AND FAMILIES. — The families of the Eagle clan do not show, according to their traditions, the same unity of origin as those of the side just considered, but the people endeavor to bring about some sort of inter-relationship in the way indicated by the table on the next page, made on the same plan as the Raven table opposite p. 76. A second name, *Giti'ns*, is applied to them; but the only difference that I could learn of, in the use of these two terms, was that the latter was thought to be a little more select.

The story of this side refers back to *Djila'qons*, as that of the Raven side to *Foam-Woman*. *Djila'qons*, however, was a quite different person. Whereas *Foam-Woman* appears only once in Haida story, long enough to give birth to the Raven families, *Djila'qons* is a conspicuous and ever-recurring figure in their mythology. She was brought from the mainland by *He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed*, either, as one account has it, from *Lalgī'mi*,¹ or, according to another, from *Nass River*, and placed in the west arm of *Cumshewa Inlet*, where a stream called *Ça'oqons* flows down, of which she became *Creek-Woman*. As has been related, she was present when *Xā'gi* arose out of the flood.

From the same *Ninstints* story which detailed the origin of the Ravens I quote the following particulars about this clan: —

All the Eagles upon this island came in succession out of the womb of *Djila'qons*. In process of descent they became differentiated [into the various families]. *Swiftly-sliding-Woman*,² a child of *Djila'qons*, sat up and wove a blanket. She put two coppers on it. A yellow-cedar blanket was the kind she wove. It was she who taught the people how to do this. She bore a child called *Greatest-Mountain*. She also bore children in *Łga'dan*. The children who came from her were called *Those-born-at-Sa'ki* [E 1] and *Those born-in-the-Ninstints-Country* [E 2]. She, however, became a mountain.

In an earlier part of the above story it says, "When they went where they were going to settle, *Those-born-at-Skedans* [E 3] and *Those-born-in-the-Ninstints-Country* [E 2] went off singing the same property-songs."

The Eagles of Ninstints. — According to these accounts, *Djila'qons*, a contemporary of *Foam-Woman*, the ancestress of the Ravens, had a daughter, *Swiftly-sliding-Woman*, who came to live under the *Ninstints* mountain of that name, after giving birth to the ancestresses of *Those-born-in-the-Ninstints-Country* (E 2) and *Those-born-at-Skedans* (E 3). *Those-born-at-Skedans*, as the most powerful family of the group, were probably chosen to represent all of the Eagle families of *Kloo*, *Skedans*, and *Cumshewa*; while it appears that *Those-born-in-the-Ninstints-Country* stand for the Eagle families of *Ninstints*. This means, therefore, that one family of Eagles divided into two sections, —

¹ Compare p. 23, footnote 3.

² *Swiftly-sliding-Woman* and *Greatest-Mountain* are two names for a famous peak, the former being the popular designation. Most people assign only one supernatural being to this mountain, saying that the above are two names for the same person.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF EAGLE FAMILIES.

ILA'QONS. { GREATEST-MOUNTAIN.	NINSTITINTS EAGLES .	{ Those-born-at-Sā'ki (E 1).	
		{ Those-born-in-the-Ninstints-Country (E 2) { Skidā'-i-Town-People (E 2 a).	
		{ Stā'gi-Town-People (E 2 b).	
		{ Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3) { Lake-People (E 3 a).	
	PROPERTY-MAKING-A-NOISE.	{ Common-Food-Steamers (E 3 b).	
		{ Town-of-Djī'gua-People (E 4). { Mountain-Woman's-Children (E 4 a).	
		{ Steep-House-People (E 23 a).	
		{ Resting-the-Breast-on-a-Town-People (E 23 b).	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9) { Tclā'at-Town-People (E 23) { Sqaxē'nē-River-People (E 23 c).	
		{ People-who-run-about-in-Crowds (E 23 d).	
		{ Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10).	
		{ Low-Ground-People (E 5 a).	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Witch-People (E 5) { High-Ground-People (E 5 b).	
		{ Up-Inlet-People (E 5 c).	
		{ S'adjū'gat-Town-People (4 unnamed divs.) (E 14).	
		{ Lā'na tclā'das (E 7).	
ILA'QONS. { GREATEST-MOUNTAIN.	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Those-born-on-the-Seaward-Side-of-Pebble-Town (E 8 a).	
		{ Middle-Eagles (E 8 b).	
		{ Up-Inlet-Eagles (E 8 c).	
		{ Those-born-at-Pebble-Town (E 8 d).	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Gwē A'ndas (E 8 e).	
		{ Big-House-People (E 6 a).	
		{ Rotten-House-People (E 6 b).	
		{ Servants-of-the-Git'ns (E 6 c).	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Lgalaigut-Town-People (E 6 d).	
		{ Seaward-Eagles (E 11) { Up-(Masset) Inlet-Git'tans (E 12). { Sandpipers (E 12 a).	
		{ S'ala'ndas (E 22) { Lima'l-Skin-House-People (E 22 a).	
		{ Watery-House-People (E 22 b).	
ILA'QONS. { GREATEST-MOUNTAIN.	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Tcēts-Git'tans (E 17). { Up-Inlet-Town-People (E 19). { Those-who-left-the-West-Coast-(E 19 a).	
		{ Djūs-People (E 18).	
		{ Wīdja-Git'tans (E 15).	
		{ Tlō'ikla-Git'tans (E 16).	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Git'tans-of-River-Sqadjī'ns (E 13 b).	
		{ Git'tans-of-Mā'man-River (E 13 a). { West-Coast-Git'tans (E 20).	
		{ Rocky-Coast-Git'tans (E 13 c).	
		{ Masset-Inlet-Git'tans (E 13 a [aa]).	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Eagle's-Legs-House-People (E 21 g [aa]).	
		{ Eagle-House-People (E 21 g [bb]).	
		{ Dark-House-People (E 21 g [cc]).	
		{ Valuable-House-People (E 21 g [dd]).	
ILA'QONS. { GREATEST-MOUNTAIN.	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Great-House-People (E 21 g [ee]).	
		{ Yā'das (E 21 g) { Sta'stas-from-Low-Tide-Creek (E 21 f).	
		{ Sta'stas-of-Rose-Spit (E 21 e).	
		{ Li'elañ Sta'stas (E 21 d).	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{ Li'elañ-born (E 21 c).	
		{ Qā'ngual-Town-People (E 21 b).	
		{ Qlā'was (E 21 a).	
		{ Sta'stas (E 21)	
	LABRET-WOMAN .	{	
		{	
		{	
		{	

a southern and a northern. Those-born-in-the-Ninstints-Country, as it goes on to explain, or some of them, settled at Łgā'dan, an old story-town, where part came to be called Those-born-at-Sa'ki (E 1). The Skí'da-i-Town-People (E 2 a) and the Stā'gi-Town-People (E 2 b) were minor branches of the same family.

Tradition says that the Ninstints Eagles lived first at Łgā'dan, whence they afterwards scattered, especially along the western coast. Duck-Town (?) (Sgí'łgi), at the bottom of a wide inlet, seems to have been their chief settlement. In later days, when the families all came together in Ninstints, the Saki-born seem to have moved first. At any rate, their chief was chief of the town. Since that time there are said to have been but four chiefs of the family, but that must certainly be a great underestimate.

Descendants from Property-making-a-Noise. — Pursuing the history of the Eagles from a Haida point of view, we find them next settled in one of the familiar five-row towns in Cumshewa Inlet. This town, called Djí'gua Town, was on the northern shore, just behind a prominent peninsula some miles west of Cumshewa. The story of how it was destroyed by fire is one of the most popular Haida stories, and runs as follows: —

The sons of the town chief of Djí'gua went to Ga'oqons to fish for trout with slip-nooses. Their captain [steersman] was named Qiñgā'yíñ. They arrived there. There were five persons in the canoe. Then, walking up in the bed of the creek, they came to the place where they were going to catch trout. The water-hole was named Ludendā'nsgiala, and the place where they started to fish was named House-Drum. The opposite side was called Łgētgwē'gins. When they caught the trout, there was a hole into which they could put them. They began fishing; and Qiñgā'yíñ, putting his fishing-pole into the water, pushed it along. After a while his cormorant hat fell in. He was a Raven, and yet wore a cormorant hat. For that reason it kept falling in. When he put his snare into the water again, his cormorant hat again fell in. His pole was still under water. Now he became angry, and struck his hat upon the water. "You better keep it instead of me," he said.

When it was evening, they strung up their trout; and on the left side of Ludendā'nsgiala, near the edge, they started to make a fire. They drilled with a fire-drill awhile, and, when the fire was lighted, roasted some of the trout on sticks, because they were going to camp there all night. When their trout was cooked, they ate it. Now, while they still sat there, a frog came and sat near by. Its skin looked as if it had been painted with copper. When it winked, its eyes had a shiny appearance. They looked at it, and after a while one among them who was full of mischief [literally, "without ears"] took it and put it into the fire. On top of it they piled up the fire and laughed at it. After some time had passed, the frog exploded. The hot coals were scattered all about, but it sat in its place just as before. It was not burnt. Again they heaped hot coals upon it, and built the heap up large. Again they put it in. After some time had passed, it exploded, and sat in its place as before. Now they heaped the fire up high, and they put it into it. Again it exploded, but, as before, it sat in the same place. Then they went to sleep. When it was day, they went down along the creek. They came out and launched the canoe. Then they got in and picked up their paddles. But when they had paddled awhile, and were off some distance, some one called after them from Sī'ñgil-Point, "Ho, there! stop until I have given you directions!" They stopped at once in surprise, and looked at him. Said he, "The foremost one in the canoe on the right side will die at Point Tcī'. The one on the other side will die at Point Lagana'us. The next one will die at Point Sqaoga'os. The next one will die at Point Q!ā'igant!es. Only the one in the stern will be saved; and when he gets home, and has finished telling about himself, he too will die." As this person stood at Sī'ñgil-Point, they could see the ground through his body.

They died as he had foretold. One died first at Point Tcī'. One died at Point Lā'gana-us.

One died after that at Point Sqaoga'os. After that, one died at Point Q!ā'-igant!ēs. It happened as he had foretold. When the survivor came home around Point Sq!ā'xunans, the people felt strange about it, and the people of Djī'gua moved at once. They came down to meet him, and, as they stood beside his canoe on shore, he gave a rough account of what had happened. After that, when he had entered the house, he again told what had happened. He related everything from the beginning. When he had finished telling it, he acted like people who fall asleep [i. e., he died].

Now the town became strange. As was customary, the children of Djī'gua went to the fort of K!wai lā'na to play. When they had played awhile, a woman with a large belly came around Point Sq!ā'xunans from up the inlet. The children saw her, and came down to her quickly. The large-bellied something was dark, looking like nothing [i. e., not like a human being]. One struck upon her belly; and when he did so, it sounded like a drum. Another one did the same thing, and so did all of the children.

She went away; and after some time had passed, some Djī'gua children were playing as usual at K!wai lā'na fort. When they had played awhile, again something with a child on its back came around Point Sq!ā'xunans. The children saw her and ran down to her; but she went around among them, acting strangely. After a while she said [speaking brokenly as the children struck her], "I wonder wh-wh-what makes Dji-dji-djī'gua-Town stand! I wo-wo-wonder if it is on account of Gwalā'ñ-gits that Dji-djī'gua-Town stands!" Then she went away.

Some time after this they went to Souls'-Fishing-Ground to fish, and staid there four nights. Then the halibut began to take the bait, and they filled the canoes and emptied them often. When those who had remained in the town went out fishing, they caught nothing. Only the canoes of those who were already out brought halibut ashore. Now the country became essentially altered. At times the surface of the water burned for some distance and stopped. Sometimes, after they had fished awhile, cinders were wafted down upon them. Out of the sky, too, burning coals dropped. Djila'qons was going to do a terrible thing. Then strange things increased. At Djī'gua some being went out and shouted, "Let what is going to happen be done, and be over with!" After that, some time passed; and a being shouted from Ku'ndjinda, opposite the town, "People! for the first time a thing is too much even for me."

After that, small branches and evergreen needles began to fall where they were fishing, and the sky became red. The water, too, became different. Their minds were troubled. The town of Djī'gua became smoky; the land started to burn and stopped at intervals; and, when one went down and jumped into the sea, that too was very hot. Ah! now the town started to burn, and there was nowhere to escape to.¹

But a young woman entered the latrine, which stood near the door; and after the town had burned awhile and stopped, Djila'qons came and stood above her. She held a cane the lower part of which had the carving of a frog on it. The upper part had the carving of a cormorant [some say duck, sgil]. Her hat had the design of a frog on it. Then she struck the butt-end of her cane upon the ground, and began a crying-song. There she sang awhile. Then she went away, and the town stopped burning.

After that, the young woman came out and walked about in the place where the chiefs used to live, picking up coppers. Sometimes she picked up two, sometimes three. Then she cried about, and shortly afterward started off. She took off as many coppers as she could carry, and went around the point. When she became tired, she left part of the coppers at Point Ku'ndjao. Afterwards she travelled along, and presently came to Shingle Bay. There one of the Lā'na tclā'das [E 7] came to her by canoe, and landed. He sat near her, and asked, "What is your name, noble woman?" — "My name is A-Witch-behind." — "Tell me your true name." — "All-over-Fish-Scales is my name." Again he asked her name; and she replied in the same manner, "My name is Small-Birds-twittering."² Then he asked her if she had tattoo-marks; and when he had asked repeatedly, she said, "My name is Property-making-a-Noise." Then he thought she belonged to a good family [and made much of her]. So with this man, whose name was One-who-gets-Wood-for-Dried-Tobacco, she went across [to the Tsimshian country].

¹ It is said that people of this town who were visiting elsewhere died at the same time.

² These are slaves' names.

From other sources I obtained the following sequel: —

She married some one in the Tsimshian country who believed her to have been a slave, and consequently treated her badly; but one time she happened to be lying with her back uncovered to the fire, and they saw a dog-fish tattooed on it. Then they all knew that she belonged to a high family, and afterwards her husband treated her well.

Some time after this, when her children were playing with the other village children, they were taunted by the latter with being "Haida slaves." They complained to their mother about it, and learned for the first time the story of their ancestors. At once part of them determined to go back, and their mother is said to have gone with them. They landed at Cumshewa. From those who remained behind were descended Chiefs LAGIE'x and Sgagwē't of Port Simpson.

According to a rather better version, this part of the story runs thus: —

The Tsimshian children said one day to the children of Property-making-a-Noise, "You will never see the tops of your trees again," meaning the Haida country. Then they went to their mother and learned all about what had happened. Upon this they began to cry; and seven of them — four men and three women — set out for their own land. Some of the girls who remained behind became ancestresses of LAGIE'x and Sgagwē't. The seven landed in front of Peninsula-Town at Sand-Spit-Point, where Qā'asañ was chief, and entered his house. From the three women came Those-born-at-Skedans [E 3], the Witch-People [E 5], and the Sea-Lion-Town-People [E 9].

They generally say that five families were descended from Property-making-a-Noise, but actually enumerate only four, — the three just given, and the Town-of-Djī'gua-People (E 4). To these they sometimes add the Lā'na tc!ā'das (E 7), but only because a man of that family met Property-making-a-Noise and ferried her across the strait. Actually the Lā'na tc!ā'das (E 7) are descended from that man's sisters. To the official four at least three others were added by subdivision, — the Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10) of Kaisun, the Tc!ā'ał-Town-People (E 23) of Alaska, and the S'adjū'gał-Town-People (E 14) of Masset.

The Eagles of Kloo and Skedans. — Of the first four, Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3) were the highest and one of the three or four greatest Eagle families on the islands. From their name, and from the fact that they always went about in company with the Town-of-Djī'gua-People (E 4), and used the same crests, I am inclined to regard them as a later-developed, aristocratic division of the latter. That would account for only three ancestresses being allowed to the four families. Later the importance of Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3) was such that their name, as we have seen, came to stand for the entire group. They lived partly at Skedans and partly at Kloo, of which latter place they were the ruling family. One of the chief's highest names was Xeū' ("the southeast"), which the whites corrupted to Kloo. By a curious arrangement the future chief of Kloo lived with his people at Skedans before attaining his majority and succeeding to the chieftainship at Kloo. A chiefless, low class of people in this family were called Common-Food-Steamers (E 3 δ). There was also a subdivision of the Town-of-Djī'gua-People (E 4) in old times, called lda'ldjitama'-i, which is said to mean "Mountain-Woman's-Children" (E 4 α).

The original seats of these two families, in perfect agreement with the

tradition, would seem to have been about Cumshewa Inlet, whence they moved southward. Several towns were occupied successively before they finally "slashed the bushes" at Kloo (T!anū'). One of these, called Chicken-Hawk-Town (Lkliä lnagā'-i), located on the outer side of Lyell Island, seems to have been occupied very recently. The town chief had such an immense house there, that he had separate names for the two halves. Its house-pole was covered with abalone-shell. The first chief after they settled at Kloo belonged to Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3), but he was finally killed by Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek (R 3); and while his successor was growing up at Skedans, four chiefs of the Town-of-Dji'gua-People (E 4) were heads of the town successively. The next chief of the former family was succeeded by his two nephews conjointly. When the Kloo people sent to Skedans to ask which of them was the better, they said that these two were equally good; and to avoid jealousy and further trouble, they were both taken. They were succeeded by three more chiefs in succession, the last of whom is still living. As five chiefs have died since the youth of my informant, Kloo would seem to be a very modern town. In recent times the people of this town moved to a place where the so-called "Kloo Oil-Works" were built, not far from the old site of Dji'gua, but, after living there a few years, passed on to Skidegate.

The Eagles of Cumshewa. — The Witch-People (E 5) embraced three subdivisions, — the Low-Ground-People (E 5 a), the High-Ground-People (E 5 b), and the Up-Inlet-People (E 5 c), — named from the location of their houses in the town. At one time a chief woman of the Low-Ground-People (E 5 a) married the chief of the Pitch-Town-People (R 12) at Stan!a-i, whereupon all of her family followed her thither. Then they moved to Winter-Village in Tasu Harbor, where they began potlatching. At one of these great potlatches tattoo-marks were first adopted, whence they spread over the whole of the islands. Thence they moved back to the east coast, and settled in McKay's Harbor, close to the People-of-the-Town-in-McKay's-Harbor (R 4 b), from whom only a creek separated them. While they were there, the screech-owl (st!ao) hooted so much from their side of the stream, that a boy of the People-of-the-Town-in-McKay's-Harbor said their neighbors ought to be called Witch-People (St!awā's xā'idaga-i), st!ao being also the word for "witch." This name stuck to them; and when they moved into Cumshewa to rejoin their friends, it was applied to the latter as well. I could not learn whether all three divisions lived together before the Low-Ground-People (E 5 a) moved to the West Coast.

The People-of-Sea-Lion-Town. — The Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9) moved farther from their original seats than the other families. Their first independent settlement, so far as I could find out, was at the above-named town in Skotsgai Bay. This is an old story-town lying close to Pebble-Town, which was largely Raven. For these reasons relations between the two towns were close, and

there were many intermarriages. As I have already stated, the Sea-Lion-Town-People preceded their neighbors at Pebble-Town to the West Coast, and settled at Kaisun; but the immediate cause of this migration is differently given. A man of this family said that the wife of Ǫadagā', the family chief, was very much afraid of mice, and asked before she died that her body should be placed where no mice could get at it. So the people took it to an island on the west coast called Gūl, where there are no such creatures,¹ and placed it in a cave, they themselves settling near by. This woman's name was Woman-who-sits-down-while-the-News-of-her-is-spread-Abroad, and in his youth my informant used to see her body on the island.

An old man of the Inlet people assigned a different cause to this movement. According to him, a slave of one of the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9) was out fishing, and, having fallen asleep in the canoe, dog-fish tore his net to pieces to get at the halibut it contained. He was afraid to admit having fallen asleep, and said that the damage had been done by people from Skidegate. Before this the towns had been on good terms, but now war broke out; and finally, to avoid constant disturbance, the people moved from Sea-Lion-Town to the West Coast.

Indications point to a war in which the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9) were somewhat worsted; although, since these people had a ready retreat behind them, while the others had no place to fall back upon, the emigrating party may have been that to whom retreat was easiest. I have spoken elsewhere of the wars between this family and the Pitch-Town-People (R 12). They do not appear to have participated in the subsequent struggles between the Inlet people and those of Pebble-Town, but kept up their intimate relations with the latter; and when in recent times the others went to Maude Island, the Kaisun people accompanied them. From this family the Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10), now extinct, seem to have sprung, and the same is stated concerning the Tc!ā'ał-Town-People (E 23) of Alaska, who owned Howkan.

The Giti'ns. — So far, I have been dealing with Eagle families directly connected by tradition with Djila'qons, and the most of them with Property-making-a-Noise; but now we come to others, about whose origin there is no such unanimity of opinion. The southern Giti'ns, those themselves descended from the above ancestress, said that all Eagles had the same origin as their own. One of them declared that the Eagles "came out" in the following order: (1) Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3); (2) Town-of-Dji'gua-People (E 4); (3) Witch-People (E 5); (4) Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9); (5) Giti'ns-of-Skidegate (E 6), of which the Seaward-Eagles (E 11) were a part; (6) Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10); (7) Pebble-Town-Eagles (E 8); (8) Those-born-in-the-Ninstints-

¹ It is said that no mice could exist on this island. Chief Ǫadagā' once found two mice in a tobacco-box, and took them to a garden he owned at the west end of Gūl to see how they would prosper. As soon as he let them out, they ran up to the ridge of rocks at the edge of his garden, and dropped dead there.

Country (E 2). The connection of the fifth and seventh on this list with the others does not, however, appear at all clear.

From the present chief of Skidegate I obtained the following story, although indirectly: —

The grandmother of the Gítí'ns was born at the town of Łgai'xa, just north of Dead Tree Point. Her name was Labret-Woman. In her youth she went to Masset, where she married Djí'nł-goañ, chief of the "Hai'djao xā'idaga-i," by whom she had four daughters. When he died, there was no one at Masset high enough to marry her, so she set out to return to Łgai'xa. Two of her daughters staid behind, however, and became ancestresses of the Stā'stas and of some of the Masset Gítans [E 13].¹ With the two remaining children and a slave, Labret-Woman went around by way of Rose Spit until she reached a town of the Standing-Water-People [R 13 a] named Q!āl tla'odjis ["Empty Fort" (?)]. There she married the chief of the Standing-Water-People [R 13 a], and her children formed alliances in the same family. Some of their children afterwards moved to Łgai'xa and became the Gítí'ns-of-Skidegate [E 6]; some to the West Coast, where they became the Pebble-Town-Eagles [E 8]; and some remained at home, becoming the Seaward-Eagles [E 11].

Noah Mills, the oldest man in Masset, and one of the Standing-Water-People, told much the same story, but with the following variations. He said that Labret-Woman was born in Masset instead of Łgai'xa. When she left Masset, she said she was determined to marry Great-Roaring-Surf, chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13), whose town was then Town-of-the-Ditches. Others said she would not be able to; but she took some medicine, put it in the entrails of a bull-head, and when she met him rubbed some of it upon him, whereupon they fell in love with each other. The chief of Those-born-at-Rose Spit (R 13) also said she started from Masset, and, in so far as a story of this kind may be said to have any evidential value regarding family origins, it would seem to indicate that these people spread from the north rather than from the south.

The Hai'djao xā'idaga-i must be the Inlet-Middle-Town-People (R 19 a), whose settlement lay around the hill ĩ'djao, at Masset. Apart from this story, there can be little doubt that the Seaward-Eagles (E 11), the Gítí'ns-of-Skidegate (E 6), and the Pebble-Town-Eagles (E 8) were branches of one family; the latter two having become gradually separated at the time that the Skidegate Inlet and West Coast people lived close together at Skidegate and Pebble-Town, while the Seaward-Eagles (E 11) are simply those Gítí'ns living farthest outward from Skidegate Inlet. It seems probable that at least part of the Masset Gítans were connected with them; but what relation all of these bore to the children of Djila'qons, is entirely uncertain. The name Gítí'ns is applied more persistently to families of the group I am now considering than to any other. Leaving out the Stā'stas (E 21), who have traditions of an independent foreign origin, and the S̄ala'ndas (E 22), my information regarding which is comparatively meagre, almost every one of the family names of these northern Eagles consists of the word "Gítí'ns," plus some local designation. The sugges-

¹ Masset form of "Gítí'ns."

tion thus arises, that this word may have been originally applied to the members of this particular group.

The Seaward-Eagles (E 11) were the Gítí'ns of Rose Spit, and part of them accompanied the Standing-Water-People (R 13 a) on their migrations. Others came to live in Skidegate Inlet at Skidegate, and they also had a town of their own in Bear-Skin Bay called Wide-Waters-flowing-down-rapidly. Now they consider themselves part of the Gítí'ns-of-Skidegate (E 6).

The original town of the Gítí'ns proper was Łgai'xa, just north of Dead Tree Point. One of the family said that the land there had belonged to Qí'ngi, who gave it to his nephews, who have since held it. The first chief of this town was K!ômatí'. While they still occupied it, a quarrel arose over the division of a whale, and part of the family moved away. These first settled in Bear-Skin Bay, where they had a town called Dance-Hat-Town. It was thought that they occupied this about a hundred and fifty years ago. After staying there a comparatively short time, they moved to the site of Pebble-Town, and thence into Skidegate, where they built a house. They were too poor to replace this for so long a time, that it began to rot to pieces, and the occupants came to be called Rotten-House-People (E 6 b). Part of the other branch is said to have lived in Old Łgai-ū'; and, at any rate, the whole family moved in course of time to the site of Pebble-Town. One informant said that they stopped for a time at Q!ô'stan xā'na, from which they dispossessed the Sea-Otters. At Pebble-Town they erected a large house, from which they were subsequently called Big-House-People (E 6 a); and from there they moved into Skidegate, where they re-united with the Rotten-House-People (E 6 b). They became the ruling family of Skidegate in a manner already described.¹ Their chief now prefers to be called Sgē'dagits, but he who has the most story reputation was called Yestaqā'na (or, as the Skidegate people proper call him, Nestaqā'na). Under him, house-poles are said to have been first used.

A small section of this family left them at one time, and settled in Peninsula-Town with the Lā'na tclā'das (E 7) already referred to. Both were weak in numbers, and at one time were attacked in a small fort by the people of Kloo, and most of them carried off as slaves. The rest, unable any longer to maintain an independent village, went to Skidegate, and, breaking up their family, entered the different houses of the Gítí'ns as servants. Hence they were called Servants-of-the-Gítí'ns. They formed the next social stratum above the slaves.

The Stá'stas. — At the north end of Graham Island there seem to be two sections of Eagles, — the Stá'stas (E 21) and its branches, and the Gítans-of-Masset-Inlet (E 13).

The former embraces the Stá'stas proper or Sā'ngal-Town-People, the

¹ See p. 81.

Q!ā'was (E 21 *a*), the Qā'ñgual-Town-People (E 21 *b*), Those-born-at-Łi'elañ (E 21 *c*), the Sta'stas-of-Łi'elañ (E 21 *d*), the Sta'stas-of-Rose-Spit (E 21 *e*), and the Sta'stas-of-Low-Tide-Creek (E 21 *f*). Mr. Henry Edensaw says that his father, who was chief of the Sta'stas, assigned two origins to his family. A small part of them, including the chief, came down from the Stikine, whence was derived the name Eda'nsa ("glacier"), but the majority came from the Nass. There are certain Tsimshian names among them to-day — such as Hai'as, the name of the chief of Those-born-at-Łi'elañ (E 21 *c*), and Wi-ha ("great wind"), which are said, with doubtful probability, to have been brought over with them. Their chiefs were town chiefs of Kliū'sta, opposite North Island; but the family lands were mainly about Rose Spit, which they must have acquired after they had been vacated by their previous Raven owners and in Naden Harbor. Some of the Sta'stas proper (E 21) went to Alaska in the great migration, and they were also represented there by a large branch called Yā'das (E 21 *g*).

The Masset-Inlet-Gítans (E 13) comprise the Ma'man-River-Gítans (E 13 *a*) and the River-Sqadjí'ns-Gítans (E 13 *b*), which together formed the Gítans of Masset; the Wí'dja-Gítans (E 15), the T!ō'k!a-Gítans (E 16), the Tcēts-Gítans (E 17), and the Djūs-People (E 18), — four closely related families; the Up-Inlet-Gítans (E 12); and the S'adjū'gał-Town-People (E 14). To complete the list of northern Eagles, we must add the West-Coast-Gítans (E 20), the Up-Inlet-Town-People (E 19) of Naden Harbor, and the Tc!ā'ał-Town-People (E 23) and S'ala'ndas (E 22) of Alaska.

The S'adjū'gał-Town-People (E 14) claimed descent from Property-making-a-Noise. In former times it was considered a rather inferior division; but very recently its chief has become town chief of Masset by sufferance of the people, and owing to his personal popularity.

The Up-Inlet-Gítans (E 12) broke away from the Seaward-Gítí'ns (E 11) owing to internal troubles, which the chief of the former family, now living at Skidegate, recounted as follows: —

One day while Those-born-at-Rose-Spit [R 13] and the Seaward-Gítí'ns were living at Raven-Creek, a black whale floated ashore. A woman of the Seaward-Gítí'ns, whose cousin was chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit, was treated very badly by her own family, almost like a slave. She was sent to bring up pieces of the whale, and, starting back with a large load, fell two or three times. The chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit saw this, and, sending for her, gave her something to eat. After a while her people sent to get her; but the chief said, "Do not disturb her while she is eating." Later they came again, and a dispute ensued. Part of the Seaward-Gítí'ns sided with Those-born-at-Rose-Spit, and continued to follow their fortunes: the other part went towards Masset, and became the Up-Inlet-Gítans [E 12]. [An old woman of the latter family at Masset substantiated this story in the essential part involved.]

The Maman-River-Gítans (E 13 *a*) and River-Sqadjí'ns-Gítans (E 13 *b*) derived their names from streams flowing into the upper expansion of Masset Inlet, where they used to live. The Tcēts-Gítans (E 17) and Djūs-People

(E 18) were named from an island (Djūs) at the mouth of the inner bay in Masset Inlet (Djūs Qā'ī) and a town (Tcēts) upon the same. Subsequently these families moved to the coast west of Masset Inlet, where they settled at Wī'dja and T!ō'k!a. Some of them then came to be called Wī'dja-Gítans (E 15) and T!ō'k!a-Gítans (E 16). All were parts of one family, and had the same crests. After the Inlet-Rear-Town-People (R 15 a) went to Yan, these people moved down to join them.

The Up-Inlet-Town-People (E 19), who formerly owned Qañ in the mouth of Naden Harbor, were an offshoot of the Tcēts-Gítans (E 17). According to an old Masset man, their ancestress was named Great-Sheep-Bird; and her mother, Woman-in-whose-House-it-is-Noisy. Her father belonged to the Earth-Eaters (R 21). She went to live among the Sta'stas (E 21), so that her descendants came to be reckoned as "friends" by the latter, and they were usually classed among the branches of the Sta'stas family.

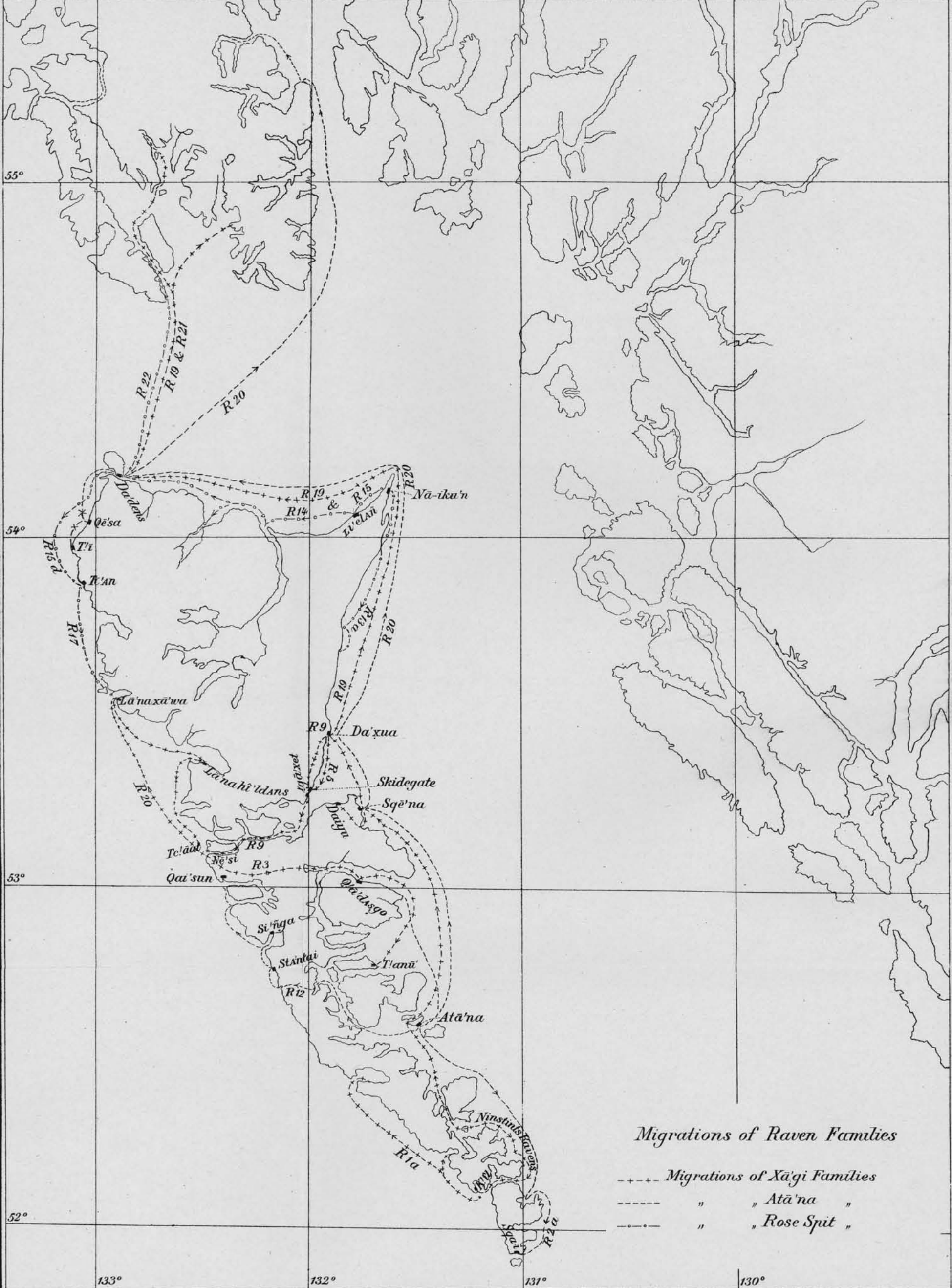
A woman of the Wī'dja-Gítans (E 15), while living at North Island, was captured by the Tsimshian and taken as a slave to Port Simpson. On her breast she had the figure of a skate tattooed; and the son of the Port Simpson chief who captured her, becoming attracted by this, married her. Her children on the Tsimshian side form a small family called Gítci's, but some of them returned to their Haida relatives. There it does not appear that they constituted a separate division.

The "grandmother" of the West-Coast-Gítans (E 20) was a near relative of a Masset chief called Whale-Eye, belonging, like him, to the Ma'man-River-Gítans (E 13 a). She became displeased about something and went off to the West Coast, where her descendants remained. Of the families which went to Alaska, the Tclā'ał-Town-People (E 23), as already related, are said to have been a part of the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9), who moved down to North Island and occupied a place called Tclā'ał, whence they received their name. This name, whether accidentally or otherwise, is identical with that of the West Coast town commonly called Gold Harbor. After their removal to Alaska, they settled in Howkan, which they owned.

The Sāla'ndas (E 22) is a family about which I could get very little information. They owned land on the northwest coast of Graham Island before the Middle-Town-People (R 19) occupied it. Previous to their migration to Alaska, they owned the town of Yak!ā, subsequently possessed by the West-Coast-Rear-Town-People (R 15 d). One branch of the family came to live with the Tongass, and is now at a place called Sā'naña, near Port Chester; another is said to be at Sitka.

The Kaigani Eagles, like the Ravens, came to be subdivided after the Tlingit fashion. There were four divisions of the Tclā'ał-Town-People (E 23), two of the Sāla'ndas (E 22), and five of the Yā'das (E 21 g).

RECAPITULATION. — Glancing back over the ground now covered, I may



Migrations of Raven Families

- +--- Migrations of Xā'gi Families
- " " Atā'na "
- o-o- " " Rose Spit "

summarize the development of these families from a Haida point of view as follows: —

Tradition carried back the history of the Raven clan to a few towns on the southeastern coast and to one at Rose Spit. The Ravens on the southeastern coast were divided into two main branches, one of which may be called Middle-Town-People (R 19), the other Sand-Town-People (R 2). The Middle-Town-People seem to have left a small branch, the Xā'gi-Town-People (R 1), in their old home, and to have moved northward. Again, following the traditions, I am led to suppose that they remained for a while between Cumshewa and Skidegate Inlets, where a second small branch, Those-born-at-Skidegate-Creek (R 8), remained. Part of the Middle-Town-People (R 19), at least, then settled at Da'xua, near Lawn Hill, but, owing to internal dissensions, split into two parts, which ultimately became the Ravens of Skidegate Inlet and those of the West Coast respectively. The remainder of the family, either before or after this event, accompanied by part of the Sand-Town-People (R 2), moved to the extreme northwestern part of Graham Island, and settled about North Island. Thence almost the whole of them went to Alaska.

The second division, which I have called Sand-Town-People (R 2), separated into two sections, one of which, as just stated, accompanied the Middle-Town-People (R 19), and finally settled in Kasaan, Alaska, while the other spread over the eastern shores of Moresby Island, under the names of Sand-Town-People (R 20) and Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), constituting the bulk of the Raven population in that region. The Pitch-Town-People (R 12) of the West Coast were probably an offshoot from them.

The Ravens of Rose Spit constitute a third large division. Some of them moved southward to the neighborhood of Cape Ball, and ultimately into Skidegate; but the majority went to Masset Inlet, Naden Harbor, and the West Coast, where they largely took the places left vacant by the Kaigani.

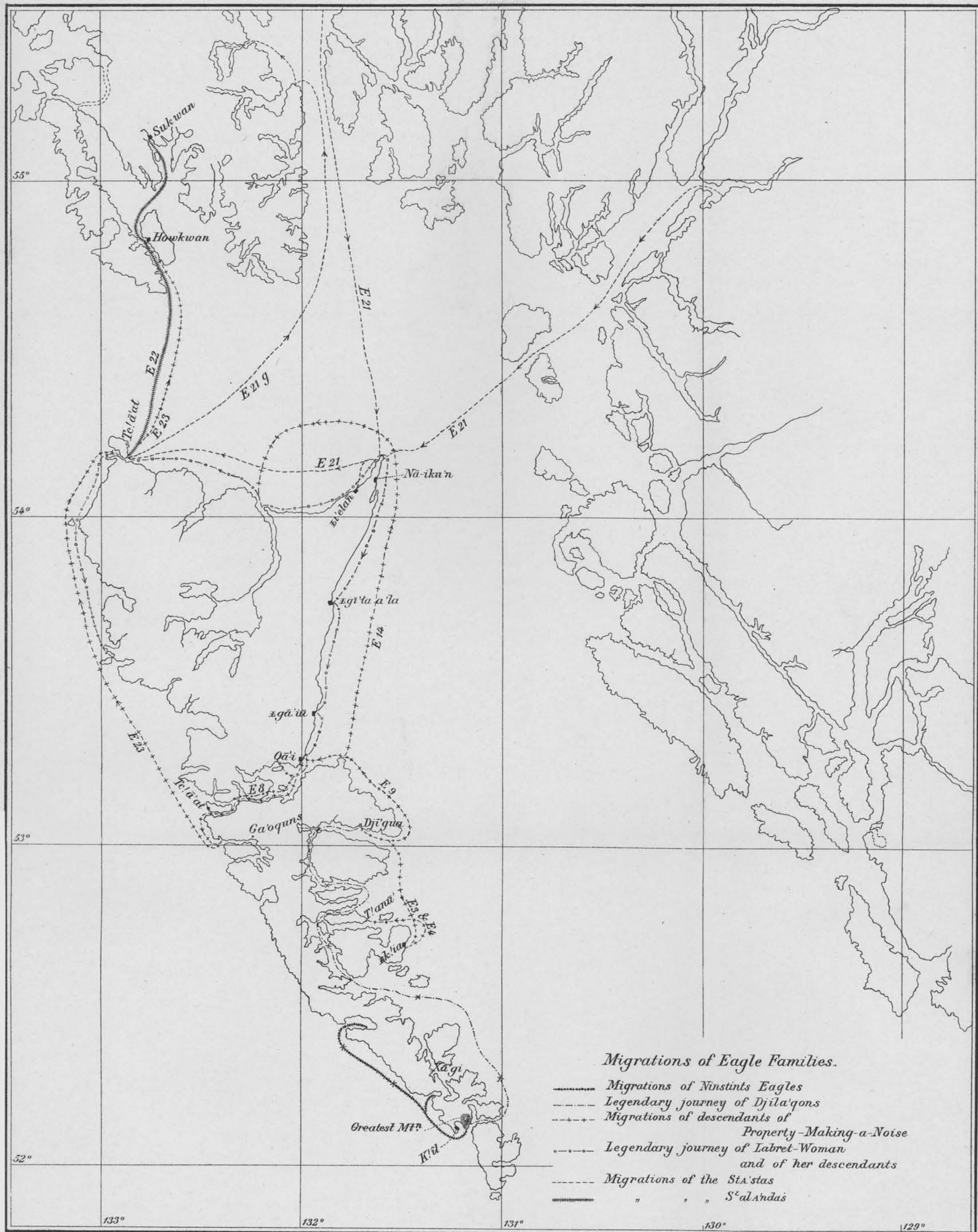
There also seem to have been three divisions of Eagles. One of these is assigned traditionally for its origin to the same time and the same region of the islands as the first of the Raven groups. This subdivided into a southern and a northern section, the former of which constituted the Eagle families of Ninstints, while the latter were around Cumshewa Inlet. Part of the latter moved south to Old Kloo; others staid in Cumshewa and Skedans; while still another branch, the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9), moved to the north shore of Skidegate Inlet, and thence to the West Coast. Part of them, the Tc!ā'ał-Town-People (E 23), even got as far as North Island and Alaska.

The second set of families, while sometimes attributed to the same origin, has an independent story. This simply says that all of the northern Eagles are related, and seems to indicate that they had spread from the direction of Rose Spit. There are certain reasons for thinking that most of them once formed a single group, to which the term Gîti'ns was applied. The traditions

of the Sta'stas (E 21) and its branches point to a foreign origin, — part Tlingit, part Tsimshian. One of the Masset families claims descent from Djila'qons, and thus would have to be classed in the first group.

While studying the development of these two clans, the suggestion keeps presenting itself that the Raven clan may represent the real Haida, and the Eagles may be later comers. The Sta'stas claim to be of foreign extraction; Property-making-a-Noise, the ancestress of five or six important families, is said to have married in the Tsimshian country, whence her children "returned;" and Djila'qons herself was brought from the mainland, either from Nass River or from the neighborhood of Bentinck Arm. In the southern traditions, too, everything centres around Foam-Woman, before whom, according to some, Djila'qons herself was unable to stand. Traditions regarding the descent of Eagle families present, too, less unity than those dealing with the other side; nor should the existence of a double name for this clan be overlooked. The Haida themselves cannot explain the origin or meaning of the word "Giti'ns," except to say that in their language git means "child;" but Professor Boas has suggested that there may be some connection between the git as used here, and the Tsimshian prefix g'id, which is used before the names of all their families; such, for instance, as G'idandâ', G'idwulg'âts, and G'idqā'La.

It is also rather significant that most of the great Haida deities and the larger number of lesser ones were Ravens; while some of the Eagles, such as Master Carpenter and The-Singers, are connected with arts for which the Haida were more or less indebted to the Mainland-People. Among the killer-whales, those that were black all over, probably the normal variety, were Ravens; those which had white around the bases of their dorsal fins, probably the exceptions, were Eagles. Eagle supernatural beings are likely to be common around Eagle towns; but where local influences do not seem to count, they are more often Ravens. Finally, I must refer to a striking passage from the story of Sacred-One-standing-and-moving. Stone-Ribs, the son of Djila'qons, first attempted to pass through the ordeal imposed upon whoever wanted to lie under the Haida country and support it. Then all the supernatural beings, it is said, were in great alarm lest he should succeed. On inquiring the cause for this, we find it is because he was an Eagle, and they wanted some one of their own side (that is, a Raven) to get the position. Now, although we know that many of the supernatural beings were Eagles, all of the supernatural beings are here spoken of as if they were Ravens, indicating at least that the great majority were considered so. Compare also, in this connection, the relative importance of Raven and Eagle, grandfathers of the two clans, in the Raven story. In the Masset story, indeed, Eagle is entirely replaced by Butterfly. I do not say that all of these things may not be accounted for in some other way than that suggested, but I am at a loss to know how. At any rate, they are worth keeping in mind. If the primitive Haida were



Migrations of Eagle Families.

- Migrations of Ninstant's Eagles
- Legendary journey of Djila'gons
- . - . - Migrations of descendants of
Property-Making-a-Noise
- Legendary journey of Labret-Woman
and of her descendants
- Migrations of the Sta'stas
- " " " S'al'andas

really all Ravens, then it is to be presumed that they have since become exogamic.

As finally located, the Haida of both clans, omitting the Pitch-Town-People, seem to fall into six geographical and historical groups. These were (1) the southern or Ninstints people; (2) the people of Skedans, Kloo, and Cumshewa; (3) the people of Skidegate Inlet; (4) the West Coast people; (5) the people of Rose Spit; (6) the people of North Island, or, as they later became, the Kaigani. The Rose Spit people came to occupy Masset Inlet, Virago Sound, and ultimately the rest of the north coast. They were called by Skidegate people "Inlet-People" (Gao xā'idāga-i), from the name of Masset Inlet. The distinctions drawn by the Haida themselves are along the line of dialectic differences. Thus there was a rather marked difference between the dialect of Masset and that of Skidegate, a lesser but still noticeable one between that of Skidegate and that of the Ninstints people, and a slight variation between that of Masset and that spoken in Alaska. Undoubtedly small differences existed between the other groups.

The Ninstints people had considerable racial individuality. They were great fighters, and sent expeditions in all directions. Their greatest enemies were the people of Kloo; but they warred with those of Kaisun and Tc!ā'a! on the west coast, with the people of Skidegate and Masset, with the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Bella, and Kwakiutl tribes, as far at least as Alert Bay. Families of the other groups were also apt to war in company, except that in the second group the Kloo people seem to have done most of the fighting.

CONTACT WITH WHITE MEN. — From my Kaisun informant I obtained the following information regarding the first appearance of a ship.

All of the people who moved from Skidegate Inlet to Tc!ā'a! were dead, and their children growing old, when the first ship appeared. When it came in sight, they thought it was the spirit of the Pestilence, and, dancing on the shore, they waved their palms towards the new-comers to turn them back. When the whites landed, they sent down to them their old men, who had few years to live, anyhow, expecting they would fall dead; but when the new arrivals began buying their furs, the younger ones went down too, trading for axes and iron the marten and land-otter skins which they wore. A youth who was next in succession to the chieftainship at Cumshewa was met by two of them, who said, "Halloo, Gô'msiwa!" They mistook him for the "captain's son," who had been lost. When he became chief, the youth called himself Gô'msiwa from this circumstance.¹ The name of this vessel the Haida recall as Lā'lawai. When one of the white men shot with a gun, some of the natives said he did so by striking it on the side; another, that he blew through it; and a third, that a little bird sat on top and made it go off. One man

¹ This is a Haida jest. The word "Gô'msiwa" is probably Bella Bella (Q!ō'mx'siwa, "rich at mouth of river").

purchased tin kettles, cups, etc., and hung them on his clothing as ornaments. Another lost into the water a hatchet-head he had purchased, and could not recover it. Then he came back to the village, wailing aloud. A single bullet was procured by the people of this town; and the rumor went around, that, if it were thrown at an opposing force, all would be killed. Other towns were consequently in terror, and the fortunate possessors kept it carefully wrapped up in skins. Flint-lock guns are now called "Indian guns" by the Haida, probably because they were retained by the natives after white men had ceased to use them.

After Victoria was settled, flotillas of Haida canoes were continually resorting there, and a whole chapter might be written on the wars which broke out between them and the Kwakiutl tribes along their route. There were one or two notable encounters with the whites as well, particularly that at Cape Mudge. Later the small-pox broke out and carried the people off by hundreds. Doleful tales are related at the present day of large flotillas of canoes which started from Victoria, leaving their dead all along the way, and landing with perhaps one canoe left out of six or eight. Those who survived, however, spread the disease to the islands, and the people died off there at the same rapid rate; but when it was over, their numbers were much greater than they are to-day. For the subsequent reduction the constant resort of Haida women to Victoria and other points along the coast is mainly responsible. Now matters have improved considerably, and they appear to be about holding their own. Of the eight thousand and over, estimated in 1840, however, only about nine hundred remain, largely mixed-bloods. Three hundred of these are settled in the Alaskan towns, Howkan, Klinkwan, and Kasaan. The remaining six hundred are divided between two towns on the Queen Charlotte Islands, — Skidegate and Masset, — the latter of which is slightly larger. The Skidegate people, however, seem to preserve the more ancient forms of the language and the more ancient traditions. At present all the Haida except those in Kasaan, Alaska, have been Christianized. The Methodists have a station at Skidegate; the Church of England, at Masset; and the Presbyterians of the United States, at Howkan. The Salvation Army also has some followers.

IX. — PREROGATIVES OF FAMILIES.

CRESTS. — Each family had the right to use a certain number of crests — i. e., figures of animals, certain other natural objects, and occasionally articles of human manufacture — during a potlatch; or they might represent them upon their houses or any of their property, and tattoo them upon their bodies. Theoretically the crests used by Raven families should be absolutely distinct from those used by Eagles, and generally this is the case; but — perhaps owing to the fact that the crests used by Haida clans do not coincide with those used by the same clans among the Tsimshian and Tlingit — one or two Raven families at Masset have acquired crests which are on the Eagle side at Skidegate. Thus the dog-fish is used by the Middle-Town-People of Alaska (R 19) and the Gít'ns of Skidegate (E 6); and the skate, by the Gít'ns of Wí'dja (E 13) and the Raven family of Tc!ā'ał. Evidently a crest was sometimes acquired by one family in ignorance of the fact that it was already used by the opposite clan elsewhere.

If a man were very fond of his children, he might give them the right to use some of his own crests; but these must be surrendered as soon as the children married. Occasionally a crest of this kind was kept through life; and, according to tradition, one or two crests were given by the man who first obtained them to his children, and thus to the other clan. Thus a figure of the moon is said to have been carved first by a man of the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9), who gave it to his son, one of the Ravens of Tc!ā'ał. The fact that the raven is a crest of the Eagle clan, instead of being on what one would consider its proper side, was accounted for by the Haida in the same way, though the circumstance is as much of a puzzle to them as to us.

The killer-whale is considered the oldest Raven crest, and the eagle the oldest crest on the opposite side. The killer-whale was owned by every Raven family without exception; and the eagle, by almost every Eagle family. Young men are said to have worn these first before assuming the more valued ones; but young men of high family, not yet entitled to wear the higher crests, might nevertheless have them carved upon their grave-posts, if they died in early years. The town and family chiefs were always endeavoring to reserve certain crests for their own exclusive use, but the house chiefs were generally too powerful for this to go very far. The moon, however, seems to have been used exclusively by four or five of the highest Haida chiefs, — the Ravens of Skedans, the Ravens of Tc!ā'ał, the Sand-Town-People (R 2), the Middle-Town-People (R 19), and perhaps the Earth-Eaters of Alaska (R 21).

Possession of a crest was jealously guarded; and if any chief learned that

one of his crests had been adopted by a chief of a family that was considered of lower rank, he would put the latter to shame, and, by giving away or destroying more property than the other chief could muster, force him to abandon it. Thus a chief of the family of Those-born-at-Skidegate (R 6 a) once adopted the mountain-goat; but when the chief of Skedans heard of it, he gave away a great many blankets, and compelled him to relinquish it.

According to tradition, even the possession of a house-pole was contested by Yestaqā'na. He would let no one else have one; and when he learned that a man of the Sqoā'fadas (R 10) living farther south had put one up, he gave away a great deal of property to stop him. Others say that Yestaqā'na only refused to allow others to carve their poles higher than a certain point. If, as is asserted, house-poles were first used in his day, there may be some truth in this; otherwise one would take it simply as a laudation of the great power of Yestaqā'na.

A great number of crests were obtained from Djē'basa, the Tsimshian chief at Kitkatla, especially through the Haida chief at Skedans, who was his friend. The same may be said of the secret societies and other things. New crests were introduced during the potlatch by the use of a mask, face-painting, or a carving on a pole.

The following account of the several crests was given me by a man of the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9) who lived at Kaisun, on the West Coast. His father belonged to the great Raven family of Tc!ā'ał, the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9).

Raven Crests. — The killer-whale was used from the time when the Raven people came from Foam-Woman.¹ One of her daughters wore a blanket with the figure of a killer-whale's dorsal fin on it, and since then the women of the Tc!ā'ał Ravens have worn similar ones during potlatches.

The grisly bear was procured from the Tsimshian.

The blue hawk is said to be found on a high mountain near Bear-Skin Bay, called Blue-Hawk Mountain. This and the thunder-bird, which are sometimes, at all events, considered identical, were first used by the Tc!ā'ał Ravens from seeing it there. The thunder-bird and the blue hawk are represented in carvings in almost exactly the same form.

One of the Tc!ā'ał Ravens found the first sea-lion, and used the skin taken from its head as a hat. Later, wooden war-helmets were carved into the same shapes.

Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders, chief of all the supernatural beings in the woods, when dressed up, appeared as the rainbow. As he was a Raven "power," the Ravens took the rainbow crest from him; and it is said to have been an old one.

¹ See p. 75.

The cumulus and cirrus clouds were the "dressing-up" (i. e., the potlatch attire) of The-One-in-the-Sea; and since he was a Raven, the Ravens adopted them from him.

How the rock-slide came to be used, my informant did not know, but it was suggested that it represents the irresistible power of the chief.

The-Child-that-is-carried (Gitga'lgia) is the child of Property-Woman.¹ It was used as a crest by the Ravens of Skedans and those of Tcīā'ał. The latter had a blanket with many buttons on it, made into the shape of a baby.

The Witch-People (E 5) of Cumshewa used the horned owl, and had a call or whistle of the same name. Both came from the Tsimshian.

A man of the Tcīā'ał Ravens killed the first flicker. He stuffed the skin and put it on his hat, since which occasion it has been used as a crest.

The moon, mountain-goat, and tca'maos² were brought over from the Tsimshian. The first two came from Kitkatla. The tca'maos was a personification of driftwood, or the "tide-walker," and was supposed to live in the Skeena, and not in the Haida country. It could assume several different forms, such as that of a sea-lion and a black whale.

Eagle Crests. — The eagle was used when families "first came out" from Property-making-a-Noise. Another man said that formerly only the Gít'ns of Skidegate (E 6), Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3), and the Sta'stas (E 21), used this, and they would not allow it to any others.

The frog and the cormorant were used by Djila'qons at the time of the destruction of the town of Djí'gua, and were seen by Property-making-a-Noise. The cormorant is also said to date from Stone-Ribs, the son of Djila'qons, who in his youth used the skin of one of these birds to fly about in.

The beaver was brought back from the Tsimshian country by the children of Property-making-a-Noise.

The dog-fish was first used as a crest by a man of the Food-giving-Town-People, or, as they were sometimes called, Those-born-at-Skidegate-Creek (R 8). He found a dog-fish on the beach, — probably the "first one," — and adopted the figure of it as a crest, but gave it to one of his children. Thus it got over to the Eagle side. It must be remembered, however, that Property-making-a-Noise³ had a dog-fish tattooed on her back when she went to the Tsimshian country.

One of the Gít'ns-of-Skidegate (E 6), while living in the Tsimshian country, was poisoned by eating clams, and to atone for it his friends were given a Raven hat. Thus the Eagles obtained the Raven crest. The man who received it was named Kíłga'lxagawan. This story was substantially confirmed by others.

¹ This was the only satisfactory explanation of Gitga'lgia that I obtained. From the rather indefinite accounts of others, I suspect there were other supernatural creatures bearing similar names.

² See p. 18.

³ See p. 96.

At the same time the sculpin was also received. It was first used on the front of a grave-post.

Stone-Ribs got the halibut from Tcǝ'ngaiya, a place south of Kloo. This particular one had strips of copper on its skin, and he wore it when he went about killing the supernatural beings. His nephews afterwards wore it as a crest.

The Q!ā'gawa-i, a Raven killer-whale with five fins, which lives under a small island of the same name west of the town of Ninstints, was destroyed by Stone-Ribs. The-One-in-the-Sea, himself a Raven, was afraid that Stone-Ribs would use it as a crest, and took it from him. Nevertheless the Giti'ns-of-Ninstints have since worn it.

When the children of Property-making-a-Noise came back to their own country, one of them had his hair tied with weasel-skins, and his nephews have since worn them in the same way at potlatches.

A child playing on the beach found the "first starfish," which he picked up and dried. He played with it a long time, and liked it so much that he told his friends to have it carved on his grave-box. Then his friends began to use it as a crest.

The skate was used by the Raven people of Tc!ā'at and by the Eagle people of Masset Inlet, but my informant did not know how it started.

Djila'qons used to wear a humming-bird tied to her hair in a peculiar manner. Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3) and the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9) have since tied humming-birds to their hair in the same way. Only a few persons knew how to attach them; and when one did so, he acted like a shaman.

My informant did not know how the wā'sgo¹ came to be used, but thought it might have been from the time when that animal was killed back of Gū'tga.

He was also unable to say why the Servants-of-the-Giti'ns (E 6 c) used a small club called the wa'tc!at. People had these hung at their sides.

A man went out hunting, and was coming home empty-handed, when a heron came out just at the stern of his canoe. Though the bird is not said to have aided him in any way, he adopted it as a crest. His family were the People-of-Stasa'os-Town (E 9), and it spread from them to the related families.

The Tc!ā'at Eagles (the Giti'ns-of-Pebble-Town [E 8]), and the Seaward-Eagles (the Giti'ns-living-farthest-Outward [from Skidegate Inlet], E 11) used the dragon-fly, but my informant did not know how they got it.

From an old Masset man I learned the following particulars about the crests. It will be seen that the accounts vary a great deal.

¹ See p. 18.

Raven Crests. — The tca'maos and wolf came from the Tsimshian.

The grisly bear is also said to have had the same origin. It was highly valued.

The moon has been used at Masset only in very recent times.

All Ravens of the northern end of Graham Island have a right to use the raven at potlatches, because Raven was their grandfather; but they do not consider it a true crest. As used by the Eagles, it is a true crest, and is valued highly. The eagle, as used by the Eagles, is also a true crest. A Skidegate man said that the raven crest was obtained by the family of a little girl who lived at Łi'elañ, who fed a raven, and was rewarded by receiving a whale.

The Sand-Town-People (R 2) used the flicker; and how its use began, is told in a story in my Masset series.¹ There a woman strikes a wonderful copper bird with a stick, which changes to copper also, and is hammered out by her into a bow. This she gives to her grandson, who kills a great number of flickers, and has his mother make a cloak of them for him.

Two men of the town of Ti'an chased a wounded buffle-head out to sea, and were taken down to a killer-whale's house at the bottom. One of these was fitted with fins and became a killer; the other, thanks to a whetstone, escaped. Some time afterward the latter announced that his brother had been killed at Rose Spit; and when the people went there, they found a dead killer-whale lying on the beach, with a small one under its head. The West-Coast-Rear-Town-People (R 15 d) afterwards used the killer-whale as a crest, and it spread from them to the other families.

The dog-fish is said to have been used after a certain woman was taken away by the Dog-Fish-House-People (R 19 b) for doing something that displeased them.

The Skí'daoqao (R 16) began to use the black bear in the following manner. The chief of this family had a large store of food in a provision-house in the woods. Once all of this was stolen by black bears, and, as he could not get his food back, he adopted the black bear as a crest. The grave-box used to be placed on a figure of the bear.

My informant said that the sea-lion was an old Haida crest, but he was unable to tell how it originated.

The Cod-People (R 17) wore stars in memory of Skí'laowe, their first chief. He had his house filled with holes; so that, when the light shone through, it looked from the outside as if covered with stars.

Eagle Crests. — The eagle and sculpin were first used by West Coast people, from whom others adopted them. The eagle crest was taken from the capes of eagle-skins formerly worn by West Coast people.

A chief of the Wí'dja-Gítans (E 15) called Finished once invited the Up-Inlet-Town-People (E 19) to a potlatch. A chief named Łta'ndja-i, whose

¹ See Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 15.

presence was particularly desired, came last, and, when he appeared, wore a necklace of live frogs tied leg to leg. Since that time his family have used the frog as a crest, and it has spread from them to the other north coast Eagles.

A branch of the S^ala'ndas (E 22), who settled in Sitka, obtained the starfish from that place, together with the cumulus-clouds. At the potlatches they represented these last by painting red marks around their eyes, and sticking into their hair cedar-bark painted red. The Rear-Town-People (R 15) are said to have had the same crest, but they painted their faces black to represent the coming-on of evening.

A woman of the Wí'dja-Gítans (E 15) was carried off to Port Simpson as a slave, and a chief's son there married her. Some of her children returned to their own country; and when they did so, they brought back the beaver and humming-bird crests with them.

The West Coast Eagles (Dō gítanā'i [E 20]) first used the black whale; and the four families of Wí'dja, with which they were closely connected, got it from them.

Summary. — In the first of these lists it will be observed that the greater number of Eagle crests are referred, for their origin, to Djila'qons, her son Stone-Ribs,¹ and the children of Property-making-a-Noise; while the Raven crests are assigned to several different sources, general native ones. Several on both sides were obtained directly from the Tsimshian. In the Masset list two main origins are given, — the Tsimshian and the Haida of the West Coast. The story of the woman carried captive to Port Simpson presents a curious analogy to that of Property-making-a-Noise.

Whatever its origin, it is evident that the crest system is now an heraldic device by which a man indicates his rank and position in the social scale. Some crests, however, were obtained from supernatural beings; and when we consider that the killer-whale is the oldest Raven crest, and keep in mind the important part played in Haida mythology by that animal, we can hardly doubt that the system was rooted in religion. Indications point to its having developed from the idea of the personal manitou. As I have already said, the presence of the raven among crests used by the Eagle clan, instead of where it would seem properly to belong, is as much of a puzzle to the Haida themselves as to us. Along with other indications, it points to a comparatively recent origin for the crest system.²

Comparing the use of crests among the people under consideration with that among the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Bella Bella, it appears that the Haida Raven clan answers to the Wolf (or Eagle) clan in the first, the Wolf and Bear together in the second, and the Eagle and Killer-Whale in the third.

¹ In one story of Stone-Ribs it is said that he told people what crests they were to use.

² But see p. 109.

The Gítí'ns, on the other hand, correspond to the Raven clan among the Tlingit, the Raven and Eagle clans among the Tsimshian, and the Raven clan among the Bella Bella. It would seem that when crests were first adopted by the island Ravens, they obtained them from some mainland family of a discordant clan, whom, for some reason or other, they considered their friends. I believe that this question may be settled by a study of the Tsimshian families of Kitkatla; Djē'basa, the town chief here, being considered of the same clan as the Ravens of Skedans and Ninstints. Lagie'x and Sqagwē't of Port Simpson were considered as Eagles.

In the tables on pp. 114, 115, I give a summary of the crests of the various families as given to me by my informants. It is probable that the number of crests for each family is not quite complete; but, except in a few cases where only a very few crests were given, the general effect upon the tabular statement would not be very great.

I have added to the tables, in brackets, the crests recorded by Professor Boas from information received from Charlie Edensaw.¹ In addition to those entered on the tables, he has recorded the following: —

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| R 4, rock-slide. | E 6, wa'tclat (see p. 110). |
| R 19, devil-fish. | E 22, evening sky. |
| R 20, land-otter and woodpecker. | E 23, land-otter. |
| R 22, woodpecker. | |

On the whole, the information seems to me reliable, since for quite a number of families the scattered crests obtained by Professor Boas and by me agree. This is true, for instance, of R 19, in which both our lists contain the killer-whale, grisly bear, moon, dog-fish, wolf, while I have the raven in addition; of R 13, both containing killer-whale, grisly bear, hawk, stratus-cloud, in addition to which Professor Boas gives the rainbow, while I have the tca'maos, wolf, and cirrus-cloud; of R 15, for which the two lists have in common the grisly bear, killer-whale, thunder-bird, hawk, Raven-Fin, while I have the cumulus-cloud in addition to these. Among other scattered crests that both lists contain in common, we find in R 16 the black bear; in R 22, the horned owl; in R 4, the mountain-goat and the moon; in R 10, the sea-lion and thunder-bird; in R 11, Raven-Fin. On the Eagle side a similar agreement is found. In the group E 15-19 the two lists contain the humming-bird and the skate in common; in E 21, raven and s^əā'ñu; in E 22, the starfish; in E 3, the dog-fish; in E 6, raven, dog-fish, and wā'sgo. I have added in the tables the total number of occurrences.

The most striking phenomenon brought out by these tables is the frequent occurrence of a few crests among all the families, — namely, killer-whale, grisly bear, rainbow, and tca'maos among the Raven clan; and eagle, beaver, and sculpin

¹ See Report of the Bristol Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1898.

RAVEN CLAN (Total Number of Families with Distinct Crests, 20).

Crest. (Total No., 33.)	Total No. of Occurrences.	No. of Family of Raven Clan.																				
		12	1	19	13	14	15	16	17	18	21	4	2	20	9	3	5	(6)	7	9	10	11
Killer-whale	19	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	(1)	1	1	1	1
Grisly bear	12	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Rainbow	8	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Tca'maos	8	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Sea-lion	5	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Moon	4	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Thunder-bird	3	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Cumulus-cloud	4	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Dog-fish	3	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Wolf	4	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Flicker	3	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Raven	3	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Hawk	2	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Tree	2	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Mountain-goat	3	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Gitga'lgia	4	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Raven-Fin	2	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Sea grisly bear	2	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Black bear	2	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Weasel	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Horned owl	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Skate	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Worm	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Black bear with abalone	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Sea-lion's head	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
New moon	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Star	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Cirrus-cloud	3	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Stratus-cloud	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Abalone-shell	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Dentalium carvings	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Gä'dji	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Drying-frame	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	1

EAGLE CLAN (Total Number of Families with Distinct Crests, 15).

Crest. (Total No., 30.)	Total No. of Occurrences.	No. of Family of Eagle Clan.																	
		15-19	21	11	13-14	22	3	(4) ¹	5	9-10	6	(7) ²	1	2	9	20	23	12	
Eagle	15	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	[1]	I	I	I	
Beaver	12	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Sculpin	9	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Frog	9	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Whale	7	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Raven	5	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Halibut	6	I	[1]	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Humming-bird	3	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Cormorant	3	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Dog-fish	2	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Heron	2	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Wá' sgo	3	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Dragon-fly	2	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Starfish	2	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Copper	3	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Weasel	3	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Blue hawk	3	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Dog	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Qingi's hat	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Star blanket	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Abelone	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Cedar limbs	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Mica	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Martin hat	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Yellow cedar-bark	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Five-finned killer-whale	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Sgá'nu	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Cumulus-cloud	2	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
Skate	1	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	
T of copper	2	I	I	I	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	

¹ Crests the same as those of 3, with one exception.² Crests the same as those of 6, with one exception.

among the Eagle clan, — while the whole rest scatter very considerably. A great number of crests occur only a single time. Judging from this distribution, it seems plausible that the most frequent crests must have existed longest among the tribe, while it seems probable that the crests which occur only a single time or twice must have been acquired comparatively recently. It seems probable that a number of stories of the acquisition of crests given before are largely based on historic fact, and indicate that the use of the crest was introduced among the people not very long ago. A more detailed investigation of the distribution of crests shows a somewhat curious fact. There seem to be two distinct groups of Raven families, — one group characterized by the occurrence of both the killer-whale and grisly bear as crests, with absence of the rainbow; while the second group has the killer-whale and the rainbow, and the grisly bear is absent. A comparison of this distribution of crests with the table of descent (opp. p. 76) derived from the legendary history of the Haida families shows that the second group are all descendants of the Lawn Hill branch of the southern branch of the Middle-Town-People; so that the grouping obtained by the objective arrangement of crests and that obtained by the legendary history agree.

There are four families among the Raven clan whose crests are difficult to classify. These are the Sand-Town-People (R 2), Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), Sand-People-of-Alaska (R 20), and Those-born-at-Skidegate-Creek (R 8). It will be noticed that the first three of these constituted the Atā'na branch of the Ravens, while the list of crests of the last is so incomplete that it does not seem unlikely that it really may belong to the southern branch of the Middle-Town-People. The Sand-Town-People (R 2) and Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4) possess the moon and the mountain-goat in common. Since both of these crests are very rare, it would seem that they must have been taken from the same source and at the same time. This agrees with the statements made by the Haida, who claim that these two crests were obtained from Kitkatla. Among all the other crests that occur among four families and less, no two are common to several families; so that evidently all these crests have been taken singly by various families.

The distribution of crests on the Eagle side differs considerably from that on the Raven side. There are a greater number of crests which occur among the various families with considerable frequency. Among the twenty-three Eagle families, there are only fifteen whose crests differ. This is due to the fact that all the Gítans (E 15-19) have the same crests. It seems probable that the West-Coast-Gítans (E 20) must be counted in this group. Besides, the crests of the Lā'na tclā'das (E 7) are the same as those of the Gítins-of-Skidegate (E 6) with one exception; and those of the Town-of-Djī'gua-People (E 4) are the same as those of Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3) with the possible exception of the moon crest. Although the Lā'na tclā'das (E 7) and the

Gít'ns of Skidegate (E 6) belong traditionally to different groups, the latter finally assumed the position of servants in the houses of the former, since which time they have adopted their crests. In spite of their traditional position, however, I am not certain that they were ever anything more than a minor division of the Skidegate Gít'ns.

Two groups of crests of the Eagle clan stand out prominently. The first group is characterized by the occurrence of eagle, beaver, sculpin, and frog. It embraces the Sta'stas (E 21), the Seaward Gít'ns (E 11), the Gít'ans of Masset (E 13), and the S'ala'ndas (E 22), and the Gít'ans (E 15-19). A comparison with the table of descent of the Eagles (p. 93) as reconstructed from the traditional history of the Haida shows that all these belong to the descendants of Labret-Woman, and form one group of the Eagles. The only exceptions are the S'adjū'gał-Town-People (E 14), who, according to tradition, belonged to the descendants of Property-making-a-Noise. The second group is characterized by the occurrence of the eagle, beaver, frog, halibut, and cormorant crests, while the other crests are more irregularly distributed. These embrace Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3), the Town-of-Djī'gua-People (E 4), the Witch-People (E 5), the Sea-Lion-Town-People (E 9), and the Stasa'os-Town-People (E 10). All these, it will be seen, are descendants of Property-making-a-Noise. The rest of the Eagles cannot be readily classified into groups.

While, as we have seen, the crests that occur among a few families only among the Ravens hardly ever occur in groups, we find the isolated crests among the Eagles very often appearing among several families. Thus, the humming-bird, cormorant, and copper belong to three families; cormorant and weasel, to two families; and wā'sgo and dragon-fly, to two families. This suggests that these three groups of crests were assumed by the various families, each group at one time.

NAMES. — Another prerogative of each family was the use of certain names, — personal names, house-names, canoe-names, even names of salmon-traps and spoons. Sometimes the swinging door was named; and in Old Gold Harbor there was a house which had a name for the house-excavation different from that of the house which stood over it. As in the case of crests, some of these names belonged to the chief alone, but they often escaped him.

Belief in re-incarnation was so general, that a large proportion of the children were named in accordance with this idea. When the shaman announced what ancestor was re-incarnated, that ancestor's name was of course given to the child. A man was always reborn into his own clan, and generally into his own family. Mr. Henry Edensaw, my Masset interpreter, informed me that in other cases a man received the name of his paternal grandfather, who belonged, of course, to the same clan, and often to the same family. In case his grandfather was of a different family, ordinarily the name could not be used again; so that the man's own grandson would have to receive a name

from one of his great-uncles or from some other male member of the family. A girl also received her name from her paternal grandfather's kin.

After assuming his uncle's position, — a town, family, or house chief, — he was entitled to choose one of his uncle's potlatch-names. After that, he could add a new one every time he made a potlatch, but he did not take them necessarily from his uncle's list. He might make up a name commemorating some episode that redounded greatly to his own credit and reputation: such, for instance, as Unable-to-buy, assumed by a chief whose opponent was unable to buy a copper from him; or He-became-the-Eldes, a name taken by a chief who received a place "over the heads" of his elder brothers. He might therein record the way in which he obtained his property, as in the case of He-who-obtained-Property-by-eating-xāt-gī'na.¹ More often it seems to have been a grandiloquent term in which he extolled his power and the amount of his property. Again, any experience with supernatural beings might be recorded in this way; and many were the names of the supernatural beings themselves, such as those of the Killer-Whales living under points alongshore, and those of the Creek-Women. The chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13), for instance, bore one of the names of Cape Ball. The number of animals directly referred to in these names is surprisingly small, especially on the side of the Eagles. Among Raven names occur references to the killer-whale, raven, and grisly bear in the same relative proportion. Once acquired, all such names could be passed down as ordinary names in the family by being given to the man's son's sons, as above indicated. New names were also given to the chiefs of her own clan by the wife of a man giving a potlatch in return for assistance rendered at that time. Such names were taken from her own family lists, and were probably not transmissible in the family of the one to whom they were given. Outside of potlatches, a chief went by the name he had received in boyhood.

When young men were tattooed, each received a new name, from which it would appear that young men did not have to wait until they had assumed their uncles' positions before holding more names than one. Some names are also said to have been picked up by chiefs "from the mouths of the women they were in love with," and given to their nephews.

In old age even chiefs generally received their names from their children, being called simply "the father (or the mother) of so and so." For some time after one had died, they did not like to mention his name, at least not without some phonetic variation.

Personal Names. — Following is a list of Masset personal names.

¹ Xāt-gī'na is a kind of "medicine."

RAVEN CLAN.

Yā'gun-River-Rear-Town-People (R 15 c) and Rocky-Coast-Rear-Town-People (R 15 b).

Nañ gida's ("chief's son").	Skil hi'ldans ("property moving").
La'owa ("many").	Nañ L! dā'as ("one they own").
Gítkwē'ya ("valuable son").	K!wā'-iēēl ("he became the oldest").
Kwā'sas ("blowing of the killer-whale").	Skilki'ñans ("property-woman singing").
Gūsqu'e'n ("sea-gull diving under water to catch fish").	Skil'laowē (skil, "property-woman;" la, "good;" a'owe, "sitting").
Kilsta'ñwas ("two voices").	

Masset-Inlet-Rear-Town-People (R 15 a).

Klia'gwañ (?).	Skil'tast* (?).
Skil'ko-ilas (?).	K!ā'ga-i ("dryer").
Gitskilas (words mean "child" and "property").	Luwā ("body").

West-Coast-Rear-Town-People (R 15 d).

Gítkwā'n (words mean "child" and "blowing of the killer-whale").	T!A'lg*qañ ("hatred"). The family fought so much that all others hated them.
S'an yū'ans ("great killer-whale").	Ldjañ (anything "far").
Yeł qe'ñgwans ("Raven looking about").	

The names Gi'nlagas and Na'stao were used by the above families and by the Point-Town-People (R 14).

The name Tat!ō'lgat was used by all of these and by Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13) together.

Sand-People of Alaska (R 20).

Klia'gwañ (?).	Lā'ganan ("one who invites").
Xi'e'nsgina-i ("passage through"). A man once passed between two mountains to chew medicine.	Qā'dji kōk* (?).
Kwa'lagandas ("killer-whale blowing").	Gi'dal k!ō'yiña (git, "child;" ał, "of;" k!ō'yiña, "to put on new clothes for an assembly").

Cod-People (R 17).

Qla'oga-i or (full form) Nan qla'oga-i yū'ans ("one who sits greatly," as a chief).	Yeł tclā'añe (part of this means "Raven sitting in a canoe").
Lis (twine made from the hair of the mountain-goat, and imported from the mainland, was so called).	X!a'na (?).

Skil'daoqao (R 16).

Skilxē'gañ ("property making a noise").	Ya'goas (?).
Lē'an hi'ldans ("[killer-whale] dorsal fin moving").	Si'ga-i ("the open sea").
Latil (?).	Kiñai'djins ("the report of him goes a long way").
Skil'laas ("property running up").	Lla'oga-i ("old split-up canoe").

Rocky-Coast-Point-Town-People (R 14 a).

Skil'ti's ("property-woman lying down"). When one ate medicine to acquire wealth, he often became too weak to remain standing.	Skilgiā'ns ("property standing").
Yeł'ñk! ("Raven calling").	Tcli'nxa (?).
	Kil'slastans ("two chiefs"), from a certain house-pole which had two heads.

Masset-Inlet-Middle-Town-People (R 19 a).

Sī'nat ("fond of gambling").
Q!olqē'as ("they found a chief").

Ye! s⁶wā'nsiñ ("one Raven").

EAGLE CLAN.

Gī'tans-of-Mā'man-River (E 13 a).

Tclā-anū't (?).
Ai'yai (?).

Klā'-iña (said when one wants something impossible of attainment).

Gī'tans-of-River-Sqadjī'ns (E 13 b).

Kī'lsliagwañ ("going about giving orders").
Gā'ala (?).
Gīna'skilas (xat-gīna is the name of a common plant which a man mistook for xat, which was eaten to bring one fortune; still he became wealthy and assumed this name, xat being dropped. Skil signifies "property.")

Djatqons ("great woman").
Tclā'na kloyī'ns ("fire showing itself"). A man who was a great gambler always carried pitch-wood with him, and, when he was in the forest, lighted a fire very quickly with it. The name came from him.

S⁶adjū'gal-Town-People (E 14).

Gītxē'gaña ("noise at the potlatch on account of his child").
Ga'nia (?).
Tla olmadat ("they use coppers for the thwarts of the canoe").
Wi'a (from the Tsimshian, Wī'ha ("great wind")).
Tla'oligañwat ("holding up a copper like a child").

Skī'ldaquadaguñ ("going about to look for the property-woman").
Skīldaqałdju ("waiting for the property-woman").
Skīlla'twas (?).
Skil-kī'wat ("property-road").
Djat xē'gañ qīa'osas ("woman noisily sitting").
Yi'twē (?). This was first owned by a chief woman.
S⁶an gudjā'ña ("daughter of the killer-whale").

House-Names. — Lists of house-names will be found in Chapter XIII.

Canoe-Names. — The following canoe-names belonged to the chief of Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), the great Raven family of Skedans: —

Klā'-iña Lus ("dish canoe"), the highest name.
Lu goa'was ("lazy canoe").
Lu xīals ("dancing canoe").
Tiā'lgun Lus ("swan canoe").

Tā'yīña Lus ("steel-head canoe").
Sgan Lus ("red-cod canoe").
Lū gastī'ns ("two canoes").

The canoe of the chief of the Peninsula-People (R 4 a) was called lū xe-ū'lgalas ("crooked canoe").

Town-Names. — Towns frequently had several names. Thus Skedans was called Q!ō'na, which was more of a story-name, but ordinarily Xū'adji Inagā'-i ("grisly-bear town"). Swampy Village (Lā'na xā'wa), on the west coast, opposite Hippa Island, was also called Town-where-a-Noise(of Drums)-goes-on (Lā'na xē'gans) and Town-with-Plenty-of-Feathers-on-it (Lā'na lta'ngua). In explaining the names of the latter town, my informant said that when the chief's wife did not like one name, the people used another, letting the first fall into abeyance. A list of towns is given in Chapter XIII.

SONGS. — Each family had its own set of songs, although, of course, many were free for anybody to use. Songs used in connection with the secret societies were mainly in the Tsimshian language, and the other kinds of songs generally numbered some in Tsimshian. A few were Tlingit. Two sets of songs constantly referred to are the l'ēn, which were accompanied by the clapping of hands, and the djā'djat giā'ga (literally, "women's songs"). These were "songs of joy." The principal varieties of family songs were the cradle-songs, property-songs, war-songs, and songs for making peace. Certain songs in Tsimshian were used in making fun of a man of low standing who pretended to be a chief. The following, for instance, are the words of one belonging to the Rear-Town-People (R 15): —

"Laugh at the chief, for, although he is a chief, he has no rattle in his hand."

"Power" songs were supposed to bring about certain results in the objective world. Thus a "North Song" brings a north wind. Many of these were sung during potlatches.

The following list of the different sorts of songs was given to me by an old man at Masset, but it must not be supposed that it is exhaustive: —

Gît qagā'n ("cradle-songs").	Qla'ol!a s ^ə ā'laña-i, in Tsimshian; sung when face-paintings were put on.
Ki'ldjao qagā'n ("crying-songs").	s ^ə ā'fagadañ s ^ə ā'laña-i, in Tsimshian; sung to a very slow dance.
Qē'dao s ^ə ā'laña-i ("war-songs").	Tcl'a'oks s ^ə ā'laña, in Tsimshian; sung by the chiefs for those who were inspired by the Athapaskan spirits.
Ga lā s ^ə ā'laña-i ("songs to make peace").	s ^ə AN La'olas s ^ə ā'laña-i, in Tsimshian; sung by those who were dressing themselves for the dance.
Lehā'l s ^ə ā'laña-i ("gambling-songs").	Tcinā'n s ^ə ā'laña-i, in Tsimshian; sung when they danced in the house at a potlatch.
LU qā'gane-i ("canoe-songs"), in Tsimshian; sung when they were going to get the timbers for a house.	Wā'fal s ^ə ā'laña-i and Si'k! s ^ə ā'laña-i (the "potlatch songs" spoken of together), nearly if not quite all in Tsimshian.
S ^ə a s ^ə ā'laña-i, in Tsimshian; sung at the potlatches when one or two men danced by themselves.	
Ki'lisilañ, in Tsimshian, — a slow song, accompanied by a rattle; sung by one person before the people stood up to dance.	

X. — THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CREST AND OF MYTH IN ART.

The art of the Northwest coast in general has been discussed by Professor Boas,¹ and the reader is referred to his paper for a statement of the manner in which art motives are applied on the Northwest coast of America. In the present chapter I intend to show in what manner the social organization of the people was reflected in their art.

The crest animals were by far the most frequent subject of artistic representation. They were represented most frequently on houses, canoes and paddles, and horn spoons, but also on trays and boxes. To these must of course be added the masks, rattles, and batons used in potlatch time.

It is said that formerly planks for the front and rear walls of houses, instead of being run in slots, were laid upon the ground, fastened together with cedar withes, and raised into their places in one piece. There were no house-poles; but the front of the house itself was carved, or a heavy carved plank or block of wood was fastened to the house-front. In course of time this plank was increased in height, and evolved into the house-pole which formed until recently such a distinctive feature of all the principal houses in this region. Although in some instances the house-fronts, the projecting ends of the roof-timbers, and the corner posts, were carved even after the introduction of the high house-pole or "totem-post," the decorations of this pole were always most significant, and were considered of great importance. In houses of wealthy chiefs the inside house-posts and the screens at the rear were also carved.

Speaking generally, there were two varieties of house-poles, — (1) those which merely bore crests, and (2) those which illustrated some story.

In the former class, crests belonging to the family of the house-owner and to that of his wife were usually placed together upon the pole, although occasionally all the crests were taken from one family; but, as will be seen in what follows, there was no fixed rule for the order in which these should be arranged.

Plate 1, Fig. 1, shows the model of a pole which formerly stood in front of the house of one of Those-born-at-Sā'ki (E 1) at the town of Ninstints. At the top is an eagle, and at the bottom a beaver, both of which belonged to the husband's family; while the wolf carved between them belonged to his wife, a woman of the Xā'gi-Town-People (R 1), the most important Raven family in the same town.

¹ Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. IX, pp. 123-176.



MODELS OF TOTEM-POLES.

The Haida.

The pole represented in Plate I, Fig. 2, belonged to Lō'gōt, chief of the Seaward-Sqōā'ladas (R 5), and stood at Skidegate. His wife was of the Rotten-House-People (E 6 *b*). The dog-fish at the top, with its tail standing up straight and its head brought out forward, as well as the raven immediately beneath it, belonged to her; while the killer-whale at the bottom, which has its tail folded up below, was her husband's crest.

The original of Plate I, Fig. 3, belonged to Gā'n̄xuat or Sgē'dagīts, chief of the Big-House-People (E 6 *a*), which was the ruling branch of the great Gītī'ns family of Skidegate. His wife was of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13); and her crest, the grisly bear, appears at the bottom. Grisly bears were often represented devouring a man, because they killed many people on the mainland. Above this is a raven, and surmounting that a figure of the wā'sgo, both crests belonging to the husband. The wā'sgo is a fabulous monster, part wolf, part killer-whale, who hunts for black whales during the night, and brings them away on its back, behind its ears, and in the curl of its tail. One whale is represented held under the tail.

The chief who set up the pole represented by Plate I, Fig. 4, belonged to the Rotten-House-People (E 6 *b*), and his wife to Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13). The former's name was Nañ djī'ñwas; that of the latter, Nā'ga sa'nl̄naga-idañwas, one of the names of Cape Ball, which means "in his house there is daylight." At the top is a grisly bear belonging to the wife's family; below that, a dog-fish, followed by a raven and an eagle, all of which were the husband's crests. The dog-fish is here represented as a woman with a labret, in remembrance of the woman who was carried off by the Dog-Fish-People and became one of them. The ridge around the eagle's head represents a nest in which the bird is supposed to be sitting. I do not know the significance of the small head between the dog-fish and the raven. The pole at the top, with circles cut around it, represents a chief's dance-hat, which was made in segments. In general, the more segments to a hat, the greater the honor to its wearer.

Plate II, Fig. 1, shows the model of a pole belonging to Nī'swas, chief of Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4) of Skedans, whose wife was Sqāa'n q!ai'yas, a woman of Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3). Sqāa'n was the highest female name in the latter family, and q!ai'yas was probably added to distinguish her from another of that name. The beaver and eagle at the top were crests of Those-born-at-Skedans. Below the second of them is a figure intended to represent the moon; and under that, a grisly bear. They belonged to Those-born-at-Qā'gials. The doorway to this house, as in all the older houses, passed through the pole itself. After contact with the whites, a swinging door, cut at one side of the pole, took its place.

The original of Plate II, Fig. 2, belonged to Dressed-up (K!u-iyā'ns), chief of the Sand-Town-People (R 2), and all the crests on it belonged to his family.

These are, from bottom to top, the grisly bear, the moon, and two figures intended to represent mountain-goats. These were often carved like grisly bears, with the addition of a pair of horns. In the present instance the latter appendages may have rotted out of the original post. Surmounting all are two "watchmen." Some families had two of these, and some three. In the myths similar figures are mentioned on the house-poles of the supernatural beings, which always gave warning when an enemy approached or anything happened which the owner of the pole ought to know. They are not used as crests.

The pole represented by Plate II, Fig. 3, belonged to He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed (Nañk'íslas), chief of the Pebble-Town-People (R 9). His wife was Chief-Woman-who-is-the-Daughter-of-Chiefs (Ílga djat gí'da), of the Pebble-Town-Gít'íns (E 8). At the bottom is a killer-whale, and above it the moon, both of which were crests belonging to the chief himself. The raven, which comes next in order, was the wife's crest. Surmounting all is the chief himself, holding a copper under each arm. To put a representation of the house-owner upon his pole was not uncommon, though this is the only model of such a pole that I obtained.

Plate II, Fig. 4, is from the model of a pole belonging to The-Younger-Brother (Dō'gana-i), chief of the Skidegate-Town-People (R 6). His wife was named The-Clean-One (Sku'nxa-i), a woman of the Rotten-House-People (E 6 b). By the Tsimshian this chief was called L!nēt. The dog-fish at the top, arranged like that in Plate I, Fig. 2, belonged to the wife. At the bottom are an old and a young killer-whale, that, with the figure above, which my carver could not explain, probably contain some story. It suggests the story of Gunanasímgít, whose wife was carried away by a killer-whale. At any rate, the killer-whales probably stand for the chief's crests as well.

The original of Plate III, Fig. 1, belonged to Great-Breakers (Lā'djañ qō'na), chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit (R 13), who received his name from one of Cape Ball's names. His wife was one of the Sta'stas, and one of her names was Chief-Woman-whose-Voice-is-Sharp, that is, has effect (Ílga djat kílklí'gas). At the top is an eagle sitting upon the head of a beaver. These are the wife's crests. At the bottom a grisly bear holding her two cubs is rearing in terror at sight of a frog, of which creature the Haida supposed grisly bears to be mortally afraid. The artist has thus introduced a crest and illustrated a story at the same time. Frogs are also said to have been placed upon house-poles sometimes, to keep them from falling over.

All of the above were carved for me at Skidegate, where this type of pole seems to have been more common proportionally than in the northern towns. Story-poles were also fairly common, however, though I obtained a model of but one. The original of this, represented in Plate III, Fig. 2, stood at Kloo, and belonged to Gítko'n (a Tsimshian word), chief of Those-born-at-



MODELS OF TOTEM-POLES.

The Haida.



MODELS OF TOTEM-POLES.

The Haida.

Skedans (E 3). The motive is taken from the Raven story, and represents Qí'ngi supporting the people of his town along the sides of his segmented dance-hat to preserve them from the flood brought on by Raven.¹

The following story-poles were carved for me at Masset by Charlie Edensaw, chief of the Stá'stas.

Plate III, Fig. 3, is not said to represent any pole actually put up, but it was recognized as one that might have been used by X'otēs, a chief of Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3), the design being evidently considered his property. This is another case where the family crests have been woven into a story. At the top is Djila'qons, ancestress of the Eagle clan. She is represented carrying a cane, as in her story.² She also wears a hat which is supposed to have been surrounded by frogs (although only one is reproduced), her face is painted, and her shoulders are tattooed with figures of laughing geese. Her cane rests on another frog. These, as well as the two nearer the bottom, are introduced in memory of the supernatural frog which was thrown into the camp-fire in the story just alluded to. I was also informed that this tattooing of Djila'qons was the beginning of all tattooing. On top of her hat rests an eagle, and a second eagle is looking out of a nest just in the middle of the pole. Still farther down is a beaver. These have nothing directly to do with the story of Djila'qons, but they were crests of her people.

The pole illustrated in Plate III, Fig. 4, belonged to Yêl-da'djî, a chief of the Eagle-House-People (R 19 e), who lived in Alaska. It contains episodes from the Raven story. At the bottom is a figure of the beaver who owned the first house, salmon-lake, and salmon-trap, and who adopted Raven. The small human figure on the head of which this beaver has its front-legs is Raven himself. Above is another figure of Raven playing with the crescent moon which surrounds the head of Butterfly, Raven's companion. This refers to the theft of the moon by Raven. Butterfly is introduced only because he used to go about with Raven. The figure above this, with a frog in its mouth, is said to represent the grandfather of Raven at this time, the frog simply filling up space. Still higher Raven is seen in the act of stealing the beaver's salmon-lake. The lake is the cross-hatched surface curled around two salmon. The frog on Raven's hat is said to be merely for ornament; and the segmented part rising above it is, as usual, a chief's dance-hat. On top of this dance-hat, finally, Raven appears again in the form of a bird holding the moon in his bill, as he flew with it through the smoke-hole.

The next figure in order (Plate IV) is from a model of a house at Kliū'sta belonging to Edensaw, chief of the Stá'stas family, the uncle and predecessor of the carver. It was named Myth-House (Q!ā'-igaña na'as), and was originally intended for Edensaw's son when he should grow up. Later the builder changed his mind. At the time of its construction there was a great potlatch,

¹ See F. Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 308.

² See p. 95.

to which all the Masset, West Coast, Skidegate, and Kaigani Haida were invited. After all were in, the chief had a big canoe (the same as shown in Fig. 16) brought up and broken over the fire for kindling-wood.

All the figures on the main house-pole of this house, except the three watchmen at the top, illustrate the following story: —

There was once a youth at Gwais-kun, a town belonging to the Sta'stas, who lay in bed so many days, instead of going to work, that his mother-in-law made a remark which caused him to feel ashamed. Then he got up and went into the woods. In a lake back in the forest lived a lake-monster (*sū s^hān*) similar to the *wā'sgo*, which used to go after black whales every night and bring them ashore. Assisted by Bird-in-the-Air (*Sins xé'tada-i*), the hero split a cedar-tree in halves, fastened the two together at their ends, spread them apart at the centre by means of a cross-piece, and laid them in the water just over where the *sū s^hān* lived. For bait he fastened two children to a rope attached to the end of a pole, and dropped them between. When the *sū s^hān* came up, the hero knocked out the cross-piece and caught it. After that he put on the *sū s^hān*'s skin and hunted fish of various sorts, which he left in front of his mother-in-law's house. Finding these things left there every morning, the woman persuaded herself that she was a shaman. When he finally showed himself, she was so overcome by shame that she died.

At the bottom of the pole is a black whale representing those which the *sū s^hān* next figured used to catch. Above the *sū s^hān* comes the mother-in-law of the hero; and above her, Bird-in-the-Air. Next is shown where the *sū s^hān*, or the man wearing its skin, caught a whale; and finally come the children that were used as bait.

Only the greatest chiefs are said to have had three watchmen at the top of their house-poles like this.

The figures on the corner posts of this house are the following, from bottom to top. The first two are, in order, a bull-head and a grisly bear, the second of which is probably intended as a crest. The succeeding figures illustrate a favorite episode in the Raven story. This is where Raven, in the form of a halibut, tried to steal bait from the hooks of halibut-fishermen. Finally he was caught, pulled to the surface, and put over a fire. Then the skin began to shrink, and caused him so much pain that he thought, "I wish that every one would run over to one end of the town!" So all left him except the small boy who was watching him, whereupon Raven came out and flew away. In the design the beak is represented coming out from the halibut's side. In another attempt upon the fishermen's hooks, — which some say was made after the above, some before, — Raven's beak was pulled off, and Raven came back to the town holding his hand over his nose to conceal the deficiency. This has been represented in the final group.

In the left rear corner of this house, as one entered, was a well or water-hole called Property-Water (*Skil s^hanls*). There were usually covers over such wells, but this had none. On the front of the screen in the inside of the house was painted the figure of something called by a Tlingit word, *Qo'naqada* (Fig. 6). This something was shaped like a house, and appeared out of the

water to one who was going to become wealthy. Such objects were called *skil*. The projecting ends of the roof-timbers of this house in front are carved into the shapes of grisly-bear heads, and the steps leading down into the



Fig. 6 (5147). Painting on a Screen in the Rear of a Haida House.

house from the doorway were called *Grisly-Bear's-Trail* (*Xū'Adj kl'wa*). The grisly bear was used so much because this house was intended, as we have said, for Edensaw's son, who belonged to the Middle-Town-People (R 19), and the grisly bear was an important crest of that family.

The original of Plate v, Fig. 1, belonged to Q°gis, chief of the Point-Town-People (R 14), and stood in front of his house, Fort-House (*Tla'odji na'as*), on a hill close to Masset. At the bottom, above the doorway of this house, are a frog and a raven. The frog is introduced along with the raven because ravens were said to eat frogs. All the other figures on this pole illustrate the story of the man who married a grisly bear. The principal figure of this group, clasping in both hands what has the appearance of a tongue, but was explained as a long labret, and wearing a dance-hat, is the *Grisly-Bear-Woman*; below, and held in her embrace, are her two cubs; while still lower down is the full-length figure of another bear, representing her husband. Sitting on top of the dance-hat is still another cub. The carver added, that "hats are always put over a grisly bear," which probably means nothing more than that it was customary to place them there.

Fig. 7 represents a pole obtained for the American Museum of Natural History by Dr. C. F. Newcombe, from Abraham Moss (or *Gîtkā'gyas*), one of the Cumshewa people. He explains it as follows. The two figures at the top represent the horned owl. Next comes the figure of a chief, undoubtedly the one who erected this pole. Below him is the thunder-bird, and at the bottom the black whale. The horned owl was used as a crest by the Witch-people of Cumshewa, and probably belonged to the house-owner. The black whale was used as a crest by some Eagle families, and may also have been his; but the thunder-bird was a Raven crest, and probably belonged to his wife's family. It is more likely, however, that the whale and thunder-bird were put one under the other because thunder-birds were supposed to live

upon whales, and the two figures often occur in the same relative position (see Fig. 9).

In addition to the main house-pole, the greatest chiefs had an inside pole. This was placed in the middle of the rear part of the house, the seat just in front of it being that always reserved for the highest in rank. One of these inside poles is represented in Plate v, Fig. 2. It stood in another house of Chief Edensaw, called One-that-can-hold-Crowds (Sk!ū'lha haiya't), which he occupied after his people moved from K!iū'sta to Kung in Naden Harbor; but it was copied from a still older one in a house belonging to this family at Łi'elañ River.

From the bottom up, the figures are a frog, hawk (surmounted by the figure of a young hawk wearing a dance-hat), raven with two frogs in its mouth, and grisly bear. All* of these except the grisly bear, the presence of which was not explained, were claimed as crests by the Sta'stas. Although the hawk (skiä'msm) was owned by several Raven families, it is said that when the original pole was put up at Łi'elañ, this family was also possessed of it.

The original of Fig. 8 was obtained for the American Museum of Natural History by Dr. Newcombe. Although it was the inside pole of a house at Skedans, it belonged to William and Timothy Tait of Ninstints, who derived the right to it through their mother. The upper figure is an eagle, the lower a cormorant, — both crests of the Eagle clan, and probably in this case of the Ninstints Giti'ns.

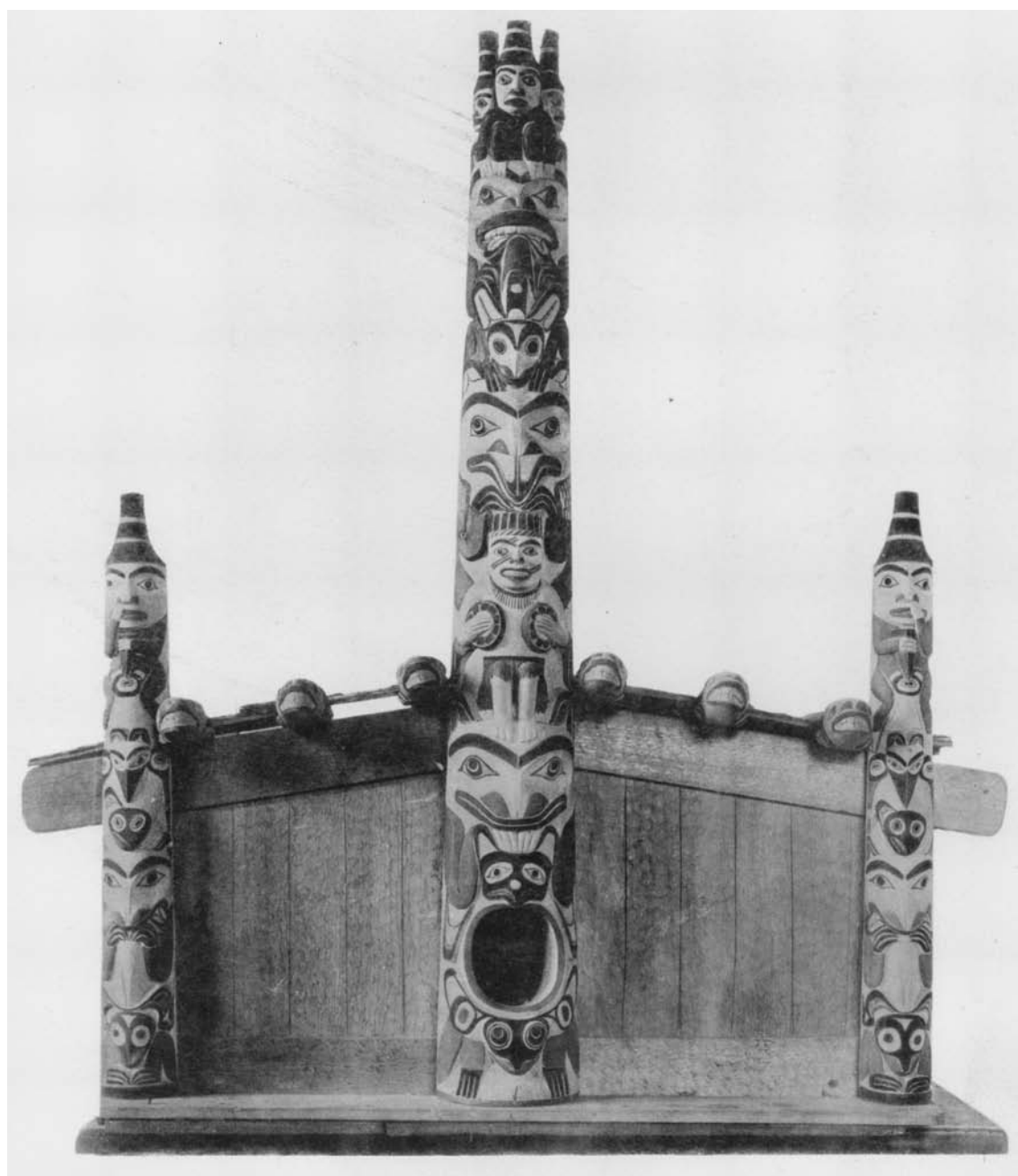
Figs. 9 and 10 represent inside house-poles which formerly stood at Skidegate, but are now in the vestibule of the Provincial Museum of British Columbia at Victoria. I obtained two explanations of the carvings, — one from Tom Stevens, chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit, whose family has long intermarried with those of Skidegate; and a second from Amos Russ, whose parents belonged to the chief families of Skidegate. These agree in their explanations of the designs on the first, except that Tom Stevens gave the name of the chief who owned it as Ga'n̄xuat, and Amos Russ as Dō'gañakiñas ("though youngest, must be obeyed"); but both were said to have been chiefs of the Giti'ns. At the



Fig. 7 (x1/11).
Totem-Pole.



Fig. 8 (x1/11).
House-Post.



MODEL OF A HOUSE.

The Haida.

top of this pole (Fig. 9) is a raven, represented, as is often the case, with frogs coming out of its mouth; under this is a boy, said to be introduced merely to fill up space; and below that, a thunder-bird with a common whale in its talons. Thunder-birds were supposed to feed upon whales. The raven is a valued crest of the Gîti'ns; but the thunder-bird was a Raven crest, and perhaps belonged to the house-owner's wife.

The name of the chief in whose house the original of Fig. 10 stood is given by Amos Russ as Mînit or KA'NA, and by Tom Stevens as Q!ā'moti (or Q!ā'moxdi). He belonged to the same family as the owner of the preceding. At the top of this pole is an eagle, crest of the Eagle clan; but my informants differed regarding the rest of the design. Amos Russ explained it as a representation of Gunanasí'm-gît's wife being carried off by the killer-whale, the woman's face showing just below the eagle's beak, and the whale's blow-hole being represented by a small face above the face of the killer-whale. Tom Stevens, however, explained the large figure at the bottom as that of a grisly bear, presumably meaning thereby the sea grisly bear; and the small figure over it as the sea-ghost (tca'gan q!ā'txuna-i) which usually rides upon its back. The woman's face he left unexplained; and I am inclined to think that he is in error, and that Amos Russ's explanation is the correct one. The killer-whale (or sea grisly bear) may have been a crest of the house-owner's wife.

Next to houses and house-poles, the most important as well as the most conspicuous carved objects were the poles for the dead. They have been divided by investigators into two classes, — grave-posts in or upon which the remains of the dead were themselves bestowed, and memorial columns erected merely in his or her honor. To a Haida, however, there is no essential distinction between them. Both are called "grave-father" (sǎ'ññ xāt, xāt being identical with the word used for the father of a woman), and both sorts were erected by the successor of a dead chief when he took the latter's place.

The most elaborate variety of "grave-fathers" was called "two grave-fathers" or "double grave-father" (xāt łgisti'ñ). It consisted of a long box with a carved front, capable of holding several bodies, and, as the name implies, was raised upon two posts instead of a single one. The bodies were

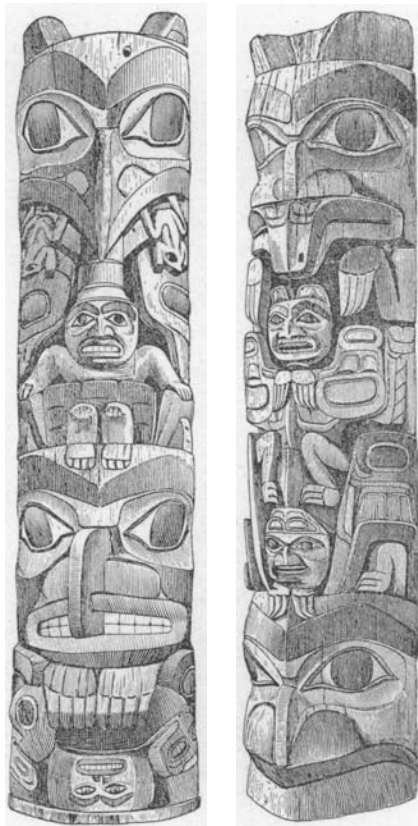


Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Figs. 9, 10. House-Posts. (Originals in the Provincial Museum, Victoria.)

each enclosed in a smaller box before being placed inside; and all belonged to the same clan, the chief for whom it was erected and his immediate friends. Such a double grave-post is illustrated on Plate VI. It was raised for a chief woman belonging to the Rotten-House-People (E 6 *b*), and ornamented with one of her principal crests, the dog-fish.

In other cases the grave-box was placed upon the top of a single pole or let into the top of the pole itself; and near Masset I saw a pole which had been channelled along the back like a house-pole, the remains placed in the channelling, and the whole boarded over. But, whether any bodies were placed upon the post or not, it was sometimes carved in imitation of a true grave-post, stout planks being nailed crosswise on the front of the post at its top, to resemble the front of a grave-box. Figs. 1 and 2, Plate VII, illustrate this type, the former being the model of a post that formerly stood at Skidegate; the latter, of one that probably stood at Old Gold Harbor. The first is especially interesting as having been erected for the last representative of the Sea-Otter family (R 7), the wife of one of the Skidegate chiefs. On the shaft of this post is carved the two-finned killer-whale, with a human figure of uncertain significance grasping its tail. On the cross-piece at the top is a face intended to represent the *tca'maos*.¹ Both were crests of the Sea-Otters. At the lower end of Fig. 2 is a grisly bear, the tracks of the animal being visible above and below; and on the cross-bar is the moon. Both were crests of He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed, chief of the Pebble-Town-People (R 9), for whom this pole was put up. The human figure in the moon, holding a bucket in one hand and the fragment of a salal-berry bush in the other, is explained by a story of the Masset series.²

All except one of the remaining poles of which I have illustrations were of the type to which the term "memorial column" has been most frequently applied. They consist of a crest at the bottom; a long, slightly ornamented shaft above; and another figure at the top.

Plate v, Fig. 3, is from the model of a pole erected for Duncan Gīnā'wan, whose mother belonged to the Middle-Town-People (R 19), and who received his first name from his father, a white man named Duncan. One of the same design formerly stood at Old Kaigani in Alaska. At the bottom is a grisly bear. The flattened shaft surmounting this, together with the raven standing on top, represent the mythical killer called Raven-Fin (*Tc'ilia'las*). In the original the eyes and feathers were set with abalone-shell. On the front of the fin there were originally two coppers; but one of these, called Standing-Copper (*T!ao giā'as*), was afterwards removed, and sold for two hundred and seventy-five dollars in cash and twenty-five dollars in blankets. The other, which is tied to the model (but not represented in the cut), was called Mountain-Copper (*ldao t!aos*). It was of very little value.

¹ See p. 18.

² See Chapter XII, Masset Series, Story 28.



Fig. 1. Model of a Totem-Pole.



Fig. 2. Model of a House-Post.

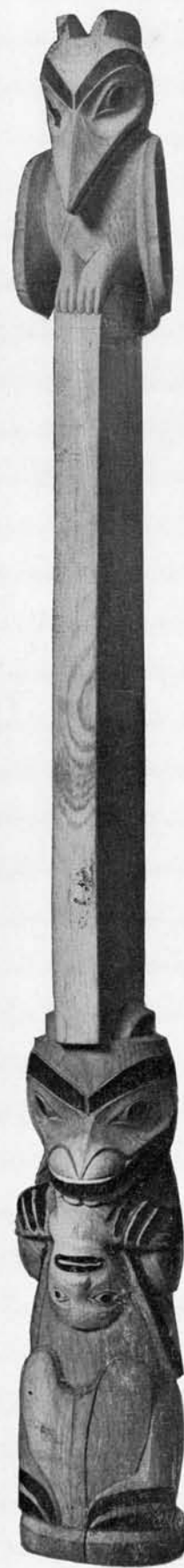


Fig. 3. Model of a Memorial Column.

The Haida.



MODEL OF A MEMORIAL COLUMN.

The Haida.



MODELS OF MEMORIAL COLUMNS.

The Haida.



MODELS OF MEMORIAL COLUMNS.

The Haida.

The original of Plate VIII, Fig. 1, was set up for Great-Woman-who-is-talked-about (Djat kī'ñē qōñā'was), a woman of the Sand-Town-People (R 2), and wife of Wī'a, the town chief of Masset, at which place it formerly stood. The figure at the bottom illustrates the cumulus-cloud (qwē'gao), usually spoken of as Cloud-Woman, the small figures around its head representing puffs of cloud. At the top is a flicker (s'ā'ldjīt). Both were crests used by her family.

The original of Plate VIII, Fig. 2, was put up for Stī'ta, chief of the Tcēts-Gī'tans (E 17). At the top is carved a humming-bird, one of the distinctive crests of this family; but of the figure at the bottom the carver himself knew nothing more than that it came, like the humming-bird, from the Tsimshian.

Plate VIII, Fig. 3, illustrates a pole which was used for several members of the Sqoā'ladas (R 10) family in succession. Both of the principal designs represent the tca'maos, or "tide-walker," which was supposed to have the power of taking on several different forms. Above he is represented as a sea-lion "with blow-hole and dorsal fin." Below he is in the shape of a black whale. Instead of representing a dance-hat, the banded shaft between the two is in this case the piece of driftwood or the "tide-walker."

The original of the memorial column shown in Fig. 11 was one of those obtained by Dr. Newcombe for the American Museum of Natural History. It was owned by a Skidegate man named Moses McKay, whose family, the Seaward Sqoā'ladas (R 5) was Raven. Below is represented tca'maos, the personified snag referred to elsewhere.¹ It is said that if this creature became angry, it would upset canoes by falling upon them or by raising a huge wave. It has no difficulty in ascending rivers against the greatest obstacles, even passing under log-jams if necessary. The special name of this being is Wī'gīt, which would identify it as a form of the "trickster" Raven. The upper figures on this pole represent persons who have been drowned by tca'maos and changed into killer-whales.² When represented in their supernatural capacity, the dorsal fins of killer-whales were often perforated, as in the present instance.

Finally the grave-post illustrated in Plate VIII, Fig. 4, marks an intermediate type. It was shaped like a house-pole, and could be called either gia'gañ or xāt; yet it stood away from the house, and was in other respects considered as a grave-post. It was put up by Jackson, the late chief of Sgē'dagīts, for his deceased wife's uncle, who belonged to Those-born-at-



Fig. 11 (卷八).
Memorial Column.

¹ See p. 18.

² See p. 35.

Qā'gials (R 4), of Skedans. The crests, from top to bottom, are the mountain-goat, three-finned killer-whale(?), and the grisly bear. As was sometimes the case, the horns of the mountain-goat were left out in the original. That and the grisly bear were crests of Those-born-at-Qā'gials.



Fig. 12 ($\frac{16}{24 \times 11 \frac{1}{2}}$). Carved Box. *a*, Front View; *b*, Back View; *c*, Side View.

Instead of being raised upon posts, remains of the dead were sometimes put in elaborately carved boxes, and placed upon figures of animals resting directly on the ground. The carved box shown in Fig. 12 was originally intended for such use, although the chief who had it made, about 1880, changed

his mind afterwards and disposed of the remains of his predecessor in another manner. It was intended for one of the town chiefs of Skedans, and is ornamented with three of his highest crests, — the moon represented like a bird (Fig. 12, *a*), mountain-goat (Fig. 12, *b*), and grisly bear (Fig. 12, *c*).

A figure such as these boxes used to stand upon is shown in Fig. 13, the original of which was obtained by Dr. Newcombe from a Skidegate man named Moses McKay (or, in Haida, Lansin), who says that the Haida name for "this particular kind of mortuary" was manda. This one is said to represent tca'maos,¹ whose story is given as follows by Dr. Newcombe.

¹ This interpretation seems very doubtful. The form of the carving is that of the beaver, being characterized by large incisors, scaly tail, and stick in the forepaws.

"Nañki'lsLas made all of the world, but not the people dwelling in it. He was always playing tricks upon the people, who often tried, but in vain, to catch him, as he was constantly changing his form.

"When he had finished making things, he finally turned himself into tca'maos, or water-stick, and usually lived in fresh water, though sometimes in the sea, especially haunting the Skeena River.

"He had ten different powers (or forms?), usually showing himself as a snag-stick, sometimes as a canoe, sometimes as a vessel like a schooner. If suitably spoken to by people, he allowed them to see the lower end of the drifting snag-stick, and this is therefore known to be in the form of a large frog covered with seaweed."

Fig. 14 shows two of these grave-box stands of a form still more common, i. e., in the shape of killer-whales. I do not know whether boxes were placed on each, or whether they rested on both at the same time.

The dead bodies of shamans, unlike those of other people, were generally deposited away from a town, on some conspicuous point along the shore. Their grave-boxes were raised upon four posts, the two front ones of which were

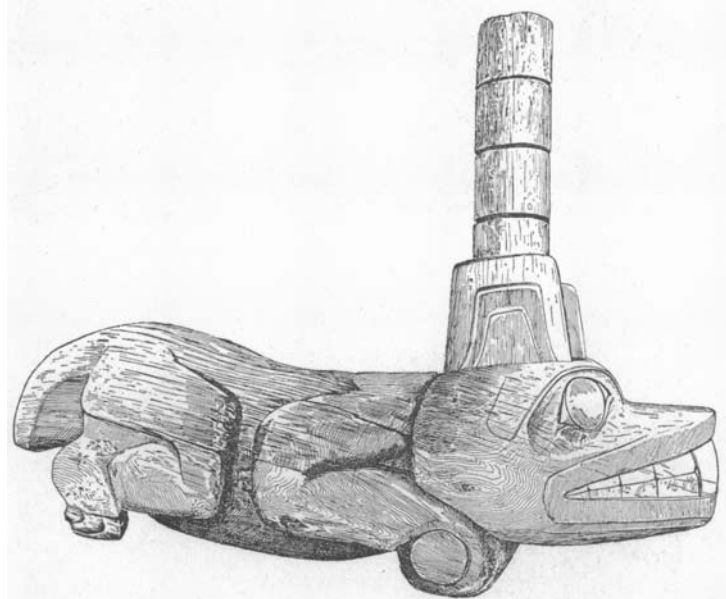


Fig. 13 (¹⁶/₈₆₈₇). Carved Support for Grave-Box, representing a Beaver.

usually carved. Fig. 15 shows a model of a Haida grave-house. Here the shaman lies on his back, his hair tied in a topknot, and his head resting on

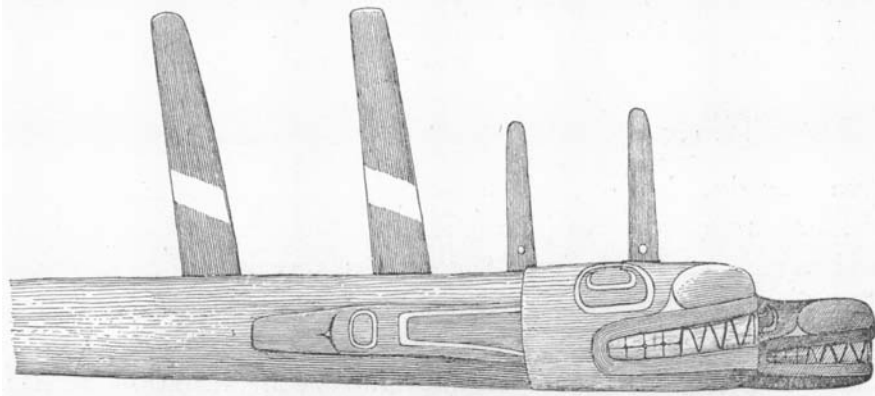


Fig. 14. Carved Support for Grave-Box, representing Killer-Whales.
(From a photograph.)

a wooden pillow. The sticks in his hands are probably his batons, and the carved figures on the posts are perhaps intended for his protecting spirits. The Haida graves I myself have seen had similar carvings on the front posts,

although differing in details. The bodies appear, however, to have been set up higher, with the knees drawn close to the body. At any rate, the distance between the carved posts was very much less, so that the measurement from front to rear was greater proportionately.

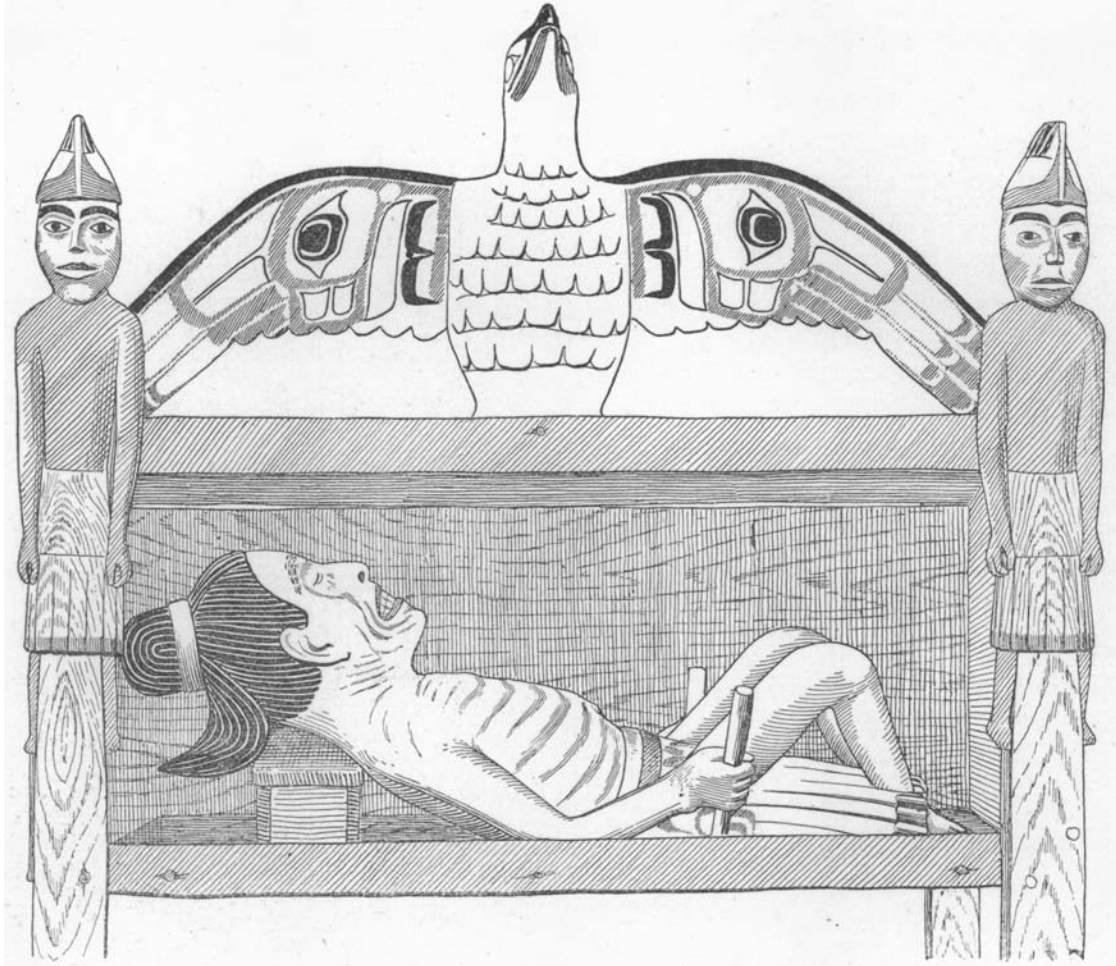


Fig. 15 ($\frac{11}{33}$). Model representing a Shaman's Grave-House.

I have introduced the next set of figures (Plates IX-XII) to show the proper proportions of the various poles and posts, and to give an idea of the general appearance presented by Haida towns and houses in the olden days. The first of these shows Skidegate village when all the old houses were standing. House-poles, mortuary columns, single grave-posts, and a double grave-post may be seen. At the time when the photograph was taken that is reproduced in Plate x, many of the old houses had been abandoned, and some of European style had taken their places. The poles, however, show very much more clearly, and among them may be found many similar to those already described.

Plate xi, Fig. 1, gives an idea of the framework of an old house. It

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

ROCK-PAINTINGS.

Figs.

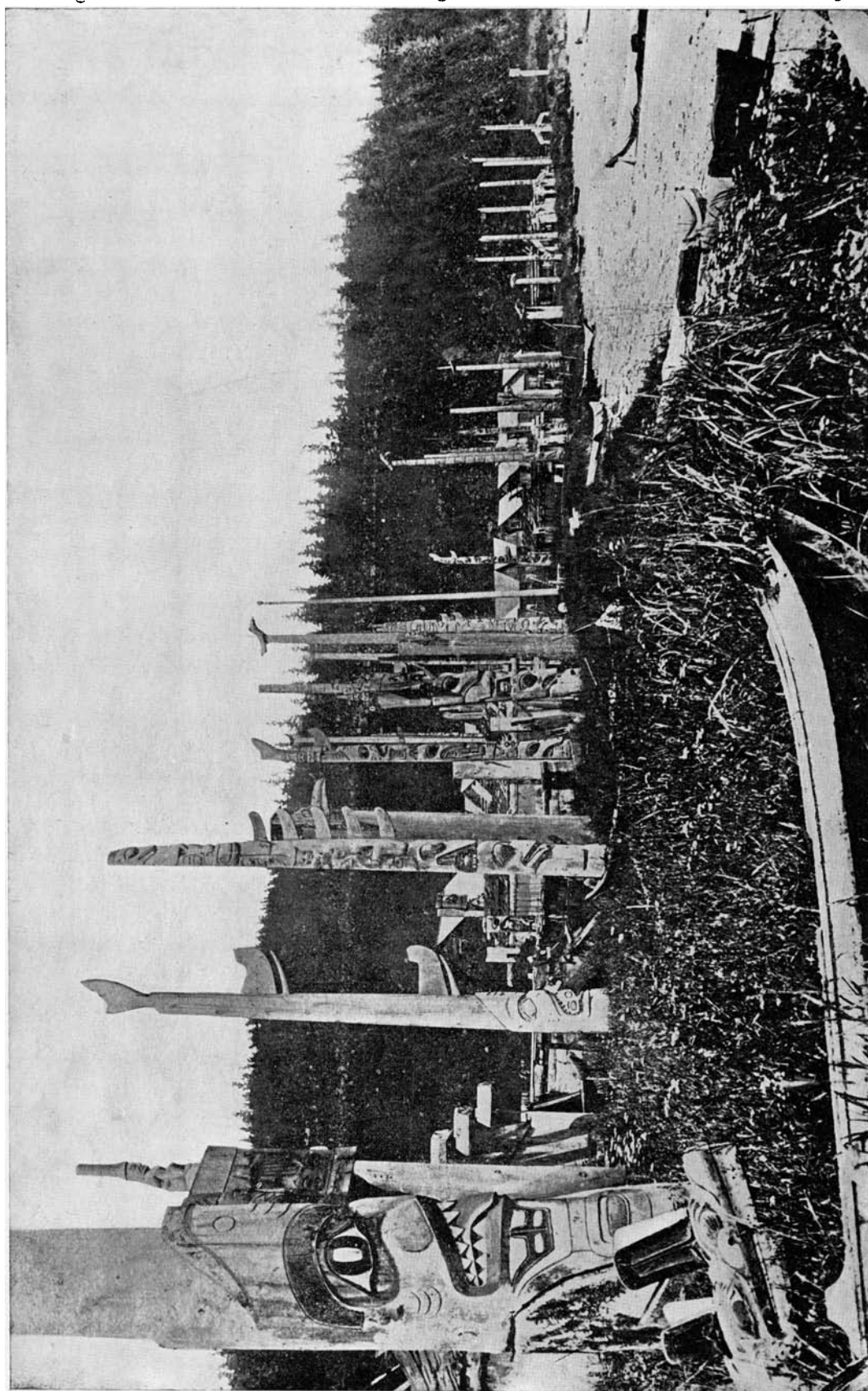
1. — A man.
2. — Probably an otter.
3. — Perhaps a bear's foot.
4. — An animal, species uncertain.
5. — A pelican.
6. — A hand.
7. — Uncertain, possibly the sun.
8. — An animal of some kind.
9. — A fish.
10. — Perhaps a lodge.
11. — Perhaps a beaver.
12. — Probably fir-branches.
13. — A goat.
14. — Probably a dog.
15. — The sun and rainbow.
16. — A horse.
- 17, 18. — Probably goats.
19. — A bird.
20. — Bow and arrow.
21. — A man with apron and feather head-dress.
22. — Perhaps a dog or a lizard.
23. — Perhaps cross-trails.
24. — Probably a bear issuing from or connected with something.
25. — A salmon.
26. — A fir-branch.
27. — An eagle.
28. — Big-horn sheep, showing horns, heart, and ribs.
29. — An animal, showing heart and ribs.
30. — Perhaps basket-work.

Figs.

31. — Grisly bear, or grisly foot or track.
- 32, 33. — Black bear's tracks or feet.
34. — Probably the sun.
35. — Probably grisly bear in den surrounded by forest or timber.
36. — Perhaps a spider.
37. — Perhaps the sun.
38. — An animal, showing backbone and ribs.
39. — A bear.
40. — The ring may mean the earth, or more probably a mountain-top. The figure to the left is a goat; the central figure is the sun.
41. — Probably cross-trails.
42. — Canoe with people.
43. — Grisly bear and large cub.
44. — Probably a bear.
45. — Perhaps an animal in its den.
46. — Big-horn sheep standing on a ledge near top of a mountain.
47. — A pelican.
48. — A goat.
- 49, 50. — Eagles.
51. — The rounding lines may mean the earth or a mountain on which a hunter is travelling after a deer. It was noon when the deer passed the top. This is shown by the picture of the sun and perpendicular line.
52. — A hunter with two dogs.

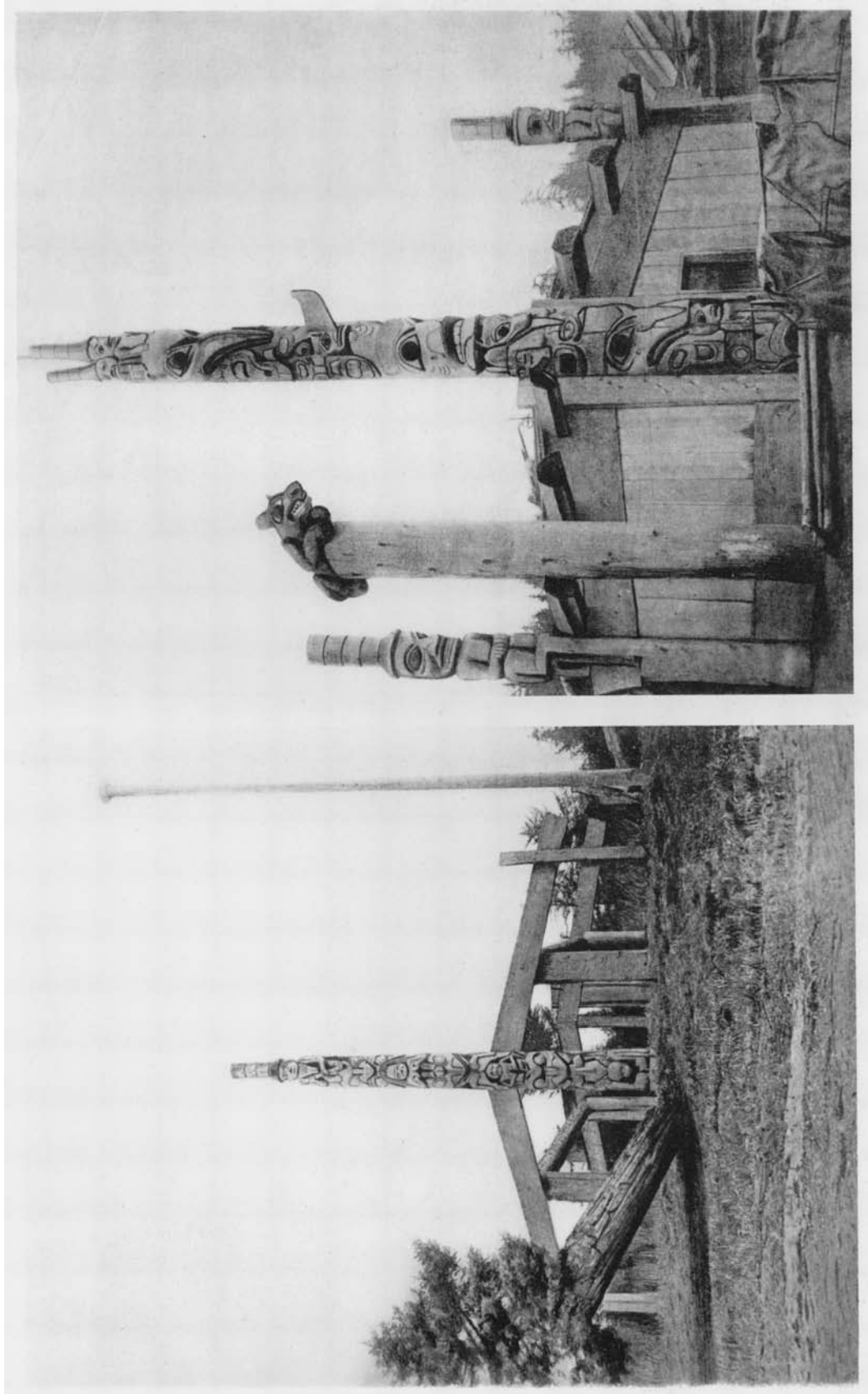


SKIDEGATE VILLAGE.



SKIDEGATE VILLAGE.

The Haida.



HAIDA HOUSES.

stood at the town of Q!aya'n̄, just above Masset. In 1901 the frame was gone; but the pole, although much decayed, was still standing.

Plate XI, Fig. 2, shows a house at Skidegate, formerly owned, I believe, by one of the Gitt'ns. The house-door — at the side instead of through the pole — shows white influence clearly. The upper two figures on the house-pole — the raven and dog-fish — belong to the Eagle clan, and were probably those of the husband; while the figure at the bottom probably represents the killer-whale, and thus was the wife's crest. I do not know the significance of the figures on the corner posts. The post with a bear on top is a memorial column.

The original of the house represented in Plate XII is entirely destroyed. It belonged to a former town chief of Masset, and the pole represents Q'nḡi trying to preserve his town-people from the flood along the sides of his

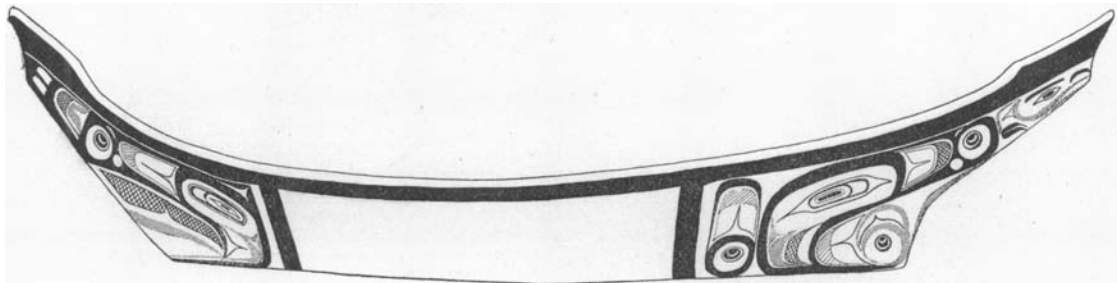


Fig. 16 ($\frac{16}{8773}$). Model of a Canoe.

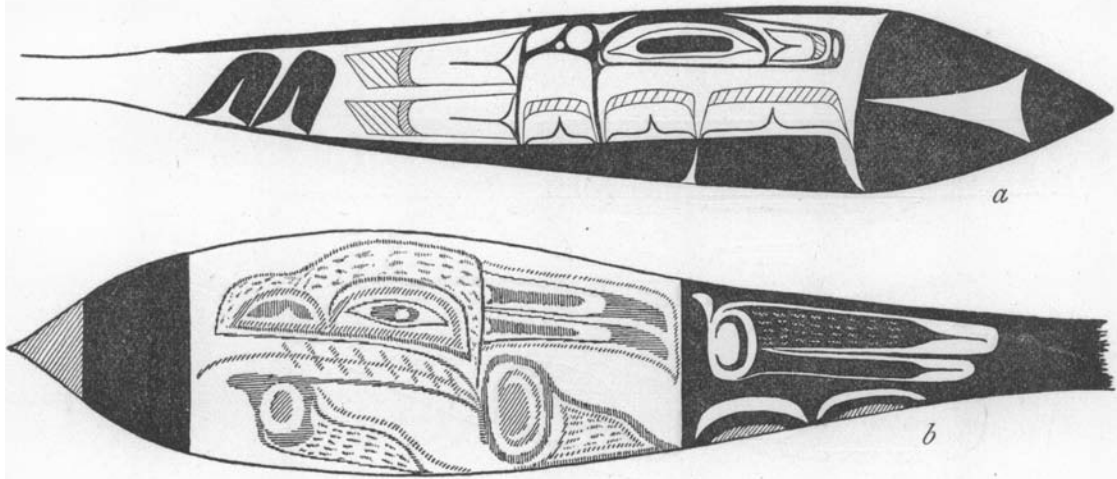


Fig. 17, *a* ($\frac{16}{8773}$), *b* ($\frac{16}{897}$). Paddles.

dance-hat (cf. Plate III, Fig. 2). Part of a memorial column with the figure of a beaver on it appears at the left edge of the picture.

Haida canoes and paddles were all painted in very much the same manner as illustrated in Figs. 16, 17. The canoe shown in Fig. 16, and the paddle in Fig. 17 *a*, bear designs representing the black whale. The painting

on Fig. 17 *b* is said to be the raven. The canoe is the one just referred to (p. 126), which was destroyed at a potlatch by Chief Edensaw. Fig. 18 shows paintings on the bow (*a*) and stern (*b*) of a large canoe in the American Museum of Natural History. The former represents the killer-whale; the latter, a raven. This canoe is of Bella Bella manufacture, but resembles in form and style of painting the canoes of the Haida.

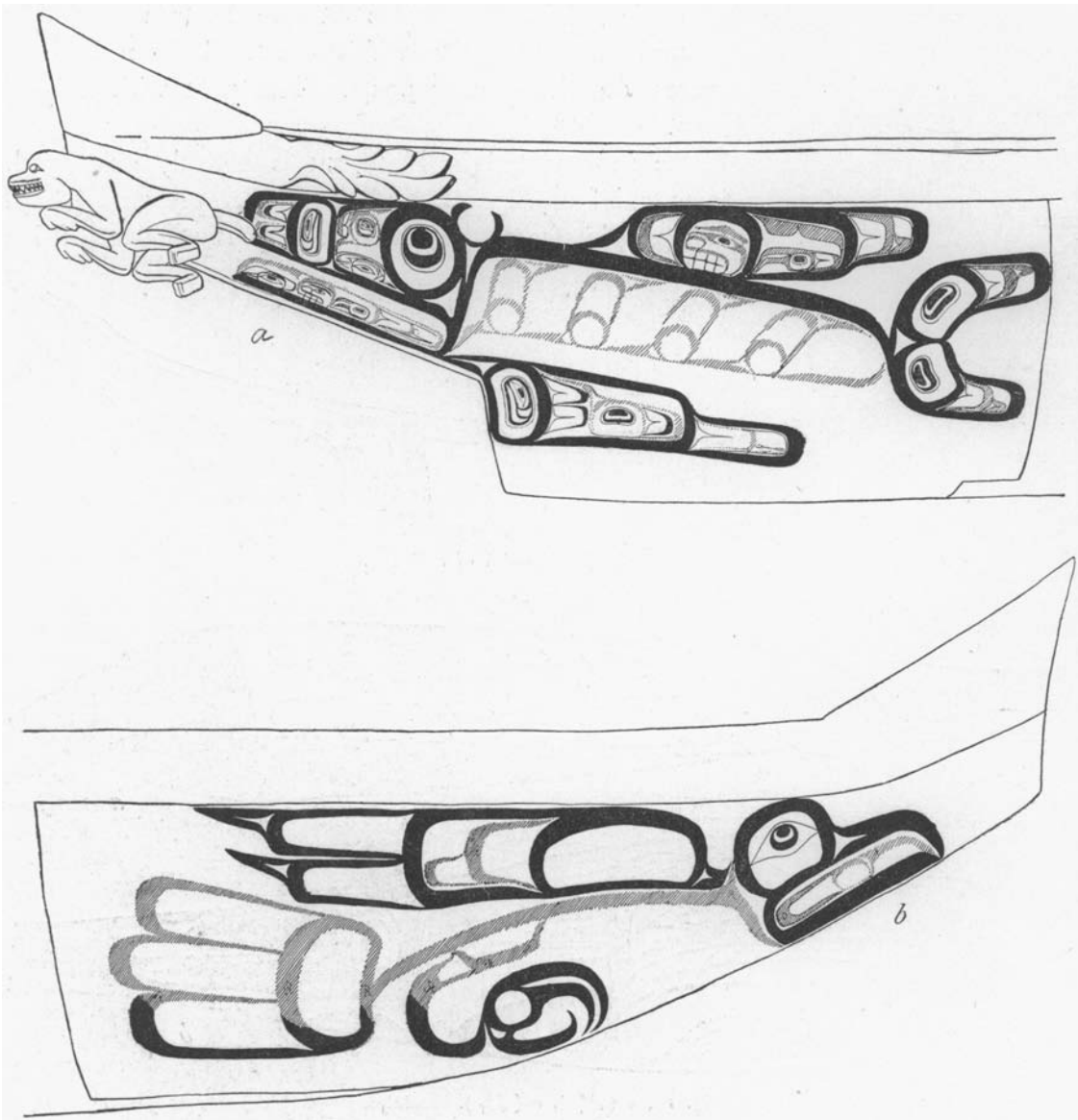
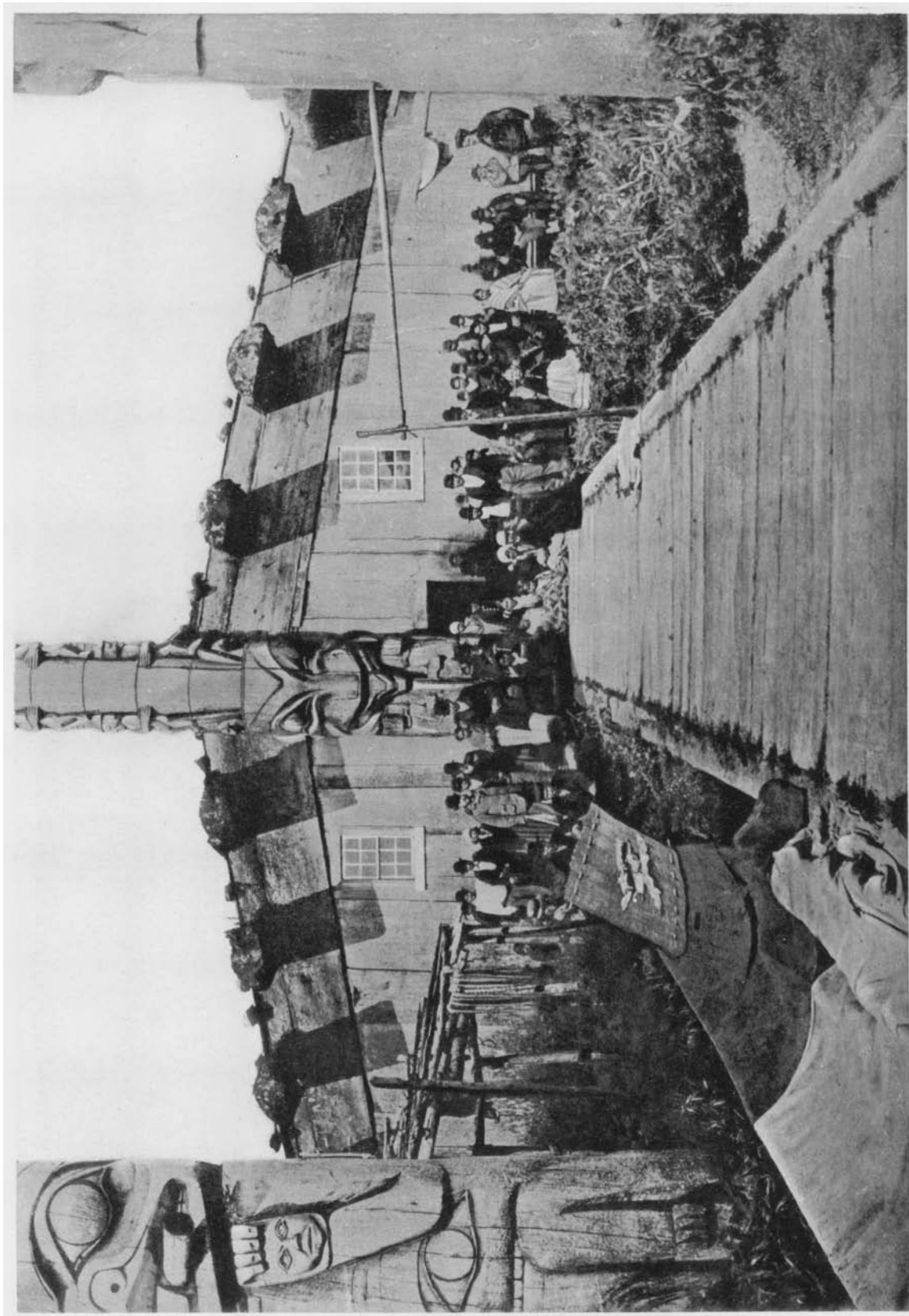


Fig. 18, *a*, *b*. Bow and Stern of a Canoe.

Carvings on spoons are second only in interest to those on houses and poles. The smaller of these spoons are made in one piece from mountain-goat horn, and were sometimes left without ornamentation. In the larger specimens a carved mountain-goat-horn handle is riveted to a bowl made



HAIDA HOUSE.



HORN SPOONS.

The Haida.

from the horn of a mountain-sheep or some other animal. The elements entering into the ornamentation on these are various. Sometimes they illustrate a story, sometimes they are the crests of the owner, and sometimes they are purely ornamental. Among stories treated, the Raven story is, as usual, the most popular, as many as six of the spoons I obtained illustrating some episode of it. Thus the one shown on Plate XIII, Fig. 1, presents the Raven twice. At the upper end he appears as a male human being; at the lower, as he did when he went about in the shape of a woman, his feminine character being shown by the labret. The second design from the top on Plate XIII, Fig. 2, again shows Raven as a woman, this time with a long copper labret hanging from her lower lip. The tip of the spoon is formed of a representation of Raven in the bird form, the wings meeting over the head, and the tail being drawn down behind. The human character is shown by a pair of human arms. Below these two are, in succession, a mouse, thunder-bird, and frog, which do not seem to have been significant, although the last was a crest of Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3), from which family this spoon came.

Figs. 3 and 4, Plate XIII, represent one of three beautifully carved spoons which originally belonged to a chief of Those-born-at-Skedans. The lower design illustrates the episode in the Raven story where Raven persuades a spring salmon to jump at his chest, and then captures it by setting up a wall of stones between himself and the ocean. The small figure above presents Raven again in a more completely human form.

Figs. 5 and 6, Plate XIII, show another of the three spoons just referred to. The design represents an episode in the Raven story given also on the corner posts of Edensaw's Kliš'ta house,¹ — that in which Raven was caught in attempting to steal bait off of the halibut-hooks. In the middle is the halibut (or flounder), with Raven's beak and fore-arms just appearing outside, while the figure at the tip of the spoon is the boy who was watching it. The larger design below is Raven with a combination of human and avian characteristics. The labret shows that this is supposed to be at the time when he went about as a woman, and therefore it is not directly connected with the episode illustrated in the remainder of the spoon.

The third one of these three spoons is shown on Plate XIV, Figs. 1 and 2. It represents the beaver and the raven, crests of the owner.

The spoon seen on Plate XIV, Fig. 3, is intended to illustrate Raven's adventures with the beavers. The large figure below, the lower jaw of which is formed by a frog, is the beaver; above is Raven in human form, before he flew off with the beavers' house, lake, and salmon-trap; and at the top is Raven with his feather clothing on, as he appeared in the act of flying away with them.

Still another spoon which perhaps ought to be added to this Raven series is shown on Plate XIX, Figs. 1 and 2. It is one of the small spoons already

¹ See p. 126.

referred to as made in one piece, and would appear to illustrate Raven's adventure with the spider-crab (*hū'uga*), by which he was pulled into the sea and almost drowned, when he once attempted to play a trick upon it. At any rate, the two figures on the handle are evidently Raven in human and bird form; while, if my suspicion is correct, the design on the under side of the bowl represents the spider-crab.

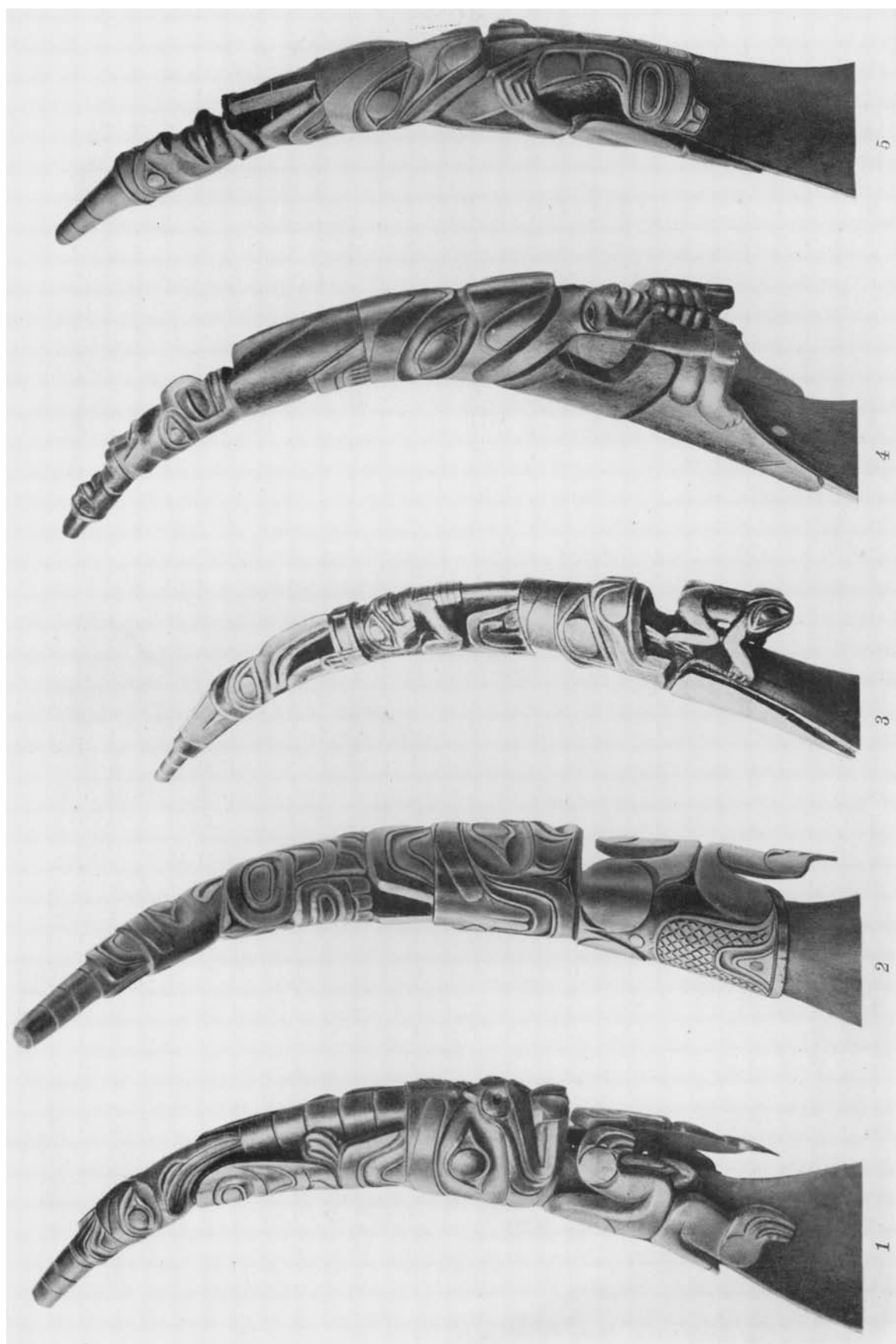
The popular story about the man who married a grisly bear is illustrated by one spoon in my collection (Plate xiv, Fig. 4). The large design below presents the female grisly bear in the act of tearing her husband into pieces, from jealousy. Above is the thunder-bird with a man mounted upon its back. Thunder-birds are said to have carried men away sometimes, and perhaps that is supposed to be the case in the present instance. The two parts of the design have nothing to do with each other, unless there be some analogical connection.

Next to the Raven story, that most popular among Haida artists seems to have been the myth of *Gūnanaś'mgît*, illustrated on Plates xiv (Fig. 5) and xv (Fig. 1). In the former of these the killer-whale appears next to the bowl, with its tail apparently severed from its body and placed in front. On its back, wearing a labret and dance-hat, sits the wife of *Gūnanaś'mgît*, whom the killer-whale is carrying away. The second of these spoons shows below *Gūnanaś'mgît's* wife seated on the killer, and at the tip a raven which seems to have no connection with the story.

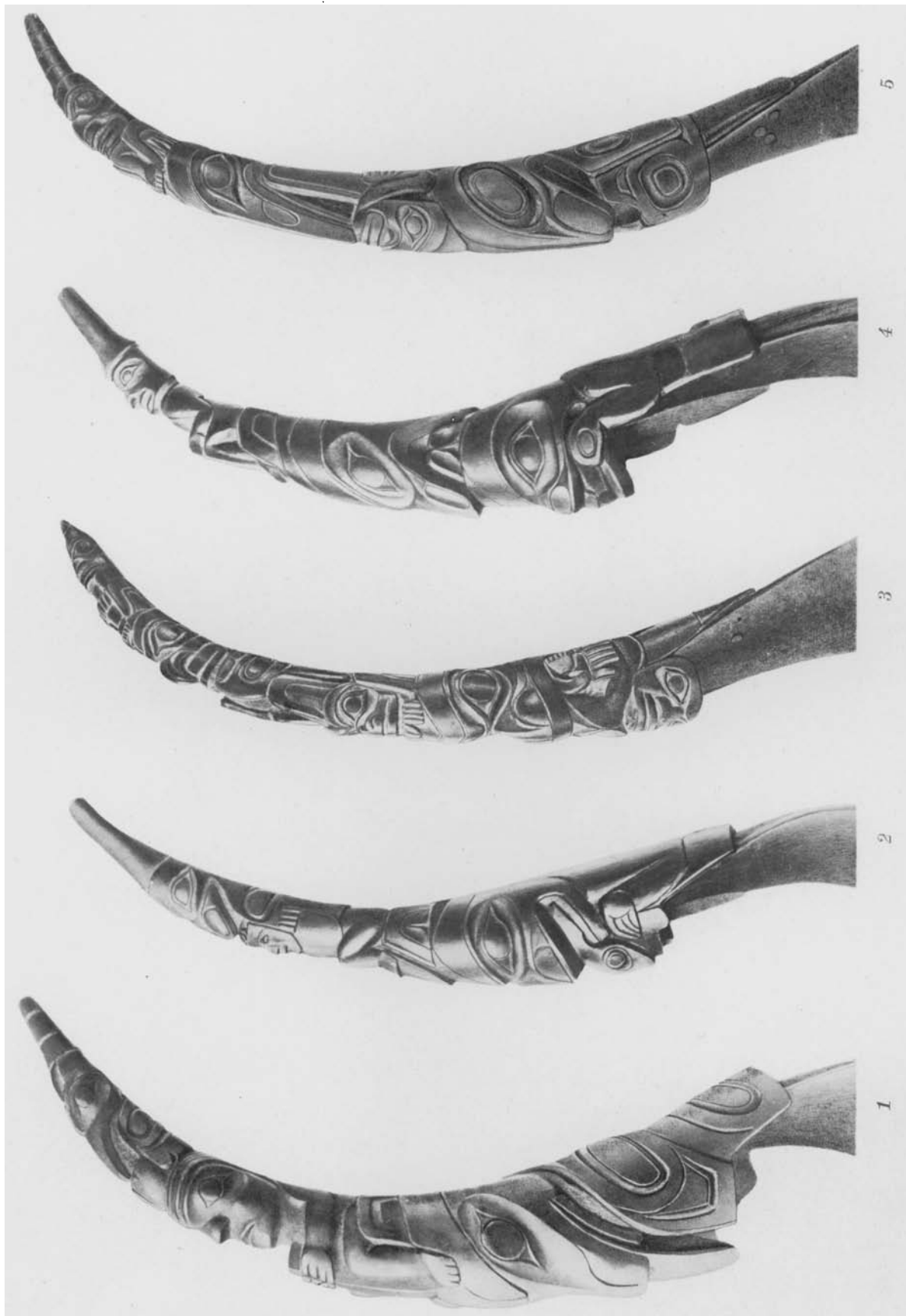
Plate xv, Fig. 2, was intended to illustrate a story similar to the above, but the owner of the spoon had forgotten its name. The designs at top and bottom are both intended for the killer-whale which carried off the woman depicted between them. In the mouth of the lowest killer-whale is a young one. It is said that killer-whales sometimes carry their young about in this manner. Either the killer-whale above the woman has two dorsal fins or its dorsal fin is split down the middle and both halves are represented.

Plate xv, Fig. 3, illustrates the Eagle and Clam story. At the very top is an eagle in human form; below that, the same, as a bird; and under that, a figure with a large face, intended to represent the *sqao*, a large variety of clam-shell, which dragged all the eagles under water. The grisly bear below, carved, as was common, with a man in its mouth, is a crest of the *Sqoā'ladas* family, from which this spoon came.

Plate xv, Fig. 4, contains a story connected with a celebrated shaman who lived at *Lā'na hī'ldans*, on the south shore of Rennell Sound, west coast of Graham Island. He himself belonged to the *Gwē A'ndas* (E 8 e), a low branch of the *Gītī'ns-of-Pebble-Town*, and was named Sea-Lion (*Qaiya's*). When he was out fishing with his nephews, he would sometimes tell them to lie down in the bottom of the canoe, and, calling the killer-whales to him, give each some tobacco. Afterwards he told his nephews to begin fishing. While



HORN SPOONS.



HORN SPOONS.

The Haida.

the people were encamped at Qanō', south of Rennell Sound, he was in the habit of walking out to a reef opposite, on the surface of the ocean.

Here the following story regarding him is illustrated: —

One day he [Sea-Lion] asked his nephews for a hook like a halibut-hook, only very much larger, and went out fishing with them. He baited this hook with human hair. Presently he drew a black whale to the surface. Then he climbed upon its back and rode off, telling his nephews to go home. That night it was very stormy; but, while all the other canoes had to be pulled up and weighted down with stones to keep them from being carried away, the shaman's canoe was left down on the beach, and was undisturbed. Meanwhile the shaman's nephews sang his songs, and they kept it up all night. In the morning the shaman was seen coming shoreward, mounted on the dead whale. Then the crowd ran down to the beach, still singing; and he threw them a rope, which they were unable to see, but which they could feel, and by means of which they pulled the whale's body ashore. Then they cut it up and carried the pieces home.

At the top of the spoon this shaman is seen mounted on the whale. The figure below is a beaver, which is a crest of the Seaward-Git'ns (E 11), from a man of which family the spoon was obtained. They and the Pebble-Town-Git'ns (E 8) are considered branches from one stem.

As shown by one or two of the above specimens, family crests were also placed upon spoons, but I have very few examples in which that is certainly the case. Probably crests were more common on the larger and finer spoons, very few of which are now to be obtained. At any rate, the third of my finest set, already referred to, is an undoubted crest spoon (Plate xiv, Figs. 1 and 2). It contains a beaver surmounted by a raven, both of which belonged to the family of its original owner, a chief of Those-born-at-Skedans. This chief was the immediate predecessor of the present occupant of that position, and after his death the set passed to the mother of the husband of the woman from whom I obtained it.

Another possible crest spoon is illustrated in Plate xv, Fig. 5. At the bottom is a killer-whale, the small inverted face above it being the blow-hole. The bird next in order is a cormorant (kiä'lu); and the human figure seated at the top, with a dance-hat on, may represent the killer-whale again. On the other hand, this and the cormorant may be crests belonging to the original owner of the spoon, the killer-whale belonging to his wife. But these are simply suggestions of the natives who tried to explain the figures to me.

Following are the designs on some of the other spoons, beginning with the end of the handle nearest the bowl: —

Plate xvi, Fig. 1: eagle, beaver, killer-whale, cormorant, and cormorant in human form. The last of these is barely recognizable, as it occupies a very small section of the handle at the very tip. On either side of the handle, just over the back of the eagle, are two fishes, only one of which is visible in the illustration. They are said to have been introduced only because eagles live on fish, and their presence adds to the richness of the ornamentation.

The lowest figure on Plate xvi, Fig. 2, hanging head down, is said to

be a fabulous bird called *līa*, whose voice was sometimes heard at night, though the bird itself was seldom seen. One man described it as a kind of Haida harpy, the upper half of it being like a human being, the lower like a night-owl; but opinions varied. Above this is a grisly bear, and at the top a killer-whale. The small human figure between the two may have been inserted merely to fill up space. Owing to the ignorance or the inexperience of the artist, he has carved the fins of his killer-whale like wings.

Another design supposed to be intended for the *līa*, placed in precisely the same position as the other, with its head hanging down, is given on Plate xvi, Fig. 3. Above is the mythic sea grisly bear, — part grisly, part killer-whale, — just over which is seen its blow-hole, represented as a human face; but none of my informants was able to explain the design at the top, except to say that it was perhaps one of those artistic elements inserted simply to fill up space, and made according to the whim of the artist. The name for such figures is "instead of a design" (*hay'ñ dā'gañ*).

Plate xvi, Fig. 4, illustrates a spoon obtained from Jackson, the late chief of Skidegate. At the bottom is a small crustacean called "backward-jumper" (*goda-gīga'-it*). The lower part of this design, which has eyes on it and appears to be the head, is in reality the tail, the eyes being placed there for ornament. One of the creature's real eyes is seen at the side, higher up, with a tentacle curving upward in front of it. Just over this is a long-drawn-out carving of the hawk (*skiä'msm*). The tips of its wings are carried down inside of the tentacles of the crustacean; its beak, as usual, being very much recurved. The small figure at the tip is probably the *tca'maos* or "tide-walker."

The original of Plate xvi, Fig. 5, was also from Jackson. At the bottom is a *wā'sgo*, half wolf, half killer-whale, in the act of devouring a seal. The face, with beak-like lips above, is said to represent a "sea-ghost" or *Tca'gan q'latxana'-i*. It was supposed to have a human face with a bird's beak, a hump on the back, and long hair on the head. Often it fastens itself to the fur of a sea grisly bear, which is illustrated by the remaining design at the tip of the spoon. The belief in creatures of this kind is still so strong that Indians assert that they have been seen in the Skeena River very recently. In olden times it is said that they used to walk about on a certain sand-bar in the Skeena.

The lowest design on Plate xvii, Fig. 1, represents a thunder-bird holding a porpoise in its talons; above is a killer-whale with its dorsal fin standing forward; and upon this, another figure of the *tca'maos*.

The next spoon (Plate xvii, Fig. 2) was once inlaid with abalone-shell. From bowl to tip the designs are a frog, grisly bear, killer-whale, raven. The last-mentioned is in an inverted position, with the wings running out to the tip of the spoon. Above the head of the killer-whale is the blow-hole,



HORN SPOONS.

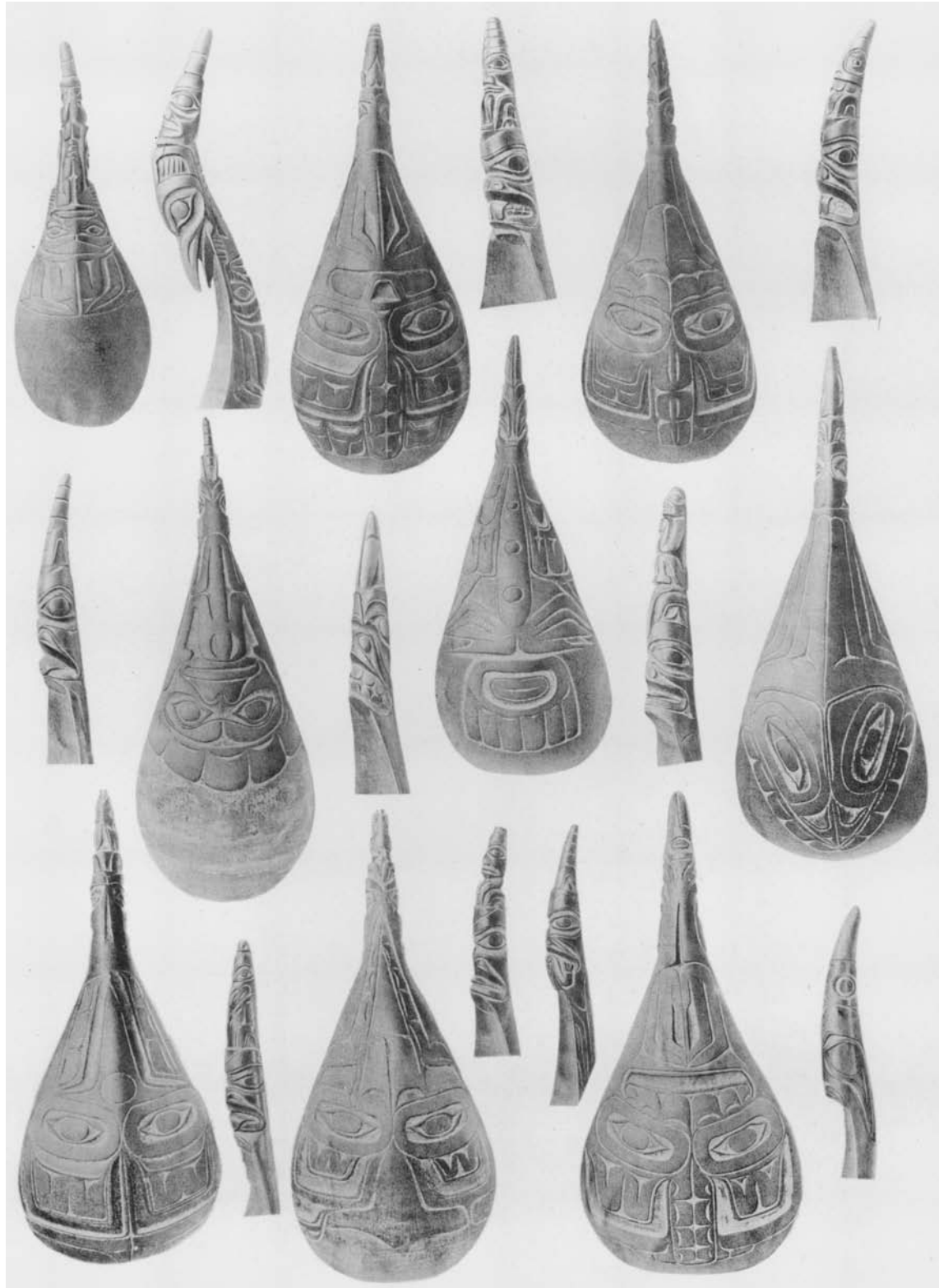


HORN SPOONS.



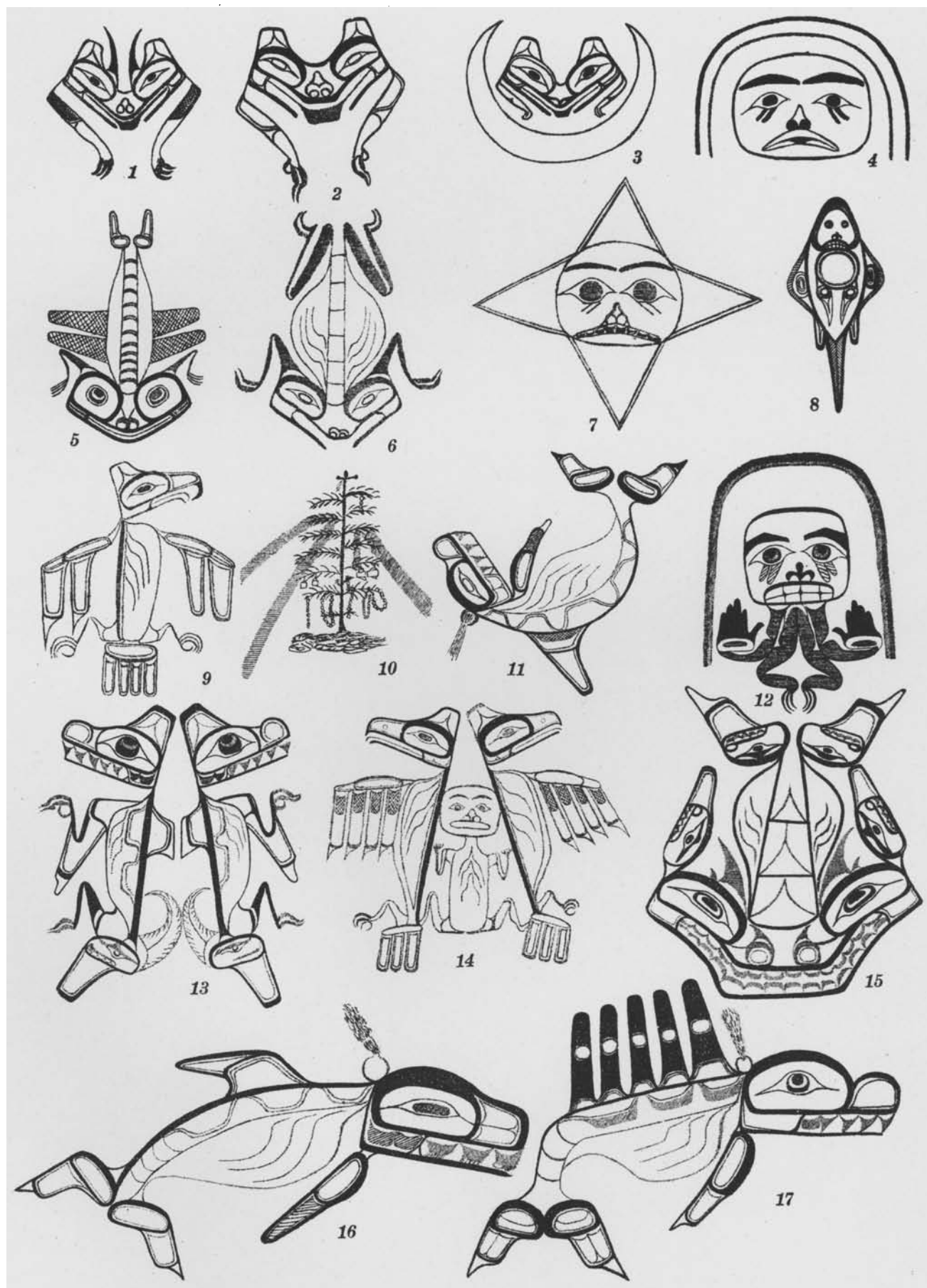
HORN SPOONS.

The Haida.



HORN SPOONS.

The Haida.



TATTOOINGS.

The Haida.

represented, as usual, by a human face; over this, the dorsal fin; and at either side, the flippers.

The spoons represented on Plate xvii, Figs. 3-5, and on Plate xviii, were collected in 1877 by Dr. J. W. Powell, but no explanations were obtained.

Each of the small spoons shown on Plate xix were made in one piece, out of mountain-goat horn; and with two exceptions, the backs of the bowls, as well as the handles, were carved. Many of the interpretations of the designs in this set are very doubtful, as is apt to be the case where the carver or the original owner cannot be consulted. Beginning with the back of the bowl, and passing upwards, they were given as follows: Figs. 3 and 4, hawk (?), beaver, horned owl (*gū'tgunis* [?]); Figs. 5 and 6, beaver (?), beaver, black whale; Figs. 7 and 8, sun (*djī'goē*), sea grisly bear; Figs. 9 and 10, *lia* (?); Figs. 11 and 12, killer-whale, sea grisly bear, hawk or else sea-ghost borne on sea grisly bear's back; Figs. 13 and 14, raven, grisly bear, raven; Figs. 15 and 16, raven (?), sea grisly bear, sea-ghost; Fig. 17, whale (?), frog, raven; Fig. 18, the *tca'maos* is indicated by a single upper row of teeth, followed by a horned owl (indicated by carving around the eyes); Fig. 19, uncertain (eyes of this type, also used in representations of the *tca'maos*, are said to be derived from carvings of the Bella Bella and other people of the coast farther south).

Plates xx and xxi represent tattoo-marks. Most of these were made for me in crayon by John Cross, a Skidegate man, who formerly did tattooing.

Plate xx, Fig. 1, represents the mountain-goat, which is characterized by the two horns rising over its forehead. Fig. 2 is similar in design, and represents the grisly bear. Fig. 3 is characterized as the moon by the crescent under the animal figure. Fig. 4, a face surrounded by a red and a blue line, represents the rainbow. In Figs. 5 and 6 the animals are represented as seen from the back, but at the same time spread out from below. Fig. 5 represents the dragon-fly, a crest of the Eagle clan; Fig. 6, the frog, which is characterized by the toothless mouth and the lack of a tail. Fig. 7 is a representation of the starfish, which, as is usual in the graphic representations of the Haida, is shown with four arms only. Fig. 8 is a design which was drawn for Professor Boas by Charlie Edensaw, and represents the skate, a crest obtained by the *Gītans* of *Tcēts* (E 17) from the *Tsimshian* of Port Simpson. Fig. 9 is a tattooing representing the thunder-bird. Fig. 10 was tattooed by John Cross on the arm of a *Sqoā'fadas* woman, and represents the first tree on the Queen Charlotte Islands, which stood upon *Xā'gi*. All the articles hanging upon it or rolling from its branches represent property of various kinds. The long broad lines represent unrolled cloth. Fig. 11 represents the killer-whale, the principal crest of the Raven clan. Fig. 12 is another representation of the rainbow, made in 1888 for Professor Boas by John *Wi'ha*, a Skidegate man. In Fig. 13 we have a representation of the *wā'sgo*, the whale monster

with wolf's head and wolf's tail, represented as split in two; and in the following figure (Fig. 14), the raven treated in the same manner. Fig. 15 represents the sculpin, one of the principal crests of the Eagle clan, seen from above and split along the chest and belly. The last two figures of Plate xx (Figs. 16 and 17) represent the black whale and the five-finned killer-whale, both crests of the Eagle clan.

Plate xxi, Fig. 1, is a curious representation of the *tca'maos* or snag, which was made by John Wí'ha for Professor Boas. The monster is here represented as having a raven body with a dorsal fin, a killer-whale's body being at the same time attached to the raven's head.¹ In Fig. 2 we have a representation of the beaver, with the characteristic hachure on its broad tail, and large incisors. Fig. 3 represents the sun. This must have been rarely used as a crest by the Haida. Personally I have never heard of its use. The design was made by John Wí'ha. Fig. 4 represents the dog-fish, the large triangular forehead indicating the long snout of the fish. Its dorsal fins are represented on both outer sides, while the pectoral fins are shown under the mouth, which is set with sharp teeth. Fig. 5 shows the woman who was pulled up to the moon for insulting it. She carried the pail of water she was getting at the time when she was carried off, and the *salal*-bushes she grasped in trying to save herself. This design was also drawn by Wí'ha. Fig. 6 represents the eagle, the principal crest of the Eagle clan. Fig. 7 is a tattooing drawn by Charlie Edensaw for Professor Boas. It belongs to Edensaw's wife, who belonged to the Middle-Town-People (R 19). Originally this tattooing belonged to Those-born-at-Skedans (E 3). At one time the Gítí'ns began to use it without authority, and in return Those-born-at-Skedans used the raven, which up to that time had belonged to the Gítí'ns. This nearly led to a war. This is the reason that both of these crests are used at the present time by both groups. The dog-fish represented in the tattooing is the sister of A-Slender-One-who-was-given-away.² The woman is represented in the dog-fish in order to indicate that the dog-fish has human form and is a female at the same time. Fig. 8 represents the sea-lion with dorsal fin, a crest of the *Sqoā'ladas* (R 10). This design was also drawn by Edensaw. The crest was used by the chief of the family. Fig. 9 represents Raven after he had been thrown into the sea by Master Fisherman. This design was drawn by Wí'ha. The last figure on Plate xxi (Fig. 10) represents the killer-whale with a raven-beak at the end of its dorsal fin, or Raven-Fin (*Tcliliā'las*).

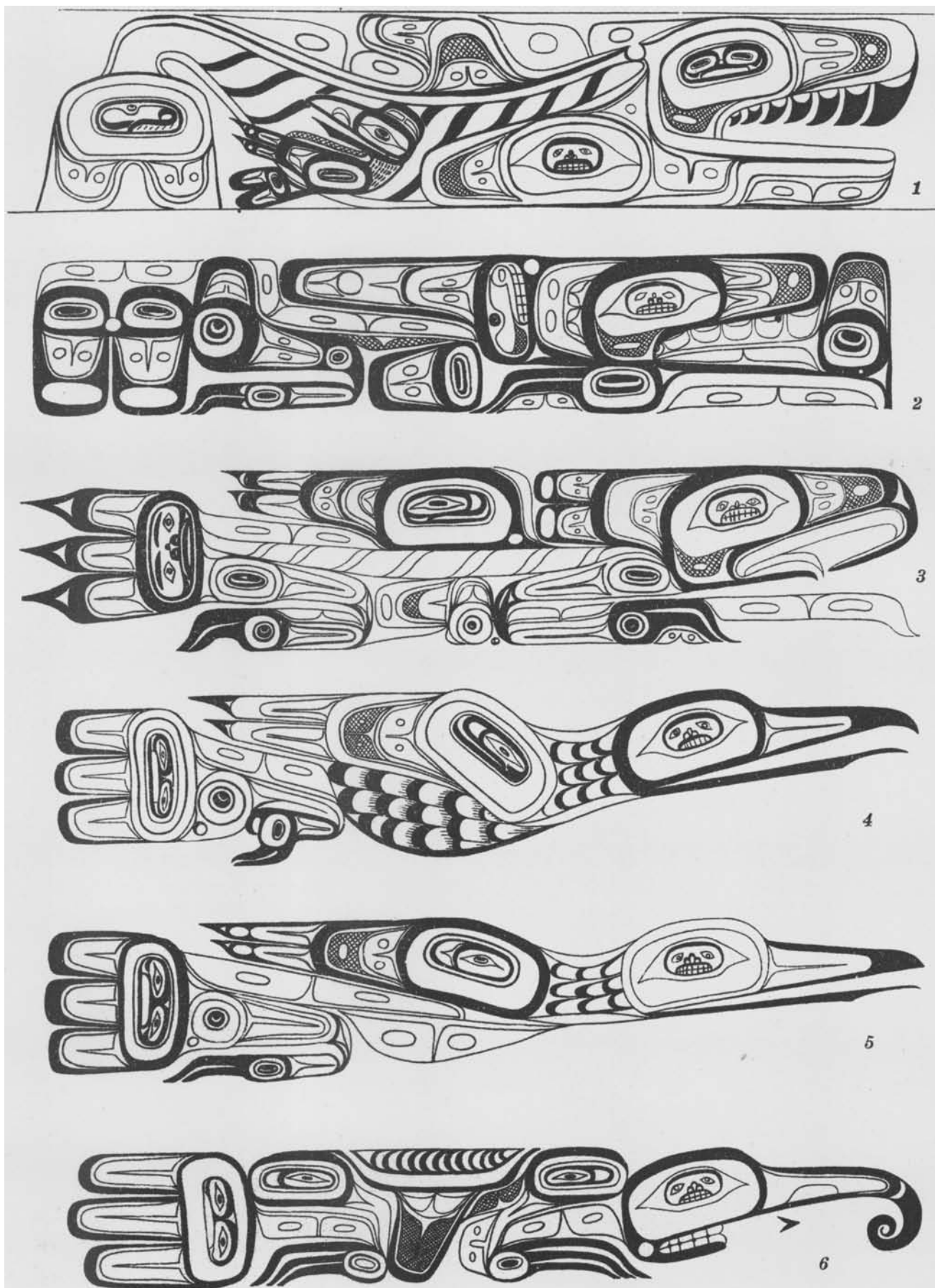
The crest is also represented on facial paintings, a collection of which has been published by Professor Boas.³

¹ In December, 1903, when on a visit to Alaska, I inquired of Henry Edensaw in regard to this tattooing, and received the reply that shamans identified Raven and *tca'maos* in some way, stating that when the *tca'maos* spoke through them, it was the same as though Raven were speaking through them.

² See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 2.

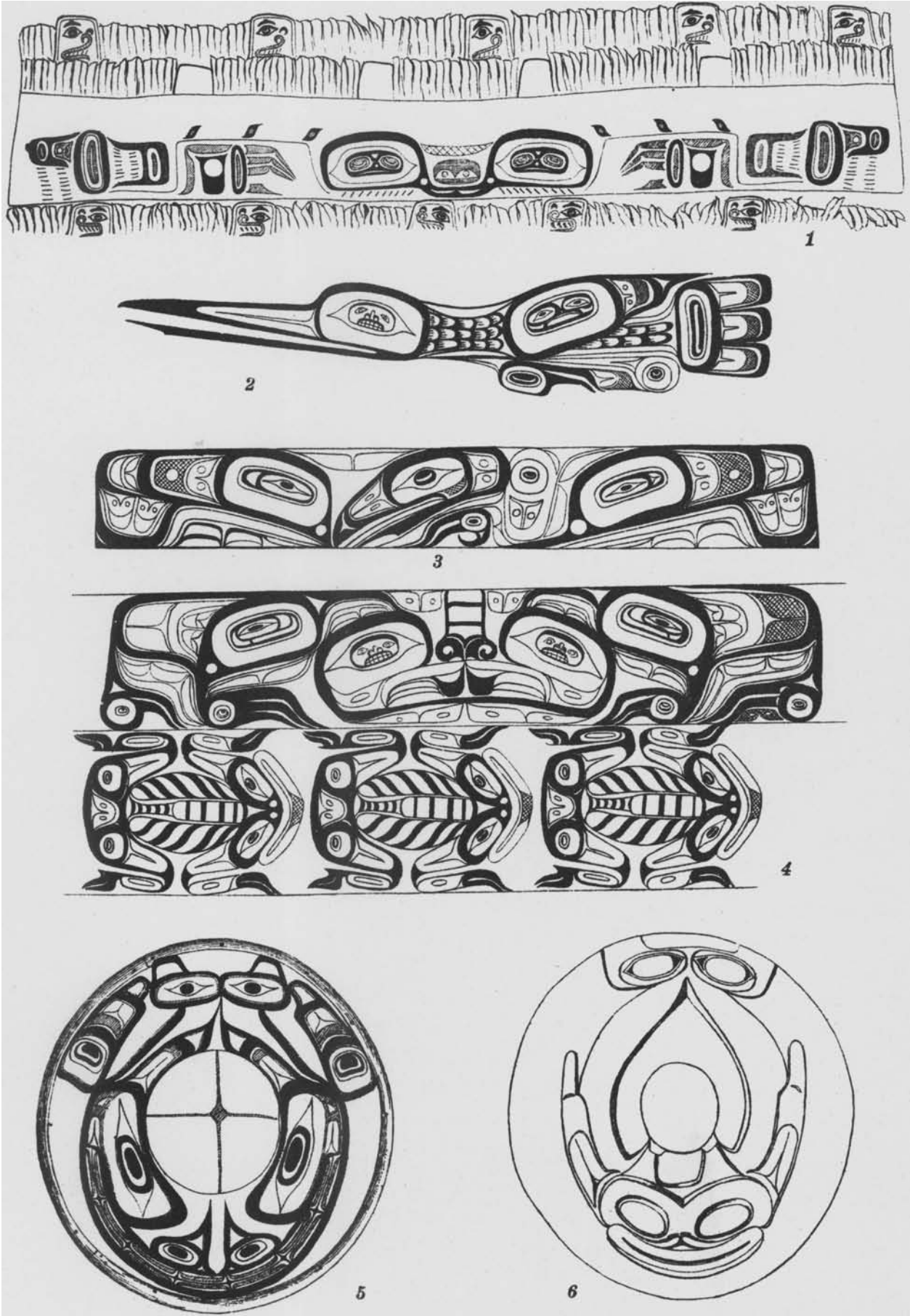
³ Publications of The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. I, pp. 13-24.





DESIGNS FROM BLANKET-BORDERS.

The Haida.



BLANKET-BORDERS AND WOODEN HATS.

The Haida.

Besides these various methods of representing the crests, they were placed upon all kinds of articles of clothing, articles of household use, potlatching accessories, etc.

One of the most interesting sets of designs is found along blanket-borders. Specimens of these are given in Plates xxii and xxiii. All of these except Fig. 1 of Plate xxiii are from crayon drawings made for Professor Boas by Charlie Edensaw of Masset in 1897. The designs are probably too wide as compared to their length. Fig. 1 of Plate xxiii is taken from a real blanket of the Haida, and shows the approximate proportions of these designs, which run down the front edges of the blanket.

Plate xxii, Fig. 1, illustrates the story of Raven's adventure with the whale, by which he was swallowed, and which he killed. The whale is represented with open mouth; a small dorsal fin is shown in the middle of the back; and the flipper lies along the front part of the body. Fig. 2 represents the *hagulá'*, a Tsimshian monster which seems to be almost if not quite identical with the sea grisly bear. It is represented with open mouth. A flipper lies on the top border, immediately behind the head. Under the angle of the jaw is seen the fore-foot. Another flipper is shown behind the foot: this is supposed to be attached to the elbow. The hind-leg is shown near the left-hand end of the design, while the tail is turned down. The design in front of the mouth of the monster represents its food. Fig. 3 represents the hawk called *skiä'msm*. The two feet are shown, one turned forward, the other backward. The wing is near the upper border of the blanket, behind the head. Fig. 4 is the flicker; Fig. 5, the woodpecker; Fig. 6, the mosquito.

The blanket-border on Plate xxiii, Fig. 1, which is the representation of a real blanket, represents the sea grisly bear. It is shown split in two and spread along the border of the blanket. The middle of the design is occupied by the head. The body is indicated by a fine line rising on each side of the head, to which are attached three small dorsal fins. Under this line is the fore-leg with the attached flipper. The outer corner is occupied by the tail. Plate xxiii, Fig. 2, shows the humming-bird. The following figure is a curiously distorted representation of the raven. The beak and the foot occupy the middle of the design. To the left is one wing, to the right the other wing, while the body is represented by the light design to the right of the head. In Fig. 4 of this plate we have two rows of designs, the upper one occupied by a beaver, the lower one by a row of frogs.

Fig. 19 shows a border illustrating the story of the Eagle and the Clam.¹ It shows the clam at the lower end, and a series of eagles over it which are being drowned by the clam.

Dancing-hats were made of spruce-root or carved of wood. Two wooden hats — the first with the painted design of a sculpin, the second with a

¹ See Chapter XII, Skidegate Series, Story 17; also Plate xv, Fig. 3.

carved design of the same fish — are shown in Plate xxiii, Figs. 5 and 6. In the last-named specimen the carved head of a beaver is tied on the hat

so that it covers the head of the sculpin. This carving is not represented in the illustration.

In Plate xxiv, Fig. 1, is represented a woven spruce-root hat painted with the design of a beaver. The front and back views of the hat are shown separately in order to make clear the manner in which the face and the tail are shown. Fig. 2 is a design from an old painted hat representing the dog-fish. The design has been here developed, showing the entire left side of the hat, the face of the dog-fish being in front; and the tail, which is seen at the right-hand side of the design, being at the back. The hat belonged to the wife of the late chief of Skidegate; the crest belonged to her husband.

Dancing-leggings are often decorated with crest designs. Plate xxiv, Figs. 3, 4, 5, shows a series with designs of the beaver and the sculpin.

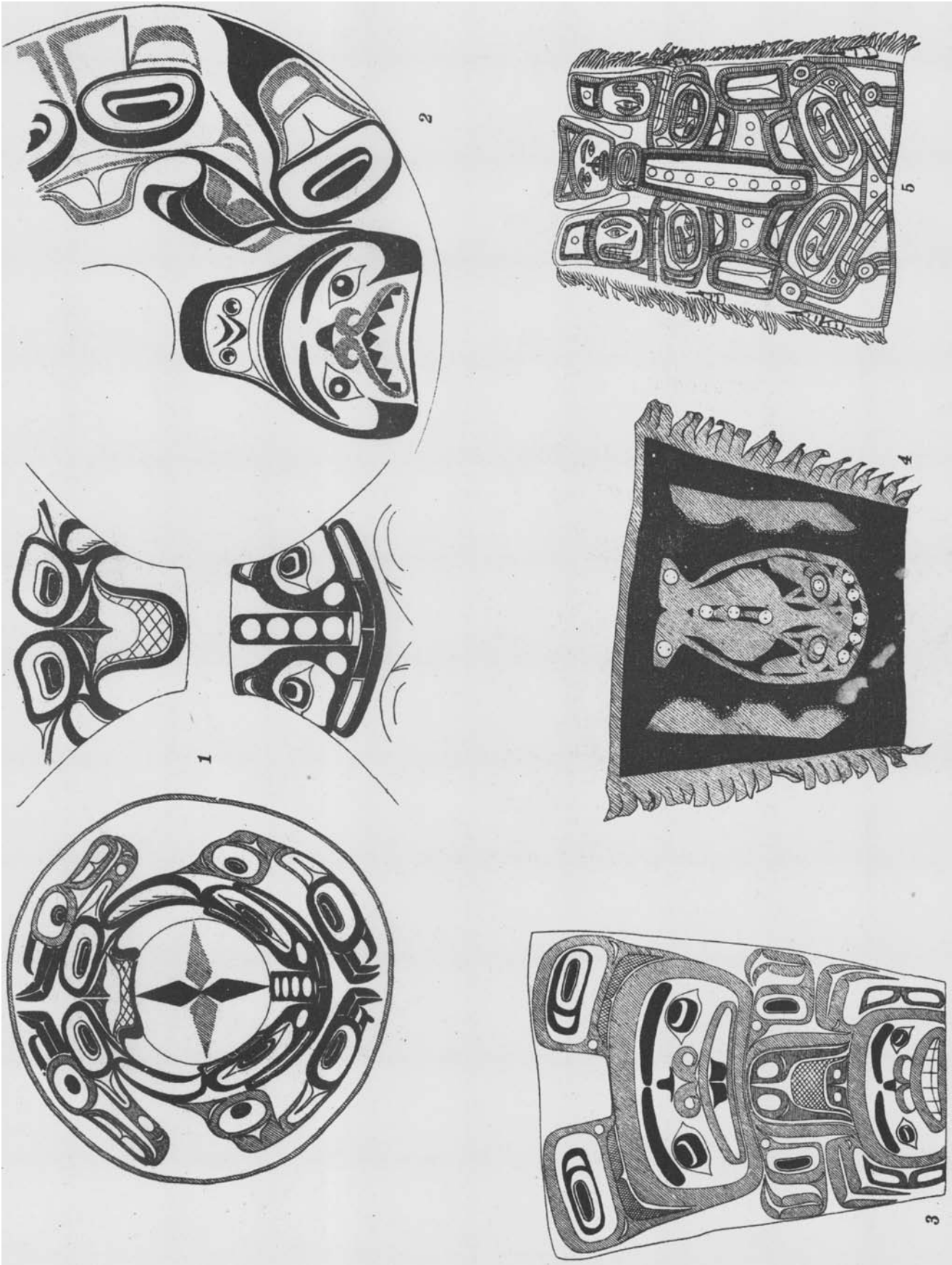
Of the scores of masks taken from the islands, only one or a very few are satisfactorily identified. About others there is considerable difference of opinion. Thus, Fig. 1 of Plate xxv was described to Professor Boas as an ū'lala novice¹ who had just bitten the arm of a spectator, and whose mouth was covered with blood in consequence; while to me it was described as the dog-fish. Fig. 2 represents an old woman, and is one of the great many masks of this kind that have been collected among the Haida. Fig. 3 represents cumulus-clouds, which are indicated by a red painting on the mask. Fig. 4 was described to Professor Boas as the raven, but I have not been



Fig. 19. Blanket-Border representing the Story of the Eagle and the Clam. (From a sketch by Charlie Edensaw.)

able to corroborate this explanation. Fig. 5 is another representation of cumulus-clouds, the clouds being indicated by white triangular marks. Evidently the interpretation of these masks is of the same character as that of the facial

¹ See Chapter XI, The Wā'lgal Potlatch.



DESIGNS ON HATS AND LEGGINGS.



MASKS AND RATTLES.

The Haida.

paintings. Fig. 6 shows a compound mask representing Raven. The outer mask represents him as a man; the inner, as a woman.

Fig. 20 represents a mask made by Charlie Edensaw of Masset, and now in the Museum at Oxford, Eng. The outer figure is Raven as a bird; the inner, Raven in human form. The small figure on top which folds down when the mask is closed indicated that the possessor of this mask, Chief Edensaw, was the greatest chief on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

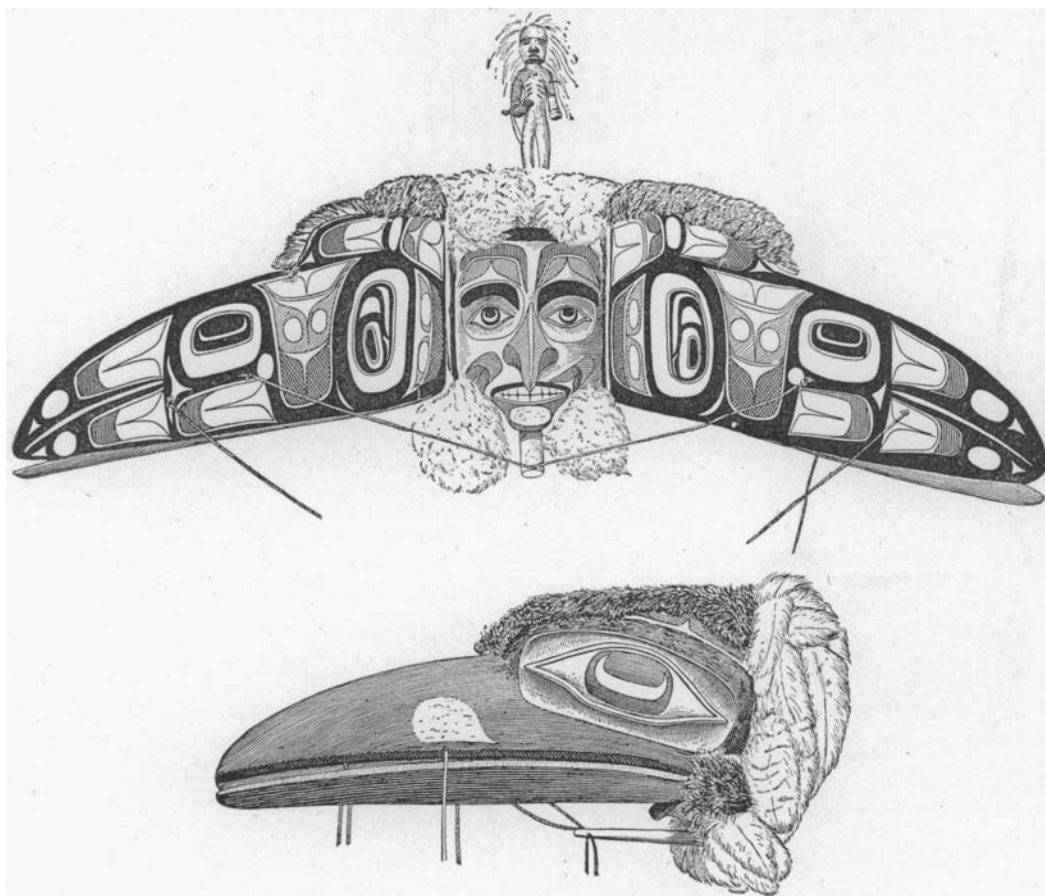


Fig. 20. Double Mask. (Original in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.)

Plate xxv, Figs. 7, 8, and 9, are oval rattles of the type used by shamans and in the secret societies. Fig. 9 is the reverse side of the rattle shown in Fig. 7. This rattle represents the horned owl with a frog in its mouth, while Fig. 8 probably represents the hawk (*skiä'msm*).

The other principal style of rattle, that used by chiefs, is shown in the hand of the shaman in Fig. 2, p. 41. Why this shaman should use a chief's rattle is unexplained. Other figures of such rattles may be found in the Report of the United States National Museum for 1888, Plates LIII, LIV.

Fig. 21 shows a design said to represent a killer-whale, taken from a gambling-stick bag. Fig. 22 shows a rude figure on a copper, intended to

represent the horned owl. Under a waterfall far up a southern affluent of the Stikine River named Djítqa'da is a cave in which is a natural rock-formation resembling a man. The hands of this figure are ordinarily fingerless; but

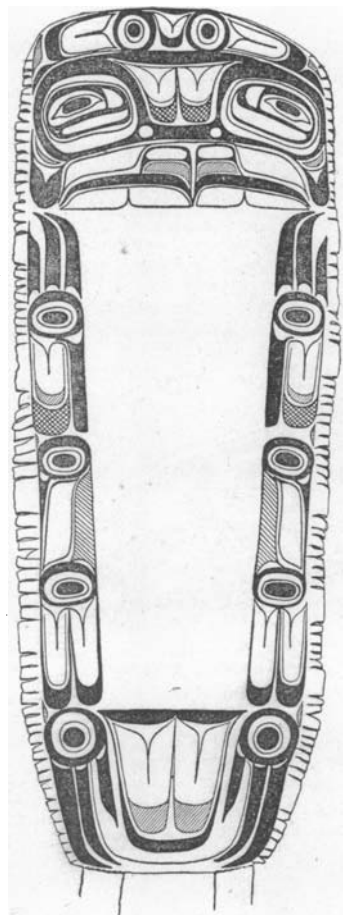


Fig. 21 ($\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{2}$). Gambling-Bag made of Leather.

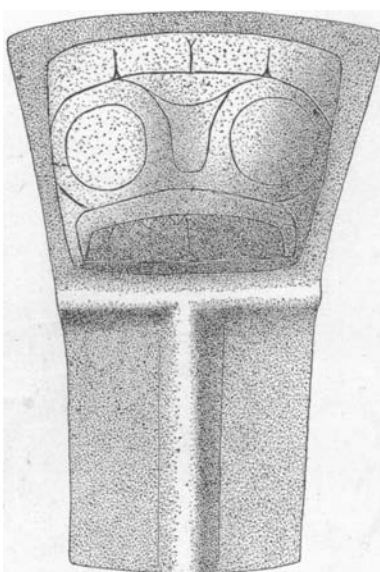


Fig. 22 ($\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{2}$). Copper Plate with Design of Horned Owl.

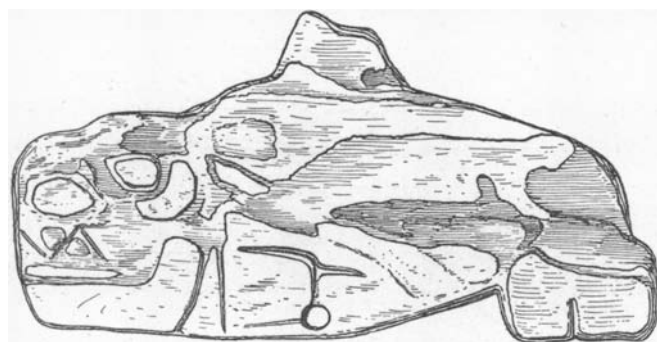


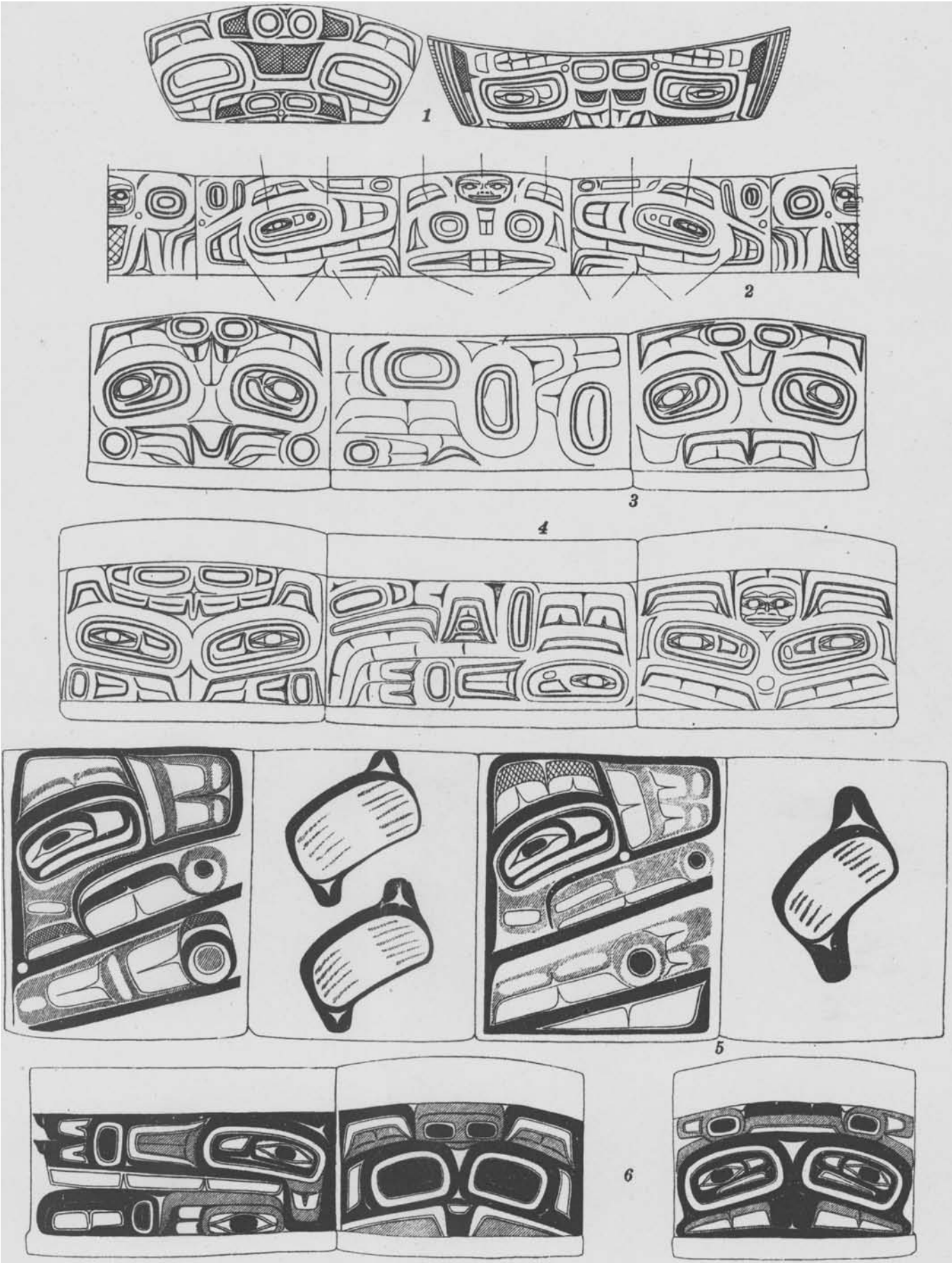
Fig. 23 ($\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{2}$). Ornament of Abalone-Shell representing the Killer-Whale.

when an Indian "chewed medicine," he sometimes found upon it a thumb of pure copper, which, when hammered out, would make a copper worth ten slaves, a fore-finger which would make a copper worth seven, a middle finger worth eight, a third finger worth seven, or a little finger worth six. Sometimes more than one copper finger was found, but never more than four.

He who found four became a chief through the money he obtained from the sale of the coppers. From this place the above copper came, and was then much larger, worth six slaves. Its name was and is skíl t!a'gōs ("property copper"). From the Stikine it was bought by the chief of the Pebble-Town-People (R 9), who paid four slaves, and two slaves' worth of property; and it was handed down from chief to chief. It was melted up, and part of it lost, when Tc!ā'ał was burned;

and its value, when the remainder had been hammered out again, was reduced to two slaves, and two slaves' worth of property. At last, when one of the daughters of the chief of the Pebble-Town-People, who seems to have been a favorite, was tattooed, the work was done by the sister of the woman

of whom I purchased it, who received it in payment, and so it passed to the



DESIGNS FROM DISHES AND WORK-BOX.

The Haida.

Sqoā'fadas (R 10). The name of the woman from whom I procured it is Lgū'sga qō'na (English name, Lucy) of the Sqoā'fadas family.

Fig. 23 represents a rude carving of a killer-whale in abalone-shell, which had been attached to a necklace of European beads. Such carvings are said to have been held in the mouth by dancers in lieu of labrets, and may perhaps date from the time when the use of real labrets had begun to decline.

Representations of crests were also often carved on boxes. Some of these are represented on Plate xxvi. Fig. 1 represents carvings on a tray hollowed out of a single block of wood. Trays of this shape are used by all the tribes of northern British Columbia, but most of them carve only the short ends. The present specimen was obtained by the Haida by purchase from the Tsimshian, while the carvings on the sides were added later by the Haida. The designs on the ends are generally interpreted as representing the eagle or thunder-bird. The design on the long side represents the sculpin. Fig. 2 shows the design on a wooden box, the sides of which are bent out of a single piece of wood. The whole box represents the beaver; the head with its two large incisors being shown on one of the short sides. The shoulders and fore-feet are represented on the two long sides, while the hind-feet and the tail are shown on the short side representing the face. The nose of the beaver is here represented by a small carving of the shape of a copper plate (see Fig. 22, p. 146). Fig. 3 represents another box made in the same way, evidently representing the thunder-bird. The short front of the box represents the head; the opposite side, the tail; and the two sides, the sides of the body, on which the wings are shown. The carving on Fig. 4 is laid out in the same manner. It represents the sea grisly bear. Fig. 5 shows the painting on a woman's work-box. The design is said to represent the wā'sgo, its fins being shown on two sides, while the remaining sides are occupied by the head. Fig. 6 is another carved box, the design on which is brought out more clearly by black and red paint. It represents the eagle, the head and tail being shown on the short sides, while the long sides are occupied by the wings.

The designs in Fig. 24 (p. 148) are from flat wooden spoons used in eating soap-berries. Fig. 24, *a*, is a halibut, a crest of the Djī'gua-Town-People. Fig. 24, *b*, represents a dragon-fly; and Fig. 24, *c*, an eagle.

Fig. 25 is a wooden float for halibut-lines in the shape of a killer-whale.

The following remarks on set of a decorated gambling-sticks (represented in Figs. 26-31) were supplied by Professor Boas. The designs are numbered in sequence for convenience of reference.

"A few of the sets of gambling-sticks referred to before (see p. 58) were decorated with designs representing animals. It seems that in all the sets of gambling-sticks the individual sticks bore the names of animals. This custom also prevailed among the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island

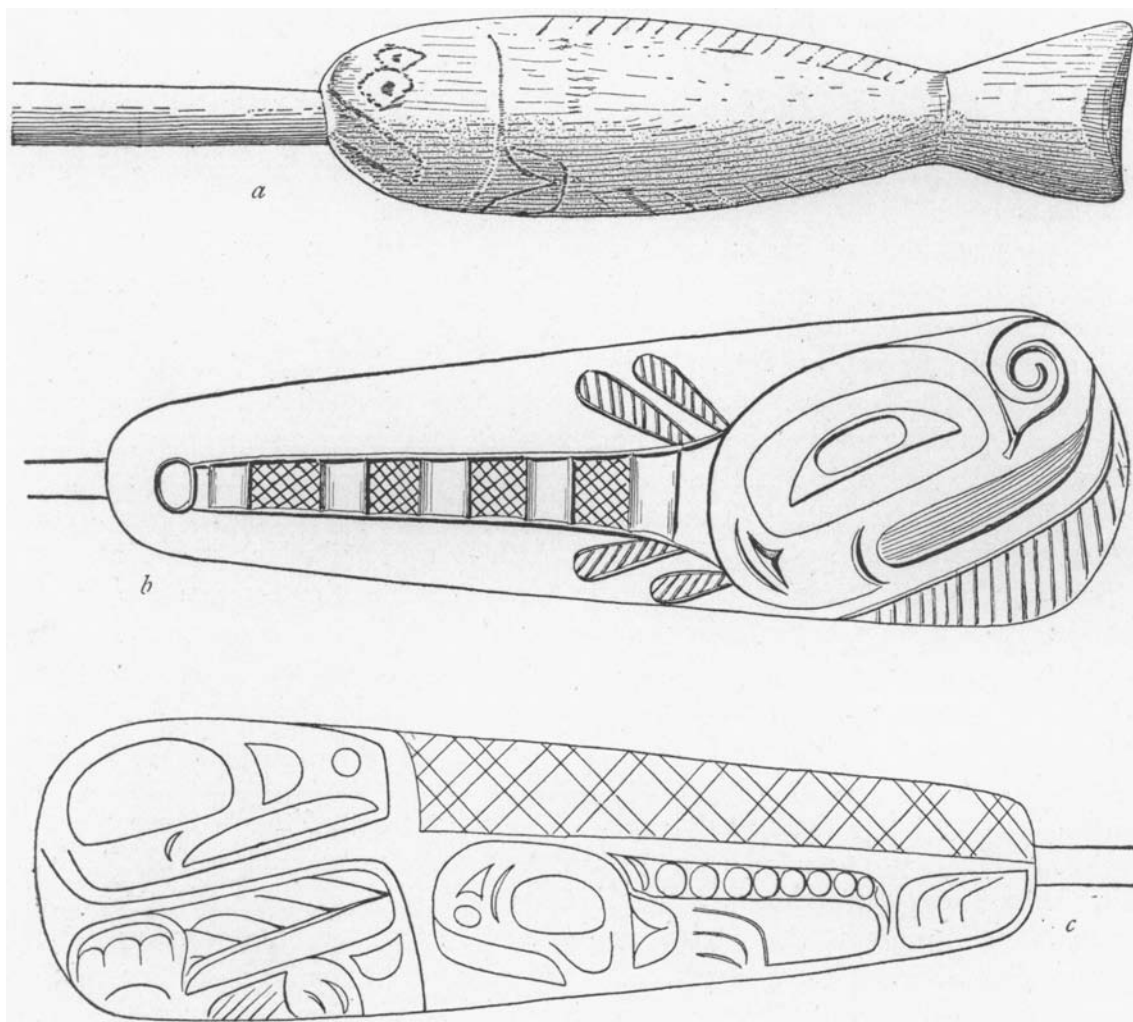


Fig. 24, *a* ($\frac{16}{8470}$), *b* ($\frac{19}{1077}$). Berry-Spoons. Designs: *a*, Halibut; *b*, Dragon-Fly; *c*, Eagle.

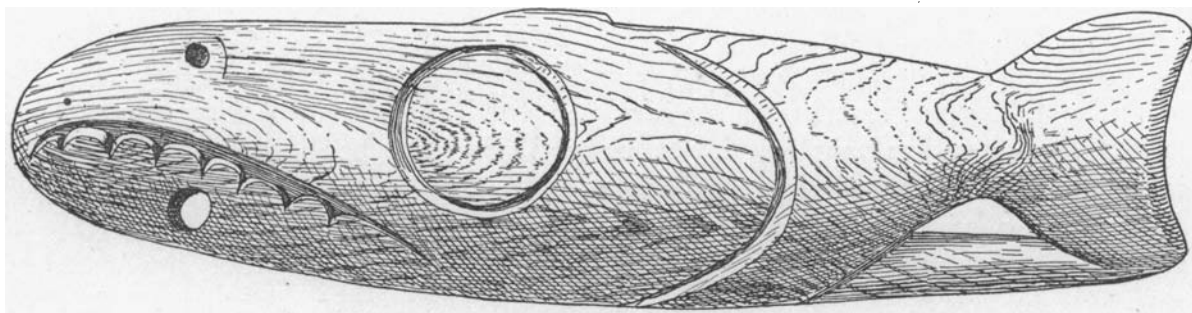


Fig. 25 ($\frac{19}{8471}$). Wooden Float representing the Killer-Whale.

and among the Thompson Indians of the interior of British Columbia.¹ Figs. 26-31 represent the designs on a set of gambling-sticks from the Queen Charlotte Islands collected by J. W. Powell. The illustrations represent the gambling-sticks developed on a plane surface, so that the designs can readily be seen. The identifications of the figures were obtained by me from Charles Edensaw in 1897. It will be noticed that while many of the designs were identified, the Indian artist hesitated to identify many others for which an explanation might seem obvious; while others the form of which seems to be very indefinite were identified without any hesitation. This fact indicates the great amount of individuality of each artist in combining the details of his designs.

"Nos. 1 and 2 represent the trumps of the game, both characterized by three black lines and two figures, evidently representing parts of an animal, but not identifiable.

"Nos. 3-9 were identified by Edensaw without hesitation as representations of the killer-whale. No. 3 is also a trump of the game, and bears three indistinct red lines in the middle, and two black lines near one end. The two designs were interpreted as parts of the tail of the killer-whale. No. 4 was said to be a complete representation of the killer-whale the two ornaments over the head representing the dorsal fin, and the large black curved line under the eyes representing the lower jaw. The identification, however, seems somewhat doubtful, since I do not know of any representation of the killer-whale which has paws with two toes, such as are found in the present specimen. Nos. 5-7 are other representations of the killer-whale tail. The decoration on the right-hand side of No. 8 was declared by Edensaw to represent the head of the killer-whale, the circle with attached point back of the eye being interpreted as the blow-hole. The beak on the opposite end was considered by him as the tail of the killer-whale. In No. 9 we have again the head of the killer-whale on the right-hand side, its tail on the left-hand side.

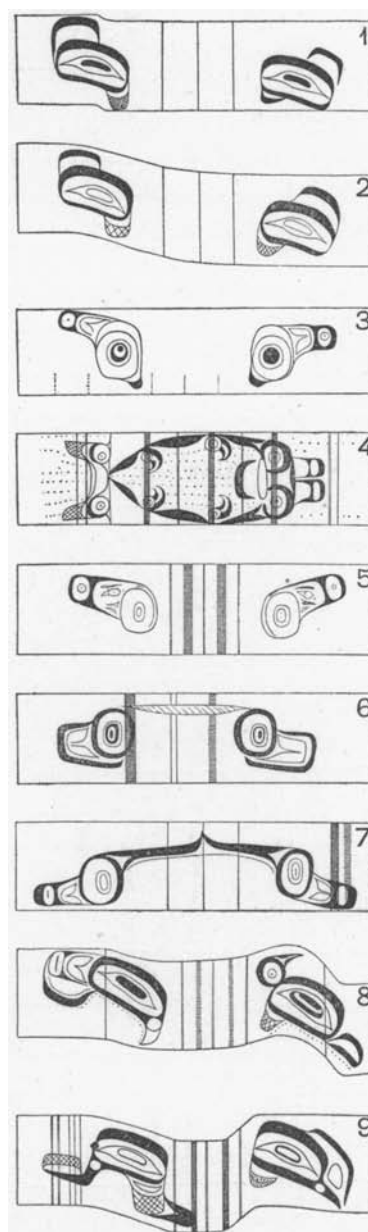


Fig. 26. Designs from a Set of Gambling-Sticks.

¹ See Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. I, Part IV, 1900, p. 273).

"Nos. 10 and 11 were not definitely described as killer-whale designs, although Edensaw was inclined to interpret them in this manner. In No. 10 the design on the left-hand side was interpreted as the dorsal fin, that on the right-hand side as the tail. He believed that No. 11 represents the stomach of a killer-whale.

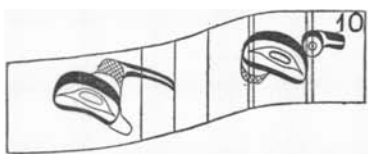


Fig. 27. Designs from a Set of Gambling-Sticks.

in still another shape. It evidently resembles the killer-whale. The hand-like

"No. 12 was explained by him as the dog-fish. I am doubtful, however, whether the appearance of the mouth with depressed corners, and the ornament over the forehead, may not have misled him. It is difficult to reconcile the legs with three-toed feet and the hands with the five fingers with the interpretation given by him. The three designs in the middle of the body evidently represent vertebrae.

"No. 13 was said to be a dead whale floating on the sea. The whale's head, with the tongue, the dorsal fin, the ribs, and the tail, will readily be recognized.

"Both Nos. 14 and 15 were explained as ts'an sk'agit (sea beam of house?). The identity of the two designs is quite evident, the animal being represented in No. 14 in profile, while in No. 15 it is shown from the dorsal side, the head being laid all around the stick. The four paws, a fin in a peculiar position, and the vertebrae, will be recognized. I suspect that No. 4, which was explained as a killer-whale, is really identical with the design shown here.

"Nos. 16-23 all represent the sea-bear, which is characterized by a bear's head and by a fin or flipper attached to the hip. In Nos. 16 and 17 the bear's head is distinctly shown. The peculiar lobe just above the nose was interpreted as the breath of the monster. Under the head is shown the arm with the hand, while the left-hand side of the stick is occupied by the leg with claws, and with the flipper attached to the hip. Nos. 18 and 19 are quite similar in type. In No. 20 the monster is shown in a somewhat different form, resembling very much the representations of the killer-whale. In No. 21 the sea-monster is shown

design in front of the head was interpreted as the nose, but at the same time as the hand, of the monster. Just back of the eye is the ear, while the design on the extreme left was interpreted by Edensaw as the tail. When I called attention to the position of the paw on the left part of the stick, which would indicate that this was meant as a head, Edensaw objected, saying that the tongue and lower jaw should not be missing if this were meant as the head. Nevertheless it seems to me doubtful if the explanation given by him would meet with the approval of the artist who painted the stick. No. 22 evidently represents the same animal as we found in No. 21. The hand in front of the head, and the peculiar tail, are shown in the same manner. The added design over the tail was interpreted as the dorsal fin. In No. 23 we have still another representation of the same sea-monster. The face in the centre of the stick represents the shoulder-joint. Attached to it is a fin running to the right. Below it extends the arm, with hand curved back and a fin attached to its upper part. On the left-hand side are the leg and the hip-joint. The design attached to the hip-joint was explained by Edensaw as the tail. If this explanation is correct, Nos. 16 and 17 might as well be explained as representing the bear, because there is no other indication of the animal belonging to the sea.

"In No. 24 we find a design quite similar to the series Nos. 16-19, but explained as the bear. The form of the head is quite similar to that of the sea-monster, but no fin is indicated in this case.

"No. 25 represents the devil-fish, the large design to the right being the head, and the lines consisting of circles with dots in the middle, to the left, representing tentacles.

"In No. 26 we have a typical representation of a halibut. No. 27 was explained as Gitga'lgia, the child of Property-Woman. This design is rather indistinct, but face, body, and feet may be recognized. No. 28 was explained as the crane, leg, wing, and crest being shown. The explanation of No. 29 is somewhat peculiar. The whole design was interpreted as the mountain-goat, the black design in

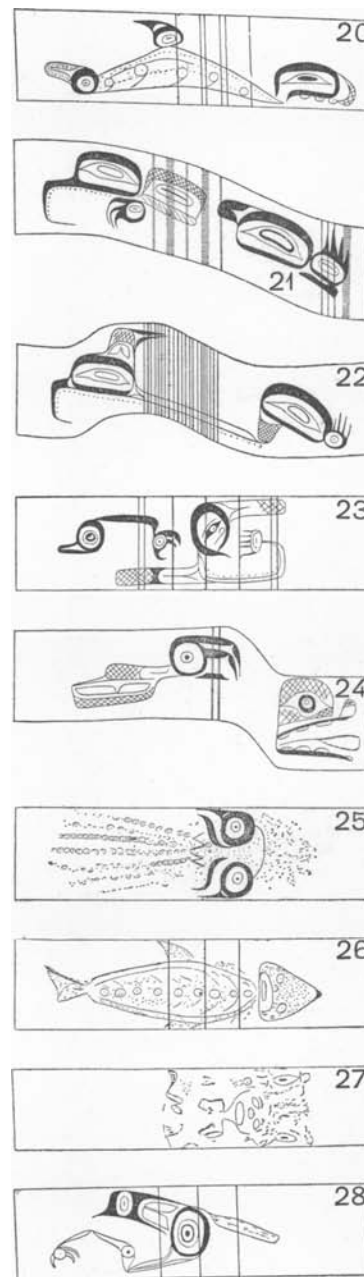


Fig. 28. Designs from a Set of Gambling-Sticks.

the centre being the nose, the eyes on the two sides representing the eyes of the animal, and the pointed designs at each end being the horns. No. 30

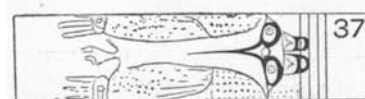
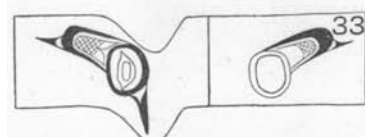
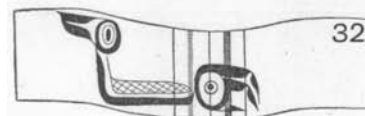
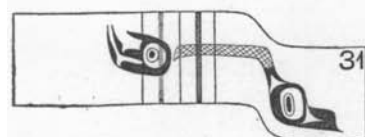
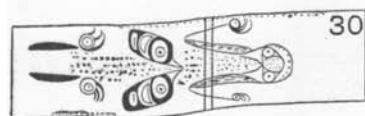
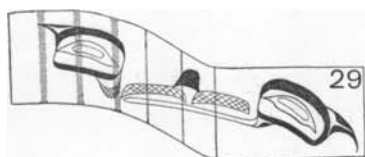


Fig. 29. Designs from a Set of Gambling-Sticks.

was explained as the crab. The head will readily be recognized on the right-hand side. The fore-feet are attached to the head. The hind-feet are on the left-hand side. The ornaments on the back, which look like a pair of wings, are not quite in favor of the explanation given.

"The series Nos. 31-34 represent the raven. In No. 31 the wing is shown on the right-hand side, the foot on the left-hand side. The same combination, with the foot on the right and the wing on the left, is shown in No. 32. The hachure on the leg was said to be characteristic of the raven. In No. 33 we have the wing on the right, and the tail on the left; while in No. 34 the foot is on the right, and the head on the left. Edensaw was rather inclined to consider the design on the left as intended to represent the raven's wing, because it has no tongue, and because it is not the proper form of head belonging with the foot on the right.

"In No. 35 he recognized a series of three dorsal fins, without, however, being able to tell to what animal they belong. In the same way he explained No. 36 as a shoulder on the right and a tail on the left, without being able to identify the particular animal. No. 37 may represent the mosquito, but the explanation did not seem to satisfy him.

"No explanations were given by Edensaw of the remaining designs. A comparison with the preceding series suggests, however, a number of explanations. Thus No. 38 resembles almost in every detail No. 20, and may therefore also be assumed to represent either a sea-monster or the killer-whale. No. 39 and No. 12 are almost undoubtedly the same. No. 40 is difficult to explain, and I do not venture to give a definite explanation.

No. 41 resembles No. 13, which is explained as a whale. No. 44 is closely allied to the series of raven designs on the one hand, but also to the sea-monster designs, which are characterized by the peculiar head-like design at

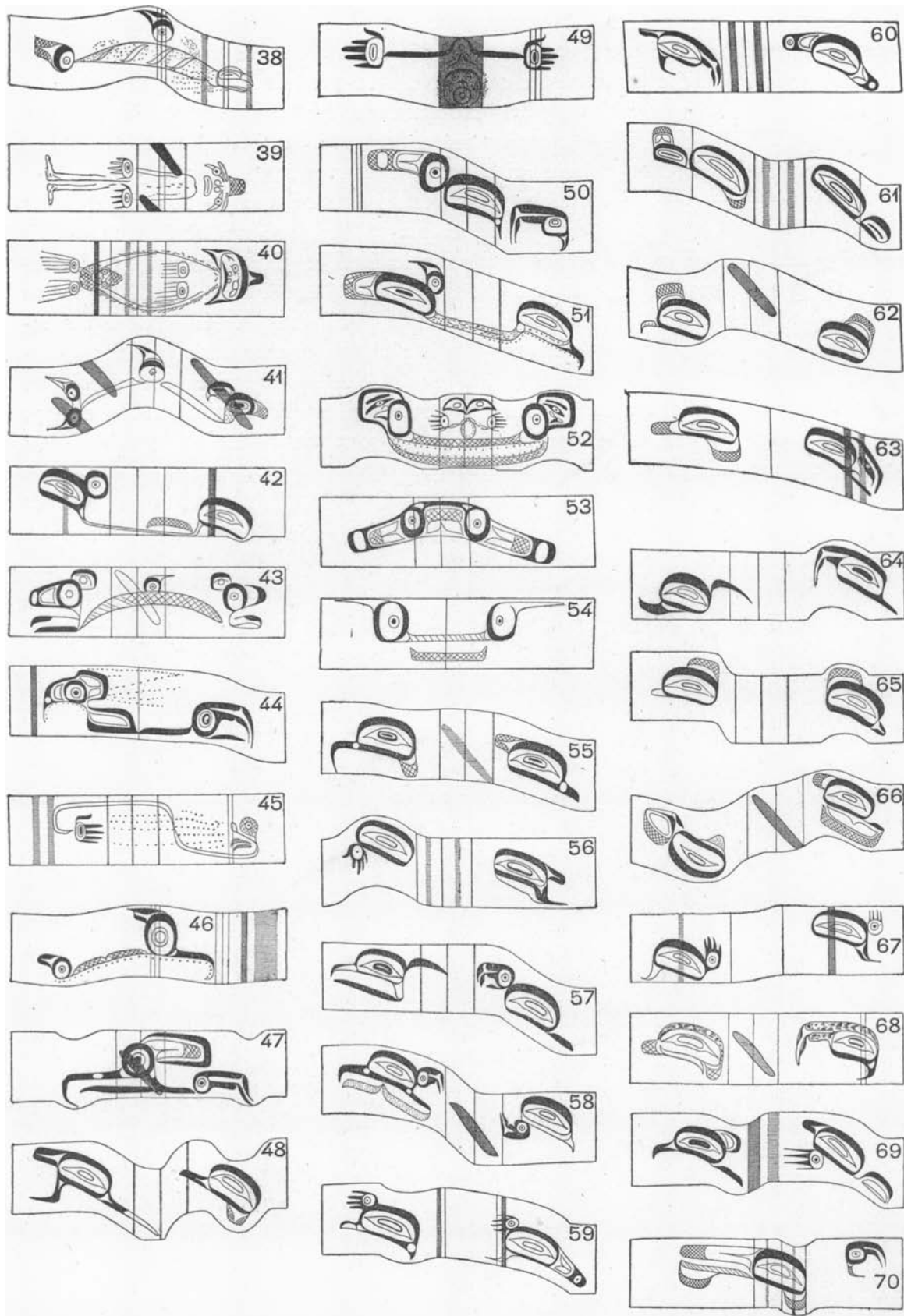


Fig. 30. Designs from a Set of Gambling-Sticks.

one end, with a number of dots accompanying the lower outline. It may therefore well be that we have here one of the raven sea-monsters. No. 45 is very much like the sea-monster series Nos. 16-18. It seems hardly possible

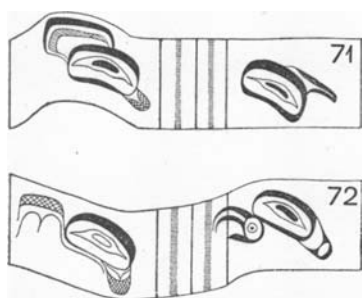


Fig. 31. Designs from a Set of Gambling-Sticks.

to give explanations for the remaining numbers. Attention may, however, be called to the peculiar eyes with attached hands in Nos. 56, 59, and 67, which may perhaps be related to the sea-monster design of No. 22. There are similar forms in which claws appear attached to the eye designs; for instance, Nos. 58, 60, 64, 68, and 72. It seems fairly evident that in all these cases what is apparently an eye is simply an elaboration of the knee-joint or hip-joint. The symmetrical designs shown

in Nos. 53 and 54 must be compared with the killer-whale tails Nos. 6 and 7, while in No. 52 we have apparently a full front view with strong distortion of some animate being."

XI. — THE SECRET SOCIETY AND THE POTLATCHES.

FEASTS. — One way of advancing a man's social standing was by giving feasts. The chiefs of the various houses were continually sending out invitations by crier, when every one of the right clan was at liberty to come and eat that portion dealt out to him. The principal guests sat in a circle or circles around the fire; the town chief, in the most important place in front of the inside house-pole; and the others, to right and left, at distances varying according to their social position; while the commons assembled around the door or sat outside. The clans seem usually to have been summoned separately, the chief's wife presiding in case her own clan was called;¹ but sometimes they were called together. The sittings at these gatherings, as at the potlatches, were carefully regulated. At Skedans, husband and wife occupied the same seat, — the husband when his clan was called in, and the wife when hers was summoned. At Kloo the seats of husband and wife were altogether different, and were based probably on the social standing of the family to which each belonged. All of the guests except the greatest furnished their own trays and spoons. Then the servants or slaves brought out food in trays and distributed it, beginning, of course, with the town chief. Feasts were continually looked for, especially from the great family and town chiefs. He who "called the people in" in time of want increased his power immensely, and his descendants kept the circumstance in mind ever afterward. These and the potlatches were the Haida roads to greatness more than war. The latter, when not waged to avenge injuries, was simply a means of increasing their power to give the former.

GENERAL REMARKS. — The potlatch, or giving-away of property, is to be carefully distinguished from the feast, of which it might be said to be a "ritualized" form. It was the great event upon which a Haida's social life turned. There were two kinds of potlatches.

The greater, called Wā'lgal, was given by a chief to the members of his own clan, on the occasion of a house-raising, adoption of another chief's son, or the tattooing of his friends' children, and the cutting of apertures for labrets, ear-rings, ear-pendants, nose-ornaments, etc.

As a chief borrowed from the opposite clan through his wife, and paid back to the heads of his own clan who were husbands or wives of those he borrowed of, the potlatch seems to have been an endless chain of property,

¹ Oftener a chief simply summoned his own clan, and allowed the people to take food home to their wives afterwards.

a large portion of the wealth in the place being massed into a man's hands for the occasion. At the same time he paid back much more than he received, especially to those who were working for him. "Coppers" were bought and sold during the potlatch, but they were never valued as much as by the tribes farther south. The value of each "copper" seems to have been fixed, and the loss of a part of one would reduce its value proportionately.

The Sī'k!^a potlatch was only made at the raising of a grave-post (xāt) for a dead chief by the man who took his place, and was given to the members of the opposite clan who had previously attended to the funeral.

Dances of the secret society (literally, "those caused to be inspired") were indispensable accompaniments of a potlatch. The character of this society has been described by Professor Boas.¹ The principal dances of the Haida are called the Ū'lala, the Nū'lam, Wolf, Grisly Bear, Nū'tcī'sta, Gāgiḡi't, Club-Bearers, Dinne, Dress Spirit, etc. These correspond more or less to the Kwakiutl societies of similar name. The dances of the secret societies occurred at every potlatch, and at no other times. Most of these, according to the traditions of the Haida, — and every other consideration, — were procured from the Tsimshian or Bella Bella. The following account of their introduction was given me by a man from the West Coast.

Sgaga'ño, chief of the Ravens of Tc!ā'ał, had been in the habit of taking "coppers" to Kitkatla to sell them to Djē'basa, who was chief there. Finally he took one called Long-Copper, for which he wanted six slaves. He was offered four slaves and a great deal of property, but still he refused. Finally Djē'basa beckoned to the Haida chief to come behind his screen, and gave him a box containing two secret-society whistles, which he told him to take care of and keep to himself. Later, when the people were on the way from their old town in Skidegate Inlet to settle on the West Coast, a man named Qagā'i-dala-i was initiated. That was the beginning of it.

This would place the introduction of the secret society not much earlier than the year 1700. The Ū'lala form of initiation is said to have come from the Bella Bella. One of the Ninstints people declared that most of their forms of the secret society came from Kitkatla, but the Dog-Eaters from the Bella Bella. An old Kloo man who has acted Ū'lala three times, Wolf once, and Grisly Bear once, said that the Kloo forms were derived partly from the Tsimshian, partly from the Bella Bella. From the latter came the Fire-Throwers, who he said were considered the highest. These were obtained by purchase, or by capturing the whistles and rings in war. In very late times several new sets of whistles, or "spirits" as they are called, were obtained when a fort in the Bella Bella country was destroyed. The uses of these were taught them by slaves taken at the same time.

¹ The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 651 *et seq.*)

From the man just referred to I took down the following regarding the origin of the secret society.

From Da'dju, an old town on an island near China-Hat, two men went out hunting with spears. Coming to a place where the shore ran down precipitously into the water, they anchored there for the night.¹ The island is called Gítgunax. When they dropped anchor, a fish put its head out of the water, and they laughed at it. In the night this fish slapped the side of the canoe with its tail, and woke them up. When they were asleep again, the same thing recurred. After this had been repeated several times, one of the men rose, seized the fish, cut it into pieces, and threw the parts away.

When they awoke next morning, they found themselves in a fine house, fastened, along with their canoe, between the top of the screen and the roof. The man in the bow had a small box along with him, in which was a cosmetic (called giā'ga) made from the marrow of the bones of the mountain-goat, such as was applied to the face before paint was laid on. The man in the stern had another box in which was a whetstone. This was the house of the supernatural being of the island, who, along with his two brothers, Gítgu'nhā and Ḡalgalai'n, were the most powerful supernatural beings on the mainland.² The ridge-pole of his house was made of stone, and rested against the ceiling without support. In the rear of the house sat the chief. He did not open his own eyes; but, when he wished to see, two youths standing on either side of him lifted his eyelids. They brought a seal to him, and raised his lids, whereupon he took it all into his mouth, chewed a little, and spit out the bones. This chief had already sent out to call the people, and just then they began coming in. Qĩngi was the only supernatural being invited from the Haida country. He came in a small black canoe called "Tobacco-Canoe" (Gul lūs), which he had borrowed from The-Supernatural-Being-upon-whom-it-thunders, because he thought his the most powerful. He wore a kind of cap, and had a small, dirty bag upon which he always rested his arm. All the others laughed at his appearance.

When they began to put words into the songs they sang, the ridge-pole suddenly fell; and it stopped just over the peoples' heads, making them run about in terror. The chief was making fun of them. As he sat in his place, they sang this song for him in Tsimshian: —

"Ho-la-lu-ulguls-a-ha-wa-a-als wikiā wāhu nĩ'giaga baska wāks sīlakhaks wāks wikiā-ā hā'dida
h'giā Gítgunu'naks wāks wikiā-ā hā'dida h'ia gítgu'lha h'ia hā'dida h'ia Ḡalgā'lain."

They sang this to let the human beings know how great they were.

This was the only one of the supernatural beings who had fire in his house, and the others wanted to obtain some. So they took Deer and planed

¹ This is the place where canoes returning to the Haida country from Victoria have their last camp before making the islands.

² Ḡalgalai'n is a rock between China-Hat and Kitkatla.

his legs down slender. Then Deer put pitch and feathers on his head, and, while they were all standing around the fire, stuck his head into it and ran off with the blazing pitch. All of the supernatural beings opened their doors, and he dropped some fire into each.

The two human beings now rubbed the cosmetic and the whetstone on their breasts (to keep themselves from changing into supernatural beings; i. e., killer-whales).

Q'ñgi sat by himself on one side of the house, and at intervals opened his bag, took out a piece of dried salmon, and ate it. For this all of the supernatural beings laughed at him. Then he put on a tall dance-hat and began to dance. At once they heard the "spirits" (secret-society whistles), — the first time that human beings had heard them. These whistling-sounds were caused by flickers. Q'ñgi's hat now began to grow; and as it grew, sea-gulls and cormorants flew from the joints, and scattered their excrement over everybody, so that the supernatural beings covered up their faces. By and by his hat shrank again, and he took it off. Then the chief's youngest brother, who lived under the nearer island, shouted to his elder brother, "I thought you always let out people who came in to you. Why do you not do so this time?" Then Q'ñgi took a large whale out of his bag, and tossed it to the supernatural beings, who began eating it.

Now the guests started home, Q'ñgi last of all. Gîtgunu'naks made a whirlpool in front of his house, but Q'ñgi's canoe leaped over it and passed on.

Then the human beings lost consciousness, and came to in the place where they had been anchored at first. From their position they had been able to learn about the "spirits" (whistles) and the "spirit dances." When they reached home, they found that they had been away many years, and people thought they had been lost long before. Then they made "spirits" (whistles) like those used by the supernatural beings, and gave them to Chief N'islgâs; and they built a house like the one they had seen, having a ridge-pole which would drop part way from the ceiling. This, of course, was of wood. Some of the "spirit-songs" were obtained at this time, and others were composed afterwards. Since then the Tsimshian have had secret societies, and the Haida people received them from the Tsimshian.

My informant added, that he had seen the frame of this house built by the men above referred to.

The following is a Masset story upon the same subject: —

From the town of Gitadjū', near Kitkatla, four men went hunting. It was calm at first, but presently they were overtaken by a fog. Although they had been going along near the shore, they lost sight of it, nor could they hear the breaking waves. When they had floated about awhile, they came to a kelp-head, and fastened their canoe to it. Evening coming on,

all had their heads bent down in sorrow. After they had been in that position awhile, their canoe began to shake. They looked up, and saw a person holding on to the side. He said to them, "The chief invites you." When he had gone down, the bow-man went in after him; and, as soon as he had put his foot into the water, he stood in front of a large house. All four followed, and found the first man waiting for them. When they were all outside, some one called them in.

Then the chief told all to sit near him in the rear of the house. Although the Ocean-People wanted to take them, they did not do them any harm. Then they questioned the human beings. A person sitting near the chief was all covered with cedar-bark rings. (The visitors were not given anything to eat. These were not killer-whales; they were Ocean-People.) Then they told them to learn all about the cedar-bark rings, but did not give any to them. They only told them to learn about them. A rattle hung on the wall there, and a dancing-apron also. Still it was not a town: only one house stood there, and in it were many people. The inside of the house was hung all over with cedar-bark rings, and the lips of those who wore these rings were red from nose to chin.

Then one wearing cedar-bark rings began to sing. The song was one of those called "Wearing Cedar-bark Rings, they sing and dance." They taught the human beings the song, and about the cedar-bark rings and the rattle. Q!ā'-imnāx was town chief there. Then they instructed them how to use these things. "Teach your friends also," they said. "Now go up," said they. Then, as soon as they went outside, they found themselves standing at the side of their canoe, and they got into it. They did not change their forms; they did not become killer-whales.

They were there one night; and when they came out at the side of their canoe, it was still dark. When they got into their canoe, the fog suddenly vanished. Then they found that they were near the land. But yet it was calm: the waves were not breaking. Then they went back, keeping near the shore. As they were going along, a wave rose near them and broke upon them, and they capsized; but they were near land, and this was the only wave. One of them swam ashore. "Throw me one of those spear-handles," he said, for the others were on top of the canoe. Then they threw the spear-handle to him. He reached an end back to one of them, and, when the latter seized it, he drew them ashore. Now they turned the canoe over, and, having poured the water out of it, pulled it up to the woods. Then they dried their wet clothing in the bright sunshine. Then one of them drew out a spear-sheath and blew the sea-water out of it, when it gave forth a whistling-sound (literally, "a supernatural being whistled in it"). He said to his companions, "Do not tell this to your friends."

When their things were dry, they put them into their canoe and went

off; and this time they reached the town. Then they were asked whether they had killed anything.

The supernatural beings allowed this accident to befall them. That was the way they gave the whistle to them. The family was called Gitgu'naks.¹

And they said, "As we were going along, it became foggy, and we floated about. We floated to a kelp, and tied our canoe to it. Then a chief sent to call us in. We went thither. The house was filled with cedar-bark rings, and a secret-society man sat in it. They showed him to us. They also showed us cedar-bark rings, and told us to teach you about them."

The winter after, they made imitations of these things. Then they also began to teach the songs. They had a good carver carve the rattle, in imitation of the one they had seen. Then they sent to another town to invite the people; and when they had come, they initiated (or "inspired") five men and five women, — ten in all. They had these live in the woods, and made a house for them there. There they fed them. Then they began to make something in which they could show themselves. Two good carpenters made it. It was like a black whale, and it took them ten days. When it was finished, they took it to the sea far away from the town, and the ten novices also went down to it. Then they put the whale into the sea. It was a big thing. Then they began to put stones into it. They also put a row of flat cross-pieces inside; and between these, stones. Ropes, too, were put into it. Then the ten novices entered it, and ten others went in to make it jump about. Animal skins were put around the outside. Then they tried it seaward from the town. It jumped about very well, and, very much pleased with it, they made it go back towards the town. Then they sewed a sea-lion's stomach on its back. In this they put a man, and tied ropes about him. When the whale came out blowing, the man sat on top. While they were still far away from the town, they made it go seaward. When it was far out to sea, they made it go towards the town again. Then all of the town people came out and looked at it. They thought it was a supernatural being. They exclaimed that it was a sea-whale (i. e., a whale belonging to the Ocean-People); but before it got near the town its jumping became weak, its head sank into the sea, and it disappeared straight downward. All in it were drowned.

These stories agree in one important particular; they assign the beginning of the secret society to the same people, the Tsimshian around Kitkatla.

The Haida secret society was ingrafted upon their shamanistic notions. Just as a shaman was supposed to be inspired by some supernatural being who "spoke," or, as they generally preferred to translate it to me, "came through," him, so the Ū'lala spirit, the Dog-eating spirit, the Grisly-Bear spirit,

¹ This may really be identical with Gítgunax (see pag. 157.)

and so on, "came through" the secret-society novice. I do not know exactly how seriously this possession was taken, but anciently it seems to have been in good faith. At the same time, none of the spirits who presided over the secret society, with the exception of the Gāgiḡí't, Grisly Bear, and Wolf, is even mentioned outside of it.

I have chosen to denominate the entire body of those possessed, or "the inspired" (sgā'gadas) as they were called, the "secret society," instead of considering those through whom Ū'lala, the Fire-throwing spirit, etc., came, as so many different societies. I do this because I cannot make out that there was any association between those who had been possessed by the same spirit, other than that fact. A man high enough in rank could be inspired by a new spirit at each successive potlatch, provided such were not owned by a chief of the opposite clan. Among the people of the southern towns, a man who had been inspired ten times could act in any way. There were certain exceptions, however, as in the case of the Fire-Throwers of Kloo, who would permit only the town chief to accompany them on their spirit-circuits. Women, and others who had only been possessed by "good spirits," did not go around as companions when a novice was "possessed" by one of the rougher ones. Novices were generally "possessed" only by "good spirits" at first; possessions by Ū'lala, the Fire-throwing spirit, etc., taking place later. Among the southern towns those who acted the Grisly Bear, Gambling spirit, Dog-eating spirit, and other "good spirits," might be either men or women; while the Raven women of Tc!ā'a! had an exclusive right to the Dress spirit. Only men were possessed by the Fire-throwing spirit, the spirits bearing clubs, the Gāgiḡí't, the Wolf spirit, and Ū'lala, though I am not positive about Ū'lala. The chief of Kloo was possessed by the Dinne spirit, and performed actions supposed to be in imitation of those of the Athapaskan tribes of the interior of the continent. He did this at the time when he took his uncle's position, and was the only one who could do so. Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek were the only ones who had a right to be possessed by the Wolf spirit. Among the Ninstints people, the Sand-Town-People are said to have been the only ones who were possessed by the Grisly-Bear spirit. With these exceptions, people in the southern towns high enough in rank could act in any one of the various ways, from either clan indifferently. At Masset, however, and the other northern towns, each sort of possession seems to have been more strictly the property of some chief who would permit only those of his own family to assume it. In both sections the spirit was put into a person by the town chief. At first they are said to have had another method of introducing it, but the town chief of Skedans changed it. Persons who had never been possessed were spoken of as "those whose minds were stopped up."

A detailed account of each of these potlatches was obtained by me in Haida, one of the Wā'lgal potlatch at Skidegate, and one of the Sī'k!A potlatch

at Masset. It must be remembered, however, that my informants gave accounts of potlatches they themselves had seen, while no two were conducted in precisely the same way.

The first of these is divided into two parts. After general remarks about how a chief acquired property and prepared for a potlatch, my informant returns to the particular potlatch he has in mind, and tells about the landing of the house-timbers, the dances of the secret society, when Ū'lala spoke through the novices, and the first payment to those of both clans who had assisted the host. The participants in the secret-society dances were (1) the novices who belonged to the clan of the host's wife, (2) the "spirit-companions" or "companions" who belonged to the host's own clan, (3) others who had previously been "possessed" or "inspired" and who sometimes assisted in the singing, (4) outsiders who acted for the most part merely as spectators. The first payment was called "the landing of the house-timbers." Before raising the house, there seems to have been a pause, during which more olachen-grease was obtained from Nass River. Then the house-pole was carved and erected, the house-frame set up, and the entire house completed. The owner now sent to another town to invite people of his own clan to the new house; and when they arrived, he feasted them, and he and his wife danced before them. Next day, chiefs of the host's clan tattooed the youths of the opposite clan, and cut holes for ear-pendants and labrets. The tattooing and the initiation of members of the opposite clan were in payment of property received from the host's wife for use in the potlatch. Then the chiefs who had this work in charge were paid, as well as those who had obtained the house-timbers. Afterwards occurred the general distribution of property, and the potlatch was over. Both clans participated in this potlatch, but only that of the house chief shared in the general distribution of property. The following is a somewhat strict translation of my Haida text: —

THE WĀ'LEGAL POTLATCH. — When a man began to handle property, and he had a large family, they captured some (slaves) for him. When they took slaves, they gave them all to him. Since he outfitted the expedition himself, he paid those who captured them only two blankets each from the proceeds of their sale. When he hunted, he gave his companions a very little. He fished (to acquire more wealth). He told his wives to give presents to his brothers-in-law; but, since he was going to potlatch, they did not give presents in return. They did so, because the time had arrived when his property was ready. His wife also gathered seaweed, planted potatoes and turnips, and gave the produce to her brothers and uncles, without receiving anything in return. Then she gave blankets and all sorts of things to the people of her family, — a proceeding called "spanking the needle" or "fighting an inferior." That over, her husband sent out to call in those of his side for tobacco. Then two persons went to call them, and, going to the door of each house, said,

"They tell the chief to smoke; the chief's nephew they tell to smoke." When they had repeated this at every house, all of the host's clan came in to him with their pipes in their hands. These they filled and smoked, consulting meanwhile [as to] whom to assign the work of bringing in the house-timbers. Then they dispersed. Next they went to the Tsimshian in large canoes, and purchased plenty of blankets and boxes of grease. When autumn came, they began picking berries of all kinds. To get these, they went to Tel-el and Rose Spit, paying the owners of the ground five blankets for permission to gather them. Having brought these back, they mixed grease with them to preserve them. When the season for drying salmon was over, all the people were in town, and they called them (the people of the man's own clan) in for five boxes of preserved berries. After they had filled their dishes, they began to assign the work. They designated whom they wanted to cut down the tree for a house-pole; whom they wanted to carve it; who were to hew out the gable-planks, the stringers, the corner posts, the side-planks, the roof-planks, the lower planks that carry the boards, the two front posts next to the house-pole; and if it had a house-pole, they assigned one chief to each retaining-plank.

Then they went out by canoe, and, having found a large cedar-tree, chopped it down for a house-pole. The nephews of the chiefs selected did the actual work. The chiefs only acted as overseers. When all of the parts were cut, they towed them home. As they went, they sang a paddling-song and songs of joy. Before the people who went after the timbers returned, he who was about to give the potlatch called his friends. Those who were sent to summon them said, "They ask the chief to dress up." Then they arrayed themselves, and painted their faces. They wore deer-skin blankets, and had feathers and weasel-skins in their hair. That completed, the whole town was called in with these words: "They tell the chief to look on." Then before the whole town they danced together into one house the dance called "coming in streams" (sq!ā'dal). Before entering, they struck the house-front with the palms of their hands. The song-leader came singing through the doorway, bearing a baton with a bunch of feathers at one end. Then they followed in single file, and stood in lines around the inside of the house. The song-leader stood up high on a large box turned bottom-side up. When he began the songs, all joined in. All the women danced as well. That was called "dancing mingled while they sing." When they got the timbers up to the village, the chief again called in the people for tobacco, and, having smoked awhile, they sang a spirit-song. They kept time for the town chief, who sang and danced around the fire with feathers in his hands and all of his dancing-costume on.

The one who was going to be initiated sat waiting in a definite place. He always belonged to the clan of the host's wife. When the chief had danced around the fire awhile, he threw feathers upon the novice, and a

noise was heard in the chief's body. Then the novice fell flat on the ground, and something made a noise inside of him. When that happened, all the "inspired" said, "So and so fell on the ground." A while after, he went out of the house. WA'lala (the same as Ū'lala) acted through him. The novice was naked; but the spirit-companions wore dancing-skirts and cedar-bark rings, and held oval rattles (like those used by shamans) in their hands. Wherever the novice went in, the town people acted as if afraid of him, exclaiming, "Hoy-hoy-hoy-hoy hiyā'-hä-hä hōyī!" Wherever he started to go in, the spirit-companions went in first in a crowd. All the uninitiated hid themselves; not so the others. When he passed in through the doorway, he made his sound, "Ap ap ap!"¹ At the same time the WA'lala spirit made a noise outside. As he went around the fire, he held his face turned upward. In his mouth, too, something (a whistle) sounded. His eyes were turned over, and showed the whites. In all the houses into which he entered he acted in the same way. Again he entered the house where he was being initiated. He went behind the curtain and remained there.

He was not seen again outside, and no one was permitted to go behind the curtain without special permission. When they went around the village, and he pulled some one else out, he too "became inspired" (joined the society). When they had gone through the whole town and had re-entered the dancehouse, boxes of preserved berries were pulled down, and enormous horn spoons given them. They ate part of their food, and took part home to their wives, who sat waiting. In the house in front of the "inspired" they sang many songs.

Next morning, very early, the novices ran along the tops of the houses, rattled the planks that closed the smoke-hole, and threw them away. The spirit-companions around the insides of the house acted as if afraid. They were naked except for dancing-skirts and cedar-bark rings. They held large oval rattles in their hands. After that, they went into the dancing-house again, and ate all kinds of provisions. All the time that the spirits acted (or while the society was in session), some young fellows, previously appointed, brought in firewood. All the time they sang in the house, and the song-leader was always there. All that time he led them in the singing of spirit-songs. For this position they selected a smart man. If visitors came while the spirits were acting, the novices tried to stop them, almost swimming out in the water to get at them. The spirit-companions, however, threw cedar-bark rings over them, and dragged them away towards the house. When they got them there, the people came in again. When any one brought in a seal, the novices ran down and ate it. Then they returned to the village, and re-entered the dance-house. All that time songs were being sung there. Sometimes they went down and ate the peoples' arms. They bit the arms of any one (who happened to be in the way). When one bit the arm of a

¹ The Kwakiutl cannibal shouts, "Hap hap!" the stem of the word meaning "to eat."

man belonging to the opposite clan, the host ripped up plenty of blankets and "bound his arm with them" (i. e., made a payment for the injury).¹

Behind the curtain certain ones who had been appointed for the purpose made cedar-bark rings. Masks and rings lay in the "spirit-box" behind the curtain. No one who "had a dark face" (i. e., was not initiated) could look into the "spirit-box."

After that, they called in the whole town. As they came in, ranged by clans, they sang spirit-songs. They danced before each other alternately. Only those who were "inspired" were allowed to dance this dance. After that, some young fellows went behind the curtain. They belonged to the wife's clan, and were brought in by the "inspired." They ceased to see them, because the "spirits stood up" (i. e., the performances were over for the time).

Then they stretched cedar-bark ropes down towards the beach from the house-front, and prevented any one from passing; but some of the "inspired" who were handy with tools, went in, prepared sleight-of-hand tricks, and practised them awhile. When that was over, the town people were allowed to pass in front of the house again. Some time after, the novice "flew away," and they did not see him again for four days; but one evening WA'lala was heard, and far in the woods the WA'lala spirit made many sounds. Some time after that, very early in the morning, he was heard singing alone. He made his own sound, and the "spirits" (i. e., whistles) made a great noise. The spirit-companions, too, got ready. They fastened ropes to cedar-bark rings, and went down to him with them. Sometimes he swam into the sea. When they had tried to seize him for some time, they surrounded him in front of the town, and got the cedar-bark rings about his neck. Then the spirit-companions moved to the house with him, singing as they went. They got in; and, while the people in the house sang songs, the spirit-companions danced. At this time, too, they ripped many blankets to pieces, calling them "the spirit-belt."

Some time after this, they called the people to dress up. They called both clans indiscriminately twice. The whole town entered the spirit-house. When they had painted themselves awhile, they again called the whole town, even to the children, into one house. When they were all in, the "inspired" made their peculiar noises behind a sail that had been stretched along the side towards the door,² walked around the fire, and, as the people came in, sang spirit-songs. When they had gone back behind the curtain, dancing was started in the main part of the house. Those already initiated danced in

¹ A Kloo man said that anciently novices used to bite nearly through the flesh until a red circle was made, which they afterwards skinned with a knife; but on one occasion a chief's son died from the effects of this treatment, and afterwards they simply seared the place a little.

² During a potlatch the ends of the house were reversed, the ordinary entrance being blocked up and a new one made in what was usually the rear of the house.

curved lines, wearing dancing-blankets and dancing-hats, while some men among them danced around the fire. After that all went home.

Next day, in the evening, they called the people twice, and, putting on their good clothing, they went to look on. When the "spirits" (secret society) were ready to dance, the novice came out from behind the curtain. He wore cedar-bark rings around his head and neck, a dancing-skirt, and dancing-leggings. Then they performed sleight-of-hand tricks upon him. They killed him, and the members of his family went about crying. They locked the door, and they picked up their weapons against each other. They took his body behind the curtain, and, after some time had elapsed, they began singing a spirit-song, and he came in from the outside wearing a mask. Again he went behind the curtain, and, when some time had elapsed, began to sing there.

All that time a person was beating the drum, and continued to do so during the rest of the potlatch.¹ Some young fellows taken behind the curtain stood back of the "inspired," wearing cedar-bark rings.

Then they sang a song for him, called Q!ā'igî'lgañ, while he stood around and shook his rattle. After that was over, they put a dancing-hat on him. He also wore a dancing-blanket, and carried a rattle. The song-leader stood up, and, when he sang spirit-songs, all joined with him. When they had sung two spirit-songs, they stopped, and the spectators all went home.

When many were initiated, they danced one after another. One came out and sat in the rear of the house, in the place of those who were out. Those behind the curtain sat close to him. The novice was given something to eat. Next day they again called the people. They brought out plenty of berries preserved in grease, and very many boxes of grease. The town people came in to get them. Each sat in his (or her) own seat (for this was only the husband's clan); and when all were inside, they distributed large boxes of food before the chiefs. Each family's box was named differently. When the people were all in, they sent around the town, asking for property. The members of the wife's clan gave her property (in payment for what she had given them), and they brought it to the house. They gave ten blankets to each of the "inspired," with preserved berries, and boxes of grease. When that was over, they began counting out blankets and full boxes of all kinds.

That completed, they sent grease and preserved berries through the fire to the dead members of the wife's clan. Then they commenced giving away property. First large trays were given away; afterwards, blankets. To the spirit-companions, those always with the novice, they gave two blankets apiece. They said that this was done on account of the cedar-bark rings. To the chief, who started the dancing, they gave five blankets; to those who cut down the house-pole, two each. To the four who supplied the firewood they

¹ When they made too much noise behind the curtain, the drummer beat a few strokes, so that they might hear, and they stopped.

gave one blanket and five fathoms of cotton cloth apiece. This first distribution was called "the landing of the house-timbers." Then to those (of the wife's clan) who brought in property to help them they gave new names (out of the house-wife's list of names). After the distribution of property, they put preserved berries into trays (for a final feast), and on top of it grease. That, too, was finished.

For the raising of the house-pole they went to the Tsimshian country and bought ten boxes of grease. Then they began carving the pole. For that they employed some good carpenters.¹ They called in the people for tobacco, and announced that the carving had been begun. Then they turned the pole face up and carved it. Presently five persons dug the hole for it to stand in, and rocks were brought thither. Very early in the morning of the day after the hole was finished, the members of the man's clan were addressed with high-sounding words, and with their nephews they went to seize the house-pole. When they began to stand it up, one shouted, and all pulled at once. Even the women laid hold of the ropes. When it stood in place, they danced around the foot, singing dancing-songs. The wife of him who potlatched threw tobacco and beads upon it, and to get them the people pushed each other down. After that, the host called the people for ten boxes of grease. He gave those away, and the people carried them home in wooden trays. Those who dug the hole for the house-pole received one blanket apiece and five fathoms of cotton cloth; and each chief, a blanket and cotton cloth. That, too, being finished, the host commenced building the house. He informed those who were to dig the post-holes (that they were chosen for that purpose), and they made the holes strong with stones. Now, the heavy planks to hold the upper ends of the side-planks they put above them. Stringers were also added. The planks to hold the lower ends of the wall-planks they got from the woods, and shaped them. The roof, too, was put on; and now the house was finished.

Then the host called the people for tobacco, and directed that people of another village be invited to the new house. At once a large canoe, holding many people, started. The man potlatching furnished all the food for this expedition. When near the town, they stopped, dressed, and painted. From the town they were approaching, the people came down to see them. In the canoe they sang some canoe-songs, and whittled out short poles very neatly. They made as many as there were chiefs to be invited, and came in front of the town, singing. They let the (inviting) chief's nephew dance in the canoe as they approached. When they got close to the town, the man in the bow stood up and threw off the timbers. At the same time he shouted the name of each chief. Then some one took the pole up. Lastly they

¹ One man was assigned to see that the carving was done, and he employed those who did the actual work, the "carpenters."

threw off many in one bundle, calling out that those were the timbers for the chief's nephews. Then they landed, and, as soon as all of the clan invited had assembled in the house (of the town chief, or of him who was first invited), the visitors danced. When they were through, the town people began to dance. That finished, the visitors were made to sit down in circles, and food was given to them. The town people gave them grease in large spoons, and sang their songs as they danced. After the dancing the visitors went home, but the nephew of the man potlatching staid with their intended guests. On their way back the people sang canoe-songs all the way.

Some time after they had reached home, those invited started to follow them. He who had remained with them made a complimentary speech early in the morning. Then they embarked, and landed near the host's town. There the guests painted up, and people came down to see them from the village. The guests danced for them on their canoes. They called this "coming dancing towards the town in canoes." The town people also painted up; the visitors, as they floated towards them, sang songs; and the "spirits" (i. e., whistles) made a great noise. On the canoes, too, one person danced, wearing a dancing-hat. When they stopped in front of the town, the town people, too, came dancing down in lines. He who had staid with the visitors stood upright in the canoe, all dressed up. When that was finished, the visitors landed; and, as the town people carried up their baggage, they played pranks with it (bursting it open, etc., all of which the visitors were prepared for. Some one at the door, speaking Tsimshian if necessary, directed the visitors where to go). Now they sang for the people coming in (to the dance-house). Chiefs, with their wives, came in first, and the young people afterwards. All were painted up. When they got in, the visitors danced first.¹ The chief, using a rattle, sang a song alone, and all sang for him the different songs they owned. When the visitors had ceased dancing, and those in the town had also finished, the former were given food, which the young people brought in dancing. Then, too, they gave them many boxes of grease to drink (literally). If some grease remained, they put it into the fire, and, when the blaze was too much for the visitors, they threw their blankets over the fire in self-defence (but the town people pulled them out again). Afterwards they seated themselves in a dignified way for a regular feast, and were served with good things.

Next day the guests danced in through the door of the new house. The day after that, they fired off cannon, and gave something to the members of the wife's clan in the town (who were going to do the tattooing), and they made speeches to them. For those, too, they brought blankets. One who was going to be tattooed went to them with ten blankets and a whole roll

¹ During the potlatch, visitors from another town would not let the town people dance between them and the fire, and *vice versa*.

of cotton cloth. They went through the entire town doing this. Afterwards they brought blankets over to the new house, and called for the chiefs of the town people. Before them two good-sized fellows brought out blankets by twenties, according to the kind of person the host was going to give to. They got through counting. Then they sang, "Ha ha ha wā [very long]," accompanied by the drum, for the chief who potlatched, as he came in wearing his crests. Sometimes, if he were a good canoe-maker, he (the chief) held his adze to show how he had obtained his property. If he were a good hunter, he held his gun (in old times, a spear, or bow and arrows). His father's sister's son, if he had one, beat the drum for him. When the man's part was done, they sang "Ha ha," etc., for his wife also. One brought out and distributed many blankets and much cloth. All was over until evening, and they (the people) went home.

In the night those who were to be tattooed were called, and with them they practised giving away blankets. They counted out the same number of stones as there were blankets. Then they imagined the chiefs to be seated, and practised being tattooed in front of them, and giving away blankets. The day after, they called them to put the tattoo-marks on. At once they painted their faces. Those in the house shouted to the people to come in and look on. When the spectators were all in, they began dancing, and sang property-songs. Those who were to be tattooed began dancing. The wife stood at the end of the line, wearing a painted hat. When they had sung four songs, they put eagle-feathers on the dancers. The house was filled with eagle-feathers. Then they stopped. Those who put the feathers on them were given cotton cloth. When that was over, they had those who were to be tattooed sit down in front of the chiefs. Sometimes two took a fancy to be tattooed by the same chief. Now they beat the ground with a baton, mentioned the chief's name, and said, "So and so sits in front of you [to be tattooed]." Then they began to put on the tattoo-marks. They tattooed their arms, their chests, their thighs, their upper arms, their feet (and sometimes their backs). As they tattooed, they washed their tattoo-marks out with water in an earthen dish. They assigned to each one who did the tattooing a dish and a cotton cloth with which to wipe the marks out. The dish was called "washing out of tattoo-scars with stick." All that day they spent in tattooing, and finished it. The day after, they began to give away property. All who were tattooed received new names. The nose, lower lip, and ears were also pierced by members of the opposite clan. They were paid a blanket apiece for it.

Then they began to distribute property. He who got the house-pole received ten blankets; and the two who carved it, ten each. To the four who got the four heavy gable-planks they gave six apiece. To each of those who got the wall-planks on either side of the house-front they gave six apiece.

To those who got the wall-planks for the sides of the house they gave six apiece, and the same to those who got the planks for the rear of the house. To those who got the six stringers on the roof they paid four apiece (each of these was obtained by one chief). To those who got the four corner posts they paid four blankets apiece. To those who got the posts on either side of the house-pole and the corresponding rear posts they paid four blankets apiece. To those, too, who got the two ridge-poles on either side of the smoke-hole they paid two apiece. To those who dug the post-holes they gave one blanket apiece. When that was done, they also paid eight blankets apiece to those who got the roof-planks on either side. For the tattoo-marks they also gave away blankets. Those doing the tattooing received three apiece, and those in front of whom they had the ones to be tattooed sit (i. e., the chiefs, who did not do the actual work) received ten. They gave blankets to the town chief first, striking the ground with a baton, and calling out his name. They gave him one hundred blankets. Afterwards they distributed to the town people, one after another, sometimes forty, sometimes thirty, sometimes twenty. To the man's sister who gave him food much more was returned than she gave. Sometimes she received sixty blankets. To the visitors also was given a large amount. But when a man did not receive as many as he had expected, he asked for more, and they quarrelled a good deal with each other in the potlatching-house. Now the potlatch was over (literally, "upset"). The guests sang canoe-songs as they paddled away. Those were songs of joy. Now they called the man who had potlatched I'lxagidas. He was treated as a chief (and sat among the chiefs). After that, whenever a potlatch took place in the town, they gave him much property, and dishes of grease. Here the potlatch ends.

Notes. — When invited people came at any time, in or out of potlatch season, they sang good (Haida) songs, obtained from The-Singers,¹ as they danced before each other.

When a person built a house, erected a grave-post, or built a house for the dead, people became inspired. At no other times could it take place. If one's mind, nose, and ears were stopped up (i. e., if he had not been inspired), and any one quarrelled with him, he taunted him with the fact. When a person had been inspired ten times, and had been tattooed, if his uncle and his father were chiefs (any kind), and his mother was a chief's daughter, they called him "a chief's son," and everybody treated him with respect. (They did not like to ask anything of him.)

The above gives a description of the way they "acted Ū'lala," which is the Haida counterpart of the Kwakiutl Cannibal spirit. The Fire-Throwers performed very similarly. They were the most dreaded of all; and people sought protection from them behind boards instead of blankets, which were sufficient when the others went around. A man from Kloo said that this was the highest "spirit," and those who acted it would let only the town chief go about with them.

¹ See p. 30.

The same man who gave me the above account added the following particulars regarding other "spirits." These are rather fragmentary descriptions of performances the informant had witnessed or heard described, and I append them with that understanding.

The Dog-eating Spirit (Nū'lam). — The spirit called Nū'lam was good. People were not afraid of it. It spoke through either men or women. When the spirits were in session, the chief put it into some in the town. Those, too, used to be behind the curtain, and made the spirit-circuit about the town. They killed a dog and ate it, as they went along. All the spirit-companions also ate it. Those singing held thin planks, on which they beat, and went into houses before them. They entered many houses, and when they entered made their noise, — "Hēmaā' ham mam mam mam!" Then many spirits (whistles) made a noise. One of the singers started spirit-songs, and one of the spirit-companions also. Just before they went out, the song ceased. They said and sang like this in every house. Those, too, flew away. They were absent four days, and then came down from the woods. Those "having spirits" of the opposite clan took the novice. Then, also, on the opposite side from the novice, they ripped blankets to pieces, and called it the "spirit-belt." Then, too, they danced through the house from behind the curtain. Their sleight-of-hand performances were very many. They also went around naked, and for a long time after they got through dancing wore cedar-bark rings. Those, too, went in with ten blankets and very many boxes of grease (in payment for the initiation).

The Grisly-Bear Spirit. — The town chief also caused those through whom the Grisly Bear spoke to be inspired. They called in the people for tobacco. They sang songs for the novice awhile, and then threw feathers upon her. She fell down. Only women were spoken through.¹ Those, too, staid behind the curtain only. From the time they joined until the spirits stood up (i. e., until the initiation was over), their faces were never seen. Without permission, no one could go behind the curtain. They wore black-bear skins, and went about the town, saying, "Wē wē wē wē āp² ap ap ap!" Then the spirits (whistles) began sounding. The spirit-companions wore dancing-skirts and rings of cedar-bark, and held large oval rattles in their hands. They went into all the houses, and again behind the curtain. They sent out of the spirit-house to call the people, and they entered. After they had talked in the front part of the house awhile, those they called had got in front of them. They beat fast time, standing up meanwhile. Those initiated also wore dancing-skirts. They wore all the apparel used by the initiated. As long as the spirits acted in front of them (i. e., in front of the curtain), they ate all kinds of food. Those, too, flew away, and after an absence of four nights came

¹ From other statements this does not appear to hold for all towns.

² Pronounced very long.

flying back. Two songs were always sung while this was going on. They shot at them (the novices) and carried the dead bodies behind the curtain. Then they ripped to pieces many blankets, which they also called the "spirit-belt." Then the spirits "stood up."

My informant made the following supplementary remarks: —

Singing, accompanied by the town people, they danced (into the open part of the house). All that time sleight-of-hand performances were going on. Only the handiest men took part in them. When the dancing was started, they sang in a low voice, repeating it twice. The novice held a rattle, and a drum was beaten for her. They sang a song to rapid time for her. The novice, singing alone in a low voice, used a song owned by her family. After that, they danced, wearing chiefs' dancing-hats and dancing-blankets. When they had sung two spirit-songs, they stopped dancing. They sang a song for her in rapid time. She wore new cedar-bark rings. After that, when the inspired met in the town, she used her own, and went about with the novices wearing them.

The Dress Spirit (K!ú'yan sgā'nagwa-i). — A chief once assigned work for the erection of a house, and called the people in for tobacco. They began to sing in the house, and (the town chief) started to put power into some of them. He wore dancing-leggings, a dancing-skirt, a large round rattle, cedar-bark rings, and feathers. When they had sung his own spirit-songs for him around the fire awhile, he put the power into the one who was going to be inspired; and, when his spirit (whistle) sounded, the novice fell on her face. The one through whom the Dress spirit spoke went about the town. She wore a chief's dancing-hat and a dancing-blanket. She sang alone, holding a rattle. When the companions came in (to a house), they said, "Look on" (i. e., "Do not be frightened"). She shook a rattle as she came in. "A la la la la!" she said, and the companions said the same. At that time the spirits made a noise. When she had said this twice, they went out of doors and entered all the houses in the village. Again they went to the spirit-house. They went in behind the curtain. All that time good food was eaten in front of the curtain, and they sang before them. When they had done this way awhile, they did not fly away. Before the last dancing was finished, the companions went down in front of the town to take the novice into another house. With those (the novices), too, they sang songs, and again got behind the curtain. They, too, ripped many blankets to pieces and called it the "spirit-belt." They, too, called the town people and danced through the house with the novice. Next day the spirits "stood up" (i. e., the performance was over). All that time sleight-of-hand tricks went on. Again they came in through the doorway, wearing masks. Only the most skilled workmen made these masks. Each mask had a spirit-song with it. The dancing was closed again, but next day they called the people and gave them ten boxes of

grease. Each occupied the seat for which he (or the woman's husband) had given away (literally, "destroyed") property. After that the giving stopped.

Those who acted Gāgixī't. — When a certain person had assigned work for a house or pole, and the people had been called in, the town chief put power into some one; and the person so inspired went into the town upon a spirit-circuit. He went through the houses, rolling over and over in the front part of the house. He made a noise like this: "Ha ha, hi hi, hī!" He also made a noise like the Ū'lala spirits (whistles), which they called "snoring." Through the woods only he travelled about, and made fun of peoples' canoes. When he again came to a house, he made a noise around it, and none of the town people went out of doors. If one went into the woods for anything, they came around him, tore his clothes off, and made fun of his person. After he (the victim) got home, the man who potlatched paid for his clothing. Sometimes he (the Gāgixī't) pulled out a canoe; and if it split, the one who potlatched paid for it. Those of the opposite clan sang. All that time feasting went on. Now they tried to seize him. They painted an inflated hair-seal stomach a whitish color, and hung it up in front of the town as bait for the Gāgixī't, calling to him, "Gāgixī't, this way! Here is a stomach." After a time he made a noise in the woods, "A ha' ha ha ha hī' hī hī hī!" After some time he came running. Some held the bait in readiness for him, hiding behind elderberry-bushes. He played with the stomach awhile, rolling about under it, and again ran off. When he came out again, all struck him with elderberry-bushes and seized him. Singing, they carried him towards the house and behind the curtain. In this, too, they ripped to pieces the "spirit-belt," and gave it to every one. Then with the town people they danced through the house. When the dancing was about to end, the spectators all came in; and one came through the doorway, saying, "Ha'mai hā'maiya!" (an exclamation meaning "something terrible"). After him one came in and fell dead. They said that the Gāgixī't had killed him. A while after, one in the rear of the house, holding a baton, led the singing of a spirit-song. Some one else began beating the drum. Then the Gāgixī't came in, a true Gāgixī't (i. e., one wearing a Gāgixī't mask) with nose raised high up, teeth protruding forward, ka'un fish and tom-cod spines around his lips, eyes deep-set, and bony cheeks. When he got halfway in, he said "Cḡū cḡū" (like the blowing of wind), and went backward behind the curtain. After that, he sang alone in a low voice. When he had finished, they ("the inspired") sang a song for him (while he stood still, shaking a rattle). He wore cedar-bark rings and a dancing-skirt, and he carried a rattle. When that was over, they put a chief's dancing-hat upon his head, and began to sing a spirit-song. All in the house, both men and women, began a spirit-song for him. From the dancing-hat, feathers flew about the house. They finished two spirit-songs, and stopped; and the dance was over. The next day they called the people in, and gave

away food in boxes. This is the end of this part. He had become one of the inspired. One who has not been inspired never wears cedar-bark rings or a dancing-skirt when the spirit is present. Only the inspired wear them.

The Club-bearing Spirits (Ga sī'djidas). — At another time, when one is having a potlatch, the town chief makes some one join. That is why more property was given to the chief than to others. After he made him join, he would go through the houses. Those having Clubs spoke through him. When he was about to enter a house, he struck the house-front, and said, "Ihī [very long]." When he entered, he broke everything he saw, — kettle, earthenware dishes, and small painted boxes, big boxes, and trunks as well. In all of the houses he did the same, and he who potlatched at once paid for them. Only those who belonged to the wife's clan were inspired. Again he went into the house and behind the curtain. Here, too, eating went on all of the time. Afterwards they sang a song before the "inspired" (i. e., before the curtain). When he had proceeded in this way awhile, he flew away, and, having been gone four nights, he came flying back. When he was heard to sing alone behind the town, the companions dressed themselves up, and went down in front of the town to get him.

They got him in behind the curtain. Then they ripped up the "spirit-belt," and danced about in another house. When this dancing was over, they started the closing dance. The novice came in, wearing a mask which they always kept in the "spirit-box." He (the novice) also sang alone in a low voice, and shook a rattle. The drum also sounded. That over, the song-leader stood up with his baton, and they sang a song for him. Then they put a dancing-hat upon him. He had on a dancing-skirt and cedar-bark rings, and carried a rattle. The song-leader began singing a spirit-song, whereupon all in the house — men and women — joined in. When the end of the second spirit-song was reached, he stopped dancing, and returned to his senses (literally, "became alive"). Next day they called the people again, and gave away property. To the chief who inspired the novice they gave five blankets, besides some for going with the companions. On account of the cedar-bark rings, too, they filled his tray first with berries and grease. Afterwards they gave to those of the same clan as the house-owner. This is all.

The Gambling-Stick Spirit. — I have no account of a representation of the Wolf spirit or of the Dinne spirit, but a very good account of one of the Gambling-Stick spirits was given me by an eye-witness and participant. It was obtained from the Bella Bella or Lalgī'mi at the time one of their forts was destroyed, and was performed only once at Skedans and once at Kloo. This was taken in English, and is as follows: —

They awoke my informant early in the morning, and with nine other society members he went to the chief's house. Then they went into the woods on the spirit-trail, and on their way blew their whistles so that they

could be heard in the town. They had to stay out there all day without receiving any food. There was snow on the ground, and it was cold. In the afternoon they moved closer, blew, sat down, and moved nearer again. At evening they got near the house where the performance was to take place. About that time the chief called in all of the people, and his house was full. One of the party in the woods then rushed down to the back of the house, blowing his whistle, and struck the rear wall with a stone. Then the sound of whistles and horns arose in the house. An Eagle woman and a young boy on the same side acted the Gambling spirit. They said, "Hū!" (very long), the call used when one wanted to gamble.¹ After this had gone on for some time, visitors from Tc!ā'a! arrived after midnight.² The people with the novice then came down to the beach and laid their gambling mats and sticks down, as if desiring to gamble. This meant that they did not want the visitors to go away until after the potlatch was over. While the novices were being inspired, all of the food was steamed, and served to everybody by their families. Those who had been out blowing whistles, etc., were not allowed to tell anybody what they had been doing. After this had gone on some days, six persons came to every house. They were dressed in dancing-skirts, and had on cedar-bark rings, hats, and leggings. Their faces were painted. The leader had a stick with which to beat time. He said in Tsimshian, "The spirits will stand up to-day. They invite you all, and you must wear good clothing." (One who acted as interpreter rendered this over into Haida.) Then every one went to the head chief's house (where this potlatch was made). All stood looking on without uttering a word. At once singing began. Before this the woman's father had provided the wood with which a large fire had been kindled. The singers, who were in the rear of the house, started a slow tune, and all joined in. Every one placed his hands as when gambling. The woman came forward, and the boy spread the sticks out for her. She acted as if she wanted to gamble. Then a person came down from behind the curtain and began to gamble with her. He pulled out the blank stick, the trump, which he had to guess. As each stick was drawn, all the people repeated its name. The novices were Eagles, so the Ravens did the singing. Behind the curtain, over its top, two trees could be seen. The man gambling with the novice won. They got up, and he took up both sets of sticks and began dancing, singing a spirit-song meanwhile. As he danced, he threw a set of sticks at each of the trees, and the sticks changed into birds.³ After this a female cousin of the woman, being initiated

¹ The same cry was used when one wanted to wrestle.

² Those-born-at-Q!ā'dasgo-Creek, of Kloo, were a branch of the great Raven family at Tc!ā'a!.

³ Sometimes very elaborate features were introduced into these initiations, especially at Skedans. At one of those in the latter place, according to the accounts, thunder and lightning were effectively simulated by the use of gunpowder; and in the morning the thunder-bird was seen on a point near by, stooping over the prostrate body of the novice, whose entrails plainly hung out of him.

(and thus a Raven), stood up and began dancing (if the novice had been a man, a male cousin would have danced). The whole body of the people danced with novices acting the Gambling spirit and the Dinne spirit, but in no other cases. Then a song with Tsimshian words was sung, after which a pole was brought out from behind the curtain; and the chief of Those-born-at-Skedans held it on his shoulder at the middle, while other chiefs mounted on each end. This meant that the chief of that family, who was also town chief of Kloo, was the greatest chief on the Queen Charlotte Islands, and the weight of other chiefs was as nothing to him.

THE SÍ'K!A POTLATCH. — As already stated, the account of this potlatch was obtained at Masset. It begins with mourning ceremonies for the dead. The winter after they were completed, chiefs of the opposite clan were summoned from another town, and that day they danced and feasted. Next morning the visitors went after firewood. The day after that, all were called together by the host and prospective chief and went after the grave-post. Next day they brought it home and began to carve and paint it. The property that was given to the chiefs of the opposite clan who did this work was obtained from members of the host's own clan. The day after the grave-post was set up, the initiation of youths of the host's clan into the secret society took place. This was done by chiefs of the opposite clan in payment of the property received. These novices were "inspired" by the "good spirit" (s'a'ala) through the medium of the visiting chiefs. They fell to the ground and made the spirit-circuit through the town much like those in the Wā'lgal potlatch just described. All was accompanied by dancing and feasting. Finally occurred the distribution of property, made to members of the opposite clan who had put up the grave-post. Some days afterward the families of the novices made great feasts for them, and, while they sang, the cedar-bark rings were put into the fire. Only after that could the novices resume the eating of shell-fish. Following is a translation of this text: —

When the man died, his sisters "called one another together;" while the dead still sat up on a box, and had some of the opposite clan cut their hair (in olden times they burned their hair off). This done, the male members of the same clan came to the dead man to weep. The mourners all tapped upon the ground with long canes. They wept for four days, at the end of which time each wound the rope he had for a belt around his cane; and some one, taking them all to the end of the town, stuck them up there in the ground. They sent food to the dead, and held a feast. When this food was distributed, they paid all of those who cut their hair.

This part was completed; but the following winter they called the chiefs (of the opposite clan), who came to them by canoe. All of the canoes were tied together in front of the town. The wives (of the town people) all dressed

themselves up, putting feathers in their hair. The husbands did the same. All of their faces, too, were painted throughout the entire town. A house was cleared inside. The town people were in another house, ready to dance. When the canoes came together towards the town, the occupants sang, and in every one they danced. On shore the host and his wife came down fully dressed (dancing the *xa'da*). After they had gone up again, the town people came down in rows (dancing the "going down towards canoes" dance [*s'a'dets*]). When those in the canoes got through dancing, they came ashore, and went into a certain house to dress for the other dances. When they went into the cleared house to dance, one led the singing. After they had danced awhile, they stopped, and all were told to sit down there. The town people, who had gone to dress up, danced in turn in front of them. That over, the visitors were told to arrange themselves for a feast, and much food was given to them. Before eating they sang and danced. After that, food was set before them; and, when they began to eat it, those serving the food also sang and danced much. They did this while their guests ate. By and by they got through, and, when the guests finished eating, they went to bed.

Very early next morning, before daylight had come or the raven called, the guests began to sing. At daybreak the guests all went after firewood; and to the places where they were chopping, feathers were sent with which to decorate their heads. Branches, too, were stuck into their head-bands, and they held some in their hands. As they carried the wood back on their shoulders, they sang. When they arrived, they threw it down in front of the house and came in again dancing. When they got through, food was given them.

Early next day he who made the potlatch went around singing. After he had ceased, he began to speak to all the guests, and mentioned each of their names. Then all assembled in one house and sang (this was a short song used when hard work was to be done). Then all took their axes, and the older people took adzes. They went to get the grave-post (*sä'liñ xāt*, "grave-father"); and when they returned, plain food was given them. Afterwards there was a great feast of grease and preserved berries, to which the guests and all the town people were invited. They used nothing but big trays; and when it was finished, all of the people were called. He who potlatched, along with his male and female friends, danced a very slow dance (the *s'a'łaga*). Then all the guests sang. To prepare for dancing, they (the guests) started to another house, women as well as men, to dress themselves up. When they had finished painting their faces, they began dancing in the house of him who potlatched, and danced for some time, closing the ceremonies for the day.

The day after, they (the guests) went by canoe to get the grave-post, and, bringing it home, began to paint and carve it. When it was finished, they began digging a hole for it to stand in. Then they raised it. The

same day he who potlatched sent messengers to talk over the order of dancing, and the day after completing these arrangements the people were summoned. When all had assembled in the house of the host, the town people and the guests were ranged on opposite sides of the house, and those who were going to be inspired sat at the upper end of the house. They sat there for the guests to put the spirits into them. For this duty the visiting chiefs were taken; and they, too, did the dancing. After the chiefs had danced awhile, they went up to the rear of the house where the novices sat, and threw feathers at them. When they did this to any one, he threw himself on the ground. Two of the guests danced at the same time in the rear part of the house. Other novices threw themselves upon the ground in the same way. The guests and town people who acted as companions to the novices were chosen from the highest ranks only. One of them sat by the face of each who had fallen down. By and by all of the novices went out, and the guests and town people began to sing. Again the novices (those who were inspired) entered the house where they were singing, and went behind the screen. While they were there, the chiefs went around the fire, singing a peculiar song. This was all for that day.

Very early next morning, before daylight came or the raven called, all were summoned; and when the potlatch-house was filled, they began to sing. They sang until daylight, but, when the raven called, stopped and went out. This was done for four days successively; and at the end a long pounded-cedar-bark rope was stretched from the doorway to the beach, and no one went by the front of the house. If any one went around the front, they seized him, took him into the house, and put him among the novices. On that day, too, they prepared food for the novices, and, going around the town, called all of those who were already initiated. They did not invite them by word of mouth, but only tapped on the ground in front of them with canes. The heralds wore cedar-bark rings, and those invited used the same. Members of both clans went to the feast. When they got inside, the people started preparing food for them. This was then put into four new trays, and one flicker-feather was put into each. Four selected men (who were to receive the food) took up these trays. Two of these called out "Halū'guñē!" and went around the fire. The other two called out "Great power!" (Wí'naxna'ó!¹) and did the same. They said this four times, and, after having spoken, kept the trays for themselves. Before sitting down they put food into the fire; and when it began to burn, the novices behind the screen began blowing whistles. This feast was called Gū'gadōt.

Then they brought out dried mountain-trout, and handed it to a chief from among those invited (from the other town) who sat in the rear of the house. First of all, he bit off a small piece, and all of those invited bit off

¹ A Tsimshian word.

small pieces as well. When they had finished, each chewed his awhile; and, at a word from him who had taken the first bite, all blew the contents of their mouths upward, saying, "By you I shall be saved" (this was said, that the supernatural beings might hear them, and give them good health). Then they carried food to the novices behind the screen; but before setting it in front of them, each person who held the tray turned around four times. In all the trays were flicker-feathers. Then the other guests began eating. They had four kinds of food. After it they called the guests and the town people (as well outside as inside the society), and ate in front of the novices (i. e., on the other side of the curtain). They consumed, in all, twenty boxes of grease and preserved berries. Then the novices entered all the houses (in the town), and one going before them called out that they were coming. "The shaman is coming, move back from the fire!" he repeated many times, and all hid themselves. They went into the entire town. When they had staid ten days behind the screen, a place was chosen where they could stand until daybreak, and during the night they were taken there. One of the guests remained with them, and they blew the horns there. When day came, they called the entire town to seize the novices. The novices all wore bear-skin blankets. When one of them stood up, he shouted, "Ha ma ma mā'ma!" and if a woman were among them, she called, "Ha la la la la!" When that took place, the town people walked towards them stealthily; but when they got near, if the novices heard their voices, they ran away. The town people circled about in pursuit, and, having pushed the novices into a bunch, seized them all. Then they began to sing, and took them to the town. When they got near the house again, they went around the town and entered all of the houses. When they came back, they went behind the screen. Now the novices stopped going about.

Then four persons went around to call all to dress themselves up. They wore dancing-blankets and cedar-bark rings, and held rattles. When they had been around, four women, also dressed up, went around and called them all, speaking also as follows in the Tsimshian language: "The chief tells them to dress up. Quickly dress yourselves." Others also went to call them. The visitors called each other, and entered a house by themselves. He who potlatched brought red paint for them to paint themselves. When they had finished, they also put on their dancing-costume. Those who were only going to look on went into the potlatch-house, and awaited them there. Then the dancers came in with the novices among them. All held bear-skin blankets, and long cedar-bark rings behind their backs, as they came in. Then they danced with them. While the novices danced, they went around the fire. When they had gone around four times, they stopped, and sat down in the lower part of the house. The dancers sang four songs, which ceased as soon as they stopped dancing. Then they told the dancers to sit down. The

novices were still seated at the side of the fire towards the door. A chief arose and delivered some orders. Then only the men stood up, and, as they did so, blew through their lips. The novices all stood up and went up to the screen to go behind it. All blew through their lips four times. Then the novices went behind the screen. After that, the novices came out and sat down in front of the screen. The people all began to sing; and one wearing a mask appeared, performing behind the screen so that he could be seen over the top of it. After that all stood up. Then they sang very much; and, that finished, two of the guests began to dance. After that, two of the town people also began to dance; and when this came to an end, they went to sleep.

Early next day, while it was yet dark, they had the novices sit in front of the town, wearing cedar-bark rings. While they sat there, the raven called, and day broke. When the sun stood high, they came in, and were given food. The trays were looked after very carefully, to see that they did not turn around. The ends of the spoon-handles were tied about with rings of cedar-bark.

Then they called for the guests, and began to pile out the house-owner's property. Afterwards those whom he had chosen to become "inspired" also brought in their property. When this had been done, they began giving the property away to the visitors. They gave first to the chiefs, and then to every one else. When it was ended, they began to go out. Then the visitors paddled home.

For ten days after, household articles, etc., were kept in a certain prescribed order in the potlatch-house. When the novices had been together for ten days, they went back to their parents. They did not eat things collected at low tide for some time. By and by, when they were going to eat such things, their parents made a great feast, and called the people in for it. When all were in, they began to sing; and while they sang much, they put into the fire the cedar-bark rings the novice had used. Afterwards food was given them, grease and preserved berries, of which the feast consisted. In all, there were ten boxes. After that, he who had been initiated began to eat things found at low tide (tcao).

DISTRIBUTION OF CEREMONIALS AMONG FAMILIES. — The Haida are aware that the Tlingit formerly buried a slave under the grave-post, but declare that they never had such a custom themselves.

Both clans could act the "good spirit," and it is said to have been the only Masset spirit which spoke through women.

My informant told me that the only one who could act Ū'lala in the northern towns was Lā'teł, chief of the Skí'daoqao (R 16). When he was sitting before a fire, and the kettle upset, he would jump up and run over town

twice before being caught. Then he would make a feast and give away ten boxes of grease. This was to distinguish the Ū'lala above others. The same man said that the chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit was the only one in Skidegate who could act Ū'lala. It belonged to Raven families. The cry of the novice was "Āp ap!"

Wī'nana was the Masset name for the Fire-throwing spirit. Those inspired by him used to break up canoes, etc. They had no distinctive cry. It belonged particularly to Kliū'sta, and was acted by those of the Raven clan.

The "Athapascans" (Tcl'a'ogus) pretended to imitate the Indians of that stock. They would jump in the air and make the noise "Hu hū'!" It was acted by the Eagles.

The Nū'lam, or Dog-eating spirit, was called Wī'lam at Masset. He once came through a shaman, and later some novices pretended to be inspired by him. He acted a little differently from the other spirits. A great many came in to eat the dog, which was generally a black one. They fought ravenously for the meat, pulling it away from one another, until all was gone except the skin and bones. Then they stuck the bones into their head-bands, and one threw the skin over his shoulder. Their cry was "Ā [very long] ai!" and those who owned it were Eagles.

When one was possessed by the Wrestling spirit (Gułqa'gudañ s'ā'nawa-i), he would go about the town showing his middle finger till he seized some one by the corresponding finger, and pulled him away. Even if others took hold of this man, they would be pulled along with him. Eagles performed this, and their cry was "Guwē' guwē' guwē' guwē' guwē'!"

One of the Eagles of Yan had the Gāgī'd spirit (Skidegate, Gāgixī't). He was named Sla'kiñañ. He cried "Hu hu hu hu hu!" as if he were very cold and were shivering. He would strike the walls of the house outside, but would not go in. When he caught a person outside, he tore his blankets into pieces and dragged him about. Arrangements were made with the man in advance, so that he wore nothing valuable.

The Gambling spirit was known to have "gone through" some at Skidegate and Kloo, but does not seem to have been acted in the north.

The Grisly Bear was only acted by Xa'na, chief of the Skí'daoqao (R 16), being considered too high for any one else in Masset. It was thus on the Raven side. The novice drew in his breath like a grisly bear. Like most of the other spirits of the secret society at Masset, and the songs accompanying them, it was brought from the Tsimshian.

Only Qols, chief of the Cod-People (R 17), a Raven family, acted the Wolf spirit. His cry was simply the wolf's howl.

The Canoe-People are said to have come through some on the Eagle side. A chief owning the right to act in one of these various ways might permit others of his own clan to act it as well.

XII. — ABSTRACTS OF STORIES OBTAINED IN HAIDA.

SKIDEGATE SERIES.¹

1. *Raven Travelling*² (Xō'ya qagā'ñas).

After he had lived with his adopted father for a while, Raven acquired an insatiable appetite by eating some dead skin from his own breast on the advice of two black persons.³ Then he was driven away by his father, but returned, raised a flood, and destroyed half of his father's town-people. Presently he came back again, and was put to shame by Q'ñgi because none of his canoe companions could remember a myth; but the latter shamed Q'ñgi, in their turn, by apt allusions to the loss of his people. Then Raven went away, began to steal bait from the hooks of some people fishing for halibut, and had his bill torn out.⁴ Trying the same thing again, he was pulled up and placed over the fire. Then he caused all the people to run over to the other end of the town, put on his raven-skin, and flew out through the smoke-hole.

Next he frightened off some people who were potlatching, and took all of their food. Going to a certain island, he obtained genital organs for his wife and sister; i. e., for the women of the two clans. He married Cloud-Woman, and obtained a multitude of salmon through her, but lost them all by making insulting remarks regarding them.⁵ As he and his sister paddled away from this place, he pretended to be sick, lay near a box of salmon-eggs, and ate the contents.⁶ He dug his son, Seqaiyū'ł, out of the ground; but the child was stolen by the supernatural beings, in revenge for having been tricked so much by Raven. Once Seqaiyū'ł came back, but was not recognized, and went away forever.⁷

After this he started to potlatch, and obtained food by persuading the birds to fight against him by throwing shell-fish. At that time he put holes

¹ The first six stories in this series are said to have been told in the same order at Skedans.

² An abstract of this story up to the time when Raven was adopted by Q'ñgi will be found on pp. 72-75.

³ Compare Nass River (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts* [Washington, 1902], pp. 36 et seq.).

⁴ Compare Nass River (Ibid., p. 50), Newetsee (Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nordpazifischen Küste Amerikas* [Berlin, 1895], p. 172), Tlingit (Ibid., p. 314).

⁵ Compare Nass River (Tsimshian Texts, p. 50), Kwakiutl (Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts* [The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. III, pp. 323 et seq.]), Newetsee (Ind. Sag., p. 174), Bella Bella (Ibid., p. 209).

⁶ Compare Comox (Ind. Sag., p. 76), Nootka (Ibid., p. 107), Newetsee (Ibid., p. 178), Bella Bella (Ibid., p. 210), Bella Coola (Ibid., p. 244).

⁷ Compare Newetsee (Ind. Sag., p. 179), Bella Bella (Ibid., p. 211). The name of the boy in Bella Bella is K'í'ōł.

into the beaks of birds; and perhaps this was also the time when, as another man related, he put their colors on them.

Going on from thence, he came to where herring were spawning, took some into his canoe, and threw them out again. Since the bilge-water went with them, it is always roily where herring spawn. Trying to tease the spider-crab, he was pulled into the water by the latter and almost drowned. Then he fooled the man who kept the tide from falling, so that he let it go down, and Raven gathered sea-eggs.¹ Raven and Eagle then went fishing, the former catching a red cod, the latter a black cod. Finding the latter richer than his, Raven tried to steal it by rolling into camp in the form of a stump; but Eagle rubbed red-hot stones on his face, instead of the fish as Raven had directed him, and burned Raven's face.

After this, Raven collected the halibut-people and the birds to make war on Southeast. They slid him over the backs of the halibut into their canoe, and made him promise to allow them more pleasant weather.² Then he deceived some children who were playing with pieces of hair-seal and devoured all.³ He persuaded Master Fisherman to go to an island where he said there were numbers of flickers, abandoned him there, and married his wife. But presently Master Fisherman escaped on his magic club. Then he killed Raven and threw his body out upon the shore, rolling a big rock on top of him.⁴

Here the young man's story begins by telling how Raven was brought to life again by means of his ten supernatural helpers. Soon after this he was swallowed by a whale, which he killed by eating its insides. Then he wished it to float ashore in front of some town; and when that happened, and the people cut him out, he frightened them away, and finished the whale himself.⁵ In this place is said to fit the story of how Raven married Hair-Seal-Woman and devoured the son he had by her, though this was told me by some one else.

Another time Raven ate so many fragments of salmon cut off and thrown away, that some hung out of his nose. When he went past a town, he told Eagle to call these pieces ear-rings; but Eagle shouted out what they really were, and Raven became so ashamed that he walked straight on. Next he changed himself into a woman, and, pretending that his child was crying for pieces of hair-seal, ate up all that some hunters were carrying home with them. He married the chief's son at that town. In the night he stole salmon-eggs, leaving his own labret in the box, and later his mother-in-law noticed that he had a tail; but he excused himself in both cases. Presently he

¹ Compare Tlingit (Boas, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 313).

² Compare Kwakiutl (Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts* [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. III], pp. 350 et seq.).

³ Compare Nass River (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 42).

⁴ This incident is represented in the tattooing shown on Plate XXI, Fig. 9.

⁵ Compare Cowichan (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 51), Comox (*Ibid.*, p. 75), Nootka (*Ibid.*, p. 101), Newetsee (*Ibid.*, p. 171), Tlingit (*Ibid.*, p. 315).

turned dung into human beings, and made them come to him in a canoe, as if they were his own people; but they were melted before the fire, and he flew away ashamed. After that, several animals and birds gave him food from different parts of their bodies, and he almost killed himself trying to imitate them.¹

[The following episodes of the young man's story were added by a man from the West Coast.]

Raven, who wished to eat the fat Sea-Lion, allowed him to marry his sister, killed him by strategy, and ate out his insides, which he filled with stones; but Mallard-Duck, whom they had perform as a shaman over the Sea-Lion, let them know what Raven had done. Then he let Cormorant marry his sister, but pulled out Cormorant's tongue when they were out fishing, and stole his halibut.² Next he tried to eat a sea-anemone, but it "burst his belly," since which time ravens have never eaten sea-anemones. After that, he tried to steal food from the Old-Wedge-People and from the Shadow-People, but was so severely handled that he was obliged to desist.³ Then he came to a house in which herring were spawning, and procured their eggs on spruce-boughs shoved between the cracks. He tried to collect them on his mustache also, but was not very successful, and threw his mustache away.⁴

He stole live-coals from the keeper of them by igniting pitch-wood tied to the end of a deer's tail on his blanket.⁵ Then he took Screech-Owl's bill away from him, and put the nose of a devil-fish in its place. After this, Eagle went in company with Raven, and, coming to a place where there were many berries, ate all before Raven arrived. Then Raven made a thorn stick into Eagle's foot, and got him to cross a bridge made of one straw, when Eagle fell to the bottom and was killed. Upon this Raven went down and ate the berries out of his stomach.⁶ Directed by an old woman, he again found Eagle, and they came to a town. There Raven tried to play the chief by making Eagle do all the talking for him; but Eagle deceived the people, and had all the food they offered Raven given to himself.⁷ After that, he recovered an arm which had been pulled out of the body of a chief's son in a trial of strength with another chief's son. By threatening to shame a certain woman, he obtained the stuff which makes people good-looking. He also gave names to very many places; and where he speared Bad-Weather, the mark of his line may still be seen on the rocks. Another man told how,

¹ Compare Comox (Boas, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 76), Nootka (*Ibid.*, p. 106), Newettee (*Ibid.*, p. 177), Bella Coola (*Ibid.*, p. 245), Tsimshian (*Ibid.*, p. 300), Nass River (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, pp. 46 et seq.). This legend is found among a great many tribes of North America.

² Compare Bella Coola (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 244), Tlingit (*Ibid.*, p. 317), Nass River (*Tsimshian Texts*, p. 43).

³ Compare Tlingit (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 316), Nass River (*Tsimshian Texts*, p. 60).

⁴ "Raven's mustache" is the name of a seaweed.

⁵ Compare Comox (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 80), Nootka (*Ibid.*, p. 102), Newettee (*Ibid.*, p. 187), Bella Bella (*Ibid.*, pp. 214, 241), Tlingit (*Ibid.*, p. 314).

⁶ Compare Tlingit (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 315), Nass River (*Tsimshian Texts*, p. 40).

⁷ Compare Tlingit (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 315), Tsimshian (*Ibid.*, p. 276), Nass River (*Ibid.*, p. 31).

by taking a few strokes with their paddles, he and a companion travelled a long distance on the west coast. That is why it is so easy for west-coast people to get about. According to still another, Raven created the mountains by pulling upright some people who were lying close to the ground.

2. *A-Slender-One-who-was-given-away* (NAÑLDĀ'SLAS).

There are really two stories in this text.

The first, to which the above name actually belongs, tells how a chief's daughter was carried away by a supernatural being beyond the edge of the sky, and how she was followed by her father's slave, who guided his course by means of a magic spear. He found the woman he was in quest of, and returned. Then her father went off by canoe, and came to the same country. There the chief of the supernatural beings (*A-Slender-One-who-was-given-away*) came in and exhibited his power; but the human chief's two sons had married supernatural women, one of whom proved too strong for *A-Slender-One-who-was-given-away*. Then the chief of the supernatural beings sent the human chief's daughter home with them, but, before they went, told her that he would be born into the world of men through her. After this took place, the child was carried out into the sea halfway across, and dropped overboard. He became a reef, which people see when the tide is very low. When they see it, it is a sign that sickness will be very prevalent.

The second story is about *One-who-had-Sîmn'â'sam-for-his-Mother*.¹

The wife of a Nass chief went down the river after cedar-bark. When she had been left alone by her companions, a supernatural being called *Sîmn'â'sam*² killed her, buried her bones, and entered her skin. Then he took her place. After a while the chief's two sons went off and married supernatural women, by whose aid the chief woman was restored to life and *Sîmn'â'sam* killed. After this the elder brother had ten children, — nine boys and a girl. Their town, *Q!adō'*, lay opposite *Metlakatla*; and, war breaking out between the two places, all in the former were killed except the girl and her mother, who escaped to the woods. The mother then offered her girl in marriage; and all of the animals wanted to have her, but they were not powerful enough. At last the son of the Moon presented himself, and was accepted. He took his wife up to his father's dwelling, and they had ten children there, — eight boys and two girls. After a while the Moon let his grandchildren down, with the house that each one possessed, to the site of *Q!adō'*, where they again waged war with the people of *Metlakatla*, and with his aid killed them all.³

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 44 (p. 203); Masset Series, Story 77 (p. 231).

² *Ksem-nâsem*, the Nass River name for the female panther.

³ Compare Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 281), Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, p. 221). This story is told by the Tsimshian and Nisqa as authority for the origin of the four clans. Four brothers born in heaven travel all over the world and institute the clans.

3. *The One they abandoned for eating the Flipper of a Hair-Seal*
(Xō'tsL!a-i nañ tā'ga t!ā'gasta L! tc!ā'astagas).

The scene of this story is in the Tsimshian country. At the chief's order his people moved away from their town, abandoning his two sons, the elder of whom had displeased him. The wife of one of the boys' uncles, however, left him food and burning coals concealed in a copper box on the beach. When this food was gone, the dog that they had with them began to find food. Finally, by digging where the dog pawed about, the eldest dug up a salmon-creek, into which he put a trap. After a while he missed the salmon from his drying-frames, and discovered that it was being stolen by a supernatural creature called Ga'ogila.¹ This he shot full of arrows and pursued. Then he came to Master-Carpenter, who was making canoes, helped him with them, and married his daughter. Ga'ogila lived near by; and all the shamans were trying to cure him, but unsuccessfully, until this youth did so in return for receiving Ga'ogila's daughter.² By and by the youth returned with his two wives to where he had left his brother and the dog. He found them dead, but his wives restored them to life. Presently his wives went out with digging-sticks and dug his father-in-law's town out of the ground. He became a great chief and had many whales. One day he put on the skin of a sea-gull and flew to his uncles' town, where two slaves recognized him. Then they went down the river to see him. He fed them, but would allow them to take no food away. One, however, concealed a piece of meat for his child; and that evening his child choked in eating it, so that the chief discovered what had happened to his sons.³ Then all of the people who were now starving went down to him, and each of his uncles wanted him to marry his daughter, but he only took the daughter of her who had treated him well.

Some time after, a man went hunting from this town with a dog. The dog found a grisly bear, which threw him into its den, where the she-bear concealed him and married him. She killed her former husband by cutting his thread of life. After that, the man went for crabs every day, and they had several children. By and by the man went home; but first his wife told him where to leave food for them when he hunted, and warned him not to go with any woman, or she would know it and kill him. In course of time, however, he forgot this warning; and when he carried food to the bears next time, the she-bear killed him. Then the cubs tore their mother to pieces, after which they were seized with remorse, ran off, and began killing people,

¹ Ga'ogila, a Bella Bella word.

² This incident is found among the Comox (Boas, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 78), Kwakiutl (*Ibid.*, p. 149), Newetsee (*Ibid.*, p. 189), Bella Bella (*Ibid.*, p. 237), Bella Coola (*Ibid.*, pp. 254, 256).

³ Compare Cowichan (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 53), Tsimshian (*Ibid.*, p. 303), Nass River (*Tsimshian Texts*, pp. 169 et seq.).

until they heard some one say to a crying child, "Don't cry. Your uncle's children might come and destroy us." After that they went away.¹

The Haida country once had nothing but grass upon it, with a tree in the centre. While the Woodpecker was hammering at this, he was invited inside by an old gray-headed man, and given his wings and the coloring on his head.

4. *Sacred-One-standing-and-moving* (Qō'ya-giagA'ndal), *Stone-Ribs* (Godañxē'wat), and *Upward* (Sī'xa).²

A Sea-Lion-Town man's younger brothers all disappeared, and the man bathed for strength. He caught various fishes, and at last a supernatural fish that tries the strength of people. After that, he had an encounter with Spirit-of-Strength and overcame him. Then he went to a small pond back of the upper oil-works at Skidegate, and killed a monster called the wā'sgo, that inhabited it. Before this, occurred the episode of the duck-grease, elsewhere related.³ He obtained his brothers' bones out of this monster's belly and restored them to life, but they soon disappeared again. Then he went to the end of Maude Island, where the supernatural beings were holding a contest to see who should support the Haida country, and by means of his wā'sgo skin obtained the position for himself. After that, the supernatural beings began to settle down.

Stone-Ribs, the son of Djila'qons, was born from a woman in Łgada'n in the Ninstints country. There he overcame the five-finned killer-whale (Q!ā'gawa-i) that used to destroy people, and obtained its skin. Then he travelled all around the Queen Charlotte Islands under water, having adventures with and overcoming the Ocean-People as he went. From some of these he obtained their skins, which he could assume at any time. According to this account, Stone-Ribs passed through Skidegate Inlet; according to the second story, which I obtained from a Ninstints man, he went all the way around by Virago Sound and Rose Spit.

Upward was chief at Skedans in the time of supernatural beings. Once he learned that his wife was going with Stone-Ribs, and, when the latter came in one night and was asleep, he cut his head off. After this, Djila'qons came down to get her son's head back, but was not powerful enough; and on her way home she was stopped by Upward and compelled to marry him, although both were Eagles. Some time afterward Upward found that his wife was going with a kind of owl, and, disguising himself in his wife's clothing, he revenged himself upon them both. By and by Wī'gīt⁴ came after Upward,

¹ Compare Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, pp. 200 et seq.).

² Compare Masset Series, Story 5 (p. 213).

³ See p. 12.

⁴ See p. 15.

and the latter concealed himself in the clothing of the land-otter women, who passed him back and forth. At last he went through the smoke-hole in the form of ashes, in spite of which he was caught, pulled to pieces, and eaten by the shamans who had found him; but those who had eaten him died soon afterward.

5. *Supernatural-Being-who-travelled-about-Naked* (Sgā'na gona'n qās).¹

A man had seven strong brothers who successively disappeared. He himself was weak, but bathed for a long time, became more powerful, and at last was so strong that he was able to overcome even Greatest-Strong-Man. Then he met the Cloud-Man who had overcome his brothers in wrestling, threw him down, and restored his lost brothers to life. His brothers again disappeared; and he went out, got power, and killed the Hemlock Monster who had taken them. They were lost again, and he killed a wā'sgo and restored them from its belly. The next time they went, however, he was unable to release them, but was instead changed into a gāgixí't. Then he travelled about the islands. By and by he met Master-Weeper, whom he vainly attempted to kill and rob. At last he came to He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed (Nañkí'lsLas), whose people he restored by overcoming two monsters who had devoured them. In return He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed restored him to his senses, and told him what he should do next. So he went to the island of Tcī'da, near Kaisun, and, after various adventures there, married the daughter of The-One-in-the-Sea. Then he went out fishing for whales with a net, which he lost by disobeying instructions in letting out more meshes than one. His wife, however, went with him to her father's house, where they recovered the net. Presently Supernatural-Being-who-travelled-about-Naked learned that He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed had been born from his own mother, and had restored his brothers to life. Then he and his wife went to visit them. By and by he went with another woman; and his wife went away from him, walking on the surface of the ocean. He followed her; but when they were part way over, she turned and looked at him, whereupon he went under the sea. After that, she went to her father, who obtained her husband's body and restored him. Then he placed his brothers in a canoe on the sea, and his sister and mother one upon each side of Hecate Strait. From the former shamans sometimes got their power. He himself changed into a thrush (the "swamp robin").

6. *The-One-who-was-born-from-his-Mother's-Side* (Gałdjū'ñ-gei-nañ-L!-qēs).

The swinging-door fell one day while a chief's daughter was passing through, and injured her side slightly. From this injured place came out the

¹ Compare Masset Series, Story 18 (p. 216).

hero. Her family meanwhile had abandoned her. By means of a copper bow which his mother made for him, the boy shot birds of different kinds, and his mother sewed together five blankets out of them. When he got older, he married the daughter of The-One-travelling-behind-us. One night he was warned that the supernatural beings had banded together to take away his blankets. They made many expeditions against him, but, by taking the advice of an old man, he was able to repel them. At last Always-Burning came for him, and he had to flee. He sought refuge in the houses of several supernatural beings; but Always-Burning burned through the roofs, and took away his blankets, his mother, and his wife successively. At last Always-Burning gave up the chase in Swamp's house. Then the hero travelled on, and met an old man making a canoe, who, in exchange for his services, helped him to get his possessions back. They were pursued, however, and the things taken away a second time. Then he went into the woods, fell down, and wept. All the woods and all the fishes wept with him. Going on from there, he came to people shooting big leaves off of a tree, which they then ate. When he shot, however, he aimed at the trunk, and brought it all down. The seeds he gave to Cloud-Woman, one of his father's relatives, — and thus an Eagle, — who planted them, and thence they spread all over the Queen Charlotte Islands. It was tobacco.

7. *The-One-always-travelling-behind-us* (Dí'daxua-nañ-qā'gons),
also called *Qonā'tc*.

When any one killed a porpoise at Pebble-Town, the town chief always took it away. Qonā'tc went thence with his grandmother to Telel. There he acquired strength, and was given a whale by the supernatural beings. Then he returned, drove away the town chief who came to get a porpoise, and took his place. The old town chief kept on going, and became The-One-always-travelling-behind-us. [According to most of my authorities, it was Qonā'tc who became The-One-always-travelling-behind-us].

The sister of The-One-always-travelling-behind-us became a mountain in Skidegate Inlet, called Sea-Otter-Woman (Qodja't).

8. *How Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens* (Sîns sgā'nagwa-i)
let *Himself* be born.

A chief's daughter went with a slave, and was abandoned by her people. While digging on the beach, she found a baby in a cockle-shell, which grew up quickly. Then she made a copper bow and copper arrows for him, with which he hunted birds. He preserved their skins and dried them. Then he caused Master-Carpenter to become his father. One day they went out fishing

together, and by following his son's directions Master-Carpenter caught the chief of the halibut. Then Master-Carpenter painted his son up, and he went to his uncles' town, from which the people followed him back. After that, he tried on his blankets (the clouds) one after another, and asked his mother to come out to look at him. He told her, that, when he stood in front of a certain inlet clothed with clouds, there would be fine weather. His mother he told to settle in a certain creek. Whenever her son shows himself, she makes it snow for him. She also seems to control the northeast wind, which, like herself, is called ɫlā. By means of this wind she destroyed all of her uncles except the one whose wife had been kind to her.

9. *The-One-who-got-Power-from-his-Little-Finger* (Slō'got sgā'nagwa-i).

A poor boy repaired the beak of a heron, which helped him to become a great shaman. He healed the town chief's son, and married the daughter of his youngest uncle. Then Master-Carpenter adopted him and made him a fine house. By and by the poor boy determined to marry the daughter of Many-Ledges, who lived behind Skedans. He was taken thither by Master-Hopper, and landed in the form of a piece of driftwood. His new father-in-law tried to destroy him by means of his supernatural helpers, but he killed them all, and so made his father-in-law "good." In course of time he wanted to return to his people at Masset, and his father-in-law loaned him a magic canoe for the purpose.

One day after their return, his wife was standing in the sea, washing a white sea-otter skin which her husband had shot, when Supernatural-Being-always-in-a-Cradle stole her away to the bottom of the ocean. He-who-got-Power-from-his-Little-Finger pursued them, descended to the supernatural being's house, bringing his wife back in nearly the same way as Gu'naxnaxsimgt.¹ [A Masset version of this story would make He-who-got-Power-from-his-Little-Finger identical with Master-Hopper.²]

10. *Master-Carpenter's War with Southeast.*

After many trials and by the advice of Master-Fool, Master-Carpenter built a canoe at the south end of the islands, which did not split when he threw it from a cliff into the sea. In this he captured Southeast, who had been giving the people bad weather, and carried him to the land. Southeast summoned his nephews the winds and storm-clouds, last of all Tidal-Wave, but Master-Carpenter got him ashore; and some said that he died, but the shamans said he had gone back to his home in the sea. The people found

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 43 (p. 202).

² Compare Masset Series, Story 18 (p. 216).

he had given them bad weather because they had used the word *dā'gał* ("to-morrow"), which was his sister's name. So after that they used another name.

11. *Ła'gua dji'na* (also called *Łgañā'sogaña*).¹

The scene of this story seems to be laid in the Kaigani or Tlingit country, and probably originated with the latter people.

An eel had destroyed all of the people of a village except one man and his wife. Every day, while her husband was out fishing, the woman went digging roots, accompanied by a dog. After a while she gave birth to ten puppies, — nine males and a female. The youngest male had medicine in its mouth. After that, when she was out digging roots, she heard a noise at the house, and discovered that the puppies had taken off their dog-skins and were playing about in human form. One day she ran in, caught the skins and burned them.² When her husband came home that evening, he tried to kill the children by means of sharp points on his clothing, but the youngest boy overcame and destroyed him. Then they went off to the eel's den, and, by using the ligaments of a small wren for a noose, destroyed him and restored their uncles to life.

Not long after that, they borrowed Jelly-Fish's canoe and carried away the head of a sea-monster, but next day Jelly-Fish's father came and demanded it. When they refused to give it up, he brought several supernatural beings against them, and at last a fire, which obliged them to surrender the head. By and by North came down and married their sister. They made fun of him, and he froze all of them to death; but the one with the medicine overcame him and restored them. Next Greatest-Wizard tried to bewitch them by carrying their breaths off; but one of them turned the tables on him, and he died. Now North tried to be revenged on them by putting them on an inaccessible cliff; but they jumped into the fire, and found themselves at the bottom. Then they began to catch ground-hogs (*gwí'gu*) in dead-falls. The next to the youngest, who was always unsuccessful, married a ground-hog woman, and lived with her awhile. By and by he killed a white ground-hog, when she went off, taking all the skins (which came to life again) with her. He, too, went along, and staid among them all winter; but when spring came, he was caught by his brothers and restored to human shape. After

¹ Compare Masset Series, Story 7 (p. 213).

² Compare Quinault (L. Farrand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. II, p. 127]), Fraser River (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 25), Comox (Ibid., p. 93), Nootka (Ibid., p. 114), Kwakiutl (Ibid., p. 132), Bella Coola (Ibid., p. 263), Kathlamet (Boas, Kathlamet Texts, p. 155), Tlingit (A. Krause, Die Tlinkit Indianer, p. 269), Chilcotin (Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. II, pp. 7-14]), Thompson Indians (J. Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians [Boston, 1898], p. 62), Portland Inlet (Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. X, p. 37), Dog-Rib Indians (E. Petitot, Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest, p. 311), Hare Indians (Ibid., p. 314), Cheyenne and Arapaho (A. L. Kroeber, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, 1900, p. 181).

that, the elder brothers were caught in the trap of some monster who cut them up. The younger was also caught, but restored the others to life, and they escaped. His brothers disappeared again; and, in following them, he met Echo, whom he killed by breaking wind. At last he found and rescued his brothers. Now they left their mother, and went with their sister to the head of the Stikine, where they became rocks in the river.

12. *The Canoe-People.*¹

Ten brothers went hunting with a dog. One day they got up on a steep mountain where their dog was unable to reach them. There they lighted a fire, into which they put themselves, and found they were standing on the ground below.² By and by, in their travels, they came to a town in Masset Inlet where a shaman was performing. From his remarks they first discovered that they had become supernatural beings, and what their names were. Then they went away and adopted as their sister a woman whose husband had maltreated her. Presently they came to the river Dju, near Kaisun, where Fine-Weather-Woman told them their names anew, and directed them to go to Sta'ngwai to be painted and dressed up by the supernatural being there, and to settle at the same place. She told them that they should be half Ravens, half Eagles, and that shamans would call upon them.

13. *The One who was hunting Birds in his Father's Village.*

A man surprised two Geese-Women bathing in a lake. They had left their skins hanging over a stick, and he would not give them up until one promised to marry him. He lived with his Goose-wife for some time; and when the people were starving, her father sent them food. But one day something was said that offended her, and she flew away.³ Then her husband learned the trail he should take to find her again from an old man at the end of the town, and set out. On the way he helped Mouse-Woman, and was given a mouse-skin by her, with which he climbed up a pole into the sky. There he found a river, at which Master-Hopper was spearing fish. He turned himself into a fish and stole the spear-point.⁴ Presently he came to two persons chopping firewood. The chips which came off they threw into the river, where they were transformed into silver salmon.³ He broke their wedges, but gave them two he had brought along, and they told him

¹ Compare Masset Series, Story 6 (p. 213).

² Compare Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 304).

³ Compare Eskimo (Boas, Central Eskimo [Seventh Ann. Rept. Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 615 et seq.]), H. Rink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, p. 145; A. L. Kroeber, Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimo (Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. XII, p. 170).

⁴ Shuswap (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 13), Thompson Indians, (Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians [Boston, 1898], p. 42), Fraser River (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 23), Comox (Ibid., pp. 64, 66), Newetee (Ibid., p. 201), Bella Coola (Ibid., p. 248), Loucheux (Petitot, Trad. Ind., p. 33).

where his wife was. The latter and her father received him joyfully, and he lived there for sometime; but finally he became homesick, and was taken down to earth by Raven. Just before Raven got down, however, he became tired, and threw his burden off at a reef, where the latter began making a noise like a sea-gull.

14. *Tc!ñ qā'-idjit.*¹

Porcupine stole Beaver's food, and they had a fight, in which Beaver was worsted. Then the Beaver-People, warred on Porcupine, and carried him out to an island. He could not get ashore for some time, but by and by he sang a North Song; and a cold wind, followed by a calm, froze the surface of the sea, so that his friends could get to him and bring him home. Then his father called the Forest-People to a feast, and told them what had happened. After a while the Porcupine-People caught Beaver, and put him on the top of a tall tree, from which he was only able to get down (beavers being unable to climb) by eating up the tree from top to bottom.²

15. *The Story of One whose Sister brought Food to him from among the Land-Otter-People.*

A man's sister had been carried off by Land-Otters. One evening he wished she were alive and could bring him food. Then she came bringing it. He was making a canoe, and she told him it would be turned over and brought out by her husband's people. Then he, his wife and child, started off to visit her. While they were there, the Land-Otter town appeared like an ordinary town during the day, but changed to land-otter burrows at night. When they went back, the child talked before they reached home, and each time they found themselves in front of the Land-Otter town again. At last they were successful.

16. *How Something drew a String of Eagles into the Water.*

A youth was set adrift by his uncle, and landed at an Eagle town. There he married the town chief's daughter, and was supplied with feather clothing. By and by he flew to the end of his uncle's town, and, seizing one of the people by the head, started to fly off with him. Then another took hold of this one's legs, and he too was lifted off of his feet. They seized each other successively until he had all of the people of the town, whom he

¹ Compare Masset Series, Story 26 (p. 217).

² Compare Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, pp. 73 et seq.), Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 305), Portland Inlet (Boas, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. X, p. 43), Hare Indians (Petitot, Trad. Ind., p. 234), also known to the Kwakiutl.

carried out to sea and drowned.¹ The youth used to go out fishing every day, and one time seized a supernatural clam which pulled him under the water. An eagle seized him just as he was going under, and another the second, until all in the town were pulled under except one old female, who just succeeded in dragging them out again.

17. *He who destroyed his Nine Nephews.*

A chief was very jealous of his wife, and by means of his supernatural powers killed nine of his ten nephews. The youngest, however, was prepared, and destroyed all of his uncle's helpers. Then his uncle had him tied up in a box and thrown into the sea. At last he landed near an Eagle town, married the chief's daughter, and received an eagle-skin. Now he flew to his uncle's town, seized his uncle by the hair, and dropped him in the open sea, where he became one of the supernatural beings. The nephew took his place and married his wife. While he was still in the Eagle town, he also had an adventure with a supernatural clam similar to that in the preceding story.²

18. *One who saw an Eagle Town.*

A man gambled away a great deal of property belonging to his friends, and, becoming ashamed, went off into the woods. By and by he came to an Eagle town situated upon a mountain, where he lived a while and had removed from his eye the obstruction that caused him to lose. He went fishing with his friends one day, but disobeyed instructions in letting out more than one mesh of his net, and lost it. Then he went home and won back all he had lost in gambling.

19. *The Little Girl who fed a Raven.*

A little girl gave food to a Raven, and was given some in return. One day she lost her way, and was met by two good-looking men, who took her to a Raven town. While there, the Ravens learned that a whale had drifted ashore at Rose Spit. Then, to reward her, they gave her a great deal of food; and her people, going out one morning, found her sitting in the midst of this in front of her father's house. She also told them about the whale, which they found and cut up. Through these things her father became a rich man.

¹ Compare Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, pp. 94 et seq.).

² Compare Masset Series, Story 38 (p. 220); Koskimo (Boas, Kwakiutl Texts [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. III, pp. 365 et seq.]). The clans story is illustrated in Fig. 19, p. 144 and on Plate XV, Fig. 3.

20. *The One they abandoned because he was the First to spear Sea-Lions.*¹

A man who was handy with tools used to go, along with his brothers-in-law, to a certain reef with a salt-water pond upon it, where he always speared the sea-lions first. The others became jealous of him, and one day abandoned him there; but while he was weeping, the supernatural being of this place invited him into his house, which he reached by jumping into the pond. There they tried to fit killer-whale fins upon him, but he escaped by means of a whetstone. Then they sent him ashore in a sea-lion's stomach. He let his wife know that he had arrived, but, without informing any one else, went off to a small pond and killed a wā'sgo. Now he tried to make killer-whales out of wood, but only succeeded in producing porpoises until the third attempt. At his direction, these killer-whales upset the canoes of his brothers-in-law, and destroyed all of them but the youngest, who had not been willing to leave him. After that, he put on his wā'sgo-skin and began leaving articles of food at the village, so that his mother-in-law, who had not been good to him, should find them. When she had found these for several days, she began to pretend that she was a shaman. One morning, however, her son-in-law came ashore and stood up out of his skin, whereupon she died of shame. He, however, potlatched ten times, and kept his youngest brother-in-law like a chief's son.

21. *One who married a Killer-Whale Woman.*

This happened at a place close to Cape St. James. A man found that his wife was going with a black whale, and, disguising himself in his wife's garments, cut off the privates of the latter, which he cooked for his wife. When she found what she had eaten, she went off inland, and he followed her.² When she got up to a certain mountain, she sat down, became ashamed again, and abstractedly bored a hole in the ground with her finger. This was very deep. When she went on, she threw a little earth into this, and said that future people must do the same. Then she went to the West Coast, and settled under a reef, which was called from her "Woman" (Djā'ada). Becoming ashamed again, she went farther up the coast, and settled under another reef called by the same name.

22. *He who was abandoned by his Uncles.*

A man and his sister were abandoned by their nine uncles at the same place as that where the above occurred. Guided by ravens, they climbed to

¹ Compare Masset Series, Stories 10 (p. 214), 60 (p. 226); Kaigani Series, Story 12 (p. 249); Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, p. 225); Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 285).

² Compare Portland Inlet (Boas, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. IX, p. 259).

the deep hole spoken of in the last story, which they were unable to pass until the man threw a handful of earth into it. Then they came to a place where the town of Ku'ndi afterwards stood, and found three rows of whales drifted ashore there. When they had staid in this place for some time, the supernatural being of a point near by married the man's sister, and sent into his house a great many sea-otters and hair-seals in human form, which he clubbed as they came out of the door. Through a slave his uncles learned of his good fortune; and all came, offering him their daughters, but he chose only the daughter of the youngest, who had been kind to him. He became a very rich man.

23. *Those who were abandoned at Stasqa'os.*

A man, his wife, and his mother-in-law were abandoned at Stasqa'os near the same place as that where the last two stories began. They ran out of food; but his mother-in-law, although she had some salmon-eggs, would not open them. One day, while the man's wife was out digging spruce-roots, she heard a dog bark, and dug a puppy out of the ground. Soon the puppy began to get fish for them, and, when he grew larger, brought in whales until the shore was lined with them. When the man's mother-in-law now offered him the salmon-eggs, he would not take them; and when she became surfeited with grease, he would not let her eat anything else. Out of revenge she collected urine and poured it into the sea when the dog was out. A great storm arose, and, unable to land, he swam around Cape St. James, and was finally called into the house of The-One-in-the-Sea, where he remained.¹

24. *Noise-of-Gambling-Sticks (Sînxē'gañō).*

A chief's son lost his father's village and everything in it to the son of Qwē'iga qons. Then he launched a cedar-plank belonging to his father, lay down on it, and drifted out to sea. By and by a supernatural being called him down under the ocean, and made a new set of gambling-sticks for him. He told him how he could pick the "djil"² from his opponent by seeing a light smoke rise from one bunch of sticks; and he gave him two carvings to put on either side of him which were able to take the blank out and keep it while he was holding the sticks. In addition, he had some very sweet tobacco-seeds to give to those set to watch him. By these means he won back all he had formerly lost.

25. *He who married the Daughter of the Devil-Fish Chief.*

A shaman hunting for devil-fish was pulled under water by a Devil-Fish woman and taken to her father's house, where he married her and lived a

¹ Compare Story 38 (p. 201).

² See p. 58.

long time. At last he wanted to go home. His father-in-law gave him and his wife a canoe apiece and a great deal of property. His people were very much surprised to see him; and he staid there a long time, becoming a chief by means of the low-tide findings he had brought up. One day, however, his wife changed back into a devil-fish, and went down between the floor-planks. Then he went after her, and was never seen again.

26. *Mouldy-Forehead* (Qolq!A'lgoda-i).¹

A hungry boy refused to eat a piece of dog-salmon which his mother gave him. Then the Salmon-People took him off to the land of salmon-souls. While there he took salmon from a creek back of the town, and, when he had finished eating them, put their bones into the fire, when they came to life again. If he missed one of them, the owner of the bone was sick in that place. When they held a dance in one of the houses, he inserted a hemlock-branch in one of the cracks and got it covered with salmon-eggs. Then they started for the land of men again. Many were lost in passing under the edges of the sky. When that happens, the run of salmon is small. As they reached the creeks, the salmon dropped off here and there at their camps. By and by they talked of attacking a fort which was really a fish-trap. The boy came to where his mother stood, and let her club him; but when she cut him open, her knife struck against a copper necklace he had worn, and she recognized him. Then they put him on the roof, and the rain washed off his salmon-skin, so that he was restored. Now he became a great shaman. Some time after this the people saw a white salmon jumping about, and the shaman speared it, but dropped dead instantly. It was his own soul. Then they dressed him up, and let his body fall to the bottom of a hole in the salmon-creek, up to which the salt water came. When there was going to be plenty of salmon, they heard his drum.

27. *Those who were fasting to become Shamans*.²

Two brothers were fasting to become shamans, but the younger went with a woman and died. His brother, weeping near the grave-box, saw a canoe land and the people carry off his brother's skin. Unobserved by them, he entered the canoe and went along. Presently he noticed that each of them had round bodies hanging from his arm-pits. He seized one of these and squeezed it, when the man almost died. Then he took hold of that belonging to the town chief, who almost died. The people got their chief to their town, took him up to the house, and called in many shamans. Finally they called in the chief shaman, who discovered what the matter was, and obtained the

¹ Compare Kaigani Series, Story 7 (p. 243).

² Compare Story 4 (p. 293).

man's brother's skin for him, while receiving a great deal of property himself. Then he took the man out inside of his blankets, and carried him home. There he restored his brother to life; and when the shaman from among the supernatural beings made persons sick, and they sent for him, he always cured them. So he became a great shaman, and finally a chief.

28. *Big-Tail* (K!ŭda-q!a-iqō'nas).

This man observed the days at Skidegate, and the Supernatural-Being-at-whose-Voice-Ravens-sit-on-the-Sea spoke through him. The latter invited him down to his house, and let him see the supernatural beings assemble there. He also put out sea-otters and whales for his people. By and by The-Supernatural-Being-whom-all-go-to took him to his elder brother's house in the sea, but a strong wind blew them back. That was the only supernatural being whose house Big-Tail did not visit. Afterwards Supernatural-One-looking-Landward spoke through him, and he was present at another feast of the supernatural beings in his house. This power gave his people many whales, which kept them from starvation. Later still, the son of Welcome-Point spoke through him and gave the people a great many sea-eggs. Again Big-Tail went with some people to Skedans, and a Point near there took him down to his house, and showed him the piles of whale-tails in it, of which he was very proud. [This is a shaman's story, the interesting points of which do not come out well in an abstract].

29. *Tc!ā'awunk!ā*.

A baby left alone on the beach for a while was entered by Tc!ā'awunk!ā, and after a time his friends began to die off. This always happens when Tc!ā'awunk!ā speaks through one. The other people in the town were not kind to him, except the wife of his youngest uncle. By and by he began to trap black bears; and when the people were starving, he furnished his youngest uncle's wife with food. Then he began to act like a shaman. After a while he cured the town chief's son, and received a great deal of property for it. Now the Land-Otter-People sent for him, and he cured the son of their chief. For this they gave him a great deal of property and some halibut-hooks; but when he had landed, the hooks were gone, and the property was changed into seaweeds and kelp-heads.

30. *He through whom ŁA'gua spoke.*

ŁA'gua spoke through a shaman in the Ninstints country who kept the water calm while the people were catching black cod. By and by he found a large

piece of iron, which the people made into spear-points. People came to trade for this iron from all over the islands, and one day ten canoe-loads of Masset people came down to gamble. While they were gambling, those in the town fell upon the men and killed them, and enslaved their women and children. Word of this reaching Masset, the Masset people went out to war. They landed back of the town of Na'gas, belonging to the Slaves, where a grave-post was about to be put up, killed the men, and carried the women and children away captive.

31. *He-who-observed-the-Clouds* (Yèn-qä'tcîgt).

This is about the doings of a great shaman of the Town-of-Djî'gua-People, through whom a Tlingit power and Raven's son Seqaiyū'ŋ¹ spoke. When the first-named supernatural being spoke through him, he brought salmon to the islands in quantities for the first time. Later he had Wu'ldjixaia, the son of the Moon, speak through him.

32. *Gä'ndòx's-Father*.

He was a nephew of the preceding, and many supernatural beings spoke through him, among them Seqaiyū'ŋ.¹ One of his helpers enabled him to stop the small-pox. Finally he had helpers of an entirely new order, who informed him that his people would one day live in houses like those of the whites, and many other such things. He received entirely new songs through them. Seqaiyū'ŋ then took him off in his "pocket" (he had now assumed the costume of white men) on some sort of wheeled vehicle to a city. Somewhere in the upper regions he met his uncle, who told him that it was not really the Moon's son who had spoken through him, but apparently the Supernatural Being of the Christians.

33. *Story of Xä'gi* (given on p. 76).

34. *Djila'gons* (given on pp. 94 et seq.).

35. *Story of Nā-iku'n*.

Five families came from the ancestress of the Rose-Spit-People. At first they pulled grass over themselves for houses, and floated their fishing-lines off from the spit because they had no canoes; but a son of the town chief learned from a supernatural bird (the Redhead) how to make canoes, houses, halibut-hooks, mats, and cords, and taught his people. After this, occurred the break-up of the town elsewhere detailed.² While they were living around Cape Ball, a chief went to the Tsimshian to sell a copper, and, as he was

¹ See p. 182.

² See p. 86.

returning unsuccessful, was pursued by Masset people. To save their heads from being taken, he and his friends drowned themselves. Then they entered Cape Ball's house, and persuaded him to send tidal waves ashore. These drowned half of the Masset people; but the chief escaped with the captured copper, and found that a deposit of dentalium-shells had been washed to the surface. By trading with these, the Masset people obtained many slaves, but the Nā-iku'n people said that it was all due to their uncles.

36. *Story of Those-born-at-Skidegate-Creek.*

When the town of Sqē'na was abandoned, this family remained near by. Later they settled in Copper Bay near the Witch-People. There a woman, married among the former people, pretended to die, but in reality escaped to and married a man in the other town. Presently, however, the woman's former husband learned about it, and killed them both. Later a man of this family discovered some one using a net, and taught his people about it. Then they moved back to Sqē'na; but while they were there, the supernatural being inhabiting a creek was offended at something and left, and the creek dried up. After this they fished for halibut, and had the adventures with Raven related in his story. Next is told the story of the woman of Skidegate Creek, — how she was born from one of this family and had power from her girlhood, how she killed nine of her brothers and chased the youngest up to the sky on a ladder made of arrows, how she gave her sisters their names and finally settled at the head of her river. Several short stories follow: the principal being one about a woman who concealed her head under a duck's skin and stole fish out of the nets, but was subsequently killed; one about a woman who married a black bear; and one about a man who became nephew to an aged supernatural being whom he protected from the other powers.

37. *How the Seaward-Sqoā'adas got the Names of their Gambling-Sticks.*

The chief of Sea-Lion-Town went to the Tsimshian country to invite people to a potlatch; but in his absence his son, who belonged to the above family, lost all of his father's property. Then he went away to a Mountain, who took him into his house, gave him some new gambling-sticks, told him the names of them, and instructed him how to win. When he got back, the Tsimshian had arrived, and he gambled everything away from them. As a reward, his father had the figure of a cormorant tattooed on his breast, although he was a Raven. His father obtained from him the two-headed house-pole which his son had seen in front of the house of the supernatural being.

38. *How One of the Town-of-Stasa'os-People became Rich.*

A man of this family, camping on the West Coast, found two dogs which fished for him, so that he had an abundance of food. By and by he went to his wife's people at Skidegate; and while he was there, there was a scarcity of food. His mother-in-law had some fish-eggs, but would not open them. Then they went to the West Coast. There her son-in-law would not let her eat anything but fat. For this his wife became angry, and, when the dogs were out at sea, poured urine and blue hellebore into it. At once a storm arose; and the dogs, being unable to land, swam through Skidegate Channel to Lawn Hill, where they became, or came to be under, two rocks called "The Dogs." The man became rich.¹

39. *Story of Those-Born-at-Skedans.*

This tells how this family, through the deaths of various persons belonging to it, came to own all the sea, all the islands, and all the creeks along that part of the coast which the other families had to give in payment for injuries. The longest incident concerns a chief of this family, who speared a young killer-whale, and did not dare to go to sea for four years. At last he pursued a white sea-otter, was enveloped in a fog, and never seen again.

40. *Stories about the Pitch-People.*

A man from one of the towns belonging to this people lay on a rock, clothed in a hair-seal's skin, trying to call the seals to him, when a hunter from another town speared him. Then war broke out, and the people of these two towns killed each other off. Kaisun was still inhabited; but one day the people wanted to see how far down in the ocean the house of The-One-in-the-Sea lay, and went out with a kelp line. They never returned. Before this the town chief's son was carried under ground by a monster, and still later the town chief's daughter was imprisoned in a cave. She killed the cave monster, however, and was helped to escape by a mouse. After she had told about her adventures, she died. The Land-Otters captured a boy from this same town; but he escaped, and did not lose his senses, as is the case with most who have dealings with Land-Otters.

41. *How a Red Feather pulled up Some People from the Town of Gu'nwa.*²

Some boys were playing ball, when one took hold of a feather floating in the air and was pulled up by it. Another took hold of him to keep him back, but in vain; and finally all in the town were carried away except a

¹ Compare Story 23 (p. 196).

² Compare Masset Series, Story 65 (p. 227); Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, p. 94).

girl who was behind the screens. From her were born ten supernatural children, who restored their uncles' town.

Then it began snowing; but when snow covered the house, they climbed out through the smoke-hole, and determined to go to see Great-Days (Sins klū'da). First they came to a small animal called djo'lkli, which one of them tore in pieces. Soon after, they arrived at the house of Steep-Cliff, who proved to be the animal's grandmother, and who shut them in for killing it. The youngest boy, however, who had medicine in his mouth, escaped in the form of a cinder, restored the djo'lkli to life, and brought it home. Presently they pushed over a big tree, which killed two of them. In trying to jump across what appeared to be a small dog, three others were bitten to death. Now they reached the edge of the sky, which was rising and falling; and three were cut in two by it, but the other two escaped and saw Great-Days.

42. *How a Person was helped by the Wolf's Son.*

A man went hunting and captured a young wolf, which afterwards hunted for him. It would kill two grisly bears, the first of which was always reserved for the wolf. One time the person lent the wolf to his brother-in-law, who cut up the first grisly bear for himself, whereupon the wolf went away. When the owner heard what had happened, he set out in pursuit, and finally arrived at the wolves' town. But when he had been there for some time, he wanted to return; so they filled a sack full of food, and gave him a cane. Every night he stuck this cane into the ground, and found it in the morning pointing in the direction he must take. At last he reached home, and the sack proved to contain an immense quantity of food, by the sale of which he became very wealthy.

43. *Gū'nanasîmgît.*¹

A chief's daughter displeased the Grisly Bears, and was taken away by them to their town. There a woman who was turned into stone from the hips down helped her, and enabled her to escape. She gave her a comb, some hair, hair-oil, and a whetstone; and when her pursuers had almost reached her, she threw these behind her, where they were transformed into thick fallen trees, thick brushwood, a lake, and finally a steep place which they got through only with difficulty.² At last she came to a person fishing

¹ Compare Masset Series, Stories 35, 36 (p. 220).

² Compare Bella Coola (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 268), Bella Bella (Ibid., pp. 224, 240), Kwakiutl (Ibid., p. 164), Nootka (Ibid., p. 99), Portland Inlet (Boas, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. IX, p. 260), Quinault (Far-
rand, Traditions of the Quinault Indians [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. II, p. 114]), Eskimo (Boas, Eskimo
of Baffin-Land [Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. XV, p. 176]), Dog-Rib (J. M. Bell, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore,
Vol. XVI, pp. 80 et seq.), Cheyenne (G. B. Grinnell, Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 108 et seq.), Blackfoot (G. B.
Grinnell, Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 44 et seq.).

in a canoe, who took her in; and when her pursuers came into the lake after her, the canoe cut off their heads. Now, the canoe-man took her home and married her; but one day she disobeyed instructions in looking at her husband's first wife while she was eating, and was killed by the latter. When her husband came home, however, he killed his first wife, and restored his second wife to life. By and by she had a son, Gū'nanasimgît. After a while they went back to her people, and her son married the daughter of one of his uncles. One day he shot a white sea-otter; but while his wife stood in the sea, washing its skin, a killer-whale carried her off. Then her husband, who had seen where she was taken in, set out in pursuit. Letting himself down to the bottom of the sea, he restored the sight of the Geese-Women, and met a Heron at the end of the town, who concealed him in his arm-pit in return for receiving twisted cedar-limbs, a gimlet, and a whetstone. Then he met two slaves, Raven and Crow, who helped him to recover his wife, and delayed pursuit until he reached his canoe. When he got home, he put his wife into the innermost of five boxes which fitted one inside of another, but, on looking for her one day, he found that there was a hole in the bottom and she was gone.¹

44. *Story of Two Towns that stood on Opposite Sides of Nass River, near its Head.*²

The chief's son in one of these towns went with the wife of a man in the other, and the latter killed him. Then the people of the former town destroyed all of those in the latter except a woman and her daughter, and burned up their houses. The mother wanted a husband for her daughter, and all the birds and all of the animals offered themselves, but they did not have enough power. At last the son of Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens (Sins sgā'nagwa-i) came and was accepted. He took his wife up to heaven; but, since he could not keep his wife's mother from looking out on the way, he put her into a tree, where she became the creaking of limbs rubbing together. In the Above-Country they had six children, — five boys and a girl. He taught the boys how to gamble and fight; and the girl had medicine in her mouth, with which she brought to life those who were killed. By and by their grandfather let them and their houses down to the former site of their village; and when the people of the opposite town came over to gamble, a fight broke out, and their opponents were all destroyed. They accomplished this by removing a cover from a box which their grandfather had given them. In the same way they destroyed many Tlingit; but when they went to war with the Skeena people, they took the wrong box, and were all killed. Their

¹ Compare Nanaimo (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 55), Tsimshian (Ibid., p. 299); Krause, Die Tlinkit Indianer, p. 275.

² Compare Skidegate Series, Story 2 (p. 185); Masset Series, Story 77 (p. 231).

sister, however, came after them with the death-bringing box, killed the enemies, and restored her youngest brother to life. The elder brothers and the death-bringing box disappeared. Then the youth who had been restored went inland to a lake, where he obtained a loon's skin. Returning, he married a chief's daughter, and obtained food for his father by putting on this skin and diving for fish. One time they passed a mountain on the south side of Nass Inlet, where the people were trying to knock down a piece of copper which stuck out from it high up. The hero succeeded in doing this; but when it was coming down, his mother-in-law became frightened, and told it to go to the north, which it did.¹ That is why there is so much copper to the north, and none in the Nass country. By and by his wife tried to catch fish by means of his loon-skin, but seized a log by mistake, and was drowned. Then her husband became ashamed and went away.

45. *He who loved killing.*

A man married two wives, and liked the second best. One time when this woman's brothers were visiting them, the first wife made her husband believe that one of them had gone with her. Then he killed his brothers-in-law and all their people, and treated his second wife badly. His wife's mother, however, escaped, and bore a child from her hip who shot all kinds of animals. By and by, by means of a magic necklace and bow of copper, he burned up the man who had destroyed his uncles, and restored the latter to life. Then he made his mother and all of the old people young again by spitting medicine upon them. He got a great many whales for them. Then he married a woman in a neighboring town, from whom he was presently reborn in the form of a woman. He was really the Moon, and presently went thither, taking his uncles with him to be his servants.

46. *The Woman at Nass who fled from her Husband.*

A married woman fell in love with a certain man, and pretended that she was dying. After they thought that she was dead, they put her grave-box up in a tree, according to her directions, and at night her lover let her out. Then they went far into the woods and remained there a long time. When a great many years had passed, she learned songs with strange words, and they returned to the town, where she danced before the people, and tried to pass herself off for an Athapascan. Before long, however, her husband discovered who she was, and killed them both.

¹ Compare Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 299).

47. *The Rejected Lover.*¹

A man was in love with a certain woman, who refused to have him unless he pulled out all the hair from his body; but when he had done this, she refused him finally. Then he shot arrows into the sky until he had a chain, upon which he climbed up to the Moon's house. There the Moon made him look very handsome, and told him what he should do. He went down upon his ladder and entered his father's house, where the whole town came in to look at him. The woman he had been in love with came in along with them, and became so fascinated at the sight of him that she died.

48. *He who gathered Food for the Eagles.*²

By giving food to eagles a man so angered his uncles that they refused to give him anything to eat, and finally went off and left him. Only the wife of the youngest fed him, and left a little food buried in the ground when she went. Some time after they had gone, the boy saw an eagle sitting on a rock some distance off. He went thither and found the tail of a spring salmon. Every day after that he found food there, which increased in quantity each time until there were ten whales. One day his uncles' slaves came to look for him, and he gave them food, but would not allow them to take any of the meat away, and told them not to tell his uncles how he was being helped. The head slave, however, concealed a small piece of meat and gave it to his child; but during the night the child choked, and they learned what had happened to their nephew. Then all came to him, offering him their daughters, but he only took the daughter of the youngest uncle. The other nine uncles had to buy food from him. [This is said to be the family story of the Tsimshian family Nistoy].

49. *Qō'k!ē.*³

A man once declared that he would never allow himself to be transformed into a *gāgixī't*. Later on he was upset out at sea, and just escaped with his life. Then he built a small house for himself. He always sat down upon a flat stone, so that the small creature that makes people mad could not get into him, and he did not dare to sleep. By and by a woman came in to him, offering him food; but when he put it into the fire, it turned into wood-ticks. This happened for many days. One day a canoe-load of people, among whom he recognized his friends, landed in front of him: but when he

¹ Compare Masset Series, Story 69 (p. 228).

² Compare Masset Series, Story 17 (p. 215); Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, p. 169), Tsimshian (Ind. Sag., p. 300).

³ Compare Tlingit (Ind. Sag., p. 323), Kwakiutl (Boas, Kwakiutl Texts [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. III, pp. 255 et seq.]).

stuck a dog's leg-bone into the canoe, it proved to be soft; and when they went into the house, and he gave them urine to wash their faces, they turned their heads away. Then he threw their paddles into the fire, and minks ran off from it. He began clubbing them. Then the people turned into land-otters, and he killed them. The same thing occurred for several days in succession, until his friends at last arrived; but it was a long time before they could persuade him that it was really they.

50. *Story to accompany Bear-Songs.*

A man set five dead-falls, but got no black bears in them, and began to fast. During the fast he died. Then his son went up to look at the dead-falls, and found a black bear in each. As he was cutting the bears up, they sang songs through him. To explain the words in one of these songs, a little episode is introduced regarding the fishing of the marten and the black bear, who is said to be the marten's younger brother.

51. *A Story for Children.*

This short story is half sung to babies. The point of it consists in a play upon two words. The mother tells her little boy to give the baby a large clam, and the boy understands her to say that she wants the baby killed.

52. *Another Story for Children.*

Song-Sparrow (Tc!a'tc!a) lived with his grandmother, and the grisly bear stole their salmon. Then Song-Sparrow started to shoot the bear, but the latter snuffed him through his nostrils. Inside, however, he took out his fire-drill, made a fire, and killed the animal. They cut up its meat, but the people took it all away from them. By and by his grandmother fell asleep; and before she awoke, Song-Sparrow cut a piece of flesh off of her body and cooked it. When she woke up, he gave it to her to eat, and then went up on the roof and shouted that his grandmother had eaten her own flesh. For that she accused him of witchcraft.¹

53. *How the Secret Societies originated* (see pp. 156-158).

54. *Haida Account of the Secret Societies.* (see pp. 161-174).

55-75. *War Stories.*

55. Short Account of the Fight at Lawn Hill, already narrated (p. 80).

56. War between the West-Coast-People and the Tlingit.

¹ Compare Bella Bella (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 212), Bella Coola (Ibid., p. 256), Chinook (Boas, Chinook Texts, p. 119).

57. War between the Haida and Gít'á'sda or Lalgí'mí-People.
58. War between the West-Coast-People and the Tlingit.
59. Fights between the West-Coast and Ninstints People.
60. War between the Kaigani and the West-Coast Haida.
61. War between the Stikine and Sitka, containing an account of the fort built by the latter, and the war between them and the Russians.
62. Fights between the Town-of-Tc!á'á'-People and the Middle-Town-People.
63. War between the Skidegate People and the Tsimshian, and other disturbances.
64. War between the Skí'daoqao and the Inlet-Rear-Town-People.
65. War between the Point-Town-People and the Nasqa', followed by an account of wars in other parts of the islands.
66. War between Skedans and Kloo.
67. War between the Pebble-Town-People and the Slaves of Ninstints.
68. War between Kloo and Ninstints.
69. War between the Xā'gi-Town-People and the Sand-People.
70. War between Ninstints and Skidegate.
71. War between Skidegate and Kloo.
72. War between Kloo and Kitkatla.
73. War between Kloo and the Tsimshian.
74. War between Kloo and the Bella Bella.
75. War between Kloo and Lalgí'mí.

MASSET SERIES.

I. *Raven.*

[I could not obtain this story in as connected a form at Masset as at Skidegate. Most of the episodes that occur in the Skidegate version, however, also appear in the Masset version, while some are added from Tlingit sources. Six different texts were obtained, some of which partially repeat one another.]

In the beginning there was one vast ocean with a small object floating upon it, on which sat Raven. He told this to change to earth, made it increase in size, and divided it. The smaller part became the Queen Charlotte Islands; the larger, the mainland.

Raven stole Eagle's water, and spit it out over the whole world. He came to Masset when the water was most gone. So the streams there are red. Then he got a whale to swallow him, after which he ate the whale's insides and ate his way out. He tried to make some sticks burn continually, so that they would never go out, but was unsuccessful. Then he gathered some T!ā'nskia-roots and cooked them. Before that time they were already

cooked when they were dug up. At another place he landed his house-timbers, and stood them up against a cliff, where they changed to stone. Becoming angry because some passing killer-whales would not come to him when he called them, he stamped upon a certain rock until it split in two. Afterwards he angered a person so much that the latter threw him into the ocean; but he came down upon a stone he had previously placed there, and was not even wet. Coming to where billows were rolling in, he turned them into mountains.

Raven and Butterfly came to a large town, where the people offered Raven food, but he was too proud to speak to them directly; and Eagle, who acted as his speaker, deceived them, so as to obtain all of the good food himself, leaving only the burned skins of dried salmon to Raven. After that, they came to a chasm; and Raven made Butterfly fall into it by inducing him to cross upon a kelp, which he turned over when Butterfly was part way across. Butterfly was drowned, and Raven ate all of the food he had consumed out of his belly.¹ Then he came to some crows throwing hair-seal back and forth. He persuaded them to let him play with them, but began to eat their hair-seal, so they stopped.²

After a while he came to a spring salmon jumping about, and caught it by digging pits in the ground and persuading the salmon to strike him on the breast, when it fell into a pit. After he had steamed it, however, an uprooted tree came and stood over the salmon, and he went away hungry.³ Then he entered the house of Shrew, who fed him upon food that always replaced itself in the tray.

By and by he came to Cormorant, went fishing with him, and pulled his tongue out in order to get his halibut.⁴ Coming to where Wood-Shaving-Supernatural-Being lived, he induced him to land upon a distant island in hopes of finding many flickers there, abandoned him, and married his wife. After a while he brought the husband back and went on. Then he went to the place where Low-Tide-Woman lived, and fooled her into thinking that he had obtained sea-eggs, so that she let the tide go down. Then he obtained all kinds of fish and shell-fish. Before that time it was always high tide.⁵

After that, he met a certain woman, and made her his sister. They made their camp by a salmon-creek, and got plenty of fish; but Raven used some "bad words" regarding the fish, and all they had dried came to life and swam away.⁶ Then he healed his sister by having her sit upon a certain plant in the woods.⁷

¹ See p. 184, Footnotes 6 and 7.

² See p. 183, Footnote 3.

³ Compare Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, pp. 52 et seq.).

⁴ See p. 184, Footnote 2.

⁵ See p. 183, Footnote 1.

⁶ See p. 182, Footnote 5.

⁷ Compare Bella Coola (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 243), Bella Bella (Ibid., p. 211), Newettee (Ibid., p. 178), Kwakiutl (Ibid., p. 160), Nootka (Ibid., p. 108), Comox (Ibid., p. 71).

After that, Q'ñga came to adopt him, and he raised four different kinds of birds out of the ground to bring his father food. In his father's town he gave himself an insatiable appetite by eating scabs, so that he was turned out of doors. Soon after this they went away by canoe. Then he made himself sick, lay near a box of salmon-eggs, and devoured the contents. After that they sent him away.¹

Then he met the Shell-Fish going to war, and accompanied them. When they go to war, they are poisonous. He came to He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed, took his place for a while, and climbed up to the sky-country on his hat. After a while he let himself be born from Moon-Woman, and stole the moon from her, out of which he made the sun, moon, and stars, and placed them in the sky, in exchange for some olachen. Next he went fishing with Grisly Bear, killed him by inducing him to swallow red-hot stones, and ate him.²

Once Raven entered the house where some Shadows lived, and was entertained by them without seeing one of them.³ He found the first abelone, which every one wanted to see; and he finally gave it to his wife, Mink-Woman. The child he had by Mink-Woman died, and he ordained that people should weep when their children died; but since Greatest-Laughter would not cry, people today laugh after they have wept. Next he got a certain woman for a sister, and started the custom of confining girls at puberty behind the screens. Butterfly, however, who had become his servant, ate all of the food his sister dug: so he became angry and stuck her digging-stick into the ground, where it and the screen may still be seen.

Then, going north upon the surface of the sea, he saw sparks coming out of a kelp. He went down to Owner-of-the-Fire, though opposed by the ocean creatures, obtained some fire from him, and put it into a piece of cedar: so now, when they use a fire-drill upon cedar, fire comes out. The fishes which had tried to kill him he turned into stones. Then he offered his sister in marriage, and finally gave her to Deer and Porpoise, who were cousins. He ordained that people should not eat a kind of sea-animal called Crows'-Hair-Seal, but should eat sea-eggs. After that he made a hole in the sand, out of which came herring; and he turned the latter into human beings, and founded a town. He stole fresh water from Owner-of-the-Water and made the rivers, bending them into circles so that they would never cease to flow. Then he changed himself into a woman and made a well at the head of Chilkat River, which makes those strong who drink from it. Leaving the body he had used up there, he went down and began to carry

¹ Compare p. 182, Footnote 3.

² Compare Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, p. 57).

³ Compare p. 184, Footnote 3.

herring up from the beach. Becoming tired, he asked the stones to get up and help him. They were unable to stand erect, so he called upon the grass and the salmon-berry bushes. These changed into men; and that is why we die soon, just as the leaves fall. A devil-fish that he caught was so heavy that he threw away two of its arms, since which time that animal has had only eight. One time, after he had been fishing, he took all the halibut-shoulders away from his sister, which so displeased her that she took her child, went out on the end of a point, and was changed to stone. Then he killed many fish, and called Screech-Owl down from the woods to help him.

After that, he made Masset Inlet with his finger. Seeing a canoe-load of women upset at a certain place where there was a rapid current, he took the nose of a skate and made a mountain out of it to stop this. Coming to where some ducks were gathering sea-eggs, he pretended to be angry with them, and induced them to throw these at him. Then he began to eat them. Next he assumed the shape of a woman, came to a certain town, and married the chief's son; but they found that his wife had a tail, and told her to go away. Later on he tried to cross Kaisun Harbor, and was driven ashore by the wind. Then he went out and speared the wind, so it is now calm there. After that, he came to Greatest-Eagle, who fed him on the grease from his talons.

Coming to the mouth of the Skeena River, he divided the people there into two clans, — Eagle and Raven. He found a bivalve, half of which contained human beings, and half animals. Since he only put a few of the latter on the Queen Charlotte Islands, there are now only a few there. He told the crows to live in the mountains, and ordained that when they should begin to caw, the sun would shine. He told the woodpecker to live in old trees. Then he made a hole through a certain mountain on the seashore. Those who pass through are preserved from sickness. He made a rapid stream in which all canoes capsize. Then he found and pulled to land the house in which olachen dwelt, and sent them up the river. After that, he made a canoe, and tried to ordain that people should not capsize when they came ashore; but he struck a rock and was upset.

He came to a place where a certain man lived with his wife, induced them to leave him in their house while they were in search of abelones, and consumed or carried away all of their food. Again Butterfly acted as Raven's spokesman, and procured all the food which was given them. After that, he killed Mallard-Duck and ate out his insides; so that his sister, when she first came back from getting clams, thought that he was asleep.

[This was followed by the story of how Raven got the Moon.]

Raven came to a certain town with the head of a salmon hanging from his nose, and tried to induce Butterfly to say it was a weasel; but the latter

told the truth, and put him to shame. Then Raven married Salmon-Woman, who fed her child on a salmon which she was enabled to pull out of any dish of water. At first she concealed from Raven how she was feeding the child, but he discovered it by the salmon between the child's teeth. A great run of salmon took place there, and they dried many; but one day Raven said something about them that displeased his wife, and she went away and took all with her.¹ Then he induced the Birds to fight with him, and pretended that he was badly injured. So, when they started off by canoe, he had himself placed under a blanket close to a box of salmon-eggs, all of which he devoured. Next he changed himself into a woman, and got some Killer-Whales who had been hunting to take him into their canoe. Pretending that his child was crying for hair-seal, he got them to give him many pieces, which he devoured. At this place, too, Raven married the chief's son, and lost her labret in the grease-box at night. Her mother-in-law also discovered that she had a tail, so she went away. After that, he tried in vain to steal salmon-roe from the Shadows. Then he went to a Deer town, and went out with one of the Deer to cut wood. He induced the Deer to stand near him, struck him on the head, and killed him.² When he came to where Sea-Lion lived, the latter wanted him to put a red streak on his breast, like that Butterfly had; but instead he killed Sea-Lion and ate him. After that, he arrived at a town where the Pitch-People lived, went out fishing with one of them, and kept him out until the sun got high and melted him.³

Some people discovered that Raven had a tail, but he cleverly turned away their questions regarding it. When they went fishing, he stole the bait off of their hooks. Finally one hooked him and pulled his beak off; but he pretended it was a bad omen, induced them to leave the town, and ate all of the food there.⁴ He tried to steal food from the Shadows, but, as usual, was severely handled by them, and compelled to abandon the attempt.⁵ Then he changed himself into a woman, married a chief's son, and began to eat up their food. Every night she got up and began to eat out of the boxes of whale-grease. One time she lost her labret in one of these, and it was found next morning by the people. Finding that she was such a great eater, they began to dislike her, and sent her away.

¹ Compare p. 182, Footnote 5.

² Compare Nass River (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 63).

³ Compare Tlingit (Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, p. 265), Nass River (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 58), Newetsee, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 179), Comox (*Ibid.*, p. 64).

⁴ Compare p. 182, Footnote 4.

⁵ Compare p. 184, Footnote 3.

2. *A Moon Story*.¹

A certain man came to a salmon-creek where four women were drying fish. He turned himself into a baby, was taken in by them, and, while they were away or asleep, stole their salmon. Going on from there, he met a man who caught salmon by erecting a wall of stones around himself and getting the fish to jump at him.² He stole some of the salmon from this person, who later revenged himself; and that is why people now revenge themselves. By and by he came to a woman with teeth in her vulva, whom he killed.³ Then he came to some children, one of whom a man was about to steam and eat. The children were orphans. The hero took the place of the boy who had been selected, and killed their persecutor; and that is why orphans are now always taken care of. Next he found a town where he taught the people to catch salmon between their legs, for which they became very fond of him and let him sleep on their arms. One day, however, the Moon came in and killed him.

3. *The Blind Grisly-Bear Hunter*.⁴

A woman whose husband had been a great grisly-bear hunter in his youth, but had become blind, directed his aim so that he shot one of the animals. She pretended, however, that he had missed, and, abandoning him, began to cut up the bear for herself. Then the man crept along in the forest until he came to a lake, where a loon took him upon its back and restored his sight. Now he went to where his wife was cutting up the meat, and wished that the bear-head would bite her, which at once happened. Then she died. By and by her husband returned to the town, bringing a great quantity of meat with him, which he distributed among the people. Some time after this a cormorant began bringing them olachen in its stomach. It did so for a while, until one day Raven appeared and asked for some. When they refused him, he became angry, and turned them all into stone.

4. *Qînga*.

Qînga had a son who used to sleep with his feet on the bottom of the sea, and his head floating on the surface. One time the Ocean-People teased

¹ This appears to have been a story similar to the Raven story obtained from some mainland tribe. It may have been learned very recently.

² Compare p. 208, Footnote 3.

³ Compare Bella Coola (Boas, *Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. I, pp. 75 et seq.]), Kwakiutl (Boas, *Kwakiutl Texts* [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. III, p. 96]), Comox (Boas, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 66), Fraser River (Ibid., pp. 24, 30), Chilcotin (Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians* [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. II, p. 13]).

⁴ Compare Kaigani Series, Story 29 (p. 263). See Awî'k'înox (Boas, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 229), Loucheux (Petitot, *Trad. Ind.*, p. 84), Hare Indians (Ibid., p. 226), Eskimo (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 625; Rink, *Tales and Traditions*, p. 99).

him, and his father commanded that a likeness of himself be made. He invited the Wood-People and the Ocean-People into his house. Then he frightened out those who had teased his son, and they turned into stone outside. Then the beings tried to make a likeness of him. Porpoise was at last successful; and East, North, West, and South came to ask him for it, but he would only give it to Deer, saying, "When I die, he too will die," which is always supposed to happen.

5. *He-who-always-ate-Ashes* (Ā'itxa'olda).¹

All of the male inhabitants of a town were destroyed by a monster called Stone-Ribs (Masset, *odañxē'wiet; Skidegate, Ḡodañxē'wat), except a weak boy who slept in the ashes by the fire. He, however, began bathing for strength, and one day picked up a small flat fish dropped by two eagles, entered its skin, and swallowed Stone-Ribs and all of his town. Then he restored his uncles to life. After that, he swam around Graham Island, killing the supernatural beings as he went; but when he came to Yä'yu, near Lawn Hill, the latter proved too strong for him, and killed him.

6. *The Canoe-People*.²

A hunter and his friends killed a black bear that was different from others, and next morning found themselves at the bottom of a deep cavity from which there was no exit. By and by one of them suggested that they put one of their dogs into the fire, which they did, when, lo! the dog stood above them at the top of the pit. They put all of their dogs in, with the same result, and determined to do the same to each other. At once they were all on the top of the mountain. Then they came to their canoe, and started homeward; but when they reached the town, no one took the slightest notice of them, and they discovered that they had become supernatural beings. After that, they gave each other names; and in after years one of them spoke through a shaman, letting him know their story.

7. *Ēagu djîna'*.³

This is a second version of the above story, taken at Skidegate, and contains some interesting variations. Thus, the children capture a monster black whale, a monster clam, etc., and kick them into the sea, where they fall to pieces, which become ancestors of the present race of sea-creatures of each kind. We are also informed that the being whose head was cut off by them was the son of The-One-in-the-Sea. The ten children finally became mountains in the Tlingit country.

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 4 (p. 187).

² Ibid., Story 12 (p. 192); also Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 304).

³ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 11 (p. 191).

8. *The Supernatural Beings of Rose Spit.*

The supernatural beings around Rose Spit once had a contest as to who could give away the largest amount of property, during which each gave a whale to men. The story is little more than an enumeration of the names of these beings.

9. *Qōñ kun and Nāstō'.*

Qōñ kun and Nāstō' held rival potlatches, and gave men many whales.

10. *The Sea-Lion Hunter.*¹

Five men went out to a reef to spear sea-lions; but when they were about to leave, a strong south wind carried the canoe and four of them away, leaving a man named Gō'ttca alone upon the rock. By sewing himself up in the stomach of a sea-lion, however, he drifted ashore. Then he went to his house for some articles, and, passing on to the forest, carved two killer-whales out of various kinds of wood, which he tried to make alive. When he made them out of yew-wood, he was successful. He carved two, which he called Raven-Fin and Noisy-Fin. He told them to supply the town with black-whale meat. Then he got on their backs, and had them take him to the island where he had been left, where all sank under the sea and entered the house of the supernatural being living there.

11. *Tao Hill and his Brother.*

They once lived together up Masset Inlet; but at last the people stopped giving food to Tao, and he travelled down to the coast, where he settled by the side of Łi'elañ River.

12. *Raven-Fin (Tc̄lilā'las) and Łgū'sk'i.*

These two killer-whales used to go everywhere together. One time they entered a harbor (Karta Bay) where a giant devil-fish lived, which killed Łgū'ski. Upon this Raven-Fin summoned all of the fishes, and after a great fight they killed the devil-fish and tore it to pieces. [This is really part of No. 10.]

13. *Great-Reef (Qāl-qons).*

This is a Haida version of the tale given on p. 20.²

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 20 (p. 195).

² Compare p. 20, Footnote 2.

14. *North-Wind and Southeast-Wind.*

The son of North-Wind married the daughter of Southeast-Wind, and after a while she went to live with her father-in-law. One day, however, she began pulling off his fingers, the icicles, when he began to blow, and tried to freeze her to death. Then she called for her father, who melted the ice around her, and melted up the floor of North's house. She was the sea-pigeon, which has ever since had a red beak and crooked legs from the cold.

15. *The Flood at T!ē.*

The people of T!ē made fun of a sea-otter, and were punished by a flood. They floated up in their canoes, however, to the top of a mountain just back of the town, which was not covered by the water. There they built another town. One time a Sea-Otter came to a woman living at one end of the village, and married her. Every day he used to go out to the island of Siska, the top of which then formed a reef, to get mussels. By and by the woman bore three children, — a boy and two girls. The mother, while out of doors, heard a buzzing-sound, and, striking with a stick at the object that made it, found that it was a copper bird. Half of her stick was changed into copper. From this her boy made a copper bow and arrows, with which he shot a great many flickers, and they made blankets for each out of them. The women then became those fair-weather clouds which are seen when it is safe to go out fishing.

16. *A Second Account of the Flood at T!ē.*

The children of T!ē were playing a game something like polo, and one of them won so often that they threw him down. Then they discovered that he was a supernatural being. Early next morning great waves came from the sea, forcing them to flee for their lives to the mountain behind; but they had to abandon all of their children, who were drowned. They wondered what supernatural creature they had seen, and concluded it was the son of The-One-in-the-Sea.

17. *The Boy who fed the Eagle.*¹

A boy fed an eagle against the wishes of his people; but when the people began to suffer want and to starve, the eagle gave him food. He became rich and married a chief's daughter. By and by, however, he became ashamed at something, and went into the sea with his wife, where they became stones.

¹ A Tlingit story. Compare Skidegate Series, Story 48 (p. 205). See Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 300), Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, p. 169).

18. *Supernatural-Being-who-travelled-about-Naked* (S^sā'na-^sona'n-qaas).¹

This story appears to be composed of parts of two in my Skidegate series, — one called as above, the other the story of The-One-who-got-Power-from-his-Little-Finger. A poor boy became a great shaman and cured his uncle's son, for which he received a great deal of property. Then he went off and married the daughter of Many-Rocks, whose supernatural helpers he overcame successively. By and by he offended his wife, who went back to her father, walking on the sea. He followed her for some distance; but after a while she turned around and looked at him, when he went under the sea. Then her father recovered his bones and restored him to life; but he could not find one thigh-bone, so that ever after one of his legs was short. [At Masset this being seems to have been identified with Master-Hopper.]

19. *The Sleep-Power* (QAn-s^sā'nawē).²

In one of the southern Tsimshian towns a good hunter hunted unsuccessfully for a long time. One evening as he was returning home, he killed the bird that causes sleep, and, when they reached the town, they found that they could not awaken the people. So the latter died.

20. *Pecker* (Skastā'nLas).

A man unintentionally dropped a live-coal upon his wife's hand, when she went off under Masset Inlet and became a dangerous rock, above which there is a whirlpool. Unless the women in passing canoes throw their labrets into this, their canoes are sucked down. The woman's husband, who had followed her with his child, were changed into rocks on the shore.

21. *The Great Spider*.

A big spider used to let itself down from the top of Tow Hill upon any one passing beneath, and kill him. Finally two men went after it and killed it. The same persons also killed two large birds that used to destroy people. These birds were named Going-over-the-Body and Looking-for-Children.

22. *Shell-Labret* (Sti'tga-k!A'mala).³

A little girl was always crying, when a woman called Shell-Labret came and took her away. One time Shell-Labret wanted the girl to pierce her

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Stories 5 (p. 188), 9 (p. 190).

² Compare Nass River (Boas, The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians [Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 655]).

³ Compare Nootka (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 114), Kwakiutl (Boas, Kwakiutl Texts [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. III, p. 88]), Bella Coola (Boas, The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. I, p. 85]), Ponca (J. O. Dorsey, The Cegiha Language [Washington, 1890], p. 30).

ears for her; but, instead of doing so, the girl nailed the old woman's head to the ground and ran home. As soon as she had told her parents what had happened, she died. [This old woman was used to frighten children into good behavior.]

23. *The S³ā'ng^u.*

A man at North Island became wild, went to live in holes in the rocks, and began to kill birds, the parts of which he took home separately, just as people do with larger animals. He never returned to his friends.

24. *Come (Qā'la).*

While several families were encamped on the salmon-streams up Masset Inlet, a man became wild, began to prefer raw food, and finally went off into the woods. He used to call himself by the above name, and talked to himself as if he were some one else. Finally he became a supernatural being.

25. *Skā'ndal.*

Skā'ndal was a man who got into all sorts of trouble, and was finally killed because he always took metaphorical expressions literally.

26. *Deer and Beaver.¹*

Beaver threw down forest-trees upon a garden of skunk-cabbage owned by Deer. Then Deer dug a trench from Beaver's lake and drained it. After that, he persuaded Beaver to let him take him out to an island, where Deer left him. For a long time Beaver could not get ashore, but at last he called upon North Wind, which came down and froze the ocean over, so that he escaped.

27. *War between the Land-Otter-People and the Black-Bear-People.*

The Land-Otter-People took the Black-Bear-People's berries, for which the latter made war on them and destroyed half. Then the Land-Otter-People assembled, came to the Black-Bears' fort, and killed almost all of its occupants. Now the Black-Bear-People sent for the Wolf-People, and together they destroyed almost all of the Land-Otter-People.

28. *The Woman in the Moon.²*

A woman used to point her fingers at a certain star as a sign of contempt, for which she was taken up to a house in the sky and hung in the smoke-

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 14 (p. 193).

² Compare Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, p. 86).

hole. Her brothers, however, made an image of her, hung it in her place, and took her away. By and by she pointed her fingers at the moon, and was carried thither, together with the bucket of water which she had at the time, and the salal-bushes that she seized hold of to stop herself.

29. *The Origin of Mosquitoes.*

A young man lost all of his blankets in gambling, and went off to chew medicine. On the way he found and killed the Mother-of-the-Mosquitoes, a large bird, and tore her body to pieces. These became the larger kinds of mosquitoes [the small mosquitoes were already in existence]. Soon after this he went to the woods again, and became a supernatural being who calls to people. If a person answers "Yes" once, he will die; but if he says it many times, he is safe.

30. *The Origin of Carved Posts.*

Some people living in Masset Inlet went to Rose Spit to pick berries. On the way a woman looked into the sea and saw a carved post there. The people looked at it long enough to remember how it was made, and, when they got home, carved two posts just like it. At this, however, the supernatural beings became angry and raised a flood, compelling the people to take to their canoes. They threw one of the posts into the sea, and put the other on top of a low mountain. Then they began to sing, and the flood fell; but they were changed into birds, called Giū'gadaga. The post which they left on the mountain is sometimes seen by those who are going to become rich.

31. *The Carpenters: a Story of the Gyitandō' (a Tsimshian Family).*

A boy and his grandmother were abandoned by the rest of their family, but they were given food by a Skunk-Cabbage. One day some one came in and stole the fish they had dried.¹ The boy, however, filled his body with arrows, and in the morning set out in pursuit. Guiding himself by the arrows which had been pulled out, he came at last to a village of the "Carpenters" (u'a'tagañ),² whose houses were all carved and painted. There he learned that it was a slave of the town chief whom he had wounded, and the one who, in the shape of a skunk-cabbage, had furnished him food. After he had returned home, he fed an eagle, who also fed him in return, and he became very rich. One day after this, two slaves belonging to his uncles

¹ Compare Bella Coola (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 254), Bella Bella (Ibid., p. 237), Newetsee (Ibid., p. 189), Kwakiutl (Ibid., p. 149), Comox (Ibid., p. 78).

² Compare Bella Coola (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 254).

came to visit him, and he fed them. He would not let them take any food away; but one of them concealed a piece inside of her dress, and, when her child was choked by it that evening, the people discovered how their relative had prospered. Then they went to him, but he only honored the youngest of his uncles, whose daughter had treated him well. Her he married.¹ Because he visited the Carpenters, the Gyitandō' have the fronts of their houses painted.

32. *The Woman who married the "Carpenter."*

A woman, cast out by her brothers, was met by one of the Carpenters (u'a'tagañ), who married her. He made a great house in one night, in which was an abundance of food. By and by he told her to take food to her brothers and to bid them good by. Then, in one night he moved the house to a place far inland, to which they themselves started the next morning. There they had an abundance of food, and from it she never came back.

33. *Origin of the Spear and of Carving.*

A child in the town of Da'ñangun (Alaska) made fun of the other children, and was told to leave the town. So he and his grandmother went off and camped by themselves. By and by, when the town people were short of food, he killed a bird and invited them to eat it. Then they made him town chief. He had also found the first spear-head, and now began to go out hunting for hair-seal. But one day there was a menstruant woman in the house, whereupon the spear went off and never returned. A woman found another spear in the sea, however, which he continued to use. At a later time he looked at a menstruant woman, and was unable to kill any seals until one of the supernatural beings cleansed his eyes and his spear. Again he went out hunting and speared what he supposed to be a seal; but his spear broke upon it, and he found that it was a carving belonging to the supernatural beings. From this they learned how to carve. One of the figures was a killer-whale; so the Ravens have owned the killer-whale crest ever since.

34. *Those who were blown out to Sea from Nastō'.*

A man and his wife were blown to sea by a north wind, and came to a country where the people wore red coats. There they staid four years, and were treated well. There was a cave there in which were three rows of birds and a row of bees arranged around the sides. When summer began to come, these started to leave, one row at a time, from the top. After all

¹ Compare Tsimshian (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 302), Coast Salish (Ibid., p. 52).

had gone, the people told them also to go. Guided by a sea-gull, they at last came in sight of the Haida country, where Raven-Fin and Noisy-Fin met them, and brought them to NASTŌ'. There a war-party of Ninstints people came upon them and killed the man; but his wife escaped to Swampy-Village, where she told what had befallen them.

35. *Na'xanaxsǝ'mgyet.*¹

This is a variant of the story of Gū'nanasǝmgǝt, but contains little more of it than the last part, where he lost and recovered his wife.

36. *The Woman who was taken away by the Black Bears.*¹

Although the scene of this story is laid in a town on the west coast of Graham Island, it is almost exactly like the first part of the story of Gū'nanasǝmgǝt, of which the preceding story gives the conclusion.

37. *The Grisly-Bear Hunter.*

The Grisly Bears were so much annoyed by a hunter that they stole his daughter away, and one of them married her. After that, the hunter's son-in-law brought him food many times. By and by his daughter bore a baby-girl, who, when grown up, was carried away by the Wolf-People, and was never seen again. She married among the Wolves.

38. *The Man who became an Eagle.*²

At Spa-ō's, near Metlakatla, lived a shaman who had a very foolish nephew. Finally they put this boy into a box and set the box adrift. Then it floated to an Eagle town, where the boy married the town chief's daughter and was given an eagle-skin. With this he flew to his uncle's town, seized his uncle by the hair of his head, and dropped him into the ocean. There his uncle became a devil-fish, "the grandfather of human beings." One day after that, the boy caught a whale with two blow-holes, which dragged him and those who tried to help him successively into the water. The last to try was an old man, who just succeeded in pulling all of them out again.

39. *The Land-Otter-People.*

A man and his wife spent two nights among the Land-Otter-People, who stole the woman's blanket and made fun of it. After that, when the couple

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 43 (p. 202).

² Compare Skidegate Series, Story 17 (p. 194); Koskimo (Boas, Kwakiutl Texts [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. III, pp. 365 et seq.]).

were coming down Masset Inlet, they saw a great crowd of Land-Otter-People on the beach, and heard them singing songs such as the Haida obtained from a Catholic missionary on the Skeena.

40. *The Man with the Fish-Trap.*

A man had a fish-trap in a certain creek, where he caught a great many salmon; but after a while the Black Bears began to steal his fish, and he said something which displeased them. So one day two of them met him, and carried him off with them.¹ He remained for some time in the Bear town; but one day, when the Bear chief was bathing, he ran off with his skin, and, aided by hair-combings and a liquid which he dropped behind him, escaped to his canoe.² Then the Bear chief, who had pursued, melted away from the shore, and he had a dead bear in his canoe. After that, all of the animals gathered together to war on human beings; and the latter, hearing of their approach, built ten stockades, one within another. The animals threw down all of these except one; but meanwhile so many of them had been shot, that they were frightened and fled. Then the people had more meat than they could eat.

41. *Qā'k!a.*

A man of this name had two wives, the younger of whom he liked best. One time his old wife wound some land-otter sinew around his ear, on account of which the Land-Otters took him off. He remained a long time among them, travelling about from one Land-Otter town to another. Finally with a sculpin-bone he pierced the chief's scent-bag, which was hanging up in the house, and was thrown outside. Then he lay down on a piece of driftwood, and was carried in front of his own town. He was really dead. Attracted by the screeching of sea-gulls, his friends found him, and laid him on top of the house, where he came to life. Afterwards he was a great shaman.

42. *Edjañ and Guk!A'ña.*

A good hunter named Edjañ, and his canoe companions, went out to a large reef lying far out to sea; but while they were killing the seals there, their canoe drifted away. For a long time they lived on mussels, but after a time a Raven and a Killer-Whale fed them. They forced Guk!A'ña, however, who had been responsible for the loss of the canoe, to live on a very small amount of food. At last their friends came and took them off, but they would not allow Guk!A'ña to go with them. By and by the Land-Otter-People

¹ Compare Kwakiutl (Kwakiutl Texts, pp. 25 et seq.).

² See p. 202, Footnote 2.

and the Ocean-People came to take him; but he refused to go with any one but his friends, who presently arrived.

43. *A Story of the Town of A'nagun* (in the Tlingit Country).

The chief of A'nagun was not respected by his house chiefs, who never invited him to their feasts. After he died, they treated his nephews in the same way. Then the latter sought the advice of an old man; and, acting upon it, they had a figure carved to resemble the dead chief, and invited all of their uncles to a feast given by him. At the feast they pretended to consult the image regarding what they should give their guests, just as if he were living. They announced that he would give ten feasts. Then their uncles became fond of them. By and by four persons went out to fish. Their fish-club was carved in the shape of a land-otter, on account of which they all became transformed into land-otters.

44. *The Man who was carried off by the Land-Otters.*

A man had the same name as the chief of the Land-Otters, for which they carried him off; but after he had been among them some time, he was heard calling by a hunter, and the people dug him out. Then all of the people went to the land-otter burrows, smoked the animals out, and killed them. The chief, who came out last, was white. About that time the steamer "Otter" from Victoria came around, but there were so many skins that the traders were unable to buy all of them.

45. *The Woman who married the Frog.*

The people of T!ō'k!a used to laugh at a "red-face" (a creature something like a sea-anemone), except one woman, who kept sprinkling it with water. In the winter, when they were in want, Red-Face helped the woman and gave her food. People of all the neighboring towns wanted to marry her, but her father was unwilling to let her go. One day a good-looking man, who was really the son of the chief of a Frog town, met her and took her off. A long time after this, some children, at play near a pond, heard her laughing, and the town people determined to recover her. With their digging-sticks they opened a trench, drained the pond, and took her back. She was unhappy, however, and presently disappeared again.

46. *He who went to the Frog Town.*¹

A youth maltreated a Frog, and was carried away to the Frog town.

¹ Compare Kaigani Series, Story 24 (p. 260).

The Frogs asked him why he had injured the chief's daughter, and he said it was because he wanted to marry her. When they heard that he belonged to the Kiks-People (Frog-People), they let him have her, and he lived a long time with them. By and by he and his wife went back to his own people; but his mother did not like her son's new wife, and in the spring they disappeared to the Frog town again.

47. *The Woman who married a Devil-Fish.*

A girl playing upon the beach was seized by an arm of a devil-fish, and they could not release her. So she married among the Devil-Fishes. By and by she and her husband came with a great quantity of provisions to visit her father. In the daytime the devil-fishes appeared like men, but in the night they assumed animal forms.

48. *The Two Shamans.*¹

Two shamans were friends; but once one of them urinated upon the skin of a land-otter the other had killed, when the land-otter went into him and he died. They placed his grave-box on a point of land. While his friend stood weeping near by, four persons came in a canoe, took the dead man's skin off, and carried it away with them. His friend got into the canoe along with them, and, seizing the canoe chief from behind, pressed his knees against his back. The chief suffered greatly; and when they got to the town, they called in ten shamans to cure him. At last they called in a very great shaman, who saw what the matter was, and promised the man that he and his people would speak through him if he would let go, which accordingly happened.

49. *The Shaman at Island-Point-Town.*

When the food was used up and the people were hungry, a man began to act as a shaman. A mouse which had incarnated itself in a devil-fish spoke through him. He took this devil-fish several times, and gave it to his people for bait. Then they caught many halibut. Finally he turned into a rock, which stands in front of the town; and when it is bad weather, the people put their fish-lines around it, according to his directions, and paint its face. This makes the weather good.

50. *The Woman who became a Shaman.*

Some women went across Naden Harbor to get cedar-bark. While there, the youngest came to a tree on which was a great deal of gum, which she

¹ Compare Kaigani Series, Story 8 (p. 245).

collected and chewed. Then she became a shaman, and her companions found her lying insensible. They took her to the town, where a shaman's costume was put upon her, and she began to act. A crab and a woodpecker spoke through her. When she sang the crab's song, great multitudes of crabs came around. That is why there are so many crabs in Naden to-day.

51. *The Famine at Ti'an.*

Some person pointed his (or her) fingers at a thin, black cloud, in revenge for which The-One-in-the-Sea sent stormy weather, with a great deal of snow. Then the people were nearly famished. A little girl, however, discovered a mixture of snow and gum, and they kept themselves alive by eating it. Now, when The-One-in-the-Sea sent a servant to see if they were dead, he reported that they could not be killed, and advised his master to stop the bad weather.

52. *The Supernatural Halibut.*

Two brothers were fishing near the mouth of Masset Inlet. The elder was a shaman, and obtained a devil-fish every day for bait in a supernatural manner. When they used this, he caught all of the halibut, and his younger brother got none. One day his younger brother discovered what the matter was, and, getting up very early, secured the devil-fish for himself. With this he caught a wonderful halibut, which dragged them completely around the Haida islands. When at last they pulled it to the surface, they found that it was surrounded by a great many halibut, with which they filled their canoe.

53. *About a Shaman at Fin-Town.*

The people of Fin-Town [ɬʰan lnagā'-i] used to take hair-seal from a certain cave; but one time the wind blew continuously from the south for ten days, and the seals left this cave. There was a shaman in the town, however, who got his power from the supernatural being living under a reef in front of it. After performing for several days, he went down to the house of the latter and brought up a whale. This preserved them from starvation. [This story gives a very full account of the regulations gone through by a shaman].

54. *A Story of the Sta'stas.*

Some hunters of the Sta'stas family speared hair-seal on the sand islet at the outer end of Rose Spit. Among them they killed a white one. Then a great wave came in, sweeping all of the seals and their canoe off to sea. There was a shaman in the party, however; and when he began to sing, the canoe came back.

55. *Two Tlingit Shamans.*

The town chiefs of two Tlingit towns were shamans, and they were friends. One of these visited the other and was treated to all kinds of food. In return for this the former got food from his power, which killed all of his friend's people. Then his friend, who had not eaten any of this supernatural food, went off to the woods, and was invited in by a being who gave him a wonderful bird, which made the berries ripen by its cry. He took this behind his friend's town in the night and had it call: so that, when the town people awoke next morning, they found berries all about them; but when they ate these, they died.

Then the Ground-Hog gave him a cane, with which he travelled south, using it to cross the rivers as he went. He crossed the Stikine, the Nass, and a stream near China Hat, until he came to Rivers Inlet. There he made a net for the people to use in catching olachen, and they became very fond of him. So he married and settled in their country.

56. *Two Stories of Karta Bay.*

From a town in this bay the people went to get shell-fish. While they were about this, a strong man put his hand inside the shell of a bivalve, which closed upon him; and, as he could not get free, when the tide came up, he was drowned.

At the same place lived a shaman. When he returned one time from camp, none of his friends went down to welcome him, and he was so provoked by this that he set up his house where he was, on the low-tide flats close to the water's edge. The incoming tide soon covered his house; but as soon as it began to fall, they saw his house still standing there, with smoke rising from the smoke-hole. For some time after that, the people did not like to go to him, thinking he had become a supernatural being.

57. *A Shaman at Qaik'.*

A shaman living at this place carried food to his brothers-in-law, in return for which, among other things, they gave him a stone axe worth five slaves. He valued it very much, but, while they were going home, accidentally dropped it into the sea. When he dived after it, he found it lying between two sculpins; but since he was a shaman, they did not hurt him, and he took it up. Some time after he got home, he told the people that visitors were coming to make peace. They proved to be Land-Otter-People, and the people clubbed them to death. All of these Land-Otters were white.

58. *A Shaman at K'ulē't* (near Port Simpson).

A young man went with his uncle to a mountain where there were many ground-hogs, and when he got there was entered by two Land-Otters, who spoke through him. A shaman living up the Nass had his power from a salmon, and "teased" this new shaman. Then the latter went for a Land-Otter. After he had cut off its tongue, the salmon abandoned his rival, and spoke through him. Now he made an image of a salmon, which shook whenever enemies were approaching, so that his town was always safe.

59. *Aqā'ne q!ēs.*¹

Aqā'ne q!ēs, chief of Klinqoân, bewitched his son, but the shamans he sent for did not dare to tell the truth. At last his nephew became a shaman, acted around his cousin, and told the people what was the matter. They were about to fight, when the nephew pointed his stick at the chief, and ten mice ran out of his mouth. One of these was a white one. Then they were ashamed, and dispersed.

60. *The Sea-Bear* (Tcā'gan xū'adja-i).²

A youth's mother-in-law said something that displeased him. So he went to a small lake behind the town of Gwaisku'n and caught a sea grisly bear, which he skinned. Every morning after that he went out to sea in this skin, caught a fish or some sea-animal, and left it where his mother-in-law could find it. After a while she began to act as a shaman, and prophesied what would be found next day. So it always happened. At last she said that her power would show itself on the following morning. Then all waited for it on the beach; but when the sea-bear had come to shore, the shaman's son-in-law walked out of it, and she died of shame.

61. *The Woman who married a Half-Head.*

A woman's father refused to let her marry any one, and one time some being of which they could see only half a head came and married her. When it ate, the food went to its mouth spontaneously; and when it went hunting, the weapons moved of themselves. After some time his wife fell sick and died. When they had buried her, the half-head went away and was never seen again.

¹ Compare Kaigani Series, Story 11 (p. 247), which version is much better than the present one.

² Compare Skidegate Series, Story 20 (p. 195); Kaigani Series, Story 12 (p. 249).

62. *The Last People of Yā'gun Inlet.*¹

Some women used "bad words" and brought on a great fall of snow, in which all the people were starved to death except one man. He was saved by an old mat which he heard say had warmth in it, and by spearing salmon at a water-hole which he reached under the snow. Meanwhile summer came, but he did not know it until he saw a salmon-berry bird sitting on the smoke-hole with a berry in its mouth. Then he went farther down the Inlet, and reached another town, where he told the people what had happened. There was no snow there.

63. *The Women of S'a'ldañ kun.*

Ten women and a small boy went from S'a'ldañ kun to Yā'gun River. The boy was foolish, and they kept making fun of him. But one night a cold rain fell upon them. No rain fell on the boy, although he always staid outside. After a while one of the women got up and walked away, and the same thing happened to each in succession. When they did not come back, the boy got into the canoe and paddled home. There he told the people what had taken place. Then all went up to see for themselves. Leaving the boy where the women had camped, they followed the trail which came out at and disappeared in a stretch of sand. When they came back to the place where the boy had been left, he was gone. He had followed the women.

64. *The Hunter at Ti'an.*²

A good hunter at the town of Ti'an was unsuccessful for a long time, and the people were starving. At length he became suspicious, and, pretending to go out one day, he watched his wife secretly. He found that she was going with a whale. The day after that, he sent his wife off in a different direction, and, dressing himself in his wife's clothing, cut off the whale's penis. When his wife got home, he gave her this to eat. Then he told her what it was, and made her so ashamed that she fell dead.

65. *The Tree-Spirit.*³

At Klungie'lañ the children were playing with a wooden ball, when a strange child began to play among them. They whipped him, and he went out to a rock in front of the town of which he was spirit. A feather was let down from the air on the end of a ribbon. By and by one of the children

¹ Compare Kathlamet (Boas, Kathlamet Texts, pp. 216 et seq.).

² Compare Eskimo (Boas, Eskimo of Baffin-Land [Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. XV, p. 222]).

³ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 41 (p. 201).

took hold of this, and it lifted him off of his feet. Another child took hold of his feet, with the same result, until all of the people in the town were carried away except one little girl. This girl began to dig and eat roots, and in course of time gave birth to a boy. When the boy grew older, he asked his mother why the houses were empty. His mother told him, and he began to play with a wooden ball in imitation of the others. Then the feather came down again. By and by he seized it, and, when it tried to carry him up, he struck his roots into the ground, — for he was a tree-spirit, — and broke the ribbon.

66. *Nañ sili⁸ai'yas.*

A hunter named Nañ sili⁸ai'yas was unsuccessful for a long time. One day he and his companions were taken into the house of The-One-in-the-Sea. The hunter had some deer's grease with him, which he gave to The-One-in-the-Sea, who was about to invite the Ocean-People. The-One-in-the-Sea was so pleased with this that he afterwards sent Sea-Anemone to help the hunter, and to clean out the blood which had gone into his eyes when a menstruant woman passed in front of him. After that he was very successful, and became a great chief.

67. *The Man who helped the Killer-Whale.*

A man walking from Cape Ball to Masset found a Killer-Whale lying on the shore with a whale-rib caught in his teeth. He removed this; and the Killer was so glad, that he gave the man ten whales.

68. *The Man who was helped by Land-Otters.*

A man, making a canoe opposite Ship Island, was helped by a woman who had married among the Land-Otters. Through the aid of her husband's people he caught a great many black cod, and became a chief.

69. *Ga'ogał.¹*

Ga'ogał was in love with his cousin, who promised to marry him if he would pull out all of the hairs from his body. When he had done so, however, she would have nothing to do with him. Then he left his father's town and began to chew medicine. One day he killed a sea-lion, skinned it, and learned to go about in it. He swam up Nass Inlet, where all of the people were assembled to catch olachen. They saw him, and came out with their spears and bows and arrows to kill him. He, however, took the spears

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 47 (p. 205).

and arrows all away and hid them. Then he swam over to Masset Inlet and did the same thing to the people there. Looking into the chief's house at Masset, he fell in love with the chief's daughter, and married her. The weapons he had taken from Nass he brought over as a present to his father-in-law, and those he had taken in Masset he carried to his own father. He had become very handsome by this time, and the woman who had previously rejected him was attracted by him. He, however, made her so ashamed that she died. Since his time they have used his name and the sea-lion as a crest; and they say, that, since he put stones into the belly of a sea-lion, such stones are still to be found there.

70. *The Bear-Hunters.*

While some people in Yā'gun Inlet were catching bears in dead-falls, they banished a boy and his grandmother from the town. The little daughter of one of his uncles, however, brought them meat secretly. By and by the boy asked his grandmother how dead-falls were made, and she explained them to him. Then he started to make one for himself. He went inland beyond the places where his uncles had set their own dead-falls, and it was not long before he caught a big bear. He caught nine bears in succession. During this time his uncles caught nothing and were starving, so all came to him to buy food. The next time he went up to his dead-fall he found a man lying dead in it, after which he did not go to it again. But out of the copper wire which the man had, wound around his legs, he made a copper bow and shot many birds. From the skins of these his grandmother made him a blanket. Then he married the girl who had been kind to them.

71. *The Blind Man who became a Chief.*

At Island Point Town lived a blind man, his wife, and his two children. None of his uncles would take him out when they went fishing. Then he crawled off into the woods, and was taken into the house of the chief of the Sea-Gulls, who restored his sight, and enabled him to get supernatural bait. With this he caught a great many halibut. Soon bad weather set in, and the people began to starve. Then they started to buy food from him; so that he obtained much property, with which he potlatched ten times and became a chief. Another person tried to imitate what he had done, and lost his sight.

72. *Sta'sta.*

Sta'sta, chief of the West-Coast-Eagles, had a nephew who was a good hunter. One time the latter put tobacco, flicker-feathers, and fresh water into

the sea for NASTŏ', and NASTŏ' gave him a whale in exchange. About that time the Tc!ā'ał people, to whom Sta'sta's wife belonged, came to visit them. A great feast was made for them. After a time the people left this town, but, before they went away, Sta'sta had a valuable copper he owned hidden in a certain place. When they came back, however, they were unable to find this, until the chief's nephew ate medicine. Even he did not see it, but he heard its song and taught it to the people, who liked it very much.

73, 74. *The Copper Salmon* (two versions).

A chief's son spent a great part of his father's property in gambling. Then he went up to a mountain near NASTŏ' to eat medicine. While there, the spirit of the place gave him a copper salmon, out of which he made many coppers, which he gave to his father. He also learned a song there, which he taught the people.

75. *The Woman who suckled a Woodworm.*

A woman of the Stikine family DAL!ā'wadis suckled a woodworm, which grew to enormous proportions, and, coming up to the houses from beneath, used to steal food out of them. Finally the people banded together and killed it. The woman's father would not give her in marriage for a long time, until at last an old man married her, when she became old like him. Her husband gave the people a great deal of food; but when he went away for good, the food all changed into snails, worms, and frogs.

76. *Wítxao*.¹

A boy and his grandmother were banished from the town by his uncles, and lived apart by themselves on shell-fish. One day the boy mended the beak of a Heron, and the Heron began to give them food. First he gave them part of a salmon, but by and by he gave them many whales. Then the boy made a great number of boxes, into which they put the grease. Their house became filled with it. At last two of his uncles' daughters came to visit them, and reported how rich they were. All of the people thereupon came to the boy, and his uncles all offered him their daughters in marriage. He, however, took only the youngest, who had been kind to him. Then he potlatched ten times and became a great chief. Incidentally the story describes a potlatch at some length. [This is said to be the story of the family of LAGIE'x, chief of Port Simpson].

¹ My informant had forgotten the man's true name, so he substituted one from those owned by the same family.

77. *Git!ē'ks*.¹

The people of Git!ē'ks, on the Nass, were all destroyed by those of a town on the opposite side of the river, except a woman and her unmarried daughter. The mother offered her daughter in marriage, and all of the forest people wanted to have her. At last a voice came from up in the air, asking for her, and this suitor was accepted. Then a basket was let down, in which the woman went up. After a long while the basket was let down with ten children in it, — nine boys and a girl, — and taken up again. Then their grandmother was changed into a tree. By and by the children were let down again to the former site of their town, and warred with those who had destroyed their uncles. After the fight had gone on a long time, the sun melted the ice upon which their opponents were fighting, and all perished.

A long time afterwards the descendants of these children were anxious to have a spring near their town; and when they had tried to find one for some time, water broke out in the middle of the town, which destroyed part of the houses and people. It became a river, which they named Salmon-Trap-River.

78. *XA'na*.

This story tells how XA'na, first chief of the Skí'daoqao, obtained songs from the spirits of two places near the upper part of Masset Inlet, and also how a chief of the S'adjū'gał-Town-People obtained such power from the same region that any game would stay in its place until he came up to it and caught it.

79. *Skí'laowē*.

This tells about the birth and doings of the first chief of the Kiä'nusili, Skí'laowē, and about the various houses he occupied.

80. *The S'agā'nusîlî*.

One of the chiefs of this family had a creek at Naden, into which devil-fish used to run like salmon; another was a murderer, and used to protect other murderers.

81. *How the Killer-Whale first came to be used as a Crest.*

Two brothers went hunting buffle-heads, and wounded one. Then they were invited under the sea, and entered the house of a Killer-Whale. There

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Stories 2 (p. 185) and 44 (p. 203).

the eldest was transformed into a whale, like the others, but the youngest escaped. After he reached home again, his spirit was in the habit of going hunting with his elder brother, while his body remained in the house. In the morning his parents always found a black whale on the beach. One morning, however, the younger brother wept, declaring that his elder brother had been killed at Cape St. James, and he had brought his body home. Going outside, they found the body of a Killer-Whale, and they built a grave-house for it.

82. *The Łi'elAñ-River-Point-Town-People.*

This tells about various movements of the family, but particularly how they and the Skí'daoqao obtained some of their crests from Kitkatla.

83. *Story of Those-born-at Łi'elAñ.*

A man of QAñ gambled with the chief of this family, and won a knife from him, but the latter refused to give it up. When the winner got back to his own people, he carved a figure of his rival on a gambling-stick. Hearing of the affront thus offered him, the chief of Those-born-at-Łi'elAñ took ten coppers and many boxes of grease to QAñ and threw them into the sea. Meanwhile his rival gave away a great quantity of mountain-goat wool.

After many years had passed, all the men of the town in which Those-born-at-Łi'elAñ lived were blown to sea and drowned. For a while the women obtained food by selling the right to different parts of the whales which should drift ashore on their coast. When the food they got in this way was exhausted, however, the women of all the other families went to their own people, leaving only the women of Those-born-at-Łi'elAñ in the place.

84. *The Skiä'msm.*

This story tells how the old town of Nā-iku'n was broken up, and of the subsequent fortunes of some of the families which used to live there.

85. *Iłdı'ni.*

Iłdı'ni, a man of the K!ā'was family of K!iū'sta, was driven to the Stikine people by the wind, and became a chief among them. A long time afterward his friends at home learned about him; but he let them know that he was well off among his adopted friends, and never returned to the Haida country.

86. *A War on Yā'gun River.*

While they were fishing for salmon, a war broke out between two towns on Yā'gun River, Lā'nas and Gí'łgidalas. Those of the latter place finally

drove the others out of their canoes into the woods. One of the strong men on the defeated side, however, climbed a very steep hill, where he thought no one would dare to follow him, and lay down there; but an old blind man who had formerly been a great hunter got his friends to point his arrow for him, and shot into the air in such a way that in falling back it pierced his enemy through the heart. Then they made peace, and gave property to each other to pay for those who had fallen.

87. *The Mischievous Boy.*

A boy living at Klinkwan carried away ten children to a lonely place, and kept them there until they were grown up.

88. *How the Secret Society began* (translation given in full on pp. 158-160).

89. *An Account of the S̄k!a Potlatch* (translation given in full on pp. 176-180).

KAIGANI SERIES.

[These were taken in English, and are consequently full accounts.]

1. *Raven.*

After Raven had been travelling about for some time, he came to Sea-Gull-Woman and married her. When they had lived together for a long time, his wife died. Then he left the place, — which was somewhere in the north, — and began to go about by canoe. In the course of his travels he came to a tree with pitch running down from it. It pleased him very much, because he had been weeping for his wife, and this looked like tears. He said, "I am pleased to see you, because you look like tears." Then he went on, and came to a place where blue huckleberries were ripening, and said, "I am glad to see you so, because I have to wear things like yours. My wife has died, and I have to blacken my face just like you, so I am glad to see you." After that, he came to a crooked tree bending over the beach, and when he was passing it, and saw it, said, "What is the matter with you? What makes your mind crooked? Your mind cannot be like mine, for I have lost my wife." So, even until now, they say that people have "crooked minds" and are not perfectly sincere towards their neighbors. It is because Raven said this.

When he got back to the place where his wife had died, he staid there for some time; and all the Sea-Gull-People, his brothers-in-law, having heard of it, came to see him. When they got opposite him, he called out on the beach just like a raven. This frightened his brothers-in-law so much that

they went back home without landing. When they arrived there, they told the others that they could not make out what he had said. Porpoise lived in the Sea-Gulls' house; and when the Sea-Gull-People said, "The Raven spoke very loudly, but we could not make out what he said," Porpoise said, "If I hear his calling, perhaps I can make it out." They went to see him again, and took Porpoise with them. When they reached his place, he ran out again and called like a raven. After that Porpoise said, "He said nothing serious [i. e., angry]. He said that you ought to have come here sooner, when you heard that your sister was dead." Then the Sea-Gulls ceased to be afraid, landed, and went up to his house.¹ His house had a deep hole, with only one set of retaining-planks.

Raven made them all sit down around the fire. He had the Sandpipers (k!ia'ldagwañ) for servants, whom he ordered to start the fire. When he told them, they just flew up in a bunch and settled down, as sandpipers do. He said different things to the Sandpipers to see whether the Sea-Gulls would understand him, and, to his surprise, they understood everything. He had not intended to let them understand. Then Raven suddenly disappeared, and no one in the house saw him. He made himself visible to them again, walking behind them (i. e., between them and the wall). While he was walking there, he stepped on the tail of Porpoise, which they had tried to conceal from him, and Porpoise began to blow as if he were in the sea. Raven looked at him and said, "I know now why they understand me. It is you who have been telling them what I said. You should not do that." Then he ordered a fire to be built, and began to feed them. When they had eaten, they invited him to a feast for his wife, and the day after they left he followed them. When he landed near the town, they came out to his camp (as was customary) to give him food. Then (as was customary) he and his servants the Sandpipers danced on the beach. The servants danced behind him, flying about from place to place. After the Sea-Gulls had gone up, he went to the town in his canoe; and when he came in, all the Sea-Gull-People went down on the beach and danced, while Raven danced in the canoe. After that was over, they took everything up into the house. Then the Sea-Gull-People came into the house and danced. Then Raven danced, and after the feast he went home.

Now, he left that place and went off by land. Coming to a town, he staid there for some time, but at last did something which displeased the people, and they killed him. Then they threw him under the latrine on the platform in front of the house. That evening the wife of the man who killed him went out there and sat down. Then Raven jumped up and poked her with his hand from underneath. The woman screamed, and her husband came running out, asking what was wrong with her. When she told him what the

¹ Compare Nass River (Boas, Tsimshian Texts, pp. 69 et seq.).

dead Raven had done, he went down, chopped the body all to pieces, and threw it into the sea.

While Raven was floating about, a canoe came to him, the people in which saw his beak standing out and the body near it. They had heard about his former power, and said, "I wonder what caused him to float about like this!" Then he raised his head, and said, "Atcagē'tgu."¹

He floated up on the beach, rose, and started travelling farther northward. Then he came to a place called Gwiyū'kun (near Ława'k). An island seaward from this point is called Outward-Fort (Dekī'n'u).² Wanting some one to go out to the latter with him, he called the oyster-catcher (sk!A'dañ), so they went together. They went around the fort, and came to the chief's place. This chief was an Eagle named Ǧanō'g; and Raven, landing just below him, said, "I came to see you, brother-in-law. How long have you lived?" — "Since livers of the sea began to float, since then I have lived" (i. e., since the first deaths in the sea).³ Raven laughed in a friendly way, saying, "I am older than you." Ǧanō'g at once put on his hat and pushed Raven's canoe out from him, whereupon a thick fog came up. Raven did not know where he was, and called out, "You are older than I, brother-in-law." After a while the Eagle took off his hat, and the fog went away.⁴ Then he let Raven come to shore, invited him in, and fed him. Now Raven began to tell Eagle his story. The story lasted all day and into the night. Then Eagle became drowsy and fell asleep; but Raven woke him again, saying, "Wake up, brother-in-law! so that I can tell you all of my stories." So he continued the story until next day, and continued it all of that. When Eagle fed Raven, he gave him only one drink of water, because there was very little. Eagle was the keeper of the water. So Raven was telling his story in order to put Eagle to sleep and steal it. When the second night came on, Eagle fell asleep. Then Raven went to the water, which stood in a little hollow cut in the rock, and began drinking it. Soon Eagle heard the noise Raven made, woke up, and chased him from his island. When Raven got across, some water began to drop out of his mouth. Wherever the water dropped there came to be a spring. Here and there he dropped water on purpose, and made the rivers.⁵

Now Raven went farther north, and came to a big river called Gunā'x°. There he saw a house floating out in the sea, with salmon living in it. They lived in one place then. This house was called Abundant-House (T!ā'-inañ

¹ A Tlingit word, meaning "a woman caused the trouble."

² According to report, there are two islands of the name at that place (see Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, p. 259).

³ See Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, p. 260.

⁴ Compare Tlingit (*Ibid.*), Nass River (Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 16), Comox (Boas, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 77).

⁵ Compare Tlingit (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 313), Nass River (*Tsimshian Texts*, p. 27), Bella Bella (*Ind. Sag.*, p. 232), Awik'łēnox (*Ibid.*, p. 209), Newetsee (*Ibid.*, p. 174), Nootka (*Ibid.*, p. 108).

na-i). Then he came to a house just behind the last on shore, in which a man lived who had a walking-stick covered with the suckers of the octopus along the sides from top to bottom. Raven wanted to borrow this stick in order to reach the floating house, and after much urging the man let him have it. He laid the stick down pointing towards the house, and it stretched itself out until the suckers fastened upon it. Then he tried to pull the house to land, but in vain. Now he cried to the rocks around him, "Get up and help me!" The stones began to move, but they could not get up; and he said, "You shall lie like that on the ground forever." Then he went up from the beach to some hard-wood trees which grow along the beaches and are called *k!as* [my interpreter translated this "maple"], which he shook, telling them to get up and help him; but while he was shaking them, the leaves fell off, after which they all got up like men. Since the leaves fell off, men cannot live long, and die like leaves. He brought these people down to the end of the walking-stick, and let them all take hold along the sides, while he seized the end. Then he began to sing a song while they were pulling, and finally they pulled the house ashore. Jumping into it, he found there spring salmon, silver salmon, cohoes, humpback salmon, and olachen, which he told to go up the different rivers he had made, — different fish up different rivers.

Then he travelled farther north to the Laughing-Goose country, where he married a Laughing-Goose. By and by a fight broke out among them, and they had a pitched battle, in which his own brothers-in-law were nearly all destroyed. His wife was angry with him because he did not help them. Then he made a club; and after it was finished, all came out to fight again, when he killed off many of his foes. But when his wife saw how he was killing the Laughing-Geese off, she became angry again.

Raven continued to live with his wife's people until it was time for the Geese to return south. Then his brothers-in-law asked him to go with them; but for a great while he thought he could not, it was so far. At last, however, he started. Before Raven had gone far with them, he became tired and began to fall, whereupon his brothers-in-law went beneath him and held him up. When they had supported him for some time, and he had become stronger, he managed to fly along alone. They had to do this so many times, however, that they at last became tired and let him go. They were then travelling over the sea. But before he started Raven had taken some sand from the sandy beaches and hills, which he sprinkled down in front of him as he fell; and just before he reached the water, Rose Spit came up under him. There he lay for some time, and, when he recovered himself, went to *Nā-iku'n*, where he was adopted. [From this point on, the story is said to run in the same way as that of the other Haida.]

There were then beaver on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Raven came

to a lake where two of them lived, and, being hungry, croaked just over them that killed both. Then he ate them. That is why there are no beaver there now. If he had not been hungry, they would still be found there.

After he had been travelling about for some time, Raven settled just behind Forrester Island, on the west coast of Alaska, where people were hunting for sea-otter. He lived in a house, which nowadays is a big cave. A sister lived with him; and when she was menstruant for the first time, he put her in different places in the cave. Large holes remain there to-day where he put her [the bottom of the cave consists of very coarse gravel, in which these holes are excavated]. Behind this cave is a high cliff, which has the appearance of the end of an old-fashioned house. That was the screen behind which his sister used to sit.

One day, when the tide was low, he went out digging clams; and after he got through, he drove his digging-stick down into the sand, and said, "This digger will turn to stone and stand here forever." So to-day it is a high rock, as high as the highest tree, called Raven's-Digger (Yeł ɫagwā'). [The shape of it is said to be perfectly conical.]

When he had lived here for some time, a band of Killer-Whales came along, whom he told to come up towards him: so all came up and staid for some time. Then he said, "Turn to stone: you shall stay there forever." To-day there are stones all about this place, points of which stick out of the water like the dorsal fins of so many whales.

One day Raven became angry at something his sister did, and started off. The stringers of his house he threw down against a high rock on the beach, where they may still be seen entire. They are long, square pieces resting against the high rock.

While he was still living there, he was out fishing one day, and, when he had finished, pulled up his anchor and backed his canoe up on the beach. His canoe described a half-circle where a small harbor of that shape is still to be seen.

Just before he set out, he took a stick and pushed his sister out of the house through a hole. She remained in the hole and turned to stone. A human figure may still be seen there, protruding from a rock. Since Raven became angry with his sister, people now become angry with one another, and his start from this place was the beginning of people moving to camp. Whatever Raven did remains with people still.

Now he began moving from place to place. He began to make human beings. Making figures like men out of old rotten wood, he told them to get up; and when they did so, they walked about like men. He made the leg of one short; and when he told the figure to get up, it rose and walked lame.

When Raven saw this man walk, he laughed at him, and said that he had made a mistake in making one leg too short. That is why, even nowadays, people sometimes have one leg short. When he made the sexes, he sometimes made a mistake with a man. Then he said, "This one will be half woman and half man." [Not very long ago some men were like this. Being men, they yet acted like women, and could stand no hard work. In the time of my informant one of these dressed like a woman; but old Chief Edensaw had him bathe for some time, and gave him a beating to beat it out of him. Finally he was restored and married. It does not appear that these persons ever married men, however.]

When Raven had made males, he threw down on the beach some of the male sexual material left over. He did this work at an old town behind Shakan; and when the tide is low there, this half-alive stuff may be seen.¹

When he first made human beings, Raven said they would live like stones, and never die; but when a small wren (tc!a'tc!a) heard it, he said, "Where shall I call, if men live forever?" [This bird calls underneath the graves.] So Raven made men mortal to give this bird a place to call.

[Now follows the story of the making of the moon, as I have it elsewhere; and after that, how Raven stole the bait off of the fishermen's hooks.]

2. *The Night-Owl.*

At Sitka a man and his wife went out to fish for herring (the herring used to run early in the spring, when it was still cold); and when they had enough, they brought them home. Then the man went up to his house to get a basket in which to carry up the fish, while his wife remained behind. When her husband did not return for a long time, and she had called out to him to bring the basket down, she kept on calling for it until midnight. About the middle of the night she said, "Bring me the basket;" and, having said so very often, she began to call like the night-owl (gu'tguništ). Then she began to say it more quickly. Her name was Hammer-Mother (TAQAġtā'). Then she left the canoe, and went up into the woods and began to call there. She became the night-owl. Even now, if people say anything to the night-owl, it returns an answer, and sometimes they can hear distinctly what it says. It always repeats in answer the same words that are said to it. [It is named from the noise it makes.]

3. *How Beaver killed the Grisly-Bears.*

Northward in the Tlingit country was a beaver-lake. Many other beaver-lakes were there. The Grisly-Bear-People and the Wolf-People began to kill

¹ The name of the male "stuff" is tcitc.

the beavers living in these lakes. Starting with the smaller ones, they killed all up to this big lake, where they began to destroy them in like manner. Just one Beaver was saved, who hid himself under a log covered with brush. Then he began to make a small island in the lake as a fort for himself. When he had finished it, he put mud into the lake between his fort and the shore, so that nothing could get at him.

Then he began to call out to the Grisly-Bears, "I wish the Grisly-Bears would die!" One of them came down and asked him if he wished the Grisly-Bears would die; but Beaver was frightened, and said, "No." He said he wished that he himself would die. After a while Beaver repeated many times the same cry as before; and one day, when he called out the same thing, the Grisly-Bear again came down and asked him if he really meant it. He said, "Yes, I really wish that the Grisly-Bears would die." At once the Bear jumped into the lake to swim out to him; but when he got halfway over, he was drowned in the mud. Other Grisly-Bears followed, and were drowned in the same way. When night came on, Beaver stopped calling at the Grisly-Bears'; but next day he began again, and they kept coming until the lake around his island was full of dead bears. Then he dragged their bodies up to the island and tried the oil out of them. When he had enough, he gave a feast. He invited all of the animals in the woods (*ḥk!iens xadē*) to his house.

When he had taken out all of the food he had prepared, he sang a song for them: "Only one survived from my friends. I only survived for a slave." After he had distributed all of the food to his guests, he went behind a screen, which he had put up in the rear part of his house, put on the bear-skin, and came out, when all were terrified and began to run out from his house. Just as the *nōsg*, which was last, was going out, Beaver reached the door, and closed it on his back, leaving the black patch which that animal still wears there.

4. *The Stolen Hair*.¹

A town chief at *Dj'itqat* (Chilkat) got a wife for his son, and the pair were very handsome. The chief's house was a very grand one, with carved screens. Every night the young man used to play with his wife by putting his fingers on the blood-vessels on either side of her throat and pressing upon them for some time, when she always fainted. The chief repeatedly told him to desist, but in vain; and once, when he did this to her, she never recovered. Then the youth asked for the carved boards on the house-front and for the carved screen. His father gave them to him, and they made the grave-box for his wife out of them. Then they raised her up on a high place in the open air. This was just before they left the town. When they

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 27 (p. 197).

started off, the young man refused to leave, and remained near his wife's grave-box. After waiting for him for some time, they went away. At once he went into his wife's grave-box. He staid near it a long time, and, as he sat beside it one day, he saw a big canoe come in from the sea. When it landed, men came from it, bearing a long pole, and began to upset the grave-boxes from one end of the town to the other, taking the scalp from each of the bodies. They came to his wife and did the same thing to her. Her scalp, however, they took down to the chief, who sat in a place in the canoe like a big nest. He was very much pleased with this woman's hair, which was red and very long. At once the woman's husband went down and got into the canoe with them unobserved. All got in, and they started seaward. As no one seemed to notice him, the young man touched the chief on the shoulder and asked him if he saw him. As soon as he did this, the chief turned around, said his shoulder was shaking, and declared that it meant that something bad was going to happen. After a while the man did the same thing to him again; and again the chief said, "My shoulder is shaking. I think we are soon going to have a gale." Then he told his servants to paddle faster, so as to get away in safety. Every time the chief was touched he repeated the same words. When the man found that they did not see him, he put his arm around the chief's body, and his knee against the chief's side. At once the chief said, "I have a bad pain in my side." Still he had not pressed upon the chief very hard.

Now, the chief told his men to paddle faster. They went out a long time, and at last saw the fire of their town. When they landed, they carried the chief up to the house, the man still holding him. They brought him in. The chief was a shaman, but did not see what caused his pain. Then they called in a large White Cod (*skā'-inan*)¹ to cure him, but he did not see what the matter was. They engaged the shamans of all the Ocean-People, — all kinds of fishes, — but in vain. At last they called Cuttle-Fish (*sk'a'tcigi'lgañ*). He had a little dog with him. As soon as the dog entered, he began to bark at the man holding the chief. When the shaman himself entered, he saw the man also, smiled at him, and sat down near him. He said, "What made you come this way?" The other replied, "They brought my wife's hair out, that is why I came with them." Those in the house did not hear what they said, and did not see them. The man said, "Tell them to give you that hair." The shaman asked the man then, "What will you do to me if I keep the hair?" and the man said, "You can keep the hair, but what will you do for me if I let you?" The shaman said, "My dog shall take you ashore." For a long time the chief would not let the hair go; but the more he refused, the tighter the man held him. At last the chief gave in. Then the shaman

¹ Even now this fish is called "the shaman" (*nañ sā'gas*) by the Haida, but that is partly on account of its big head.

began to perform, and, as he did so, the youth gradually relaxed his hold. When the shaman finished, the youth loosened his hold almost entirely. They took down the hair for the shaman, and he and the young man went out.

Now, the youth staid with this shaman a long time, and at last the latter had his dog take him ashore. As they passed along the bottom of the sea, they saw many different things. They passed through a Killer-Whale town and through a Halibut town, also through the towns of each of the other kinds of fish, that have their separate towns; but the young man did not feel frightened except when they passed through a Red-Cod town, where all of the fishes had their sharp fins standing out. Still they passed right through the midst of them unharmed. At last they reached the land, and the dog took the youth straight up to his father's town.

5. *Adventures of a Chilkoot Shaman.*

At the mouth of Chilkoot (Djî'łqot) River lived a shaman. He performed for some time; but at last his powers left him, and all of his people also left him. Then he launched an old canoe which he owned, wrapped a blanket around his head, and let the offshore wind take him away. All of that night and all of the next day he was blown to sea; but finally he felt that his canoe was striking against something like a beach. Then he arose and looked about. He was in front of an old town where nobody lived, and only the skeletons of the houses were still standing. Getting out of his canoe, he went up and walked through all the empty houses. Finally he came to the big chief's house in the middle. A large stone lay in the centre of it, which he took down and put into his canoe. Then he pushed out from the town, and, putting his arm around the stone, sank himself into the sea. When he got to the bottom, he saw a big town. It was inhabited by the souls of those shamans who had lived in the old town above, and had died there. They called him into one of the houses, and all the shamans in the place came in to see him. Then they told him they already knew how his friends would not let him act as a shaman any more, and had said he was not one. All mentioned their names when they came in to see him. Then he went up under water to the beach in front of the old town, and found his canoe, which had drifted ashore there. In it he returned to his own country.

As soon as he got there, he went to the nearest town, Chilkat, where they employed him to cure the chief's daughter. Then he began to perform, and told them he saw a "lake of bad spirits."¹ Before that they used to laugh at him; but now, when he performed, and waved his arms towards

¹ In this lake were supposed to exist all of those spirits which infest witches and wizards, although the people themselves through whom they came were scattered about in different places.

them, they were frightened, because most of them belonged to the bad-spirit lake (i. e., had bad spirits from the lake).

When any kind of sickness was in the town, he was always employed, and he was always successful. He had more power than any shaman who had lived before, and became a chief.

6. *Idjiqā'xdawa.*

A shaman named *Idjiqā'xdawa* used to live at *Qāk!^a*, a town north of *Klewak*. His song-leader was named *Añak!^a*. One time he went up to *Qā'dji lan*, near the mouth of the *Stikine River*, with his mother; and as soon as he got there, they employed him for the son of the town chief, who was sick. The house was full of shamans; and when he began to perform, the other shamans made fun of him, making him act strangely by means of their "powers." As soon as he knew that, he stopped. Then he got into his canoe and started away. His mother was crying because they had made fun of him. When they made camp, he caught a land-otter and cut the edge of its tongue off on the right side, after the *Tlingit* custom. After that he went on to *Sik!^a kun*. Close to this is a salt-water lake, into which he sank himself, and at the bottom procured new powers. Then he went home again, but kept on, without landing, to the place where they had made fun of him. Before he reached it, however, he made a bird out of rotten wood. He blew on this for a long time, until it at last flew away; but it fell on the beach not far off, where his song-leader found it, and brought it to him. Again the shaman made it fly away, and they did not see it any more. Then they went on to the town.

In their canoe they had a stout pole, used to keep the stern out when they landed. When they went ashore, his man shoved this through a stone lying in front of the town. They employed the shaman at once, carrying his things up to a house where a crowd of people was assembled, and in which the sick person was said to lie. He, however, put his rattle on the ground; and it went up of itself to another house, into which he followed it. The sick person and a great many shamans were there.

He told his mother, before he began to perform, to keep the drum going, and, if they pushed her away from the drum, to keep shaking her head. The wooden bird he had made fly had gone into the side of the chief's son and caused the pain, but the other shamans did not see it. He said that there was not enough property around the house for him, and he wanted more, which they at once gave him. Then he began to perform like other shamans, pulled the bird out from the invalid, and made it fly through the smoke-hole. When he turned around towards the other shamans, all began to act queerly, making everybody laugh at them. When his mother was

forced away from the drum by the crowd, she continued to shake her head, and the drum beat of itself. So he cured the child. While he was still singing, and before he had finished, a man made fun of him through the smoke-hole. He looked up at this man and said, "The powers heard you." At once the man jumped down from the roof upon the ground outside, ran something into his foot, and died.

Now, they heard a great noise on the beach. All of the young people had surrounded the pole that had been left sticking in the stone, and were trying to pull it out. When the shaman heard that, he asked his song-leader what it was about; and the latter said, "It is that pole I shoved through the stone. They are trying to pull it out." Then he told the song-leader to go down and pull it out himself, which he did easily.

Now, the shaman took the wooden bird again, and blew on it for some time, when it flew against somebody else. That person too became sick, and they employed the owner of the bird to cure him. He performed over the sick man and cured him. Then he went away from the place.

7. *Sīnagula*.¹

Among the people at Kasaan (Gasa'n) in Karta (Gā'ada) Bay was a young boy. One day he became hungry; but when he asked his mother for food, she gave him a mouldy piece of salmon from near the head. He threw it back. She gave it to him many times, with the same result. By and by he was out bathing with a number of children, and moved towards the deep water after something he wanted. He followed it out until the water became too deep for him, when he was drowned. Around his neck he had a copper necklace.

Then the Salmon-People got hold of his soul, and, when they returned to their own country, took it with them. They went a long time before their town came in sight. They saw the fires, and at last reached shore. Crowds of Salmon-People were there. They were the souls of those salmon which appear to die in the rivers, but which really return to their own country. Going down on the beach, he saw multitudes of salmon-eggs lying about. When he became hungry, he took up some of these; but as soon as he put them into his mouth, some one called out, "This one is eating your excrements." The Salmon-People called the eggs their "excrements." Then a woman who had been taken to this place before him called him and told him to go behind the town, where he heard a great noise, as of children playing. She told him to take one of these children out of the stream which ran there, light a fire on shore, and cook it. The town people had bodies like ordinary people; but when he went back of the town to the stream, he saw real salmon run-

¹ Compare Skidegate Series, Story 26 (p. 197).

ning there. He took one, lighted a fire, cooked it, and ate it. Then, as the woman had directed him, he picked up the bones and threw them into the stream. Then he came back into the town. After a long time, however, he again became hungry, and went to the same woman to tell her that he was going for some more salmon. This time he caught two. When night came, all of the children returned from playing in the stream; but in the house next to his he heard one of these crying all night with pain in the eye, and next day it was still crying. Then the old woman called him, and asked him if he had dropped any part of the salmon on the ground without throwing it into the stream. She told him to go back and search the place well. "You might have dropped the eye and left it there," she said. "If you find it, throw it into the water." When he went back, he found a salmon-eye, which had fallen into the hole where his roasting-stick had stood. As soon as he threw it into the water, the pain left the child at once.

By and by he heard a drum sounding at one end of the town, as if people were getting ready to accept an invitation, and were getting out their dancing outfit. The Herring-People, who lived at one end of the town, were preparing to go to the land of human beings again. Just at that time the man again became hungry. Then the old woman called him, and told him to take the branch of a tree with the green on it and shove it into a little hole at the corner of the house where he heard the drum, but not to look in. He did look in a little, but, as soon as he did so, his eyes were covered with herring-spawn, which flew into them. When he pulled the branch out, it was covered thickly with herring-spawn. He ate it and went away. Then the Herring-People started off, and a long time afterward the Salmon-People prepared to follow them. On the way they met the Herring-People returning. The two parties began to call each other names; and the Herrings, being more successful, produced the marks which are on the skins of salmon. Then all of the Salmon went on, and entered Karta Bay.

There the young man saw his people fishing for halibut, and, when he got close by, stood up beside them in the water; but to the people a salmon seemed to jump. Another Salmon-man stood up, and he too seemed to jump like a salmon. One kind of salmon is long and thin, with a big head. This is called "salmon's-canoe" (tcīn lua), and was what the other Salmon sat in. Now he started to run up the river with the other salmon. The people began to catch them and bring them down to camp. His mother used to stand on the beach, cutting salmon; and when he saw her, he jumped towards her. Before she could catch him, however, he always got back into the water. Every day the same thing was repeated; but when they brought salmon down from above the next time, and he jumped, his mother had made a wall of rocks about herself, inside of which he fell and was killed. The woman told her husband about it, and he directed her to cut the fish's head off and roast

it at once. When she set out to do this, however, her knife struck upon something hard, and she saw that it was a ring of copper around the salmon's neck.

Then she remembered that her own son had worn such a ring: so she took a clean mat, put the salmon into it, and put it on top of the house. After two days they heard a noise there during the night, and her husband found that a human head was coming out from inside the salmon-skin. At once he called all of the boy's friends, and they began to drink salt water in the house. When they had continued this for four days, they saw that the boy had come out down to the shoulders. When they had drunk two days longer, he came out entirely, leaving the salmon-skin behind.

Now he made a noise like a shaman, whereupon they took a clean mat out, wrapped him in it, and brought him in. Then they began to drink salt water again. Presently he got up and went around the fire, performing like a shaman. The copper ring was still about his neck. He became a great shaman, and then they called him *Sĭ'nagula*.¹

Now they left the salmon-river and went home to Kasaan, where he performed constantly. When the salmon began to run again, the people returned to camp at the same place as before; and towards the end of the season, when the salmon had become old and worthless, they saw a salmon that was very fine-looking, and that they could almost see through. They tried to catch it many times as it ran up the river, but without success. It was really the shaman's own soul.

One day the shaman himself went down to the deep place where this salmon used to be seen, and saw it come up. Then he asked one of the children for a sharp stick, which he used, like the rest of the children, in playing with the old salmon near the beach. The shaman threw this at the salmon, struck it near the head, and killed it. At once he too dropped dead on the beach. Before he died, however, he had told the people to put his body, along with all of his shaman's outfit, into the same water-hole; and when they did so, it turned around four times and sank. When they put his drum in, it did the same thing. His batons acted in the same manner also. He said, that, when the drum and the batons (which beat upon flat boards) made a noise, some misfortune would befall them. Afterwards, for a long time, when anything serious was about to happen, they were heard.

8. *The Two Shamans at Gā'ada River.*²

Two shamans living at Gā'ada River were friends. One of them was blind. Once he whose eyes were well came to the blind man, and staid with him for a long time. One day the blind shaman wanted to cut a round stone

¹ A Tlingit word.

² Compare Masset Series, Story 48 (p. 223).

in two, so that he could use the parts to make fire by striking. His friend asked him what he was doing, and, when the blind man told him, asked for the stone. The blind man then handed it over; and the friend began to blow upon it, blew it in two, and handed it back. His friend was pleased, but felt ashamed that he had shown less power. Another time the blind shaman had a land-otter skin he was pounding with a stone to make it soft. When his friend asked what he was doing, he said he wanted to soften the skin in order to put his batons into it. The other then asked for the skin, so that he might help him; and the blind man let him have it. To soften it, however, his friend urinated upon it, upon hearing which the former felt badly, and said, "I wish that land-otter would jump into his bladder!" He knew his friend was fooling him. The blind man took the skin, and it was soft at first. Shortly afterward his friend felt a pain in his bladder, and soon died. After his body had remained in the house for some time, his relations carried it away and put it on a point. Then the blind man remained at his grave. After a long time he felt a big canoe come in, and he felt that his friend was taken on board, but his own blindness prevented him from going.

9. *How a Shaman got Power from a Dog-Salmon.*

Not far northward from Klinkwan lived a shaman who had very little power, so that the people did not honor him. One time he left his own town and went to another farther north, where there was a sick person. Numbers of shamans had been employed unsuccessfully; and when he came, they had him perform. But the other shamans made fun of him, causing him to stumble as he went around the fire. When he saw what they were doing, he stopped, and left the place. As he paddled along, he drank salt water. Arriving at a certain place, he stopped, got a land-otter, and cut the right part of the tip of its tongue off.¹ He did this to get more power. Then he went back to his old home at the mouth of Karta River, and followed up the stream on foot. When he had got a long way up, he heard some one shouting between him and the river. He went towards the sound for a long time; and when it was low, he went slowly. Coming close to the river, he heard some one calling, "Put me together!" Then he went down from the woods to a deep place in the river where he heard more shouting, and saw a dog-salmon bone lying there. He saw that this had caused the noise. Taking it up, he saw that the skin had been peeled off of the bones and the flesh removed, so that only these two parts remained. Then he began to blow upon these,² and to slip the skin over the bones. When he had blown for some time, the salmon began to struggle in his hand, and at

¹ The Tlingit shamans had a secret way of doing this.

² Shamans used to blow away sickness in the same way.

last came to life. He blew more, and then let the salmon go into the river. There it began to jump about, and went down to the sea. Now he got power from this salmon and became more powerful.

10. *The Wizard-Uncle.*

At Klinkwan lived a chief who was a wizard. Once he asked a nephew to go with him to a bay near by, called Klinkwan's-Child (Łi'nqoân gī'di). When they got there, he made his nephew sleep, and put his own bad spirit into him. The boy woke up and began to cry. Then the chief went on ahead; and while they were travelling along, the boy shot his uncle through the shoulder-blade. The uncle turned around and asked him why he did it; and the boy said, "What made you give me the bad spirit? That is why I did it." The uncle was also a shaman, and said, "For this reason I am sick. When I make a person sick, they employ me to doctor him, and I get well paid. If I make a person die, they call me and pay me well."¹ When the arrow pierced his uncle's shoulder, part of the bone point broke off in there, and his uncle was sick from it. Now, just before he died, he sent for his nephew and told him not to say he had wounded his uncle; but as soon as the nephew heard that, he went away, and told the people that his uncle had given him a bad spirit, for which he had killed him.

So many bad things happened in this town (Klinkwan), that they called it The-Town-where-Bad-Things-happen (ʔA'ña-ao lnagā'-i).

11. *The Story of Klinkwan.*

On Klikas (Łĩ'k'as) River was a town belonging to the Tongass. They did not discover the good site at Klinkwan for a long time. When they left the above town, they settled at Qō'yax lā'na, near Klinkwan. While they were there, the town chief, Qō'yax, for whom the town was named, sent out a slave named Daqā'x to find a good place for a settlement. One day after he had been out, he brought home numbers of clams and cockles. His master made a feast with these, and then asked his servant if he had found a place. The slave said he had, and told his master before the people that it had two names, — Shell-Fish-Town (Łinqoâ'n; Haida, Tcao lnagā'-i), and The-Town-that-has-a-Head (ʔā'nsa-Añē), from the appearance of the point. Next day they moved to the new place, and put up very many houses there.

After that, two men went out in a canoe, which upset near Cape Charcon, and both were drowned. Just north of this cape is a high place called Sitting-Grisly-Bear (Xū'adjī q!a'owas), into whose house one of them went. On the other side, at the very point of Cape Charcon, are two pointed hills called

¹ It is said that shamans used to handle the grave-box, and assume the duties of an undertaker generally.

Í'ntan kun and Í'ntan kun gí'di ("Í'ntan kun's son"). The second man went into the house of Í'ntan kun gí'di. Both of these men were Ravens. Sitting-Grisly-Bear and Í'ntan kun were also Ravens: so Sitting-Grisly-Bear sent over to Í'ntan kun gí'di to get the man who had gone in there. Then he showed the men a trail and let them go, when they found that it came out at a little bay called Łinqoâ'n gí'di, close to Klinkwan. They came out in the forms of ordinary men, and were saved.

A young girl became a shaman at a bay at the head of Klikas. She found a place where geese were in the habit of hiding the roots they lived on, and she became a shaman by eating them. From one of her grandmothers who had lived a long time before, she took the name of Djūn. Now, the son of the town chief of Klinkwan was sick, and they employed all of the shamans in the town to cure him. Among them was Aqā'na q!ēs, who performed seven nights. At last they employed Djūn. She was an orphan. When she performed, she saw at once what the matter was; and next day, after she had drunk salt water, she performed again. Before she went in, she said to her friends, "If you miss the beak of my rattle (which was made of bone), search all of the people in the house." Now, after she had performed a long time, they missed the beak from her rattle: so her friends began to look for it among the people, and at last found it upon Aqā'na q!ēs. Djūn had told them that the one upon whom it was found was the one who was causing the sickness. Then they began to whisper that Aqā'na q!ēs was the author of the trouble; and the nephew of the latter, who sat in the same house, overheard them. At once he went out. Then the chief said, "Who went out?" and when they told him that it was the nephew of Aqā'na q!ēs, he was troubled, for he foresaw a disturbance.

When Aqā'na q!ēs heard what had been said of him, he went out and asked Djūn if he were a wizard. He kept on asking her for a long time. He called upon her to come out and tell him if he had caused the boy's sickness. Then the people went to sleep; but next morning early he began to ask her if it was he who was causing the sickness. Then he abused her, saying that she had no parents; that he had been brought up like a noble, but she like a slave. All that time she never answered. When the sun got higher, Djūn's uncles told her to go out and kill Aqā'na q!ēs, since he was at the bottom of the difficulty; but she said it was not time yet, she would wait until the sun got higher still. Her powers told her not to go out in a hurry.

Finally she said that her powers told her it was time for her to go out. Then she asked for her grandmother's cane, put on the clothing of a shaman, and went out. She said to Aqā'na q!ēs, "Uncle, it was not I who said you did it, but my powers." Then she stood a long distance from him and shook her hand, palm upward, towards him. Every time she did so, his jaw shook

as if her hand were actually upon it. She pointed her carved stick at him, saying that she was going to clean the bad spirits out of him. When she moved the stick to one side, Aqā'na qlēs ran along in the same direction. The man did not say a word, nor did any of his friends. When she had done this for a long time, she said she had him cleaned of mice and bad spirits. Aqā'na qlēs used to be very proud; but in this way she humbled him, and no one of his friends spoke a word, for shame, for all of that day.¹

12. *The Youth who flew about in an Eagle's Skin.*²

A chief's daughter at Sitka had a lazy husband, who always lay in bed and did not even get up to eat. When he was eating and tore off the salmon-skins, his mother-in-law used to say, "My child's husband is felling a tree." She said this so often, that he became ashamed. So he arose one morning, and travelled some distance away. While he was going along, he came to a "brown" eagle sitting on a tree, which he shot with an arrow. Then he skinned it, dried the skin, and got inside. Now he began to fly. First he flew along the beach near the ground; but when he got a long way off, he turned around, and flew back a little higher up. He continued this till he got far above the mountains. Then he came down and settled on the beach. He got out of the skin and went home, but early next day he tried it again. Coming to a place where big, heavy branches lay on the beach, he took one of them in his talons and flew up with it. He flew up high to see how much he could carry, and, when he felt he was able to handle something very heavy, flew out to sea and caught a red cod which was floating about. It was night. Then he flew back to land, laid the cod down in front of the door of his father-in-law's house, and went in. Next morning he went out and caught another, which he left in the same place. Every morning he caught some kind of fish and left it there.

His mother-in-law now began to pretend that she was a shaman. One day, when she was performing, she said, "A porpoise is going to lie upon the beach;" and it happened as she had said. She performed again, and said that a big hair-seal was going to lie on the beach; and that also happened. All that time the people drank salt water with her. Then she prophesied that a sea-lion would lie upon the beach, which also happened. The young man knew that his mother-in-law was telling lies, for he brought the animals there himself. She performed again, and said that two sea-lions would lie upon the beach. Just at that time came a famine, and they could get no food. They found the two sea-lions, as she had foretold. Next she said that a whale would lie upon the beach; but when her son-in-law heard

¹ Compare Masset Series, Story 59 (p. 226).

² Compare Masset Series, Story 60 (p. 226); Skidegate Series, Story 20 (p. 195).

it, he exclaimed, "I may get drowned some day for carrying up the things." At that his mother-in-law fell back and died of shame. If she had not made him ashamed before, he might have fulfilled her prophesies longer.

Then the young man went out, got a whale, and brought it up to the beach, from which they came to know that it was he who had been bringing the food all the time. After that, he kept on bringing in one whale at a time until he got eight. He never caught them in the daytime, but always got back before the raven called.¹

Between a mountain island near Sitka, called L!ax, and the mainland, a big whale used to live. It was so big that it never went down like an ordinary whale, but always floated upon the surface there. One time, after the youth had caught the eight common whales, he seized this one, and tugged at it all night to get it ashore; but just as his wings began to touch the beach, the raven called, and he dropped dead.

13. *DA'gu t!aoL.*

At a town called Sínagułqa, near Klawak, two men were bathing in the sea to acquire strength. They wanted to be able to pull a forked tree apart, and to draw an excrescence out of the side of another tree. Near this town was a rocky islet where sea-lions used to crawl up and sleep. One of these men bathed publicly, came out of the water at noon, and, going up to the excrescence above referred to, tried to pull it out. When he had succeeded, he thought he would be able to kill sea-lions with his hands, and tear them to pieces.

The other man bathed secretly. He used to go out at night and lie down on top of the house, where he could catch all of the cold wind. After that, he went into the water, and came into the house unobserved just before the people woke up. When that winter was over, both men waited until another, and did the same thing again. One time when *DA'gu t!aoL*, the one who was bathing secretly, was in the water, he saw something swimming towards him: so he, too, swam towards it. It was a being called Strongest-Man or Master-of-Strength (*DA'gu s'an*). They wrestled together, but the bather was not strong enough to face his antagonist. Then they stopped, and he went on bathing for a long time. Towards spring Master-of-Strength came again, and they again wrestled; but still the bather was not strong enough, so the man continued bathing for another long period; and when it was spring, they wrestled a third time. But now he was stronger than Master-of-Strength, and nearly made the latter fall, so that he told him to stop. Now he went straight up to the tree that had the excrescence in it, twisted it around, and pulled it out. Then he pushed it in again and left it. Next day his rival went

¹ Supernatural beings hunt at night, and have to get back before the raven calls.

to the tree, and of course pulled the excrescence out easily. He thought his own power had accomplished it. Then he brought it to the house and threw it inside.

The people were now about to start off from the village to catch the sea-lions, and, thinking that this man was the strongest, they took him along. As they were just setting out, the other man threw himself into the canoe near the stern. As soon as they had landed on the rock, the man who was supposed to be strong ran up to the biggest animal he could see, seized it by two of its flippers, and tried to rip it in two; but the sea-lion made a stroke at him with its flipper and killed him. When the man in the stern saw this, he became angry. He had a bunch of weasel-skins under his blanket, which he tied on his hair. Then he ran to the bow, jumped ashore, seized by two flippers one of the sea-lions which was coming towards the water, and ripped it in pieces. Running to another, he tore it up as well. Now they knew it was he who pulled out the excrescence from the tree.

14. *The Strong Man.*

At Qā'dji lan, where the Fort Wrangell people used to live, was a strong man. Whenever people came to the town, he would go down and drag their canoe up with all of their things in it, so that the canoe split. When he got wood for the people, he made fun of them by bringing down a whole tree, which he laid against the house. Sometimes he carried a big stone into a smoke-house and laid it in the fireplace, so that they could not light the fire there again.

When they got tired of his actions, two men started to make themselves strong. In winter they caught cohoes when they had become quite red, and washed the slime off of them into large wooden boxes. When each had a boxful of the slimy water, he got into it every day in the cold weather. When they got stronger, winter had set in again, and the people were back in the town. Then the strong man made fun of the people again for a long time by dragging up their laden canoes when they came ashore. One day the friend of the two bathers arrived home, and the strong man, as usual, went down to drag his canoe up; but as soon as they saw that, the two men each took him by one arm, and, pulling sideways, pulled the arms out of his body. Then they ran their fingers through his body and killed him.

15. *The Restored Gāg'd.*¹

[Translated from the Haida Text.]

While the Tlingit were still living at Klinkwan, a chief's son once went to get firewood for his uncle. His uncle's slaves went with him. Then his

¹ Compare Tlingit (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 323).

canoe upset, and he became a *gāgī'd*. It was then winter. The autumn following, the people hunted on the farther side of *Gū'sdagañē kun*; and while the men were out hunting, and only the women in camp, he came in. When it was evening, he used to enter the house, but only when there were none but women there.

After this had gone on for a long time, the people collected urine in two boxes, along with devil's-club and blue hellebore. Bitter things of all sorts they put into it. Then they drove four strong stakes deep into the ground in front of the house into which the youth was in the habit of going. They also plaited a strong rope. Then they went hunting again, but in the evening they came back quickly and landed behind the point. When they looked into the house and saw him sitting there, they bit their bodies so as to make the blood flow, and, with this in their mouths, ran in to him. Having the blood in their mouths kept them from forgetting themselves in dealing with the *gāgī'd*. Now they tied him to the four stakes, and scratched his skin all over with an implement [made of a stick into which bones were stuck] with which they used to scratch their bodies in olden times, when they bathed in the sea for strength. Then they poured the contents of their two boxes over him, and kept it up all night. When they had nearly come to the bottom of the second box, day broke. Then he spoke out himself, "Continue to do it to me;" and when morning dawned, he came to himself. They untied him and made him go to bed. Now he slept a long time from the exhaustion of travelling about so much in the night, and during that time they pulled out the fish-spines and sea-egg-spines which were in his lips, and the branches which were in his head. They kept on doing this all day. Next morning, after he had eaten, he fell asleep again, and they continued pulling them out. They did this for a long time. During many whole days they were fixing his face; and when his face got better, he told them to take him to *Klinkwan*.

The two brothers who had restored him staid in front of the town in their canoes that night; and when day came, one of them said, "Let other people tell the [good] news about me." So he shouted to them the same words repeatedly. Why he did so they did not know; and when a long time had passed without any one understanding what he said, one went down to him to find out. Then he said, "I made the chief's son who disappeared from here a human being;" and the one who had been sent down called out, "They have brought home the chief's son who disappeared out of this town." At once they went down to get him, but the chief's son refused to go until they had paid for him. Then they began to buy him. They gave many skin blankets and coppers and canoes for him, but still he was dissatisfied with the payment. And they added more. When it became a very large pile, the chief's son was satisfied with the payment, and through him the two brothers became richer than the other town people.

16. *A War with the Land-Otters.*

Four men belonging to Hot-Spring-Town (Ñat!ahí'n) were going along in a canoe, when they were upset, and the Land-Otters took them into their houses. A shaman in the town they had come from told their friends what had befallen them. At once they gathered together to war on the Land-Otters, and came to a place where the latter had been rolling. Then they saw the land-otter holes, and went up to them. Blocking these holes up, they dug a new one below, and built a big fire in it, which drove the Land-Otters out. Then they killed them all. Inside they found one of the missing men, whom they took home; but he was becoming wild, and it was a long time before they could restore him to his senses. They accomplished this by heat. Then they went to another Land-Otter place, and treated it in the same way. As the Land-Otters could not make war in return, the shaman (whose name was Dô'xsta) prophesied that they were coming to make peace and get property for those who had been killed.

So one day they saw a thick fog coming along, and heard a drum inside of it. They also heard singing. When this got in front of the town, they could also see the canoes, and people dancing upon them. One woman, called Tōdjí'digutl, was able to dance better than all of the others. Then the Land-Otters made all of the town people who had come out to look on go to sleep, took their souls out of them, and went away. Afterwards all the people woke up and talked of what they had seen. They did not know that they had been asleep.

One day after this, four men went out in a canoe from this town, landed in front of a pond which lay close to the sea, and dragged their canoe over into it. When they had taken their canoe down again, some one came down on the beach behind and told them to wait, for he had something to say. Then they stopped, and he said, "When you start from here, the man in the bow will die as soon as you reach a certain place. Farther on the next one will die. Near the town the third will die. The last will reach the town, tell this story, and die as soon as he has done so. He told them to have the same shaman engaged as they had had before.

All turned out as he had said; and when the last one had told of their adventures, he died. Last he said, "They told us to get other shamans to treat our shaman." When he heard that, their shaman went mad, put on his shaman's clothing, and said, "What will kill me? Nothing will kill me." At once he dropped dead. The other people then began to drop dead, until all in the town had died.

17. *The Louse Town.*

Far up the Chilkoot River stood a town whose inhabitants were called Copper-People. A Land-Otter came down near this village, and looked at them secretly. It saw that people had children: so it made itself into a woman, made itself with child, and began to count the months. But the woman could not bring her child forth. In great trouble she left the town and walked up into the forest, where, far in the woods, she found a Louse town. The lice were like human beings. Some one told her that there was a man there who was able to feel anything wrong with the body, so she went into his house and sat down. He, however, paid no attention to her. Then she went outside and began to cry. When she went in again, another old man who sat in the corner of the house told her to go under the house, which stood up high. There she was confined and brought forth a child. Because she found the Louse town, lice have since begun to crawl among the people when they get dirty.

18. *Swimming-Land-Otter.*

Just south of the town of Nā-iku'n was another town called Lā'nas, the chief of which had a daughter. Chiefs used to come from long distances to ask her father to let them marry her. They came in ten canoes each time. The father, however, refused. One day another fleet of canoes arrived, and the people said that they had come from Cape St. James; but they were really Land-Otters. The girl's father, as usual, refused to let her go with them; but she wanted to go, so she said to them, "Stay at Raven Creek and send two men after me." So they did, and after a long time she pretended she was going for water, and went off with the visitors. They took her into one of the two canoes that had come, and told her to lie upon the bottom with her face covered, and never to look out. As they went along, she heard them all paddling as hard as they could to see which canoe was the faster. Then she thought somebody was pulling her hair, and wanted to see who it was: so she looked through the eye-hole in her marten-skin blanket. Now she saw that they were diving under patches of seaweed, and that she was with Land-Otters.

After they had gone for a long time, they said that they could see their own town. They paddled harder, and then told her to look out. There she saw a number of houses with poles in front, but what she thought were poles were really trees. When the woman got into the house, she found that all of the people were land-otters, the one who had married her being white.

The next fine day the whole town was excited, and all started out to fish. Then she gathered all the dry sticks and bark she could find, brought

them into the house, and built a fire. By and by what looked like real canoes came towards the beach, but they were actually the land-otters; and when they came up to the house, they shook off so much water that the fire went out. For that all turned around and scratched her. She made a mistake twice about the fire; and then an old woman in one corner of the house, who was "half roots," told her that she must make her fire of wet, water-logged wood.¹ She said that she herself had been half transformed into roots, because she made her fire of dry wood many times. So the woman collected a pile of water-logged wood, and, when she saw the land-otters coming home, put it all on the fire, with a little dry wood to start it. Then they came up and shook off the water from their fur; but the fire was not extinguished, and they licked her all over for pleasure.

Another time the old woman told her to get all the pitch-wood she could find. When she had brought it in, the old woman split it up with stones, made bundles of it, and put them in different places around the house. Then the old woman told her to lay a flat stone in the doorway and procure a stout stick for a club. Now, when the land-otters came home that evening and were asleep, she lighted the torches, ran outside, and stood by the flat stone with the club in her hand. The land-otters soon began to be smothered by the smoke, and crawled out at the door; but as soon as they appeared, she clubbed them. Only the white one escaped.

Not knowing how she had come, the woman now wandered towards the south end of the island. On the way she felt something moving inside of her blanket, but she let it stay there. Then she fixed up a house of branches for herself at a certain place, and started to live there. Now she saw a small land-otter about the size of a mink in her blanket, but after a time she missed it. Though this was her own child, she did not know it. It was night, and she went down on the beach and began to cry. Towards morning, however, she heard the land-otter calling out to sea, and when it came towards the beach, she went down to see it. In its mouth it had the tail of a spring salmon. She picked this up, wiped the land-otter, and brought it to the house with her. This happened for some time, until at last the land-otter brought in a whole spring salmon. By and by it brought in a whale's tail. All this time the land-otter tried to speak to her, but she could not understand it. At last it brought a whole whale up on the beach. One day, after it had done so for some time, it staid away longer than usual, and came back with a tree having all of the roots on it. Then Land-Otter spoke for the first time, asking her if she remembered a tree which used to lie near his grandfather's town. She told him she recognized it. "This is the tree on which we used to play when we were children," she said. "It used to lie on one side of the town."

¹ Compare *Awik'lenox* (Boas, *Ind. Sag.*, p. 226).

Then he told her to watch for good weather. "I am going to swim to my grandfather's town, so you watch for good weather," he said. He wanted a good day to swim across Skidegate Channel (Xā'na). When it was a fine day, Land-Otter went down to the water, and told his mother to sit on his back, so that he could swim away with her. For a long time she was unwilling to do so, because Land-Otter was so small; but after a while she ventured to try, and Land-Otter swam away. He told her to lie flat on his back, with her head close beside his, and never to look towards the east. "If you want to look out, look west first before you look around, but do not turn your face towards the east," he said. Before they got halfway over, however, the woman looked up towards the east, and an easterly gale set in. As soon as he knew what she had done, Land-Otter turned around and went back to the place they had started from. When the wind blew hard, the water broke over them. Then he told his mother that his name was Swimming-Land-Otter (SLA'gu ŁAgī's).

When it was again fine weather, they again started, and she looked up towards the west first. Then the west wind blew, and it was a fine day. As he went, he repeated all the time, "I am Swimming-Land-Otter" (SLA'gu ŁAgī's haoī 'djiñ). Then he said to his mother, "I can see my grandfather's town." So he brought her up at one end of the town; and, taking Land-Otter up, she went behind to the place where she used to get water for her father. She sat there a long time, until at last her father's slave came to get water. He looked at her, ran back, and told the other slaves. Then the principal slave ran up, saw her there, and went back to tell her father. It had been a long time since she disappeared, and they did not expect to see her again: so when the slaves told her parents, they began to cry. The chief's nephew, however, went out and told them that what the slaves said was true. Then the chief told them to put her on skin blankets and bring her down, which they did. All the people in the town came in to see her, but were frightened and said nothing. They fixed up a place for her behind the screen of her father's house.

One night she missed little Land-Otter, whom she always carried under her blanket, and thought he was dead, so she began to cry; but early in the morning, before daybreak, she went down to the beach and heard his call as he was coming ashore. He had a whole spring salmon in his mouth. She brought Land-Otter up, and told her father to send one of the slaves down on the beach to look for something. When the slave found the salmon, they had it roasted for the chief. After Land-Otter had done this many mornings in succession, he brought in a whale's tail. Every night he brought one in. Finally he brought a whole whale in, and her father began to be a great chief as a result. One night he did not re-appear at the usual time, nor during the next day: so she began to cry. She did not know that he

had gone home to the town he came from. She cried so long that her father asked her the reason, and she told him for the first time about her Land-Otter son. After she had cried a very long time, she said to her father, "That Land-Otter son I had has come to take me to the place I brought him from." When she had said that, she died.

Until lately the people said that when they told this story, the wind would blow from the west, and it would be fine weather; also because this woman died suddenly, people coming after her die suddenly. Because the young Land-Otter had a grandfather, even till now people have grandfathers.

19. *The Minks.*

A man at Qā'dji Lan used to catch herring with a rake [a straight pole with sharp pegs along one side]. After he had been using this for a long time, he one day struck something stronger, which he raked into the canoe. Then he heard something laughing in the canoe. It was Mink. Mink said, "Perhaps he thought I was Herring. That is why he took me in." The same day, when the man was going home, he heard the noise of beating on boards, such as is made for shamans, just around a point ahead of him. On arriving there, he looked stealthily over it, and saw that Minks were causing the noise. He heard them laugh at times, and saw that one was performing like a shaman. One Mink asked the shaman whom he was imitating; and he said, "I am imitating Cēks," whereupon all laughed at him. When he got home, the man told his people about it. Then others went out to the place, but they heard nothing.

After a while the people left the town and went to A'n'an River. They occupied a town near this river; but while there their food ran short, and they began to die. Of one house, only a single man was left. He used to go away from the town and sleep in the woods. When he went into his house, he wept for his uncles and because he was afraid he too would starve. One day, as he was crying, one of his uncles' sons came in and asked him why he cried so much. He said, "All of your fathers are dead, and there is no one to make a feast for them. That is why I am crying." Then his visitor said, "My father has a fishing-line. Go and look for it." He found the line and two hooks; but he said, "There is no bait." The youth who had come in had a blanket made of two marten-skins, one of which was new. He cut off a strip from the edge of the latter, and gave it to his cousin. Next day the latter started off. He scraped the skin clean, tied it around the hook, and let his line down. In that kind of fishing, — which was not employed on the Queen Charlotte Islands, — they attached the line to a sea-lion stomach and watched it from the beach. At some distance from the float a stick of wood was attached. Usually the latter began diving about

when a fish was hooked, but this time it stood straight up without moving. The fisherman thought something was on it, and went out to look. When he began to pull the line in, he found it was very heavy. He pulled it in gradually. When he got it to the surface, he saw a big salmon-nest, from which fins stuck out in all directions. Then he began to load his canoe with spring salmon, and half filled it. He took these home, and sang as he went. Then the young man who had helped him came down and asked him why he was so happy. He told his cousin what he had caught. Now the young man told him to cook his salmon with hot stones, and directed him how to go about it. So he went up, lighted the fire, and cooked two big boxes full of salmon. Then he made a feast, to which he invited all of the town people. After he had feasted them and filled their dishes, they all went home, and he felt sad no more. Some of the salmon which was left over he dried and sold.

20. *The Giant Mouse.*

A giant mouse used to live at the mouth of Karta Bay and kill everything which passed by. After a long time the people determined to destroy it. They paddled out to a rock where it was in the habit of going to kill the hair-seals which used to lie there; and when some time had elapsed, the mouse appeared. When it reached the place, it raised its tail over the seals, let it fall upon them, and struck all dead. Then it piled part of the dead seals on its back and started off home. Among the hair-seals that remained, one was perfectly white.

The men now took all of these seals into their canoe and paddled away, but the mouse returned at once and gave chase. Though they paddled as fast as possible, it overtook them, and turned around to strike them with its tail. Before it could do so, however, they were again out of reach. This happened many times. Now they began to shoot at it with their arrows, and at last pierced one of its eyes. After it had pursued them for another long distance, they at last pierced the other eye. Then it began to swim around helplessly, and they went back and speared it to death. They went home as soon as they had done this, but returned again to look at it. When they started to cut it, it was so fat and looked so nice, that they began to eat some of the meat; but hairs soon grew out of their stomachs and came out of their mouths, when those who had eaten died.

21. *The Gun qadē't.*

The Gun qadē't, a monster having an enormous human body, lived at Ketchikan. He used to pursue, catch, and eat any men passing in front of his dwelling; and after a great many had been destroyed, the people did

not know what to do. But a man named Hā'adjigīt, who had many nephews to accompany him, set out to destroy him. He told his nephews to prepare a great many poles sharpened at both ends. When these were ready, he went out of doors one day, and began to talk. He said, "I was not born in winter-time. I was born when salmon began to run." They used to keep salmon-heads in a hole on the beach covered at high water; and he said to his friends, "Drown me in the salmon-head hole." He really meant to tell them that he was going to make war on the Gun qadē't.

One day he told his nephews to launch the canoe; and before they started they provided themselves with a rope made of twisted cedar-boughs, with the bark burned off. At flood-tide they were going to let their canoe into the salt-water pond where the Gun qadē't lived. So they came in front of his place, and he came out with open mouth to swallow them. At once they began to throw the sharp-pointed sticks down his throat, after which he sank out of sight and died. When they reached home, Hā'adjigīt sang a song in memory of the event. This is of course in Tlingit, but it is also used by the Yä'das, a Haida family.¹

22. *The Monster Devil-Fish.*

Some people were living in a fort at the mouth of a river near Klawak. They used to dry so much salmon there, that the fort looked red all over. One day two brothers and a little boy belonging to one of them went out hunting, and staid away one night. When they returned, they found that their people had disappeared and the whole fort had been cleaned away, not even a stick of the houses remaining. They also saw slime all over the place where the houses had formerly stood. Then they found that a monster devil-fish, which lived under an island in front of the fort, had become attracted by the glow upon the water from the red salmon, and had swept everything away with one of its arms. Then the hunters began to cry.

After they had cried a long time, they went to the place where the devil-fish lived, and where there was a high cliff, and, having first landed the boy and directed him to climb a tree and watch them, began to cut up a porpoise they had killed, so that its blood would spread out over the water. Then the devil-fish came to the surface, mouth upwards. Now the brothers seized their knives, jumped upon it, and started to cut it to pieces; but as soon as the devil-fish felt the knives, it folded its arms together and swallowed them.

Now, when some time had passed, a man who used to camp in the neighborhood came along, found the boy sitting upon a tree, and took him away. Then the boy told what had happened; and, going out to look for

¹ Compare Portland Inlet (Boas, Traditions of the Ts'ets'ā'ut [Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. X, p. 47]).

the devil-fish, they found it floating at the mouth of the bay. When they cut it up, they found both men sitting dead in its belly, with their knives in their hands.

23. *The Woman who married a Devil-Fish.*

The town chief of Yeŋk!ai'g, a former town near Shakan, had a daughter whom all the principal men wished to marry, but her parents refused to let her go. One day when she went out, she met a handsome man on the beach, who was really the Devil-Fish that lived under a rock in front of the village. He took her home as his wife.

About a year after this, the people were again living in the same town; and one day, as the chief sat in front of his house, two small devil-fishes came up on the beach. All the children were told to let them alone. Then they came up to the chief, climbed on his shoulder, and crawled around his neck, after which they went down and crawled about on the beach. Another day, while he was sitting there, the same thing happened; but the third time the children went down and killed one before the chief saw them. At once the woman who had been lost appeared, and went up to her father's house, wailing, and saying that one of her children had been killed. Now, before she went back, she told her father to block up all the holes and cracks in the house. So they gathered a great quantity of moss, and caulked up every crack and seam, shutting the door and the smoke-hole tight. Then the Devil-Fishes made war upon this town. They came upon it from behind, climbed on top of the houses, and let so much slime flow into them that all except those in the chief's house were drowned.

24. *The Man who married a Frog.*¹

At Tlā'q° River a young man made fun of a frog, and was met by another youth, who was really a Frog, and who carried him to the Frog town in a neighboring lake. There they kept him a prisoner. They told him that he had made fun of the chief's niece, and that the chief had gone up the river and had not yet returned. The chief was a powerful man, who had a club hanging at one side. His name was One-whose-Eyes-they-fear (NAñ xAñga L! ʔwā'gas). When he got home, they told him about the youth who had made fun of his niece, and the chief was very angry. He asked the man why he had done so, but for some time the latter said nothing. At last he replied, "Human beings always do that way when they want to marry their aunt." By his aunt he meant the Frog-Woman. Then they let him marry her.

¹ Compare Masset Series, Story 46 (p. 222).

25. *The Monster Frog.*

A man at Cape St. James (ʔā'ñet kun), belonging to the Raven clan, used to go out for sea-otters; but he was unsuccessful for so long a time, that all the men who used to paddle for him left him. Then he went out to hunt with his wife. It was very calm when they started, so he paddled right out to sea. By and by his wife said she saw something, and, looking about, he too saw something sleeping upon the water. When he had speared it, he found it was a big frog. While he was clubbing it, his wife asked him what it was. "Do not ask me," he said. "This is my uncles' children, who have put themselves together. So you need not ask me." Now, when he got home and put the frog on the beach, all the people came down and told him not to bring it up, because it was their crest he had killed. In order that he should not use their crest, they bought it from him for a great deal of property.

26. *The Woman who received Supernatural Help.*¹

At Sī'k!^a kun, near Sitka, a woman lived all alone, the rest of her family having died. She made a house for herself of branches at one end of the town, and sat in front of it every day, crying. As she cried, she blew her nose and wiped her hands upon a clump of grass in front of her. Now, one day she heard a cry like a baby's inside of this clump, and, digging into it, found a baby-girl. It was born of the mucus from her nose. After a time she found another baby in the same place. This was also a girl; and when they had grown up, their children re-occupied the town.

27. *The Outcasts.*

At the mouth of Chilkat River a young man and his grandmother were abandoned by their friends. The former built a house out of pieces of cedar-bark, and they lived for some time upon clams and mussels.

One day a canoe-load of strangers landed near them and built a fire. They heard the chief of this party complaining that his servants got no mussels or clams. Then they cooked some for him, and, putting them upon thick cedar-bark, called gał, carried them over. The chief was highly pleased. When he had eaten, he invited the boy and his grandmother to come down to them, and gave them a great deal of food. They roasted a whole spring salmon for them. Then they gave them high-bush cranberries; and after that, soap-berries. When they had finished eating, the people carried all of the

¹ La ga ga q!a'ñan. This means that "something helped her," without any one knowing whence the help came. Compare Kwakiutl (Boas, Ind. Sag., pp. 160, 189); Comox (Ibid., p. 84).

food that was left over up to their house for them; and before they left, the chief said, "If you hear a noise in the house during the night, wrap up your heads well and do not look out." Accordingly about the middle of that night, when they heard noises around the house, they wrapped up their heads. In the morning they found they were in a big house. It was a very fine house, and the food they had had left over from eating was so much increased that the front part of it was filled with boxes of food.

28. *The Stingy Husband.*

While a man, his wife, and his two children were encamped by themselves not far from Klinkwan, the man began to make a canoe. While he was off working upon it, his wife dug clams. The man had a dog which always accompanied him; but one day he came back without it, and went directly to bed without eating. Next day very early he started off again to his canoe. He did not find his dog there; but he knew which direction it had taken, and the day after followed it. When he came to a high hill near by, he heard the dog barking beneath. Then he went back to his canoe, and continued working upon it. The day after, however, he went directly to the place, and found his dog barking at the mouth of a bear's den. Now he gathered some dry sticks and built a fire there, which made the bears so weak, that, when they tried to crawl out, he was able to kill all of them. Instead of carrying the food home, however, he hid it in the forest for himself. By and by his wife began to notice that when he got home he went to bed without eating, and the third time she followed him. Because he did not bring the bears home, and was unkind to his wife and children, people up to this day are not kind to their children.

When the man's wife reached his canoe, he was not there; but, seeing a faint trail running towards a low hill not far away, she took it. There she saw smoke below her. Then she went down to it, found a house made out of branches, and, looking in, saw her husband singing a song to a row of bears' heads he was roasting before the fire. He stopped singing at intervals, and said, "They told me to bite this one." He was biting off all the meat from the heads. As he took up the last one, his wife wished it would bite his face, and so it happened. The bear's head bit his face all over, and, though he did not know his wife was near, he began to call for her to help him. She, however, ran in, seized a strong stick, and killed her husband. Then she took away her husband's body, called her children, and began to dress the meat. All of her uncles were made rich by it, and became chiefs.

29. *The Blind Grisly-Bear Hunter.*

[This story is said to be almost identical with No. 3, p. 212, in the Masset series, so I did not take all of it down.] My Kaigani added, however, that the hunter's name was Djí'naqodē; that he belonged to the Tongass Haida (Tānt xada'-i); and that three sons, besides his wife, were ungrateful to him, and were killed by the bears' heads.

30. *Story of an Unfaithful Wife.*

At Klinkwan a married woman went with another man. After a while she pretended that she was dying, and told her husband not to tie down her grave-box when she was dead. So her husband put the box behind his house unfastened. Every night he used to go out to weep beside it.

After a long time had passed, one of his children, a girl, who had been playing about, came in the evening, and said she had seen her mother sitting with a man in another house. The father scolded his daughter for saying this, and sent her out doors; but presently the child came in again, and told her father to come and see. So he went out, looked into the house, and saw his wife sitting there with a man, while the people fed them. Next day he went up to the grave-box, took the lid off, and found that his wife was not inside.

Now he took his stone adze and a knife, went across to a bay back of Klinkwan, and hunted for a tree from which the branches had rotted out, although the heart was still sound. This he split up, took two pieces and shaved them down narrow and straight. Then he made the points very sharp. He measured them upon his body so that they would just reach his heart from below when he was seated. Then he dried and polished them. That evening, when everybody had gone to sleep, he went out behind the house where he had seen his wife. He heard her talking and laughing with her lover, and listened until he knew they were asleep. Then he dug out one of the side-planks of the house and entered. He pushed one of his sticks into his wife's anus until it reached her heart, and did the same to the man with the other. Both died without moving.

Next day he washed himself, put on his good clothing, and went out with his gambling-sticks. While he was gambling, a cry broke out in the town, but from shame they hid the woman and put her back in the grave-box. They only said that the man had died; but her husband felt happier when he had killed them. That is why he went out to gamble.

31. *Second Story of an Unfaithful Wife.*

In the town where the above incident took place another married woman had a lover. When they started for camp, she put the latter into a large

food-box, and, telling her husband it was too heavy for her, got him to carry it down to the canoe. After she had helped him raise it to his shoulders, however, he heard some one breathing inside: so, when he came to a large reddish rock lying on the beach, he turned the box over and dashed the upper end against it. Then the top of the man's skull was broken in, and he fell out dead.

32. *Third Story of an Unfaithful Wife.*

A man at Klinkwan discovered that his wife had a lover. Then he painted the top part of her blanket red, so that he could tell her when she was going about. One day he went out fishing, but kept the village in plain sight, and presently saw his wife start towards a high place at the other end of the town. After she had passed out of sight, he went to the beach and ran through the woods to the place where she had disappeared. When he got there, he saw her lying with a man. Then he took up a big rock which he could barely lift, carried it up on the hill above them, and threw it down so that it smashed in the head of his wife's lover. After that he went out fishing again. He caught a great many halibut, and, while he was there, heard a cry break out in the town. Then he went home, and his wife came down to meet him. She said that a stone had rolled down upon the head of some man in the place and killed him. When she told this to her husband, he said, "I caught plenty of halibut at Dā'ñqa."¹

33. *Qō'x'stawā qā and his Grandson.*

Somewhere far to the north a youth, out hunting, met a "big man" in the woods, who adopted him as his grandson. The "big man's" name was Qō'x'stawā qā. Near him another "big man" and his wife lived, but the youth's adopted grandmother told him not to look into their house when the second man was out. Although she told him this often, one day he went there and did look in. At once the woman saw him and told him to enter. She too called him "grandson." As soon as he got inside, however, she seized him and hid him under her blanket. Then his adopted grandmother began running about looking for him. Finally she ran into her neighbor's house and saw what had happened. Now she went out and called for her husband. As soon as she had called twice, he was heard approaching on the run. Then she told him what had happened, and he took his grandchild back. When they got him back, they washed him. Now, the other man returned, and asked his wife why the woman in the neighboring house had called for her husband.

¹ The name of a fishing-ground.

A long time afterward the boy wanted to go home to his parents: so his grandmother took a medium-sized basket, packed it full of food, and gave it to him to carry along. The boy reached one end of the town, placed his burden under a tree, and went to the house. Then he told the people where he had left the basket, and two men went to get it. They could not move it, however, and a large crowd followed, with no greater success. At last he himself went, and brought it in without trouble. Then they took out all kinds of food from it, which nearly filled the house.

After another interval he wanted to return to his adopted grandfather, and had no sooner set out than he met the latter in the woods. While this giant was carrying him home in his big basket, they came across a song-sparrow (tcl'a'tcl'a), of which the giant was very much afraid; but the boy got out, killed the bird, and gave it to his grandfather. Even then the latter was very much frightened, for he had never seen such a bird before. Then they went home and remained there.¹

34. *Adventures among the Dinne* (Tca'ogus).

Five brothers were always hunting. After a while an unknown man came in to them. He came in many times. Once when he was there, the eldest brother's child began to cry, and, after all of the brothers had tried to quiet it without success, he offered to do so; but when they gave it to him, he secretly sucked the child's brains out from one side of its head.² When he handed it back, and they saw what he had done, they seized wood from the fire and beat the stranger. Then he became angry and killed all of the brothers but the youngest, whom he chased about in the house until morning. The boy ran out, and after a long run, still pursued by the ogre, crossed a high mountain. By and by he crossed another, and saw a lake beneath it. Running thither, he came to a log, composed of two trees growing together so as to make a fork, floating upon the water. Going out upon this, he threw himself into the crotch.

When his pursuer came up, he saw the man's shadow in the lake, and began jumping at it. Now the man began to sing a North Song, and the lake at once began to freeze over. When all had frozen over except the small hole where the ogre was jumping, it froze so quickly after he had gone in, that he could not get out again when he came up. Then he saw the man on the tree, and asked him to pull him out; but the man only sang louder, so that the ogre was held fast. The man now began to cut some dry wood to build a fire over the ogre's head, telling him at the same time that he

¹ Compare Portland Inlet (Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, Vol. X, p. 43).

² Compare Bella Coola (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 252); Kwakiutl (Kwakiutl Texts, p. 48).

was going to save him. When the fire was lighted, the ashes flying up from the monster's head turned into mosquitoes.¹ That is how they started.

Then the man went away. He went a long distance, and came to a place where a lot of snares hung. Then he cut down a cottonwood-tree, carved an image of a human body, and hung it in the snare with part of his own clothing upon it. He himself hid near by. Presently a man came to the place, saw the body hanging there, and said, "I shall eat your heart and your kidneys;" but when he took the body down and discovered what it was made of, he was angry. Then the man came out and said, "What are you talking about?" He replied, "The meat fooled me." He called human flesh "meat," for he used to snare men and kill them. His name was Wolverine-Man (Tlingit, Nō'sgaqa).

Now he turned upon the man to eat him, but the latter ran up a tree. Wolverine-Man tried to cut this down with a stone adze he had, but the man jumped to another and came down unobserved. Then he came to Wolverine-Man, and said, "Wolverene-Man, what are you doing?" and he replied, "Meat is sitting on this tree which I want to get down." The man said, "Let me chop it down. I know how to chop." So Wolverine-Man gave him the stone adze, and the man began to chop. He told Wolverine-Man to sit close to him, and added, "Close your eyes, too, so that the chips will not fly into them;" but when Wolverine-Man closed his eyes, he struck him with the adze and killed him.

The man then took his clothing back and went away. By and by he came to a big mountain, where he saw a great many spears sticking out from the ground and pointing up the mountain-side. There the side of the mountain was very slippery. Now he crept among these spears, clasped his arms around one of them, and, making his nose bleed, pretended he was dead. After a while a monster, the friend of him he had just killed, came up, saw the blood, and was glad. He was going to eat the man. So he took him out and put him into the big bag he used to carry around; but the man kept his hands near his own head, and, when they passed under a strong bush, he seized it and held on for a long time. After the monster had tried in vain for some time to go ahead, the man let go, and his bearer fell flat on his face. At the same time the man in the basket made a noise between his lips, and the monster thought that he himself had broken wind from the effort.

At last they arrived at the monster's home. He, too, was a Wolverine-Man. Then he took the man out of his bag, and his two children ran to see what their father had caught. They tickled him so much by feeling of him all over, that he smiled. The children told their father this, but he said that that was a sign that he was soon going to kill another one. At once the man jumped up,

¹ Compare Awī'k'łēnox" (Boas, Ind. Sag., p. 223); Kwakiutl (Ibid., p. 164); Comox (Ibid., p. 89).

seized a stout stick, and knocked the Wolverine-Man down. He killed the Wolverine-Man, and his wife also; but the children ran away and climbed into a tree outside. He tried to cut this down; but just before it fell, he saw that they had passed to another. Just before he had cut through that one, the children slipped over to still another. At last he gave it up; but he told them not to kill any more men, as their father had done. He said, however, that they could steal men's property; and even till now, if the Indians hide anything on a tree, the wolverene steals it.¹

¹ Compare Bella Coola (Boas, *Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* [The Jesup N. P. Exped., Vol. I, p. 86]); Chilcotin (Farrand, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 47); Eskimo (Boas, *Eskimo of Baffin-Land and Hudson Bay* [Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. XV, p. 177]).

XIII. — THE FAMILIES OF THE HAIDA.

The following lists do not pretend to be complete, but in certain respects they are nearly so. The list of families contains, I feel sure, all divisions of any importance; but the number of town-names might be considerably increased. In very many cases, however, it is questionable whether so-called "towns" were really anything more than camps, and it must not be supposed that a large number of the others were ever occupied at the same time.. So far as feasible, the names of the towns have all been inserted on the accompanying maps (opp. pp. 277, 279). These maps were drawn by Dr. Charles F. Newcombe, based on his own surveys and on published maps, while all the names were added by him from information obtained from the Haida who accompanied him on his journeys around the islands. The crests are probably correct so far as they go, but doubtless many families possessed others. When asked for the name of a family or town chief, they select either the highest name which that chief could adopt or the most prominent story-name connected with the family or town. These names are hereditary, it is true, and certain of them were evidently selected for several successive generations; but there are always a number available to the chief, and not infrequently a man chooses one different from that of his predecessor.

FAMILIES.

Raven Clan.

I. ǴA'ñixet xā'idaga-i ("Ninstints people").

(R 1) Xā'gi lā'nas (xā'gi, probably "striped;" lā'nas, "town-people").

Chief. — Wadā'.

Crests. — Tree (in memory of the first that ever grew upon the islands), Ǵādji, the killer-whale, the cumulus-cloud (qwē'gao), the large variety of abalone-shell (gu'lxa), skus hī'lus, ear-rings of dentalium-shells (xā'xiañ gī'ga-i), weasel, tca'maos, grisly bear.

The last two were adopted very recently. Ǵā'dji is the name given to wooden crosses used to support canoes when they were raised to burn off the bottom. The Ǵā'dji referred to here were made of copper. At potlatches a cross was painted on the forehead. The skus hī'lus are said to be worm-burrows on the beach. The skins of weasels were tied to the hair of those who were entitled to the weasel crest.

(a) Xaldā'ñgats or Xaldā'ñgats sels ("slaves").

Chief. — ǴA'ndagoña-i ("always ready" [for anything]).

Crests. — The same as those used by R 1.

(b) Qlē'da lā'nas ("narrow-strait town-people").

Chief. — Tlā'go u'nkiñañ ("one who makes a copper sound by lying upon it").

Crests. — The same as those of R 1.

(R 2) Tā'dji lā'nas ("sand-town-people").

Chief. — Klu-iyā'ns (referring to a person who is always showing off his fine clothing).

The first chief of this family — when it was at Songs-of-Victory-Town (Qai'dju) — was called Kā'nskina-i.

Crests. — Mountain-goat, grisly bear, moon, tclidja'o, slqā'skit (represented by painting black spots all over a red ground).

The tclidja'o are the many squares formed by the crossing sticks of a drying-frame. During potlatch time this was represented by a single square painted on the face.

Of these crests, the moon, mountain-goat, and grisly bear were reckoned the best, in that order.

- (a) Qai'dju qē'gawa-i ("those born at Songs-of-Victory-Town").

Chief. — Tc'lā'nu alqolā'-i ("master of the fire").

Crests. — Moon, sea-lion head. These were all that my informant remembered.

II. T!anū' (name given to a kind of sea-grass).

- (R 3) Qā'dasgo qē'gawa-i ("those born at Qā'dasgo Creek").

Chief. — Gia'gudjañ (anything "scattered all around" [because he poured grease into the trays for everybody]).

Crests. — Killer-whale, rainbow, cumulus-cloud, tca'maos. Some added the child of Property-Woman (Gitga'lgia), but others said that the family was not great enough to use it.

III. Q!ō'na (Skedans).

- (R 4) Qā'gials qē'gawa-i ("those born at Qā'gials" [a reef near Dead Tree Point]), or Łqe'not lā'nas ("people of Cumshewa").

Chief. — Gidā'nsta ("from his daughter," corrupted to "Skedans" by the whites).

Crests. — Moon, mountain-goat, grisly bear, killer-whale, rainbow, sea grisly bear (tca'gan xadja-i), child of Property-Woman (Gitga'lgia). The moon was reserved for the chief.

- (a) K!ils xā'idaga-i ("peninsula people," i. e., those living at the outer end of the peninsula upon which Skedans was built).

Chiefs. — Of the whole and of one subdivision, Nañ ga-ihí'ldaña-i yu'ans ("great commotion of waters"); of a second division, Gaya'o ("smoke"); of a third division, Halā's (perhaps a Tsimshian word).

Crests. — The same as those of R 4, except the moon.

- (b) Qō'gał lā'nas ("people of the town in McKay's Harbor"), a low-class family of R 4.

Chief. — Wadina's (perhaps a Tsimshian word).

Crests. — The same as those of R 4, except the moon.

IV. Łgagí'lda xā'idaga-i or Łgaiu' xā'idaga-i ("Skidegate Inlet people").

- (R 5) Dja'xui' sqoā'ladaga-i ("down the inlet [or seaward] Sqoā'ladas").

Chief. — Lū'got (lu, "wave;" got, "eagle").

Crests. — Killer-whale, tca'maos, rainbow, skate.

- (R 6) Łgaiu' lā'nas ("Skidegate town-people").

Chief. — Dagā's ("owning"). Another name was Da'ogana-i.

Crest. — Killer-whale.

- (a) Łgagí'lda qē'gawa-i ("those born at Skidegate").

Chief. — Na skil giaga'ñ ("property stands in his house").

Crest. — Killer-whale.

- (R 7) Qogā'ñas ("sea-otters"), said to have been so named because they were once as numerous as the sea-otter.

Chief. — Qonā'tc is the usual name given. Another was Qwā'-is gut nañ a'ndals ("one who touches the sky with his head as he moves").

Crests. — Killer-whale, tca'maos, rainbow.

- (R 8) Daiyū' ał lā'nas ("people of the town where they always give away food"), also called Qā'ā'sta qē'gawa-i ("those born at Skidegate Creek").

Chief. — We'ga'lame (Tsimshian words).

Crests. — Black-bear head set about with abalone-shells, killer-whale, flicker.

V. Tc̄l̄a'al (Sometimes called "Gold Harbor").

(R 9) Łḡa'xetgu lā'nas ("town-people of Pebble Town").

Chief. — NAñk̄i'lsLas ("one who makes things happen by his word"), or He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed.*Crests.* — Moon, thunder-bird, rainbow, killer-whale, sea-lion.

(a) K̄i'lsLa-i d̄jat t̄lak̄i'ngalañ ("chieftainess's children").

Chief. — Ḡa'nk̄ias ("unripe berries").*Crests.* — Same as those of R 9, except the moon.

(b) Sels, a low class of R 9. They steamed food so much, that a woman said, "We shall be called 'food-steamers,'" which in fact happened.

Chief. — Guxatsga'o (meaning unknown).*Crests.* — Same as those of R 9, except the moon.

(R 10) Sqoā'lad̄as (perhaps "those who are successful fishermen").

Chief. — Gola'n̄ k̄i'ñans ("raven making a noise inside of blankets").*Crests.* — Killer-whale, thunder-bird, sea-lion, rainbow, tca'maos, dog-fish, the tree to commemorate X̄a'gi. They wore a carved spoon on either side of the head, with the handles turned back, to represent the spines of the dog-fish.

(a) Nastō' qē'gawa-i ("those born at Hippa Island").

Chief. — K̄i'lsLa-i st̄ins ("two chiefs").*Crests.* — The same as those of R 10.

(R 11) Stasa'os qē'gawa-i ("those born on the Stasa'os coast").

Chief. — Sḡa'na yū'an ("great supernatural power"). In old times he was Q̄!ol qē'xats ("the chief discovered" [i. e., he became chief suddenly] or "a chief is looking around").*Crests.* — Raven-Fin, killer-whale, rainbow.

(a) Ga'ñxet qē'gawa-i ("those born in the Ninstints country").

Chief. — Kun taos ("whale-grease").*Crests.* — Same as those of R 11.

VI. (R 12) Q̄las lā'nas ("pitch town-people").

Chief. — We hear of a chieftainess called Ḡit h̄ñā'-i ("going to be a chief's daughter") and also Guda'nsgias (a contraction of D̄jat ga'agañ L! guda'nsgias, "people always think she belongs to too high a family for them to marry her"), and of chiefs in one or two of the northern towns owned by this people.*Crests.* — None are ever spoken of in connection with them.

VII. Nā-iku'n (Rose Spit).

(R 13) Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i ("those born at Rose Spit").

Chief. — Ładjā'ñ qō'na ("great swashing of waves"), a name of the Cape Ball sḡa'na.*Crests.* — Grisly bear, killer-whale, tca'maos, stratus-clouds, cirrus-clouds, hawk, sea-lion (recently adopted). They also wore a hat painted blue on the upper surface, and supposed to be that of one of the supernatural beings.

(a) X̄uadō's ("standing-water people").

These and R 13 seem to have formed practically one family, the latter being reckoned the higher division. Usually they had the same chief, but at Cape Ball the Standing-Water-People are said to have had a separate town.

Crests. — Identical with those of R 13.

(R 14) Ku'na lā'nas ("town-people of the point").

Chief. — Qoḡi'ts ("common sea-otter"). Gia'fins was a higher name.*Crests.* — Grisly bear, tca'maos, killer-whale, sea-lion; also said to have other crests of R 13.

(a) T̄l̄ē'es kun Inaḡā'-i ("rocky-coast point-town-people" [between Masset Inlet and Virago Sound]).

Chief. — X̄A'na (named from his grandfather, chief of the Sk̄i'daoqao). A lesser name was Yeñ'nk̄.

(b) Łi'elañ kun Inaḡā'-i ("Łi'elañ River point-town-people").

Chief. — Xina'o.

- (c) Sagui' kun Inagā'-i ("up-the-inlet point-town-people").

Chief. — Qē'dao.

- (d) Ya'gun kun Inagā'-i ("Ya'gun River point-town-people").

Chief. — Līm.

Part of these were called Djus xade ("people living near Djus Island"), not to be confounded with E 18.

Crests. — The crests of all branches of this family are the same.

- (R 15) SL'e'ña lā'nas ("people who dwell in the back part of the village"), or Rear-Town-People.

Chief. — As given at Skidegate, Nañ na'gaga xu'adji qia'owas ("the grisly bear sits in his house").

Crests. — Killer-whale, hawk, grisly bear, thunder-bird, cumulus-clouds.

- (a) ^sao sL'an Inagā'-i ("Masset Inlet rear-town-people").

Chief. — Qa'wā'ga. A secondary name was Nana'-qlenas.

Crests. — The same as those of R 15.

- (b) Tl'e's sL'an Inagā'-i ("rocky-coast rear-town-people").

Chief. — K!wai'se! ("he became the eldest").

Crests. — The same as those of R 15.

- (c) Ya'gun sL'an Inagā'-i ("Ya'gun River rear-town-people").

Chief. — Dā'sga-i.

Crests. — The same as those of R 15.

- (d) Do sL'an Inagā'-i ("west-coast rear-town-people").

Chief. — Xi.

Crests. — Raven-Fin, killer-whale, grisly bear, thunder-bird.

- (aa) Qā'-i! lā'nas ("town-people of Qā'-i"), named from a harbor on the west coast where they used to live.

Chief. — Q!e'nxawas (?).

Crests. — The same as those of R 15 d.

- (R 16) Sk!daoqao (in Skidegate, Sk!tgaoqao, "the eggs [i. e., descendants, perhaps meaning rather "nephews"] of Sk!dao"). They were related to R 17 and R 18.

Chief. — Xa'na. Another name was Si'ga-i ("the open sea"). The names given in Skidegate were Si'ga-i and Ga'anā'ts ("many nights").

Crests. — Killer-whale, grisly bear, black bear, new moon (used as the house-door), raven (used at one time, but now dropped).

- (R 17) Kia'nusilī (named from a cod like the Atlantic cod, called kīān), or Cod-People. They were related to R 16 and R 18.

Chief. — Sk!laowe. The third chief was called Xie'nsgīne.

Crests. — Killer-whale, grisly bear, dog-fish, star.

- (R 18) S^sagā'ñusilī. They were related to R 16 and R 17.

Chief. — Nañ ku'ndjuwe yū'ans ("the big point," because he was a violent man, and protected the violent, who hid behind him as behind a point).

Crests. — Killer-whale, grisly bear, wolf.

VIII. Northwestern corner of Graham Island, afterwards in Alaska (Kaigani).

- (R 19) Yā'k^a lā'nas ("middle-town-people").

Chief. — Nañ ā'ldjigias ("one unable to buy"), from a copper his opponent was unable to purchase.

Crests. — Grisly bear, dog-fish, killer-whale, wolf, (recently) the moon, (in olden times) the raven.

- (a) ^sao yā'k^a Inagā'-i ("middle-town-people of Masset Inlet").

Chief. — KilsLa'.

Crests. — Killer-whale, grisly bear.

- (b) Qlā'ad na'as xadā'-i ("dog-fish-house people") of the Middle-Town-People of Alaska.

- (c) Sk!l'sLa-i na-i xadā'-i ("people of the house where they always have plenty of food") of the Middle-Town-People of Alaska.

- (d) Na qē'dats xā'da-i ("people of the house that went away discouraged") of the Middle-Town-People of Alaska.
- (e) Yeł na'as xā'da-i ("raven-house people") of the Middle-Town-People of Alaska.
- (R 20) Tas lā'nas or Tā'dji lā'nas ("sand town-people"), said to have anciently formed one family with R 2.
- Chiefs.* — Qadji qō'k", *adjō'n, Nañ qona's, Sqa'oal (i. e., gu'la sqa'oal, "big abalone-shell").
- Crests.* — Killer-whale, sea-lion, raven, flicker.
- (R 21) Q!oē'tas ("earth-eaters"). The Skidegate people say they were so called because they lived near the trails at the story-town of Sqē'na, but an old Alaskan Haida gave a different reason. They formerly lived at Ł^aAn Inagā'-i ("fin town"), on the west coast of Graham Island, which was so named from a rock sticking up like a whale's dorsal fin. The people received their oldest name — Ł^aAn sta^a lā'nas ("holding-up-their-fins people") — from the name of the town. Afterward they began to cook and eat łk!ū'ñit, which grows close to the ground, under the salmon-berry bushes. Some of them made fun of this, saying, "We are even eating earth," so the family came to be called Earth-Eaters.
- Chief.* — Xā'tsalañ; after the migration, in Alaska, Sū'us qī'nga.
- Crests.* — Grisly bear, killer-whale, wolf.
- (a) Xū'Adji na'as xā'da-i ("people of grisly-bear house").
- (b) Na q!ā'las ("clay-house people," perhaps referring to the flooring).
- (c) Łqa'onedis (Tlingit words, meaning "people of Łqa'o River," which was the place in Alaska where they first settled).
- (d) Tcāts xā'da-i ("Tcāts River people," from a river near Kasaan).
- (e) Nē'dan xā'da-i ("Naden River people," Graham Island).
- (R 22) *ao qē'awa-i ("those born in Masset Inlet"). They should perhaps go with the Rose Spit families, but are now in Alaska.
- Chief.* — As given in Masset, *adjō'n; as given in Alaska, Sqū'īqa.
- Crests.* — Killer-whale, horned owl, perhaps also the grisly bear and flicker.
- (a) Łingwā'-i na'as xā'da-i ("the world-house people").
- (b) Taol na'as xā'da-i ("rainbow-house people").

Eagle Clan.

- I. ǴA'ñxet Xā'idaga-i ("Ninstints people").
- (E 1) Sa'ki qē'gawa-i ("those born up the inlet").
- Chief.* — Nañ stins ("the one who is [equivalent to] two").
- Crests.* — Raven, eagle, beaver, black whale.
- (E 2) ǴA'ñxet qē'gawa-i ("those born in the southern part of the islands").
- Chief.* — Qena-ga'-isL ("he floated heavily in his canoe").
- Crests.* — Five-finned killer-whale (q!ā'gawa-i), copper bows and arrows (in memory of Stone-Ribs, who was once born from a woman of this family), frog (figured all over the blankets), coppers (miniature ones were fastened on their blankets), beaver, eagle.
- (a) Skidā'-i lā'nas ("powerless town-people"), or Skida'i Town-People.
- Chief.* — Ga'oskīt (a noise such as one plank makes when it drops upon another, but unlike that of a drum).
- Crests.* — Five-finned killer-whale (q!ā'gawa-i); yellow cedar-bark (lā'xiāñ), represented on the blankets by red parallel stripes.
- (b) Stā'gī lā'nas ("Stā'gī town-people").
- Chief.* — Naña-ḡiliña's ("one people are always talking about").
- Crests.* — Five-finned killer-whale (q!ā'gawa-i), eagle, and the other crests used by E 2.
- II. and III. T!anū' (Old Kloo), Q!ō'na (Skedans), and Łqe'nal (Cumshewa).
- (E 3) Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i ("those born at Skedans").
- Chief.* — Sgā'na gwa'ndagans ("killer-whale who puts away food many times," because it is too good to throw away) while chief of the family at Skedans, Gitku'n (a Tsimshian word) after he had grown up and had settled at Skedans.

Crests. — A dance-hat of three segments with knots around the top (representing Q'ñgi's hat with the people clinging to it), also the dog (these were assumed by the chief, who later was unable to retain exclusive control of them), dog-fish (represented by a spine of copper with the end turned back, fastened on the back of the head), beaver, eagle, humming-bird (a row of copper humming-birds was fastened along a stick which was surrounded by four others), bows and arrows and the strings (all made out of copper) in memory of Stone-Ribs, black whale, frog, pieces of white mica (these were stuck on the black paint with which they painted their faces), halibut or flounder (in memory of Stone-Ribs), cormorant, round pieces of copper (fastened to their clothing at the potlatches, etc.) in memory of Stone-Ribs.

- (a) Sūs xā'idaga-i ("lake people"). They received their name from a lake back from Skedans Bay which they used to own.

Chief. — Qā'idjīt ("to look after or stand by anything one does not want taken").

Crests. — The same as those of E 3.

- (b) Dā'gaña sēls ("common food-steamers"), a low-class division of E 3, without a chief of its own.

Crests. — The same as those of E 3, except that they could not wear the highest.

- (E 4) Djī'gua ał lā'nas, or Djī'gua-Town-People.

Chief. — Gī'tañ gia'slas ("chief's child upset himself") was the highest. Another was Skitgādē's.

Crests. — They could wear all of those of E 3 if they could get permission.

- (a) lā'ldji tāmā-i ("Mountain-Woman's children"). This branch has long been extinct. Their house was called na lā'xas ("bright, new house"), but has since been replaced by two successively.

Chief. — Tlaklīnā-i ("descendants" or "grandchildren").

Crests. — Same as those of E 4.

- (E 5) Stlawā's xā'idaga-i ("witch people"). At one time part of this family (E 5 a) lived at McKay Harbor, on the opposite side of a creek from R 4 b. The owls hooted so much on their side, however, that one of the boys of the R 4 b said they ought to be called Witch-People, stlao being also the name for the screech-owl.

Chief. — Gō'msiwa (probably Bella Bella words, meaning "rich at mouth of river").

Crests. — Cormorant (carved on a spoon and on the ridge-pole of the house), halibut (represented by a hat called Kiwa'ñ qī'ndigwans ["it looks around"], referring to a knot on the back of it), the T formed by the raised part on a copper, eagle, beaver, hawk, frog, humming-bird, painting on the teeth representing copper (in memory of Djila'qons), a piece of copper like a feather (worn in the hair), a marten-skin hat, weasel-skins (with which they tied the hair).

- (a) Xē'da xā'idaga-i ("people living on the low ground"), or Low-Ground-People.

- (b) Sa xā'idaga-i ("people living on the high ground"), or High-Ground-People.

- (c) Qā'tigua xā'idaga-i ("people living on the side of the town up the inlet"), or Up-Inlet-People.

IV. Łgai-ū' xā'idaga-i (Skidegate Inlet people).

- (E 6) Gī'tī'ns or Eagles-of-Skidegate.

- (a) Na yū'ans xā'idaga-i ("people of the great house"), or Big-House-People.

Chief. — Of E 6 and of E 6 a, Sgē'dagīts; or, in more ancient times, Yestaqā'na.

Crests. — Raven, wā'sgo, dog-fish, weasel (with the skins of which they bound their hair), eagle, sculpin, halibut (little valued and subsequently dropped).

- (b) Na sagā's xā'idaga-i ("people of the rotten house"), or Rotten-House-People.

Chief. — Ał-st!ē'gaña-i ("the one they get jealous of").

Crests. — The same as those of E 6 a.

- (c) Gītingī'djats ("servants of the Gī'tī'ns").

Chief. — Sgā'nigiqē'do ("chief woman"), or s'angā'-iya (gā'-i, "blood").

Crests. — They could use most of the crests of the Gī'tī'ns by permission. They are said to have used the eagle especially, and to have tied their hair with cedar-limbs called dai'yañ.

- (d) L'galaigut lā'nas ("L'galaigut town-people"), referred to in one cradle-song.
 (E 7) Lā'na tclā'adas. They lived with E 6 c at K!il, which they owned. Some accompanied the people of Kaisun.
Chief. — Qaasā'ñ.
Crests. — By permission of the Giti'ns they could use any of their crests except the wā'sgo.

V. West-Coast-People.

- (E 8) Łgā'xet gītīnā'-i ("Giti'ns of Pebble Town"), or Pebble-Town-Eagles.
Chief. — Ganā'-i.
Crests. — Raven, starfish, sculpin (see also E 8 b).
 (a) Djaui' łgā'xet qē'gawa-i ("those born on the seaward side of Pebble Town").
Chief. — Sqē'las ("dirty").
Crests. — The same as those of E 8.
 (b) Yā'ku gītīnā'-i ("middle Giti'ns"). In Tc!ā'a! they were reckoned a part of the Pebble-Town-Eagles, but they originally lived in the middle of Skidegate village, whence they emigrated to the West Coast, after one of them had shot at a Skidegate chief. Their fathers were the Ravens of the West Coast.
Chief. — (?)
Crests. — Abalone-shell (stuck in pitch on their faces and the shells put on their hats), stars (their blankets were all covered with these), raven, sculpin, heron (designed on their blankets). When they got to Skidegate, they assumed the wā'sgo, starfish, and dragon-fly.
 (c) Qa!gui' łgā'xet gītīnā'-i ("the Pebble Town Giti'ns living on the side of the town up the inlet"), or Up-Inlet-Eagles.
Chief. — (?)
Crests. — The same as those of E 8.
 (d) Łgā'xet qē'gawa-i ("those born at Pebble Town").
Chief. — (?)
Crests. — The same as those of E 8.
 (e) Gwē A'ndas, a low-class family of E 8, without a chief of their own.
 (E 9) Qā'-ia! lā'nas or Qā'-iga lā'nas ("people of Sea-Lion Town" [their town was in Skotsgai Bay]), or Sea-Lion-Town-People.
Chief. — Nañ nā'gagē skilxa'ogas ("costly things fall into his house;" i. e., coppers, etc.). An older name was Gadagā' (said to be a Tsimshian word).
Crests. — Beaver, eagle, cormorant, heron, halibut, frog, weasel.
 (E 10) Stasa'os lā'nas ("people of Stasa'os Town" [or camp]), or Stasa'os-Town-People.
Chief. — Wexā'sta (probably a Tsimshian word).
Crests. — They were allowed all the crests used by E 9, except the weasel and perhaps the beaver.

VI. Nā-iku'n (Rose Spit).

- (E 11) Djaui' gītīnā'-i ("the Giti'ns living farthest outward" [from Skidegate Inlet]), or Seaward-Eagles.
Chief. — Wī'nats.
Crests. — Raven, wā'sgo (used only after the death of Yestaqā'na, when his family permitted them to use it), sculpin (given by a chief of the R 6 who wanted to marry a woman of this family), beaver and frog (by permission of the Sta'stas), and dragon-fly (mamatchi'gi). Another informant added eagle, but the chief of the family denied that they used it.
 (E 12) Saguī' gītīnā'-i ("the Giti'ns living up Masset Inlet"), originally split off from E 11.
Chief. — Yē'sawat.
Crests. — Eagle, beaver, sculpin.
 (a) Klia'ldagwans ("sandpipers"), part of E 12.
Chief. — Klodā'-i.
Crests. — The same as those of E 12.

VII. ⁸ao (Masset Inlet).

(E 13) Gí'tans (Eagles of Masset).

(a) Mā'man gítanā'-i ("Gí'tans of Mā'man River").

Chief. — Sq!ā'-iña ("hanging sticks" [or things shaped like sticks]).*Crests.* — Eagle, beaver, sculpin, frog.(aa) ⁸ao gítanā'-i ("Masset-Inlet Gí'tans").*Chief.* — Saol.*Crests.* — The same as those for E 13 a.(b) ⁸an! sqadjí'ns gítanā'-i ("the Gí'tans [who camped] on the river Sqadjí'ns"), or Eagles-of-River-Sqadjí'ns.*Chief.* — Kilklā'gañwas ("things fall over by his word").*Crests.* — The same as those of E 13 a.

(c) T!ē'es gítanā'-i ("rocky-coast Eagles").

(E 14) S⁸adjū'ga! lā'nas ("S⁸adjū'ga! town-people"), said to be descended from Djila'qons.*Chief.* — Skiltaqlā'dju. The present chief is Wí'ha (Tsimshian for "great wind").*Crests.* — Eagle, beaver, sculpin, frog.

(E 15) Wí'dja gítanā'-i ("the Gí'tans [of the town] of Wí'dja").

Chief. — ⁸ē'lgiga ("finished").*Crests.* — Eagle, humming-bird, beaver, sculpin, skate, black whale.

(E 16) T!ō'k!a gítanā'-i ("the Gí'tans [of the town] of T!ō'k!a"), or T!ō'k!a-Eagles.

Chief. — Stē'tta.*Crests.* — The same as those of E 15.

(E 17) Tcēts gítanā'-i ("the Gí'tans [of the town] of Tcēts").

Chief. — Nasgai'l!*Crests.* — The same as those of E 15.

(E 18) Djus xade' ("people of Djus" [Island]), or Djus-People.

Chief. — Gunīā'.*Crests.* — The same as those of E 15.

(E 19) Sa'gua lā'nas ("people of the town up the inlet"), or Up-Inlet-Town-People.

Chief. — Gu'las.*Crests.* — Eagle, sculpin, beaver, and other crests of E 17, of which they are said to be a branch. One man said that they used the frog.

(a) Dō't!ask!asL ("those who left the West Coast"), part of E 19.

Chief. — Gusta'malk(?)*Crests.* — The same as those of E 19.

(E 20) Do gítanā'-i ("Gí'tans of the West Coast"), or West-Coast-Eagles, said to be descended from a woman of E 13 a.

Chief. — (The greatest), Gîsqa's. A secondary name was Kuns.*Crests.* — Eagle, sculpin, black whale. According to one informant, all of the crests of E 16 should be added.

VIII. StA'stas and its branches.

(E 21) StA'stas or Sā'ñgaL lā'nas. StA'stas is a name given to salmon-eggs after the young have begun to form. A woman was the only one left of her tribe, and from her all of the family sprang. Sañg is the name of a kind of sea-bird, flocks of which rush down together upon anything they find to eat, and make a great noise. This was likened to the noise of this people at the potlatch.

Chief. — Eda'nsa (from Tlingit itinacu' ["nothing left of it"], applied to a glacier where it comes down into the sea and melts away).*Crests.* — Beaver, frog, raven, eagle, s⁸ā'ñu.

(a) Klā'was ("sea-eggs").

Chief. — Ildí'ni (afterwards chief among the Stikine people).*Crests.* — The same as those of E 21.

- (b) Qā'ñgual lā'nas ("people of Qā'ñgual Town").
Chief. — Even the old people professed not to know the name. Charlie Edensaw, however, gave it to Professor Boas as Tagiā'.
Crests. — The same as those of E 21.
- (c) Łi'elañ qē'awa-i ("those born at [the town of] Łi'elañ").
Chief. — Hai'as.
Crests. — Eagle, raven, sculpin, frog, beaver, black whale.
- (d) Łi'elañ stastā'-i ("the Sta'stas [of the town] of Łi'elañ"). Only one man knew about this family.
Chief. — Tagia'o.
Crests. — The same as those of E 21 c.
- (e) Neku'n stastā'-i ("the Sta'stas of Rose Spit").
Chief. — Djī'indjaos ("devil's club").
Crests. — Frog, beaver, raven, eagle.
- (f) Tcawā'gis stastā'-i ("the Sta'stas from Low-Tide River").
Chief. — Kle'as.
Crests. — The same as those of E 21 c.
- (g) Yā'das, an Alaskan branch of the family.
Chief. — Sā'nxet (a Tlingit word, meaning "east wind").
Crests. — Eagle, beaver, black whale.
- (aa) *ot klia'l na'as xā'da-i ("eagles'-legs-house people").
 (bb) *ot na'as xā'da-i ("eagle-house people").
 (cc) na *a'lgas xā'da-i ("dark-house people").
 (dd) *ldju na-i xā'da-i ("valuable-house people").
 (ee) na qons xā'da-i ("great-house people").

IX. Other Alaskan Gī'tans.

- (E 22) S^aala'ndas.
Chief. — Na qā'hi ("inside of house"), in Alaska given as Sa-adō'dj (a Tlingit word).
Crests. — Frog, beaver, starfish, cumulus-clouds, eagle. A Kaigani gave them as eagle, frog, sculpin.
- (a) Łima'l na'as xā'da-i ("people of the house made of łima'l-skin").
 (b) na xawa's xā'da-i ("watery-house people" [because they gave the people so much grease that the floor was muddy with it]).
- (E 23) Tcłā'al lā'nas ("Tcłā'al town-people"), said to have been a branch of the E 9, named from their town on North Island.
Chief. — Gī'tan *o'da ("Gī'tan's box"), or Ku'nkwiā'n ("[eagle's] beak hangs down").
 A Kaigani gave the latter name, and added Łuna'gut (short for łima'l nā'gat, "house is made of łima'l-skins" [because a part of his roof was closed by them]).
Crests. — Eagle, black whale.
- (a) Stal na'as xā'da-i ("steep-house people").
 (b) Lā'na gu qa'nñin xā'da-i ("resting-the-breast-on-a-town people"), evidently named for some chief.
 (c) Sqahē'ne xā'da-i ("Sqaxē'ne River people"). Another man told me that sqahē'ne means "river cried over." The family was once partly killed out, and the survivors went up on a mountain above this river, and cried there.
 (d) Xo'tagasLas xā'da-i ("many people running about" or "people who run about in crowds"). They were so numerous, that, when visitors came, a great crowd was running about to greet them.

Tłā'al lā'nas ("the people [of the town] of Tłā'" [on North Island]). An old Kaigani told me that there was a family of this name, but it died out a long time ago, and I do not know to which clan it belonged.

TOWNS¹ (see maps).

I. Ninstints towns.

1. Sqa-i Inagā'-i, so named because here people used to cut up the sea-lions, which were very abundant on the Isles Kerouart *Family*: Qai'dju qē'gawa-i (R 2 a). *Chief*: Probably Tclā'no algolā'-i.
2. Xe-uda'o Inagā'-i ("the village that fishes towards the south"). *Family*: Qai'dju qē'gawa-i (R 2 a). *Chief*: Xō'ya ("raven").
3. Sī'ndas kun Inagā'-i ("village on a point always smelling"). *Family*: Qai'dju qē'gawa-i (R 2 a). *Chief*: (?)
4. Łā'gi Inagā'-i (perhaps a Tlingit word, or one from the old dialect of Ninstints). *Family*: Qai'dju qē'gawa-i (R 2 a). *Chief*: (?)
5. Sga'ngwa-i Inagā'-i ("Red-Cod-Island town"). *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1). *Chief*: Nañ stins ("one who is two").
6. Qlā'dadja'ns Inagā'-i (qlā'dadja'ns is a word applied to a person who gets angry with another, and talks against him behind his back). *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1). *Chief*: Q!anxawa's ("juicy grass").
7. Tcū'uga Inagā'-i ("to go for cedar"). *Family*: Ga'ñxet qē'gawa-i (R 11 a, E 2). *Chief*: Xī'liñas.
8. Łgada'n Inagā'-i (when one always wants to get ahead of another, people say, "Łgada'n!" ["he will suffer for it," as by over-work]). *Family*: Skidā'-i lā'nas (E 2 a). *Chief*: (?)
9. Sli'ndagwa-i Inagā'-i ("the village deep in the inlet"). *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1). *Chief*: Skia'msm İta'nwat ("hawk-feathers").
10. Nā'gas Inagā'-i ("town inhabited"). *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1). *Chief*: Gā-ī'ns (the dead shell-fish, cod, etc., drifted ashore by the waves).
11. Tcuq!e-ū Inagā'-i ("mouth-of-the-tide village"), named from an inlet in and out of which the tide rushes with great force. Sea-otters used to come up into the tidal inlet to sleep; and since the inlet belonged to the chief's wife, the chief used to kill them. *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1). *Chief*: Nañ sllangaos ("one without entrails").
12. Sgī'łgi Inagā'-i (perhaps "the town where there are plenty of Scoters"). *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1). *Chief*: Nañ stins ("one who is two").
13. Qai'dju Inagā'-i ("songs-of-victory-town"). *Family*: Tā'dji lā'nas (R 2). *Chief*: Kiā'nskina-i.
14. Gā-īdi Inagā'-i (a fish somewhat like a smelt is called gā-īdi). *Family*: Tā'dji lā'nas (R 2). *Chief*: Kiā'nskina-i (the first of this name was born at Atā'na Inagā'-i, whence he moved hither, and subsequently to Qai'dju).
15. Xā'gi Inagā'-i (said to mean "striped town"), named for an island upon which it stood. *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1). *Chief*: Wadā' (this word means "to knock off certain shells resembling clam-shells," which they used to search for at low tide; if these were disturbed before a blow was struck, they held on too firmly to be dislodged; but if one shouted "Wa!" suddenly, and struck them with a stick at the same time, they came off easily).
16. Lā'na dā'gaña ("bad [or 'common'] village," [because they used to say bad things of Xā'gi Inagā'-i opposite]). *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1). *Chief*: Gitku'n (a Tsimshian word).
17. Qlēt Inagā'-i ("narrow-strait village"). Burnaby Strait is said to be very narrow here, and dry at low water. *Family*: Qlē'da lā'nas (R 1 b), a branch of the Xā'gi lā'nas. *Chief*: T!a'go u'nkiñā'ñ ("making a copper sound by lying upon it").
18. Atā'na Inagā'-i (named from the island [House Island] on which it stands). *Family*: Tā'dji lā'nas (R 2). *Chief*: Kiā'nskina-i.
19. Ga-isiga's qleit Inagā'-i ("strait-town where no waves come ashore," i. e., it fronts on smooth waters). *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1). *Chief*: Xō'ya skū'dji ("raven's bones").
20. Xō'tdjixoa's Inagā'-i ("hair-seal low-tide town"). A daughter of the chief of this town taken captive by the Tlingit said it was so named because at low tide one could always

These towns were not all occupied by different families at the same time. On the maps the towns have been marked with the same numbers as in this list.

see an abundance of hair-seal along the shore, and people went down and clubbed them. She said that a neighboring island, called Gwai gē'gagīgwans ("the island floating along"), was so named because it floated back and forth with the tide. She was only making fun of them, but they belived her. *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1). *Chief*: Gi'tiqō'na-i.

21. Qai'djudal Inagā'-i. *Family*: Xaldā'ngats sēls (R 1 a). *Chief*: Ga'ndagoña-i ("always ready for anything").
22. Lā'na xā'wa ("swampy village"), just south of the town of Q!ēt.¹
23. Gadō' Inagā'-i, on the south side of De la Beche Inlet.
24. Gaiega'n kun Inagā'-i a town near the hot spring.

II. T!anū'.

25. T!anū' Inagā'-i ("sea-grass town"). *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3). *Chief*: Gitku'n (a Tsimshian word).
26. Łkliā' Inagā'-i (probably "saw-bill town"). *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3). *Chief*: Xe-ū' ("the southeast").
27. Lga'ñxañ Inagā'-i (Lgā'xaña, "face of the ground"). *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4). *Chief*: Xe-ū'.
28. Sklū'das Inagā'-i ("anything one misses by not arriving in time"). *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4). *Chief*: Gī'na skila's (brother of Xe-ū' [see No. 26]).
29. Łgā'-i Inagā'-i (Łgā'-i, "frame of flat sticks for drying salal-berries;" i In, "to wash"). *Family*: Sūs xā'idaga-i (E 3 a), part of the Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i. They received their name from a lake back of Skedans, which they owned. *Chief*: Qā'-idjīt ("to look after or stand by anything one does not want taken").
30. Q!ā'nga Inagā'-i ("help-received-unexpectedly town"). *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3). *Chief*: Qā'-idjīt.
31. Ku'nxalas Inagā'-i, a town that stood just inside of Cumshewa Point. *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3). *Chief*: (?)
32. Q!ā'dasgo Inagā'-i, at the mouth of the creek of that name, on Louise Island. It was the first home of the family named from it.
33. Gadō' Inagā'-i, around a point from Łkliā' Inagā'-i.

Forts.

Lā'na t!a'odjis ("peoples' fort"). This was occupied twice, the second time after the destruction of a Bella-Bella fort, for which it was renamed LaiLaikiai'.

Łdaga'o t!a'odji ("mountain fort")	} Occupied by the Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3) under Chief Xe-ū' ("the southeast").
T!a'odji Łdjiwas ("thin fort")	
Ga-i t!a'odjis ("bloody fort")	

Q!ā'xada t!a'odjis ("dog-fish fort").

Q!ō'na kwa t!a'odjiga-i ("above-the-edges fort").

Djā'djat t!a'odji'ga ("woman's fort").

Qalq!ō'gi t!a'odjiga-i (words used when one carries alder-branches, and lays the ends on the ground at times).

Q!ā'xada t!a'odjis (name taken from the previous "dog-fish fort"). Occupied by the Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3) under Gitku'n.

Xa-i t!a'odjis ("sunshiny fort").

Qaoqai'gats t!a'odjiga-i.

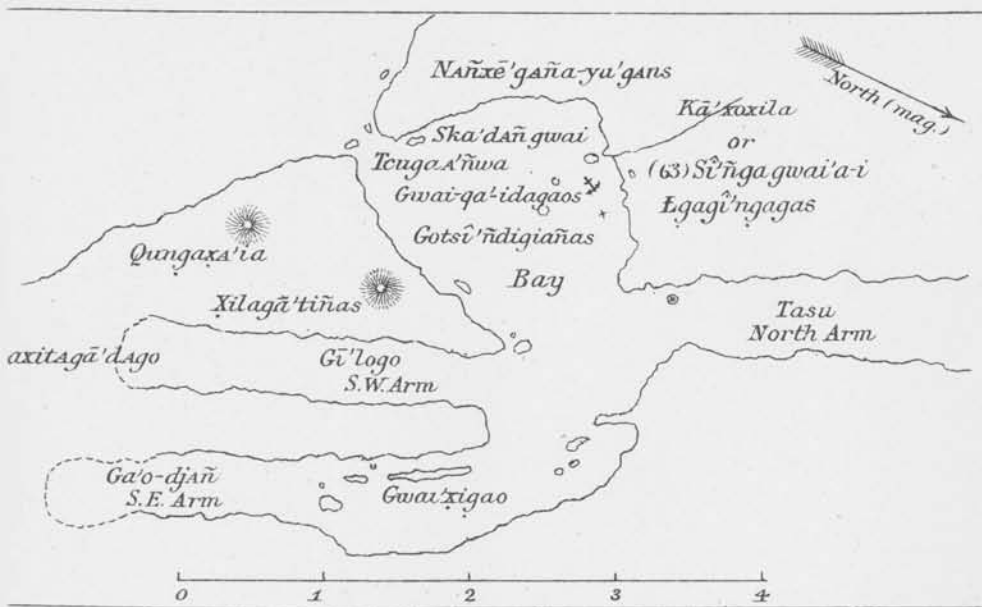
Gwa-i dalgaigins ("island that floats along").

} Occupied by the Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 4) under Nasgiā'l, who was a shamañ.

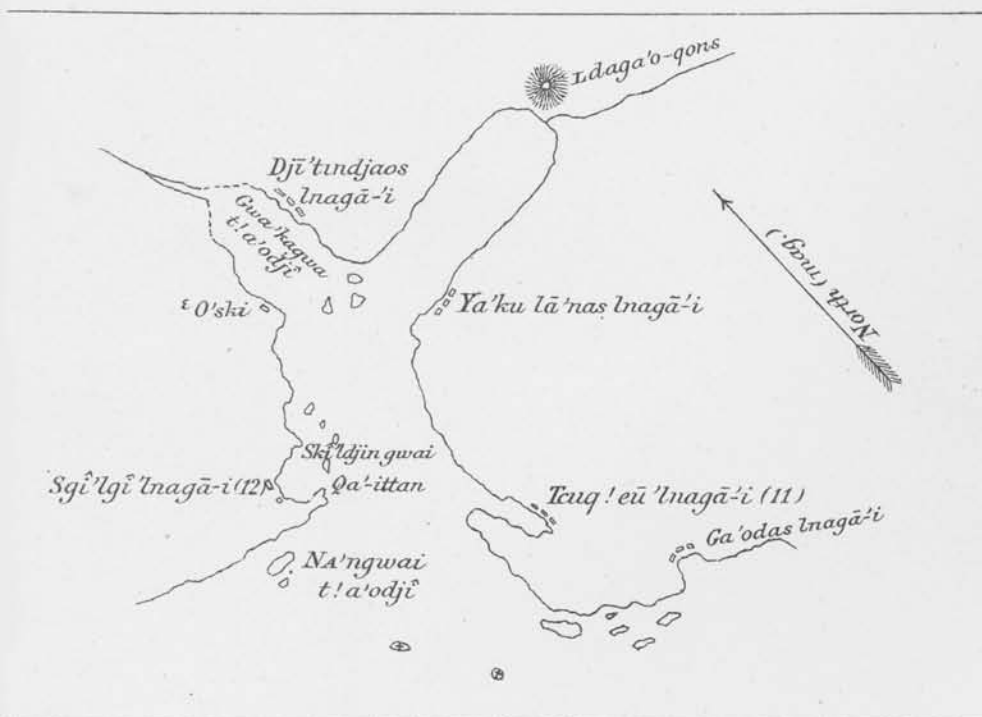
III. Q!ō'na.

34. Q!ō'na Inagā'-i (Skedans). *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4). *Chief*: Gida'nsta ("from his daughter"), corrupted into "Skedans" by the whites.

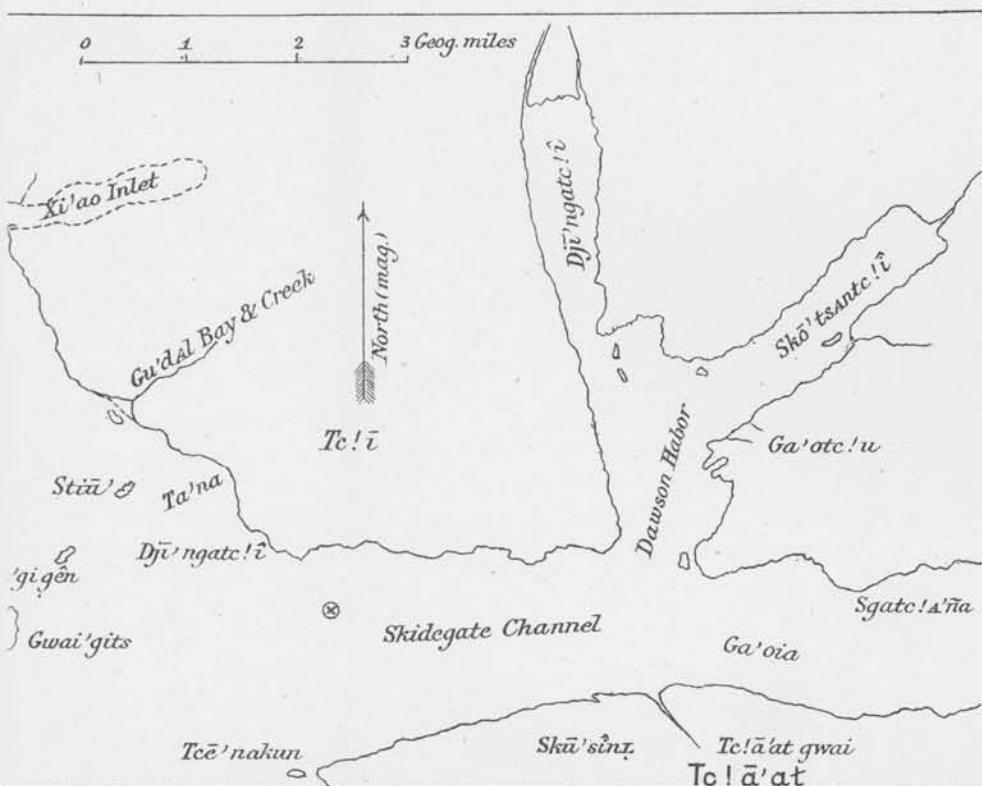
¹ I do not know anything more about Nos. 22-24.



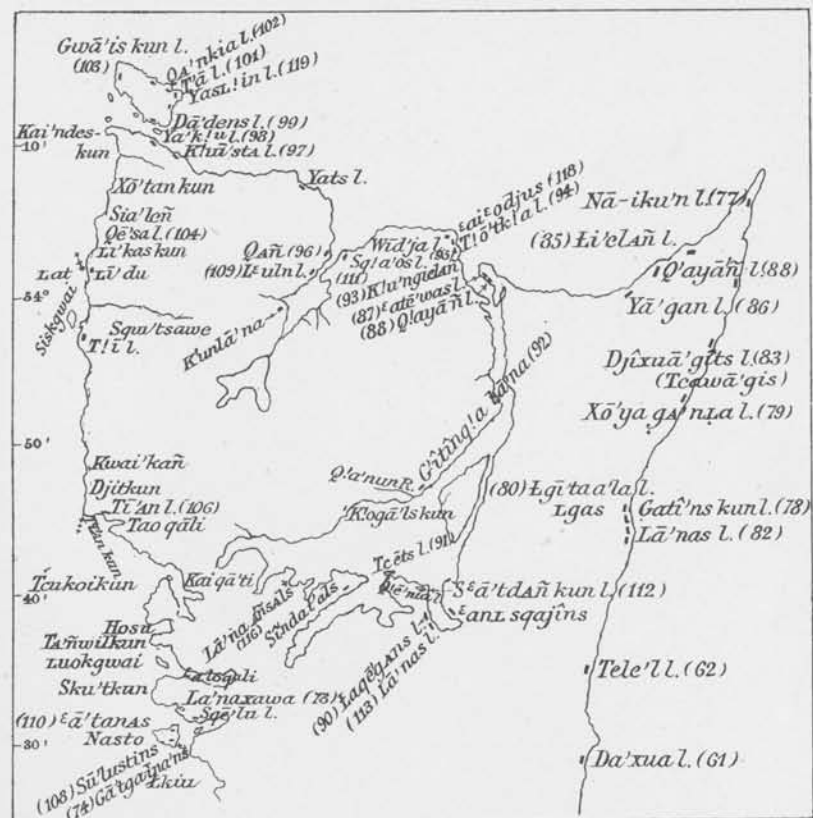
Sketch of Tasu Harbor.



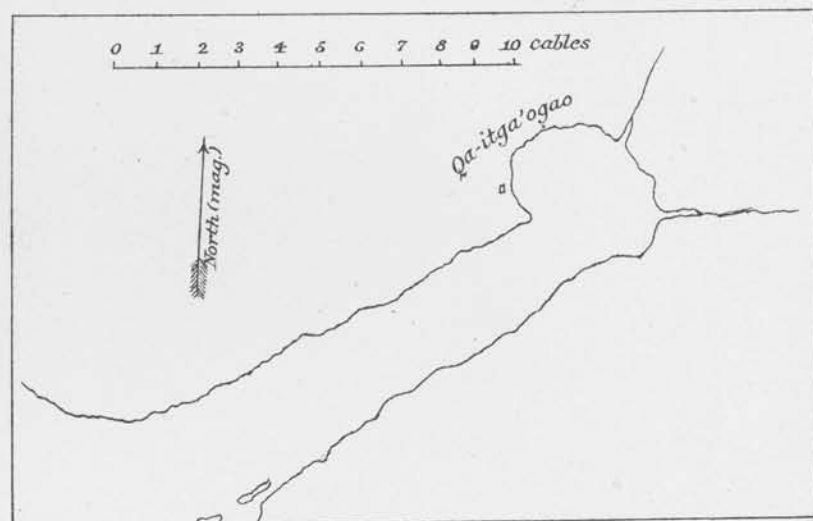
Sketch of Ga'ogaia.



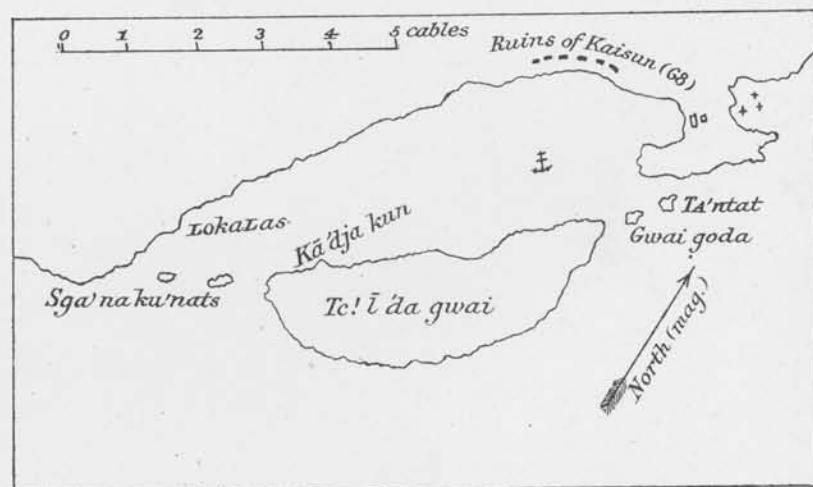
Sketch of Dawson Harbor.



Map of Northern Part of Graham Island.



Sketch of Qa-itga'ogao.



Sketch of Kaisun.

SKETCHES OF HARBORS, by Dr. CHARLES F. NEWCOMBE; and
MAP OF NORTHERN PART OF GRAHAM ISLAND, by
Drs. JOHN R. SWANTON and CHARLES F. NEWCOMBE.

35. L!xīñās Inagā'-i ("flat-slope town"), so called from the nature of the land on which it was built. *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4). *Chief*: Goalda'o, afterwards succeeded by Q!ā'-it (a Tsimshian word).
36. K!ā'tana Inagā'-i (?). *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4). *Chief*: Wā'nagan (a Tsimshian word).
37. Łgā'-i Inagā'-i (according to one informant, this was the name of a town that formerly stood at the head of Skedans Bay).
38. Ya'ogas Inagā'-i, a town that stood on the southwest side of Louise Island. *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4). *Chief*: (?)
39. Town of the Qō'gał lā'nas (R 4 b) at the head of McKay's Harbor, near Cumshewa.
40. Łqē'nal Inagā'-i (Cumshewa). *Family*: St!awā's xā'-idaga-i (E 5). *Chief*: Gō'msiwa (probably a Bella Bella word).

IV. Łgai-ū' (Skidegate Inlet).

41. Ku'ndji Inagā'-i, a story-town in Copper Bay.
42. Q!ā'sta Inagā'-i, a story-town at the mouth of Skidegate Creek.
43. Djigogī'ga Inagā'-i, a story-town just north of the preceding.
44. Sqē'na Inagā'-i, a story-town at Cape Choustcheff.
45. K!il Inagā'-i ("sand-spit-point town"). *Family*: Gītingī'djats or Lā'na tcā'das (E 6 c or E 7). *Chief*: Sa'nga-ya or Qaasā'n.
46. Daiyū' Inagā'-i ("giving-food-to-others town"). *Family*: Daiyū' ał lā'nas (R 8). *Chief*: Wega'łame (a Tsimshian word).
47. Gātcligu'nda-i Inagā'-i ("village moving to and fro all the time"). *Family*: Djaḡui' sqoa'ladaga-i (R 5). *Chief*: Lū'got.
48. Gālgī'ldjiñ Inagā'-i (probably "mussel-chewing village"). *Family*: part of Djaḡui' sqoa'ladaga-i (R 5). *Chief*: Gītkī'ls!as ("young chief"). Another name for this town, or a name for a town close by it, was Sqā'ma (sqām, "a woman's needle-case").
49. XA'-ina Inagā'-i (perhaps "sunshine town," as it faces east. *Family*: in old times, Djaḡui' sqoa'ladaga-i (R 5); in recent times, Łgā'xet gītīnā'-i (E 8). *Chieftainess* of former: Djat gudā'aliñ kiā'nans (gudā'aliñ is the same as gudañā'ñ). *Chief* of the latter: Ganā'-i.
50. Xō'tao Inagā'-i, a story-town.
51. Gaodja'os Inagā'-i ("drum village"). *Family*: Łgai-ū' lā'nas (R 6). *Chief*: Dagā's ("one owning anything").
52. Gāsī'ns Inagā'-i ("gambling-sticks" [?]). *Family*: Łgai-ū' lā'nas (R 6). *Chief*: Wādā'!-dasdaya-i ("one repairing something as he passes over a stream [or inlet]").
53. Koaga'ogit Inagā'-i ("wide-waters-flowing-down-rapidly town"). *Family*: Djaḡui' gītīnā'-i (E 11). *Chief*: Qā'goñ ("travelling about").
54. Dadji'ñgits Inagā'-i ("common-hat village"). *Family*: Na sagā's xā'-idaga-i (E 6 b). *Chief*: Ałst!ē'gañā-i ("one they become jealous of").
55. Gū'łga Inagā'-i, a story-town.
56. Qā-i Inagā'-i (sea-lion town). *Family*: Qā'iał lā'nas (E 9). *Chief*: Gādagā' (a Tsimshian word).
57. Łgā'xet Inagā'-i ("pebble town"). *Family*: Łgā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9). *Chief*: Sgāga'ño ("a man acting continually as a shaman").
58. Łgāi-ū' Inagā'-i (probably from łgā'-i, "stones"). *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a). *Chief*: Tcī'sxīt ("something square lifted"). The old name of this town is said to have been Łgagī'lda.
59. Q!ō'stan xā'na Inagā'-i (q!ō'stan, "crab"). *Family*: Qogā'ñas (R 7). *Chief*: Qonā'tc (qo, "sea-otter").
60. Łgā-iū' Inagā'-i (this is "Old Łgai-ū"). *Family*: Djaḡui' sqoa'ladaga-i (R 5). *Chief*: Nañ kiñai'djīns ("one with much news regarding him").
61. Da'xua Inagā'-i. *Family*: Djaḡui' sqoa'ladaga-i (R 5). *Chief*: Ya'gīt.
62. According to one informant, there was once a town at Telel, whence came the Sea-Otter family.

V. and VI. West Coast.

63. Si'nga Inagā'-i ("winter village"). *Family*: Q!as lā'nas (R 12).
 64. Sta'nla-i Inagā'-i ("fat-game [or fish] town"). *Family*: Q!as lā'nas (R 22).
 65. Qai'dju Inagā'-i ("songs-of-victory town"). *Family*: Q!as lā'nas (R 12). *One of the chief men*: K!i'lgagas.
 66. Saqai'dagialas or Saqai'dagi'lgaña Inagā'-i (name meaning "he threw grease, dropping from a bird split open, around the house"). *Family*: Q!as lā'nas (R 12).
 67. Lānā'ga Iqē'xoda ("town that the sun does not shine on"), so called because it faced north. *Family*: Q!as lā'nas (R 12). *Chief* (said to have been): Łgagō's (action of putting stones into fire and then into water to cook food).
 68. Qai'sun Inagā'-i (in old days). *Family*: Q!as lā'nas (R 12).
 69. Sqai-tāo, sometimes spoken of as a town, was only a Haida camp formed during the rush for gold to Gold Harbor.
 70. Qai'sun Inagā'-i (this may have taken its name from that of the old town of Qā-i in Skotsgai Bay). *Family*: Qa-ia! lā'nas (E 9). *Chief*: Nañ nā'gagē skilxa'ogas ("some costly things fall into his house").
 71. Tc!ā'a! Inagā'-i (sometimes called "Gold Harbor"). *Family*: Łgā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9); anciently, Stasa'os lā'nas (E 10). *Chief*: Nañki'lsLas ("one whose voice is obeyed").
 72. Lā'na hi'ldans ("moving village"), sometimes called Tca'lo Inagā'-i, from the Haida name of Rennel Sound, on which it stood (Tca'lo qā'hi). *Family*: Nastō' qē'gawa-i (R 10 a). *Chief*: Gwa-i tlā'ida ("one who moves the world as he walks").
 73. Lā'na xā'wa ("swampy village"), also called Lā'na xē'gans ("town where there is a noise of drums") or Lā'na ita'ngua ("town with plenty of feathers on it"). *Family*: Nastō' qē'gawa-i (R 10 a). *Chief*: Ki'lsLa-i stins ("two chiefs").
 74. Gā'tga Ina'ns Inagā'-i. *Family*: Dō gitanā'-i (E 20). *Chief*: Stā'sta.
 75. Łgan Inagā'-i ("killer-whale's-dorsal-fin town"). *Family*: Do s!lan Inagā'-i (R 15 d). *Chief*: Gai'yagel.
 76. Th'gan Inagā'-i ("slaughter village" [?]). *Family*: Do s!lan Inagā'-i (R 15 d). *Chief*: Gwai'sgunañ q!a'owas ("a certain one seated on an island").

VII. Nā-iku'n (Rose Spit).

77. Nā-iku'n Inagā'-i ("house-point town"). *Family*: Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13). *Chief*: Ladja'n qō'na ("great breakers").
 78. Gā'nskun Inagā'-i ("town set up high on a point"). *Family*: Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13). *Chief*: Ladja'n qō'na.
 79. Xō'ya ga'n!a Inagā'-i ("Raven-Creek village"). *Family*: Dja'xi' gītina'-i (E 11). *Chief*: Qa'odiya-i ("it has been growing there [applied especially to low plants]"). The chief of the Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13) here was called Ta'olgia qō'na ("great foaming of waves").
 80. Łgi'la a'la Inagā'-i (these words are applied to ditches or swampy hollows running through level ground; also said when anything braced up falls over accidentally). The people moved from here to Gā'nskun. *Family*: Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13). *Chief*: Skil-da'ogana ("youngest property").
 81. Xquadō's Inagā'-i ("standing-water village"). *Family*: Xquadō's (R 13 a). *Chief*: Da'dji ki'lsLas.
 82. Lā'nas Inagā'-i ("peoples' town"). *Family*: Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13). *Chief*: Lā'djañ qō'na.

VIII. North End of Graham Island.

83. Tcawā'gis Inagā'-i ("always-low-water town"). *Family*: Tcawā'gis stastā'-i (E 21 f), said by one informant to have been formerly occupied by the Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13). *Chief*: K!e'as ("gall [of any animal]" [?]).
 84. Nēku'n Inagā'-i ("house-point town"), the later town, after its Raven owners had abandoned it. *Family*: Nēku'n stastā'-i (E 21 e). *Chief*: Dji'hindjaos ("devil's-club").
 85. Łi'elañ Inagā'-i. *Family*: Ku'na lā'nas (R 14). *Chief*: Gia'hins ("standing").

86. Yā'gan Inagā'-i. This town stood at the camping-place of that name, but far back in the woods, for the ocean has receded here; and where the smoke-houses now stand was once a sand-bank over which the sea broke. *Family*: Łie'lañ qē'gawa-i (E 21 c). *Chief*: Anī'las ("going to drink").
87. ʔatē'was Inagā'-i ("white-slope town") or Masset. *Family*: Skī'daoqao (R 16), recently given to the chief of the Sʔadjū'gał lā'nas (E 14). *Chief*: Sī'ga-i ("the open sea").
88. Q'layā'n Inagā'-i. *Family*: Sagui' gītanā'i (E 12), given by another informant as Sagui'kun Inagā'-i. *Chiefs*: of the former, Ye'sawat; of the latter, La'qons.
89. Yan Inagā'-i ("to-go-in-a-straight-line-to-a-thing town"), named from a rock just below the town. *Family*: ʔao sLan Inagā'-i (R 15 a). *Chief*: Qałwā'ga.
90. Łaqē'gans Inagā'-i. *Family*: Ku'na lā'nas (R 14). *Chief*: (?)
91. Tcēts Inagā'-i. *Family*: Tcēts gītanā'i (E 17). *Chief*: (?)
92. Gītiñq'la lā'na. *Family*: Ya'gun sLan Inagā'-i (R 15 c). *Chief*: Dā'sga-i.
93. K'li'ngielañ Inagā'-i. *Family*: Słe'ña lā'nas (R 15). *Chief*: (?)
94. T'ł'łk'la Inagā'-i. *Family*: T'ł'łk'la gītanā'-i (E 16). *Chief*: Stē'łta.
95. Wī'dja Inagā'-i. *Family*: Wī'dja gītanā'-i (E 15). *Chief*: ʔē'lgīga ("finished").
96. Qañ Inagā'-i. *Family*: Sa'gua lā'nas (E 19). *Chief*: Gu'las.
97. K'liū'sta Inagā'-i ("where-the-trail-comes-out town" [?]). *Family*: Stā'stas (E 21). *Chief*: Edā'nsa (see p. 275, E 21).
98. Yak! Inagā'-i. *Family*: Do sLan Inagā'-i (R 15 d). *Chief*: Xī.
99. Da'dens Inagā'-i. Yā'k lā'nas (R 19). *Chief*: Gao.
100. Tcłā'ał lā'nas. *Family*: Tcłā'ał lā'nas (E 23). *Chief*: Skī'lañgwanfin ("resting his head on his property").
101. Tlā Inagā'-i ("Chiton [?] town"). *Family*: Tlā'ał lā'nas (E 24). *Chief*: He has been forgotten.
102. Q!A'nkia Inagā'-i. *Family*: (?) *Chief*: (?)
103. Gwā-isku'n Inagā'-i ("end of island town"). *Family*: Stā'stas (E 21). *Chief*: (?)
104. Qē'sa Inagā'-i. *Family*: Tās lā'nas (R 20). *Chief*: Sqa'oal ("[large variety of] clam-shell").
105. Tlē Inagā'-i. *Family*: Tās lā'nas (R 20). *Chief*: ʔadjō'n.
106. Tī'an Inagā'-i ("slaughter village" [?]). *Family*: Do sLan Inagā'-i (R 15 d). *Chief*: Gwa-i t!ēlt (seems to be "wet island").
107. Lā'na xā'wa ("swampy village"). *Family*: Kiā'nusīlī (R 17). *Chief*: Skī'laowe.
108. Sū'lu stins, also (as given by a young man of the Kiā'nusīlī) Skao nans. *Family*: Do gītanā'-i (E 20). *Chief*: Gītsqā'ns.
109. Łʔuln. *Family*: (?) *Chief*: (?)
110. ʔatā'nas ("bilge-water"). *Family*: Do gītanā'-i (E 20). *Chief*: Stā'sta.
111. Sqa'os. *Family*: Sa'gua lā'nas (E 19). *Chief*: Tī-isa'nga-i.
112. Sʔā'ldañ kun. *Family*: Sagui' gītanā'-i (E 12). *Chief*: Ye'sawat (a Port Simpson name).
113. Lā'nas Inagā'-i ("peoples' town"). *Family*: Ku'na lā'nas (R 14). *Chief*: Lam.
114. Sī'ndat!als ("gambling-place"). *Family*: a branch of the Ku'na lā'nas (R 14) called Djūs xa'de. *Chief*: (?)
115. K'logā'ls kun ("sand-spit point"). *Family*: ʔao sLan Inagā'-i (R 15 a). *Chief*: Qā'lawagan ("walking along frightened").
116. Lā'na A'ñsals ("town [that] hides itself"). *Family*: ʔao yā'k Inagā'-i (R 19 a). *Chief*: Nī'djins.
117. K'liū' u lā'na. *Family*: Q!oē'tas (R 21). *Chief*: Tcłā'ga-i.
118. ʔai ʔodjus ("all fat [meat]" [?]). *Family*: ʔao qē'awa-i (R 22). *Chief*: Na ʔodē ("box in the house").
119. YasLī'ñ Inagā'-i ("town straight back [in the inlet]"). *Family*: Q!oē'tas (R 21). *Chief*: Father of the woman who was taken to Port Simpson as a slave, married the chief's son, and secured some crests for her family (see p. 112).

IX. Kaigani.

120. K!aigā'ni. It is difficult to say whether this was a camp or a town. ʔai'dalat and Qwē'ans are given as the names of the two principal men, but not as town chiefs. Both belonged

- to the Qlā'ad na'as xā'da-i of the Yā'k" lā'nas (R 19). All the Kaigani families except the Q!oē'tas (R 21) are said to have made this their summer town.
121. Saqoā'n (Sukkwan; Tlingit name probably meaning "grass town"). *Family*: Q!oē'tas (R 21). *Chief*: Kiltc!ā'd.
122. ʰa'ok!ian (Howkan, also Tlingit, said to mean "standing up," from a rock just in front of the town). *Family*: Tc!ā'at lā'nas (E 23). *Chief*: Ki'lsinā ("by his word night came on").
123. Q!wē ʰa'n!as Inagā'-i ("muddy-stream town"). *Family*: Ye! na'as xā'da-i (R 19 e). *Chief*: Ye! dā'dji.
124. Linqoā'n (Klinkwan; Tlingit, meaning "shell-fish town," Haida, tcao Inagā'-i). *Family*: Qlā'ad na'as xā'da-i (R 19 b). *Chief*: NAñ ʰa'ldjigias.
125. Gasā'n (Kasaan). *Family*: Tās lā'nas (R 20). *Chief*: Sqa'oal (for Gu'lasqa'oal, "big abalone shell").
126. Tcatchi'n!i. Occupied by the Tās lā'nas (R 20) before they moved to Gasā'n. *Family*: Tās lā'nas. *Chief*: Sqa'oal.

HOUSES IN THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS.

- I. Sga'ngwa-i (Ninstints), from south to north. Informant, Mrs. James Watson, daughter of the present Chief Ninstints, and one of the last survivors of the family of Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1).

Front Row.

1. Nā'ga q!agu't gANAña ("people think of this house even when they sleep" [because the master feeds every one who calls]). *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1).
2. Nā'gut yā'naña ("cloudy house"); originally called Dā'gut yā'naña ("clouds rest upon the retaining-planks"), so named because when the house was built, and the retaining-planks were being towed home, those bringing them were lost in a fog. *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1).
3. Nā'gut qā'-ida ("trees are on it"), so named because, when planks were cut for the original house of the family at Q!ēt Inagā'-i, one of them was dragged over a dead tree with small trees growing upon it, and the end of one of the planks ran under a small tree, taking it off cleanly upon itself. The house-name was brought to Sga'ngwa-i when the family moved thither. *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1).
4. Sgā'na na'as ("killer-whale house"), named from the crest. *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1).

Rear Row.

5. —. This belonged to the NAñstins before the present one. *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1).
6. Na q!aia's ("old house"). It belonged to the NAñstins preceding the above. *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1).
7. Na gut hī'lāns ("thunder rolls upon it"). This was formerly the house of the present NAñstins. The name was given by the wife of the fifth NAñstins back, who was a shaman. Once she met Property-Woman, who gave her this house-name, and told her to call herself T!a'go gā'nxada'sda ("she is going to have so many coppers that she can stow them away in a hole in the cellar") and X!l'daos ("[the woman] who went after medicine"). The first house of this name was put up at Sg!lgi. *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1).
8. Na tā'wa ("grease house"), so called from the abundance of food they always had on hand. *Family*: Skidai' at lā'nas (E 2 a).
9. Na hī'ldans ("house that is always shaking"). This name was that of Djē'basa's house at Kitkatla, who was a great friend of the Tā'dji lā'nas. *Family*: Tā'dji lā'nas (R 2).
10. —. *Family*: Ga'ñxet qē'gawa-i (E 2).
11. —. *Family*: Stā'gī lā'nas (E 2 b).
12. Naga aga'ñ gin!daña ("people wish to be there"). This was the house-name of the chief of Qādādja'ns, a town on the opposite side of the same island. The house-door was named K!ldi xē'gañ ("door that makes a noise [when it falls back]"). *Family*: Xā'gi lā'nas (R 1).
13. Lga ku'ndal ("driving a weasel"). When the house was being put up, one of the planks

slid down endwise upon the ground, and a weasel ran out from under it. The name was bestowed by the wife, because her husband said that the house belonged to her, something that was very unusual. *Family*: of husband, Tā'dji lā'nas (R 2); of wife, Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4).

14. Ldaga'o na'as ("mountain house"). The old house that stood here was very large, and was put up in the old style, the front and rear walls being bound together with cords and put up at once. This was afterwards replaced, but the new house bore the same name. *Family*: GA'ñxet qē'gawa-i (E 2).
15. —. *Family*: GA'ñxet qē'gawa-i (E 2).
16. —. *Family*: Qai'dju qē'gawa-i (R 2 a).
17. —. *Family*: GA'ñxet qē'gawa-i (E 2).
18. Xō'ya na'as ("raven house"). The house-name was brought from Qai'dju. *Family*: Tā'dji lā'nas (R 2).
19. —. *Family*: Łgā'xet gītīnā'-i (E 8).
20. A house stood on a small island in front of the town. It bore the same name as the house of Gītku'n, one of the Tsimshian chiefs. *Family*: Sa'ki qē'gawa-i (E 1).

II. T!anū' (Old Kloo), from the southern end. Principal informant, Abraham, of the Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).

Front Row.

1. Na giā'was ("last house"), so called from its position. *Family*: Dā'gaña sels (E 3 b).
2. Nā'ga lqē'xoda ("shadow house" [i. e., one on which the shadow does not fall]). *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4).
3. Ğot na'as ("eagle house"). Said to have been erected before totem-poles were used; instead it had an eagle carved over the door. *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4).
4. Na kloyiñā' ("house dressed up [to show off all the time]"). *Family*: Dā'gaña sels (E 3 b).
5. Wałgā'l tclidā'ls ("potlatch is slowly moving" [i. e., the house was so large that the potlatching was long]). It was also called Dīn na'as ("cave house"), and was the house of the town chief. *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3). [A house has since replaced the above, called Da'as ("house-hole"), but it belongs to the same family.]
6. Qā'-i na'as ("sea-lion house"), named from the house-pole. *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4).
7. Xa! ta'-igo ("shining house"). The name belonged to West Coast people, who were friends to the family and gave them permission to use it. *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4).
8. Įldjao na-i ("property house"). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
9. Na kiññā'ns ("house that makes a noise"). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
10. Sk!ēs la na-i ("house where one may always expect food"). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
11. Gut qwe'gaga xē'gañ ("sound of clouds rolling upon it"), by permission of the Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
12. Nā'ga gadagā'dies ("daylight house"), by permission of friends at Tcā'!a. *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
13. —. *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
14. Na la'xas ("brand-new house") was the name of the earlier house. Na qā'xolas ("easy to enter") was the name of the later house, so called because people always wanted to go into it. The latter name was used by permission of the Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3). *Family of both*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4). The former house seems to have been occupied by a branch of the family called Mountain-Woman's Children (E 4 a).
15. Wadjxagie'l na'as ("something-terrible-happened house"). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3). Another house has since replaced this, called Na q!aiya's ("old house"). It belonged to the same family.
16. Na dāgui'a ("strong house"). There have been two houses here with the same name. *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4).
17. Dā'ga qī'ndałs ("the house-pole [i. e., house] looks down"). It stood on higher ground than the other houses, and was behind No. 15. *Family*: Djī'gua ał lā'nas (E 4).

18. Í'nglín na-i ("Port Simpson house"), so called because it was stockaded like the Hudson Bay Company's post at Port Simpson. A house of the same name replaced this, in which the two posts nearest the door bore the figures of white men at the top. Still later another house was placed here, called Ȣot na'as ("eagle house") from the carving on the house-pole. *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
19. Na gatsgā's ("house towards the water"), so named because it ran forward of the line of the other houses. *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
20. Nā'ga i'ldjuwadies ("property is in the house"). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
21. Ȣot klia'l na'as ("eagle-leg house"). It was built after the destruction of No. 23. *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
22. Skil na'as ("property [is in the] house"). *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
23. Ȣot klia'l na'as ("eagle-leg house"). See No. 21.

Rear Row.

24. Na gut yā'naña ("cloudy house"), named by permission of the West Coast people. It stood in front of No. 8. *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
25. Na qē'axdjus ("house always looking for visitors"). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).
26. Nā'ga hima'n xona'ndas ("plenty of hima'n-hides in this house"), named by permission of the Łgā'xetgu lá'nas (R 9). *Family*: Q!ā'dasgo qē'gawa-i (R 3).

[When the Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i lived at Łkliā lnagā'-i, the town chief's house was so large that it had a separate name for each side (see No. 26, p. 278). One was called Xa'o-na na-i ("halibut drying-house"): the other, Djí'dal na'as ("rock-slide house"). They cut so many planks from the hillside to make it, that it looked as if there had been a rock-slide there. Its house-pole was all covered with abalone-shell.]

III. Q!ō'na (Skedans), also called Xū'adji lá'nas ("grisly-bear town"), from the west. Principal informant, Chief Skedans.

1. Slgu na'as ("land-otter house"), named from a carving. *Family*: Qō'gał lá'nas (R 4 b).
2. Na-i yā't qē'xats ("house Raven found"). *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4).
3. Na a'oga ("house mother"). *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4).
4. Sgā'na na'as ("killer-whale house"), which was later replaced by Na gut hī'lans ("the house thunder rolls upon"). The front ends of the roof-stringers were named Gāgīxīt sɬaga'o ("gāgīxīt-stringers"), so called from their great size. This also gave way to another, called Qōñ na'as ("moon house"), which had a carving of the moon in front. All of these were the houses of the town chief. *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4).
5. Ȣot klia'l na'as ("eagle-leg house"). *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
6. —. *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
7. —. *Family*: Djí'gua ał lá'nas (E 4).
8. Kun na'as ("black-whale house"), family chief's house. *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3).
9. Ȣot na'as ("eagle house"). *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3).
10. Nā'ga lai'as ("peaceful house"). *Family*: (?)
11. Na giā'gans ("standing house"). *Family*: Q!ō'na qē'gawa-i (E 3).
12. Gut qwē'iga xē'gañ ("the clouds sound against it [as they pass over]"). This was also owned by the town chief, and was the largest house in Skedans, having five successive steps under it. This chief is said to have "potlatched ten times" before he became old. *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4).
13. Sī'nga na-i ("winter house"), which replaced Gut qwē'iga xē'gañ ("clouds make a noise as they roll upon it"). *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i (R 4).
14. Ldagao na'as ("mountain house"). *Family*: Klils xā'idaga-i (R 4 a).
15. Nā'ga gutga'naña ("house people always think of"). This was the best name, but it was also called Na-i yā't qē'xats ("house Raven found") and Xō'ya na'as ("raven house"). This last name was used by permission of their friends the Tā'dji lá'nas (R 2). It was the house of the present Skedans chief. *Family*: Qā'gials qē'gawa-i. (R 4).

16. Xū'adji na'as ("grisly-bear house"). *Family*: Qō'gał lā'nas (R 4 b).
17. Xitsga'nł na'as. The main beams had been stripped of bark in sections by having notches dug into their surfaces at intervals, girdling them. These remained in sight, and the house received its name from the fact. *Family*: Qō'gał lā'nas (R 4 b).
18. Xū'adji xēh' ("grisly-bear mouth"). The door opened just below the bear's mouth on the house-pole. *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
19. Na giā'gaña-i gūstí'ns ("house with two house-poles"). *Family*: Kłils xē'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
20. Xū'adji na'as ("grisly-bear house"). *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
21. —. *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
22. —. *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
23. Tcılıl dā'łgiñ ("waste-food," such as bones, also undigested food found in fishes, etc.). It was first the name of a salmon-trap, which the owner subsequently bestowed upon his house. *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
24. Qal na'as ("alder house"). *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
25. —. *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
26. —. *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).
27. —. *Family*: Kłils xā'-idaga-i (R 4 a).

IV. Łeqe'nul (Gō'msiwa, Cumshewa), from the east end. Informant, Job Moody, of the Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).

- 1.¹ —. *Family*: Sqōā'ładas (R 10).
- 2, 3. —. *Family*: Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).
4. Tao na-i ("grease house"). This house-name was first used at Sī'ñga on the west coast. *Family*: Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).
5. —. *Family*: Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).
6. Na łgi'ñxans ("house that makes a great noise") was the name of the first house; Dji'dal na'as ("rock-slide house"), that of the later house. *Family*: Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).
7. E'lxagit na'as ("chief's house" [but not the house of the town chief]). *Family*: Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).
[A creek flows down here between the houses, called Tā'-is qā'slgies (words used when one stands in water and dips himself entirely under)].
8. Xot na'as ("hair-seal house"). This name was given because the family belonged to Tasu Harbor, and the house was always full of hair-seals brought from thence. *Family*: Sqōā'ładas (R 10). His wife belonged to the Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).
9. Qwē na'as ("sky house"). *Family*: Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a).
10. Gā'ku na'as ("those who go first" or "those who start the quarrelling") was the first house; Qwē na'as ("sky house"), the later. *Family*: Xē'da xā'-idaga-i (E 5 a). These were the houses of the town chief.
11. Na xai'u (probably "house in which there is light"). *Family*: Sa xā'-idaga-i (E 5 b).
12. Łgetłgida ("some one lies against it"). *Family*: Sa xā'-idaga-i (E 5 b).
13. —. *Family*: Sa xā'-idaga-i (E 5 b).
14. Na quns ("great house"), so called because it was considered the most important house in the town. It was replaced later by Łkhe'nqłostan na'as ("frog house"). *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).
15. —. *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).
16. Na hi'ldans ("moving house" or "shaking house"). *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).
17. Na gītge ("house child"). *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).
18. Łdagao na'as ("mountain house"). *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).

Front Row.

19. —. This was in front of the town chief's house. *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).
20. —. *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).
21. Tawa tā'igo ("greasy whole [of house]"). *Family*: Qā'figua xā'-idaga-i (E 5 c).

¹ Nos. 1, 2, 3, above, were very old houses.

V. Łgagí'lda or Łgai-ū' (Skidegate), from the east end. Informant, Edward, of the Daiyū' at lā'nas (R 8).¹

1. —. *Family*: Djaḡui' gītīnā'-i (E 11).
2. —. *Family*: Djaḡui' gītīnā'-i (E 11).
3. —. *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a).
4. —. *Family*: Djaḡui' sqoāladaga-i (R 5).
5. Ḳū'adji xēf' ("grisly-bear mouth"). *Family*: Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13).
6. Ḳū'adji na'as ("grisly-bear house"). According to another Skidegate man, this should be Ḳū'adji Lxol. He said that the above name was used by Skedans, and they would not adopt it for fear of offending him. *Family*: Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13).
7. Na kīñā'ns ("house making a noise"). *Family*: Djaḡui' gītīnā'-i (E 11).
8. Na gut hī'lāns ("house upon which the thunder roars"). *Family*: Djaḡui' gītīnā'-i (E 11).
9. Nā'ga gā'-ilas ("house to which the tide comes"). *Family*: Nā-iku'n qē'gawa-i (R 13).
10. Gā'lgā nā-i ("dark house"). *Family*: Djaḡui' gītīnā'-i (E 11).
11. Na qea'ndi gū'dañā ("house people want to see all the time"). *Family*: Daiyū' at lā'nas (R 8).
12. Q!e-u'xa qā'ala ("house people never pass by"). *Family*: Djaḡui' sqoāladaga-i (R 5).
13. Dā'agu qa'nñin ("house better than [the ones that have] house-holes"). *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a).
14. Nā'ga gutgi L! kia'gans ("people call to each other in it"), so called because it was too large to make one's self heard across the inside without raising the voice. *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a).
15. Ḳa! tā'-igo ("shining house"). *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a).
16. Na sagā's ("rotten house"). *Family*: Na sagā's xā'-idaga-i (E 6 b).
17. Sgā'na na'as ("killer-whale house"). *Family*: Djaḡui' sqoāladaga-i (R 5).
18. Na s'a'ndjiwa ("house where the people do not care to eat anything [because they have so much]"). *Family*: Łgai-ū' lā'nas (R 6).
19. Łgan na'as ("fin house"). *Family*: Łgai-ū' lā'nas (R 6).
20. Łima'n na'as ("fima'n-blanket house"). This was in advance of the others in front of the place where Amos Russ's house now stands. *Family*: Na saga's xā'-idaga-i (E 6 b).
21. Nā'gi ī'lxagit klā'-idañgans ("house chiefs peeped at from a distance [because it was too great to let them come near]"). This stood at Tele'l, and was owned, together with No. 22, by the chiefs of Skidegate. *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a).
22. Stil na'as ("steel house"). This stood at Tele'l, and was owned, together with No. 21, by the chiefs of Skidegate. *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a).

I obtained the names of two additional houses, which, however, were not contemporaneous with those named above.

Da'gi q!ā'yīña. *Family*: Na yū'ans xā'-idaga-i (E 6 a).

ldaga'o na'as ("mountain house"), a Skidegate house-name.

The following list of Skidegate houses was obtained by James Deans in 1891, when he had models of the houses in Skidegate village made for the World's Columbian Exposition.

There seems to be considerable confusion about the order in which these should stand. In only a few cases do the names agree with those which I obtained myself; but both may nevertheless be right, for houses might bear two or more names. There are four more houses in Skidegate proper than I learned of, but I am not satisfied that all of these were contemporaneous.

1. Ka guintt, said to be named from the boxes which, according to the raven tradition, held the sun, moon, and stars.
2. Tao scho nas (T!ā'go naas, "copper house").

¹ In the list quoted by Dawson, forty houses are assigned to Skidegate. The wife of Chief Skidegate said that that number was probably correct. Before the last row of houses was built, the houses stood farther back, and were more numerous.

3. Koot nas (Gōt naas, "eagle house").
4. Kots nas (Xū'adi naas, "grisly-bear house").
5. Nuh ru Kiethlu (Nā'ga kla'-ilas, "tray house").
6. Keithlins kien (Gañ'ns kun, "Cape-Ball house").
7. Koota nas (Gō'da naas, "box house").
8. Was-seenah-Kootkia nas (? "house of contentment").
9. Nagagill (Nā'ga gā'-ilas, "house of the waves").
10. Na heeldans (Na hī'ldans, "shaking house").
11. Nuh ga deebans (? "thunder-storm house").
12. Hoiah nas (Xō'ya na'as, "raven house").
13. Tango nas (? "food house").
14. Daa (perhaps Da'agu qa'nñin, "house-hole").
15. Hoia nas (Xō'ya na'as, "raven house").
16. Tlimen ("house of the dolphin [or walrus]"). Perhaps this should be Lima'n na'as ("lima'n-skin house").
17. Etlga nas (I'lxagīt na'as [?], "chief's house").
18. Nuh Klahas (Na La'xas, "new house").
19. Helder an nas (Ldaga'o na'as, "mountain house").
20. Koot queega heegan (Gut qwēgao xē'gañs, "house upon which the clouds make a noise").
21. Kah towl ah loot loo skow ([taol, "rainbow"] "rainbow house"), or Hoos nas (Godj na'as, "wolf house").
22. Nas tans a wee (?), said to mean that the owner had the most stylish house in town.
23. Skyamsum nas (Skiā'msm na'as, "hawk house").
24. Kootkoo nas (Gu'tgunis na'as, "horned-owl house").
25. Kung nas (Qoñ na'as, "moon house"), Capt. Gold's house. This was not in the village proper, and probably the same applies to No. 26.
26. Hoiah nas (Xō'ya na'as, "raven house").

VI. Qai'sun, from the eastern end. Informant, Walter, of the Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).

1. Na lgi'ñxans ("shout-loud house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ładas (R 10). They owned a house of the same name at Tcłā'ał.
2. Wit dā'as (probably "salmonberry-bird house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ładas ? (R 10).
3. Na gut ya'naña ("house upon which are clouds"). *Family*: Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).
4. Nāga qle'nadias ("house in which it is always summer"). *Family*: Stasa'os lā'nas (E 10).
5. Nā'ga qā'ganān tā'ngaga ("house where people go to be saved [from starvation]"). *Family*: Stasa'os lā'nas (E 10). The owner of this house came over from Tcłā'ał.
6. Nao nā'ga ("devil-fish house"). *Family*: Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).
7. Na qā'dji stins ("house with two heads [to its house-pole]"). *Family*: Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).
8. Got kñ'dji tciqō'na ("eagle with a large belly:" "eagle" refers to the carving on the pole; "belly," to the house, which was supposed to be the belly of the eagle). This was the chief's house. *Family*: Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).
9. Git na'as ("chief's son's house"). *Family*: Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).
10. Wadjxagie'l na'as ("something-terrible-happened house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ładas (R 10).
11. Gut qwē'gaga xē'gan ("house upon which the clouds sound [as they roll upon it]"). *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
12. Qlā'xada na'as ("dog-fish house"). *Family*: Lga'xetgu lā'nas (R 9). It belonged to the chief of Tcłā'ał, and was used by him when in Qai'sun.
13. Skñ'fslana-i ("where people are always filled"). *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
14. Qe-u'xa qā'al ("no one passes by [without entering]"). *Family*: Sels (R 9 b).
15. Nagē sgō'la ("house in which foam is" [perhaps driven by the wind, for the house stood near the west or seaward end of the town]). *Family*: Stasa'os lā'nas (E 10).
16. Skū'dji na'as ("bone house"), probably named from the strength of its construction. *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).

17. Hi'liña na'as ("thunder-bird house"). *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
18. Tci'ao na'as (from the eggs of a certain fish ["larger than a cod"] which lays its eggs in the crevices of rocks, whence they cannot be driven). This house was so named because it was built on the rocks. *Family*: Stasa'os lā'nas (E 10).
19. Gi'gao na'as ("salmon-trap house"). It stood where Skū'dji na'as was afterwards built. *Family*: Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).
20. Na k'loyiña' ("house always dressed up"). The place where it stood was not afterwards occupied. *Family*: Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9).

VII. Tcī'ā'at (sometimes called "Old Gold Harbor"), from the east end. Informants: Walter, a Qā'-iał lā'nas (E 9); Lucy, a Sqoā'ładas (R 10); and Richard, a Yā'ku gītīnā'-i (E 8, b).

Front Row.

1. Xał ta'-igo ("shining house"). *Family*: Yā'ku gītīnā'-i (E 8 b).
2. Na qea'łdjus ("house always looking for visitors"). *Family*: Qałgui' gītīnā'-i (E 8 c).
3. Xał ta'-igo ("shining house"), probably so named on account of the number of coppers. The name was used by permission of the Yā'ku gītīnā'-i (E 8 b). *Family*: Łgā'xet gītīnā'-i (E 8).
4. Gāda'-i na'as ("high-born-woman house"), according to Lucy. Another name was Nā'gi siñā' ("house that no one would touch" [because in the house-to-house fights its owner proved too powerful]). *Family*: Kī'łsla-i djał tlał'ngalañ.
5. Tā'wa tā'-igo ("grease house" [because grease is being spilled there all the time]). *Family*: Ğa'ñxet qē'gawa-i (E 2).

Rear Row.

6. Ilxagī't na'as ("chief's house"). It belonged to the chief of the Łgā'xet gītīnā'-i (E 8), and stood behind No. 5.
7. Ğā ħma'n xonā'nda ("in it are a multitude of ħma'n-blankets"). *Family*: Łgā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9).
8. Skil klia'oga tā'-igo ("house waiting for property"). *Family*: Łgā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9).
9. Kildiql'ndał ("looking down for the voices"). This was the town chief's house. It stood on high ground, and on the top of the house-pole was a carving of the chief himself, wearing a dancing head-dress, and holding two coppers. He was so great that he was willing to hear anything that should be said of him. *Family*: Łgā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9).
10. Qā'xada na'as ("dog-fish house"). The highest house-name of this family was Yāł na'as ("raven house"). *Family*: Łgā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9).
11. Tcī'amtis (a Tsimshian word). The house-excavation was named separately, Dā tā'wa ("grease-house hole"). Walter gave its name as Na gut ğa'nı'a ("house by which fresh water flows"). *Family*: Łgā'xet gītīnā'-i (E 8).
12. Nā'ga gadagā'dias ("daylight house" [i. e., they never feel sorry there]). Sī'ñgi ("evening") is often used as a synonyme for "unhappiness." *Family*: Łgā'xet qē'gawa-i (E 8 d).
13. Lā'gał wā'sa (Tsimshian word), the name given by Lucy and Richard. Another name was Nāñ giā'gañia-i-djins ("one that has the longest house-pole"). As a matter of fact, there are some longer, but the real meaning may be metaphorical. *Family*: Łgā'xet gītīnā'-i (E 8).
14. Nā'ga qē'xalia ("house that passers-by always look up at"). *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
15. Tla'odji na'as ("fort house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ładas (R 10).
16. Na aga'ñ kilt'aga'ñdies ("house that makes itself larger" ? [perhaps meaning that a larger house had been built outside of the original one]). *Family*: Nastō' qē'gawa-i (R 10 a).
17. Wadjxagie'l na'as ("something-terrible-happened house" [because the owner was a brave man]). Another name, according to Lucy, was Na łgi'ñxans ("house that shouts out loud"). *Family*: Sqoā'ładas (R 10).
18. Na a'ñgaiya ("house that does not want to eat at all" [the people are so well fed]). *Family*: Nastō' qē'gawa-i (R 10 a).

19. Nā'gî ḡō'gaga ("house they are afraid to go near"), as given by Lucy and Richard. Another name was Sîns ḡē'sta tā'-ixu ("house hanging from the shining heavens" [see p. 15]). *Family*: Djaḡui' ḡā'xet qē'gawa-i (E 8 a).
 20. ——. *Family*: Gwē A'ndas (E 8 e).¹
 21. ——. *Family*: Gwē A'ndas (E 8 e).

Front Row, resumed.

22. Qē'a na-i ("the house where children are born"). According to Walter, it was named Na qā'xulas ("house where people always want to go"). *Family*: Yā'ku ḡitnā'-i (E 8 b).
 23. Nā'ge tla'go skūga's ("house coppers pour into [like salmon into a stream]"). *Family*: Yā'ku ḡitnā'-i (E 8 b).
 24. Kun na'as ("black-whale house" [probably from the amount to be found in it]). *Family*: Yā'ku ḡitnā'-i (E 8 b). One of my informants built this.
 25. Gut qwē gaga xē'gañ ("upon it clouds sound as they pass"). Walter said it was called Na ḡt'ge ("house child"). *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
 26. Na aga'ñ kildaga'ñdies, according to Lucy and Walter (see No. 16, with which it is perhaps identical).
 27. Hi'liña na'as ("thunder-bird house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ḡadas (R 10).

Farther back, and returning towards the east.

28. Ldaga'o na'as ("mountain house" [because it was on high land]). *Family*: Sqoā'ḡadas (R 10).
 29. Qōñ na'as ("moon house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ḡadas (R 10).
 30. Un tla'ḡi qea'dju ("house looking for visitors"). *Family*: Sqoā'ḡadas (R 10).

Nā'ga gut ga'naña ("house people think of") was the name of one of the houses that stood at Tc!a'at before it was burned. This town was burned at one time, and the burning accounts for the discrepancy between my list and that quoted by Dawson.

VIII. Xa'-ina (or "New Gold Harbor"), from the northern end.² Informants, the same as for the last.

1. Wa'djxagiel na'as ("something-terrible-happened house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ḡadas (R 10).
 2. [Unnamed because built out of potlatching time.] *Family*: Sqoā'ḡadas (R 10).
 3. [Unnamed because built out of potlatching time.] *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
 4. Tc!A'mti (Tsimshian words). *Family*: ḡā'xet ḡitnā'-i (E 8).
 5. Na A'ñgaya ("house that does not want to eat"). *Family*: Nastō' qē'gawa-i (R 10 a).
 6. Skil klia'oga tā'-igo ("house waiting for property"). *Family*: ḡā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9).
 7. Na qā'xulas ("house where people always want to go"). *Family*: Yā'ku ḡitnā'-i (E 8 b).
 8. Ldaga'o na'as ("mountain house"). *Family*: Sqoā'ḡadas (R 10).
 9. Na qea'ḡdus ("house always looking for visitors"), the town chief's house. *Family*: ḡā'xet ḡitnā'-i (E 8).
 10. Nā'ga qē'xaña ("house passers-by always look up at"). *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
 11. Gut qwē'gaga xē'gañ ("upon it clouds make a noise"). *Family*: Stasa'os qē'gawa-i (R 11).
 12. —, in front of No. 11. *Family*: ḡā'xetgu lā'nas (R 9).
 13. —, in front of No. 10. *Family*: ḡā'xet qē'gawa-i (E 8 d).

There are said to have been several small houses besides.

IX. ḡi'elañ'. A man of that town could only remember the names of three of the old houses, which were the following. Informant, Hai'as, of the ḡi'elañ qē'gawa-i (E 21 c).

Sklu'lxa hai'yet (indicates that a crowd could be accommodated in it on account of its size). It was owned by Eda'nsa, chief of the Sta'stas. *Family*: ḡi'elañ qē'awa-i (E 21 c), as part of the Sta'stas.

Yā'nañ na'as ("cloudy house"), owned by Giā'ḡins, chief of the Ku'na lā'nas (R 14), and town chief.

Tla'odji na'as ("fort house"), owned by Skilqe'as, a chief of the Ku'na lā'nas (R 14).

¹ The name of either 20 or 21 was given as Nā'gi ḡō'gaga ("house people are afraid of").

² These house names were all transferred from Tc!a'at and Qai'sun. By comparing the lists, one is able to see how enormously the number of people had fallen off.

X. ^satē'iwās (Masset), from the northwest. Informant, Walter, of the ^sao sl'an lnagā'-i (R 15 a).

1. Na gī'di ("house child" [from its size]). *Family*: (?).
2. Gagi'd na'as ("Gagi'd house"). This once had ten tiers of retaining-planks in the house-excavation, of which all but the last are still visible, though the sea has cut away all except one corner. *Owner*: Kun xa'ñe ("whale-eye"). *Family*: ^sAnl. sqadjl'ns gitanā'-i (E 13 b).
3. Ye'nañ na'ās ("cloudy house"). When the house-pole which illustrated some story was put up, it became foggy, and a wisp of fog stretched forward and touched the pole. *Owner*: Gwasa's (an onomatopoetic word to describe the blowing of the killer-whale). *Family*: Kiā'nuslī (R 17).
4. ^sot na'as ("box house"), so named because the house-excavation was dug deep into the ground like a box. *Owner*: Qo'na (?). *Family*: T!ē'es gitanā'-i (E 13 c).
5. Xa! tī'yu ("shiny house"). *Owner*: ^se'lgiga ("finished"). *Family*: Tcēts gitanā'-i (E 17).
6. Na gī'di ("house child"), so named because the house and the house-pole were small. *Owner*: Kun stā'-its (?). *Family*: Mā'man gitanā'-i (E 13 a).
7. —. *Owner*: Skil o'ndjas ("Property-[Woman] broke into the house"). *Family*: Tcāwā'gīs stastā'-i (E 21 f).
8. Qlā'ad na'as ("dog-fish house"), named from the house-pole. *Owner*: T!A'lgā qāñ ("hatred" or "animosity"). *Family*: Kiā'nuslī (R 17).
9. Qoñ na'as ("moon house"). This name was obtained from the Tsimshian. *Owner*: Lā'nat ("dwelling in a town"). *Family*: Skī'daoqao (R 16).
10. Xūdj na'as ("grisly-bear house"), house of the town chief. The house-posts were carved as grisly bears, a family crest. *Owner*: Xa'na. *Family*: Skī'daoqao (R 16).
11. S'an na'as ("killer-whale house"), named from the crest on the house-pole. *Owner*: Sī'ga-i ("the open sea"). *Family*: Skī'daoqao (R 16).
12. Xa!lāl na'as ("hole-burned-into-the-thrunk-of-a-standing-tree house"). *Owner*: Na'stao kuns. *Family*: Skī'daoqao (R 16).
13. Na yū'ans ("big house"), a very large house with two deep stages. *Owner*: Wīa, a Tsimshian name owned by the Lī'elañ qē'awa-i (E 21 c), who came from the Nass. *Family*: S^sadjū'ga! lā'nas (E 14).
14. —. *Owner*: Sqō'lu (?); a second name was Wā'lans ("things roasted on the fire"). *Family*: S^sagā'nuslī (R 18).
15. Kā'-ila na'as ("stars house"). *Owner*: Skī'lgida ("son of the property-woman"). *Family*: Kiā'nuslī (R 17).
16. Xāg na'as ("halibut house"). The front of this house was painted with the figure of a halibut. *Owner*: ^sA'nīa ("watery"). *Family*: Mā'man gitanā'-i (E 13 a).
17. Na ku'ndjus ("point house"), so named because it was built out in advance of the rest, like a point or cape. *Owner*: Kīlklā'gañwas ("telling to sit down"). *Family*: Gī'tans (E 13), said to have had no subdivisional name.
18. ^sot na'as ("eagle house"). The house-pole had an eagle at the top. *Owner*: Nat qā'-soñ ("nephew walking"). *Family*: S^sadjū'ga! lā'nas (E 14).
19. —. *Owner*: Kwī'^sAñgoñ (a high word for "walking about"). *Family*: Mā'man gitana'-i (E 13 a).
20. Łq!A'mal na'as ("branches house"), so named because this entire family used to put up houses made of branches when they went to camp. *Owner*: Skil daq!A'ldju ("waiting for the property-woman"). *Family*: S^sadjū'ga! lā'nas (E 14).
21. —. *Owner*: Eda'nsa. *Family*: Sta'stas (E 21).
22. Na gī'da ("house child"), so named from its small size. *Owner*: Na xa'ldant. *Family*: S^sadjū'ga! lā'nas (E 14).
23. Gāgī'd na'as ("Gāgī'd house"). The owners were the grandchildren of those who owned the other Gāgī'd na'as. *Owner*: ^sa! na'as ("night house"). *Family*: Skī'daoqao (R 16).
24. —. *Owner*: ^se'nao (?). *Family*: S^sadjū'ga! lā'nas (E 14).
25. —. *Owner*: Ku'djao (?). *Family*: Skī'daoqao (R 16).
26. —. *Owner*: K!oda'-i ("beak"). *Family*: Sagui' gitanā'-i (E 12).

27. Na^{sa} gī'las ("house the tide rises into"). At flood the tide rose into the house-excavation. *Owner*: Nī'djins ("imitator" or "reproducer"). *Family*: Mā'man gītanā'-i (E 13 a).
- 28.¹ Xot na'as ("seal house"), named from the cross-pieces at the front and rear of the smoke-hole, which were carved to represent hair-seals. *Owner*: Kī'lsLa-i ("chief"). *Family*: ^{sa}ao yak^{sa} Inagā'-i (R 19 a).
29. Skūdj na'as ("bone house"). This was so named because it was built on the hill of ^{si}djao, was stockaded, and used as a fort. *Owner*: Xī'la ("medicine" or possibly "dry"). *Family*: ^{sa}ao yaku^{sa} Inagā'-i (R 19 a).
30. Gwa-i t!A'lg^a qā'tcao ("looking [or searching] over the island" [because it was built on a hill]). *Owner*: Q!olke'as (?). *Family*: ^{sa}ao yak^{sa} Inagā'-i (R 19 a).
31. ——. *Owner*: K!o'madi. *Family*: Na sagā's xa'dē (E 6 b).
32. T!a'odji na'as ("fort house"), named from the hill ^{si}djao t!a'odja-i. *Owner*: Qogī's ("diving sea-otter"). *Family*: Ku'na lā'nas (R 14).
33. ——. *Owner*: Sī'nat (probably from sīn, "gambling-sticks"). *Family*: Ku'na lā'nas (R 14).

XI. Q!ayā'ñ, from the east. Informants, several old people from this town.

1. ——. *Owner*: Utī'daga (?). *Family*: K!ia'ldagwans (E 12 a).
2. Na gut k!ī'wa ("house upon which is a trail" [it was so low]). *Owner*: Ye'sawat (?). *Family*: Sagui' gītanā'-i (E 12).
3. Na ski'ldas ("house that wears a tall dancing-hat"). *Owner*: Na'qadjut. *Family*: Sagui' gītanā'-i (E 12).
4. Nidjā'ñu na'as ("mask house"). *Owner*: Gīt xē'gañwus. *Family*: Sagui' gītanā'-i (E 12).
5. Na qā'djusas ("house that sticks out [from the others]"). *Owner*: Kials. *Family*: Sagui' gītanā'-i (E 12).
6. Xū'adjī na'as ("grisly-bear house"), the house of the town chief. *Owner*: Laqons. *Family*: Sagui' kun Inagā'-i (R 14 e).
7. Łgitu'n na'as ("goose house"). *Owner*: K!A'm!u. *Family*: Sagui' kun Inagā'-i (R 14 c).
8. Tcliñ na'as ("beaver house"). *Owner*: I'luwā. *Family*: Sagui' kun Inagā'-i (R 14 c).
9. Gū'djao na'as ("drum house"). *Owner*: Qadjā'ī. *Family*: Sagui' gītanā'-i (E 12).
10. ^{sa}ataga'ndjao na'as ("young sea-otter house"). *Owner*: Skil qe'as, chief of the T!ē'es kun Inagā'-i (R 14 a). *Family*: T!ē'es kun Inagā'-i (R 14 a).
11. Yeł na'as ("eagle house"). *Owner*: Xu'na. *Family*: T!ē'es kun Inagā'-i (R 14 a).
12. Na st!ā'gās ("house that has feet"). *Owner*: Q!āñ. *Family*: T!ē'es kun Inagā'-i (R 14 a).
13. Na ^{sa}ats (a name taken from Port Simpson). *Owner*: Skil qe'as. *Family*: Łi'elañ kun Inagā'-i (R 14 b).
14. ——. *Owner*: K!A'm!u. *Family*: Łi'elañ kun Inagā'-i (R 14 b).

Lā'na k!ul!ū'djus ("pointed town"), also called Ł^{sa}a q!ā'was ("flat stones"), a house that used to stand by itself between Q!ayā'ñ and Masset. *Owner*: I'ldjuxiē. *Family*: K!ia'ldagwans (E 12 a).

XII. Yan, from the south. Informant, Walter, of the ^{sa}ao s!lan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).

1. ——. *Owner*: Ła'owa. *Family*: Ya'gun s!lan Inagā'-i (R 15 c).
2. ——. *Owner*: Nañ gīda's } ("the chief's son"). *Family*: Ya'gun s!lan Inagā'-i (R 15 c).
3. ——. *Owner*: Nañ gīda's }
4. S^{sa}an na'as ("killer-whale house"), named from its house-pole. *Owner*: Skil hi'lans ("property moving"). *Family*: T!ē'es s!lan Inagā'-i (R 15 b).
5. Nā^{sa}a xūadj q!ā'was ("house in which a grisly bear sits"). On the rear wall inside was a painting of the grisly bear. *Owner*: Skil kī'ñans ("property making a noise [like birds]"). *Family*: T!ē'es s!lan Inagā'-i (R 15 b).

¹ The houses from No. 28 on, once formed a separate town under the name of ^{si}djao Inagā'-i, owned by the ^{sa}ao yak^{sa} Inagā'-i. At that time the sea is said to have come in over the place where Masset proper stands, and those houses were built on the high land farther back.

6. Taol na'as ("rainbow house"). The original house from which this received its name stood on the west coast, and when it was cloudy or misty the rainbows always rested upon it. *Owner*: Ki'ñagwao ("he who does not wish the news of what he does spread abroad"). *Family*: 'ao sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).¹
7. —. *Owner*: Skil giā'tc!as ("Property-Woman came in and stood in the house"). *Family*: Ya'gun sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 c).
8. Ł^əAN na'as ("killer-whale's dorsal-fin house"). The end posts in front were carved to represent the dorsal-fins of killer-whales. *Owner*: Kiñē' ("he of whom news goes about"). *Family*: 'ao sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).
9. Ti'ñngien ("round house" [because it stood up higher than the other houses, thus presenting a rounded outline above them]). *Owner*: Kilsta'ñwas ("two voices"). *Family*: 'ao sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).
10. 'ai'Al 'a'la ("covered with cedar-bark" [as it was]). *Owner*: Kwai yū'ans ("big tail of the killer-whale" [literally, "big backsides"]). *Family*: 'ao sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).
11. Qoyā'da ti'aot!Al ("valued house that came down and stood"). *Owner*: Ye'ñnao (Tlingit word, meaning "dead raven"). *Family*: 'ao sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).
12. Na gut kliū'xa ("house over which there is a trail" [because it was small and low, and easy to climb up on]). *Owner*: Sta'asL (a word used when water standing in a vessel is kicked over). *Family*: Tcēts gitanā'-i (E 17).
13. Na gī'di ("house child"), so called from its size. *Owner*: Łūnā'gut ("ñima'l is upon this house" [ñu is short for ñima'l]). *Family*: Tcēts gitanā'-i (E 17).
14. Na k!ō'dañ qens ("house looking at its beak"). The carved block of wood — which in very old times took the place of the house-pole — on this house bore the beak of a bird standing out in front. *Owner*: Sti'ta ("returned"). *Family*: T!ō'k!a gitanā'-i (E 16).
15. Sā'ldjet na'as ("flicker house"). *Owner*: Ī'ldjiwas. *Family*: Tcēts gitanā'-i (E 17).
16. Na 'ā'lgas ("dark house"), so named because the house-hole was sunk deep, and they were troubled for lack of light. *Owner*: Na xa'ldant ("sunshine coming into the house"). *Family*: T!ō'k!a gitanā'-i (E 16).
17. Si'nda na-i ("gambling-house"). When the owners settled in the first house of the name at Rose Spit, they used to gamble all the time. *Owner*: Gwai t!ēlt ("watering the island"). This name is given to the heavy downpour of rain which generally follows thunder. *Family*: 'ao sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).
18. Qa-i na'as ("sea-lion house"). The two planks that held the upper ends of the boards in front were carved as sea-lions. *Owner*: T!a'lgas ("one who surpasses a rival in a property contest"). *Family*: 'ao sLlan Inagā'-i (R 15 a).
- 19.² Na kial 'ai'dandas ("house the door of which runs"). On the swinging door was fastened the figure of a man, which of course moved every time any one went out. *Owner*: K!lslagwañ. *Family*: Tcēts gitanā'-i (E 17).
20. Na skia'djas ("eyebrow house"). On the top of each of the planks which formed the stages inside was fastened a thin strip of wood, jutting out beyond the face of the planks below, and called by analogy an "eyebrow." *Owner*: Gwa-i nañ kilda's ("the island is split by his words"). *Family*: T!ō'k!a gitanā'-i (E 16).

[The houses that formerly stood at Wi'dja and T!ō'k!a bore the same names as those of the Wi'dja and T!ō'k!a gitanā'-i (E 16) in the above list. The same is probably true of the houses in the town of Tcēts, up Masset Inlet.]

XIII. Qañ, from the western end. Informants, several old people at Masset.

1. Hi'liñ na'as ("thunder house"). *Owner*: Qaskiāl (?). *Family*: Sta'stas (E 21).
2. Sklu'xa hai'at ("house that can hold a great crowd of people"). *Owner*: Eda'nsa. *Family*: Sta'stas (E 21).

¹ This was the house and name of my informant. The rainbow was a personal crest from his grandfather.

² Nos. 19 and 20 were never completed beyond the frames.

3. Na qa'olas ("house they always like to go into"). *Owner*: Wā'lans ("anything roasted on a stick"). *Family*: S^gagā'nusilî (R 18).
4. Stîl na'as ("steel house"), named from its strength. There were horizontal wall-timbers on the inside, in addition to the vertical house-timbers. *Owner*: Łq!A'ndē. *Family*: StA'stas (E 21).
5. Na gī'di ("house child"). *Owner*: Xaġā's (if a person shouts suddenly and causes another to jump, they say, "L' xaġā'n"). *Family*: Sa'gua lā'nas (E 19).
6. *ā'taga t!ē'ú ("house that has light in it"). *Owner*: Tiasā'nga-i ("the one they said they would kill"). *Family*: Sa'gua lā'nas (E 19).
7. Sq!a'o^gan na'as ("salmon-berry house"). *Owner*: Gust!A'malk, chief of the Dōt!Ask!ASL. *Family*: Dōt!Ask!ASL (E 19 a).
8. S^gān na'as ("killer-whale house"). *Owner*: Q!ā'laña ("painted"). *Family*: Dōt!Ask!ASL (E 19 a).
9. Gō'djao na'as ("drum house"). *Owner*: Kō'dada (the feathers of an eagle's wing, when stretched, resemble the fingers of the outstretched hand. To point the fingers at any one this way was a deadly insult. It was called kō'dada). *Family*: Dōt!Ask!ASL (E 19 a).
10. Giā'nqwē'ya ("valuable house-pole"). *Owner*: Kun stā'its. *Family*: Sa'gua lā'nas (E 19).
11. —. *Owner*: Gu'las ("abelone"). This was the town chief. *Family*: Sa'gua lā'nas (E 19).
12. —. *Owner*: Qadjā'ġ. *Family*: Sa'gua lā'nas (E 19).

XIV. K!iū'sta ("where the trail comes out" [?]), from the eastern end. Informants, several old people at Masset.

1. —. *Owner*: Wī'gunat. *Family*: Łi'elañ qē'awa-i (E 21 c).
2. —. *Owner*: — (called Q!olqē'as *oñ ["Q!olqē'as's father"]). *Family*: Łi'elañ qē'awa-i (E 21 c).
3. Qo-ē'kitcigat ("[house-pole] reaching the sky"). *Owner*: A man who went by the name of "Old Edensaw." *Family*: Stastas (E 21).
4. Qa-i na'as ("sea-lion house"). The front ends of the stringers were carved in the shape of sea-lion heads. Each of these stringers was grooved along the top to carry off the rain-water, which was delivered through holes at the ends leading out of the sea-lions' mouths. The latter thus formed gargoyles. *Owner*: Łqa'ndē, who later owned a house at Qañ. *Family*: StA'stas (E 21).
5. Skil na'as ("property house"), the old name; Q!ē'gañ na'as ("story house"), the new name. *Owner*: Eda'nsa. He was the town chief. *Family*: StA'stas (E 21).
6. Na kō'dats ("pointing-hands-with-outstretched-fingers-in-anger house"). *Owner*: Djī'tin-djaos ("devil's-club"). *Family*: StA'stas (E 21).
7. —. *Owner*: Í'tini (?), chief of the K!ā'was. *Family*: K!ā'was.
8. —. *Owner*: Da xē'gaña. *Family*: K!ā'was (E 21 a).
9. —. *Owner*: K!A'ngudans. *Family*: K!ā'was (E 21 a).

XV. Yā'k!a, from the eastern end. Informants, several old people at Masset.

1. —. *Owner*: Q!A'nxawas. *Family*: Qā'ġ lā'nas (R 15 d [aa]), named from a harbor on the west coast where they used to live.
2. —. *Owner*: Qā'wañsiña ("his walking around is honored"). *Family*: StA'stas (E 21).
4. —. *Owner*: Nañ sili^gai'yas ("one who leaves blood in the places where he has been" [because he is a great hunter]). *Family*: Dō slān Inagā'i (R 15 d).
4. T!a'odji na'as ("fort house"). *Owner*: XA-ī' ("sunshine"). *Family*: Dō slān Inagā'i (R 15 d).
5. —. *Owner*: Sqō'hu. *Family*: S^gagā'ñusilî (R 18).
6. —. *Owner*: *ao'La-a-i ("fresh fish [shortly after being taken from the water]"). *Family*: Dō gitanā'i (E 20).
7. —. *Owner*: S^gaoġ. *Family*: *ao gitanā'i (E 13 a [aa]).
8. —. *Owner*: Nañ *ās ("the child"). *Family*: Dō gitanā'i (E 20).

XVI. Łínqoân (Tlingit equivalent of Haida, Tcao lnagā'-i, "shell-fish town"), Alaska. Informant, Douglas, of the Sta'stas, his father being of the Q!oē'tas.

From the House on the Point around the Inner Bay.

1. Na giā'as ("house standing up"). *Owner*: Nañ ʔā'ldjígias ("one unable to buy"). He once had a copper which his opponent was unable to buy. He was the town chief. *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).
2. Q!ā'ad na'as ("dog-fish house"). *Owner*: At first the same man as in No. 1; afterwards a man named Gusū'udañ ("all mixed together" [as people are at a potlatch]). *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).
3. Hī'liñ na'as ("thunder house"). *Owner*: Yeldjā'nē (a Tlingit word, meaning "Raven flapping his wings"). *Family*: Skl'isłai nā-i xā'da-i (R 19 c).
4. Naʔa ʔā'taga ("house having a light in it"). *Owner*: Kwī'ans ("hung" [meaning dog-fish hung up]). *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).
5. Skl'isłai na-i ("house where the people are always filled"). *Owner*: Ye'inao (Tlingit words, meaning "dead raven"). *Family*: Skl'isłai na-i xā'da-i (R 19 c).
6. Naʔa gu'tga l! kiā'gans ("house in which they shout to each other"). *Owner*: San l! qī'fiwas ("looking at the breaking day"), the sub-family chief. *Family*: Skl'isłai na-i xadā'-i (R 19 c).
7. ʔo'łal na'as ("blue [stone paint] house"). *Owner*: Ye'inao, a different man from the one referred to in No. 5. *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).
8. Hīn qaid na'as (Tlingit words, meaning "house over the stream"). *Owner*: Ldjāñ ("far"). *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).
9. Na yū'ans ("big house"). *Owner*: GA'sawak (a Tlingit word). *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).
10. Na g'đi ("house child") is the probable name. *Owner*: Wa'djīdiye (meaning doubtful). *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).
11. The frame of a house was put up next to the above, but the house was never finished or named.

On the Opposite Side of the Point first mentioned.

12. Xū'adji na'as ("grisly-bear house"). *Owner*: Tciḡī' (a Tlingit word). He was a shaman. *Family*: Na qē'dats xadā'-i (R 19 d).
13. —. *Owner*: Gusū'udañ, the man referred to above in No. 2. *Family*: Q!ā'ad na'as xadā'-i (R 19 b).

XVII. Saqoā'n, from the western end. Informant, Douglas, of the Sta'stas, his father being of the Q!oē'tas.

1. Xū'adji na'as ("grisly-bear house"). *Owner*: Gā'xē (a Tlingit word). *Family*: Q!oē'tas (R 21).
2. Łima'ł na'as ("łima'ł-skin house"). *Owner*: Sʔo'ndagwañ. *Family*: Sʔala'ndas (E 22).
3. Na q!ā'las ("clay house" [because it was painted with clay]). *Owner*: K!łtc!ā'd. He treated his nephews badly, driving them away by his words, so that the people once said to him, "Why do you not have your voice for a servant?" i. e., control yourself (kil, "voice;" tc!ād, "canoe companions"). *Family*: Q!oē'tas (R 21).
4. This had no name. *Owner*: Lā'ganañ ("feast"). *Family*: Tās lā'nas (R 20).
5. Na xawā's ("watery house"), taken from a house of the same name at K!iū'sta. *Owner*: Sa'gua ("upper side" [of the town perhaps]). *Family*: Sta'stas (E 21).
6. No name. *Owner*: Qaskwa'-i. *Family*: Sʔala'ndas (E 22).
7. No name. *Owner*: Gū'sao ḡi'la ("his word is medicine" [i. e., it restores the happiness of any one in distress]). *Family*: Tc!ā'ał lā'nas (E 23).

The family chief of the Sʔala'ndas also had a house here, called Łgun na'as ("skunk-cabbage house"), but later he moved to Klinkwan. His name was Ye'la-i ("the raven"). I did not secure a list of the house names in Howkan, Q!wē ʔa'nlas, and Kasaan.

REMARKS. — Comparing the above list of towns with that contained in Dawson's "Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands," I find that the agreement is sufficiently close, considering the enormous losses the Haida nation has suffered. The "Massette," "Skid-de-gates," "Cum-sha-was," and "Cloo" of that list are of course easily recognizable. "A-se-guang" is undoubtedly the town of Gał'ns kun at Cape Ball, and "Kishawin" must be Kaisun. "Kow-welth" can only be Tcłāał. "Too" must be Tī'an, and "Necoon" is probably Łi'elañ. It is difficult to see how Sga'ngwai (Ninstints) could have been twisted into Qweeah; but that seems to be the only possible identification, unless we accept a suggestion of Dr. Newcombe of Victoria that it is Łk!ia', an old town once occupied by the Kloo people. Lu-lan-na and Nigh-tasis must be sought for among the three northwestern towns Ya'k!a, K!iū'sta, and Qañ. Lu-lan-na is perhaps Yak!a lā'nas ("the town of Yak!a"), but it seems impossible to identify the other. The number of houses and people assigned to Masset is so great, that the count must have included Yan and Q!ayā'ñ, besides some of the smoke-houses. The discrepancies between the numbers of houses given in the list under consideration, for Skidegate and Tcłāał, and those which I obtained, are elsewhere explained. The only other great discrepancy is in the case of Kloo.

Five of the Kaigani towns given are identifiable as follows: "Click-ass"¹ is Klinkwan, "Qwi-a-hanless" is Q!wē ʔa'n!as, "How-a-guan" is Howkan, "Shaw-a-gan" is Sukkwan, "Chat-chee-nie"² is probably Kasaan. The only town I know of which might correspond to "You-ah-noe" is K!aigā'ni, which was merely a summer town. The number of houses given in the list under consideration for Klinkwan and Sukkwan is just twice the number obtained by me, and perhaps the person who compiled it reckoned smoke-houses.

¹ Klickass or Łikas is the name of a river near Klinkwan.

² Chat-chee-nie is a camping-place not far from the town.

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- Fig. 1. — Border of Blanket. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{355}$.
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 Fig. 5. — Wooden Hat. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{231}$.
 Fig. 6. — " " Cat. No. $\frac{16}{232}$.

PLATE XXIV. (See p. 144.)

- Fig. 1. — Painted Hat. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{892}$.
 Fig. 2. — Design from Painted Hat. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{8441}$.
 Fig. 3. — Design from Painted Legging. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{330}$.
 Fig. 4. — Legging decorated with Appliqué Work. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{323}$.
 Fig. 5. — Legging embroidered with Porcupine-Quills. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{334}$.

PLATE XXV. (See p. 145.)

- Fig. 1. — Mask. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{334}$.
 Fig. 2. — " Cat. No. $\frac{16}{339}$.
 Fig. 3. — " Cat. No. $\frac{16}{1120}$.
 Fig. 4. — " Cat. No. $\frac{16}{371}$.
 Fig. 5. — " Cat. No. $\frac{16}{594}$.
 Fig. 6. — " Cat. No. $\frac{16}{378}$.
 Fig. 7. — Rattle. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{305}$.
 Fig. 8. — " Cat. No. $\frac{16}{1398}$.
 Fig. 9. — " (Reverse of Fig. 7.) Cat. No. $\frac{16}{306}$.

PLATE XXVI. (See pp. 147.)

- Fig. 1. — Designs from a Carved Tray. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{8602}$.
 Fig. 2. — Design from a Carved Dish. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{953}$.
 Fig. 3. — Design from a Carved Dish. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{8603}$.
 Fig. 4. — Design from a Carved Dish. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{8601}$.
 Fig. 5. — Design from a Painted Work-Box. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{8506}$.
 Fig. 6. — Design from a Carved and Painted Dish. Cat. No. $\frac{16}{8507}$.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

After the completion of the foregoing memoir, the author revisited Alaska in behalf of the Bureau of American Ethnology to carry on an investigation on the Tlingit. Incidentally a number of minor corrections and additional information referring to the Haida were obtained, which are contained in the following notes. Corrections of errata are also embodied in this list.

- p. 13, last line, for "T'lagidas" substitute "T'LAGidas."
- p. 14, 13th line from bottom, for "h'i'liña" substitute "h'i'liñA."
- p. 15, footnote 1, the Tlingit words "Ta hit" mean "sleep house."
- p. 16, for last sentence of first paragraph substitute "Llā was a Creek-Woman² on the West Coast, the mother of Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens (see p. 13)."
- p. 21, line 1, for "Tlēs qoa'ni aya" substitute "Tlēs qoa'naya."
- p. 21, line 22, the word "Qlaku'n" probably means "North Point."
- p. 41, Fig. 2, the rattle in the hand of the figure is probably a chief's rattle, not a shaman's.
- p. 47, line 11, for "left" substitute "right."
- p. 52, lines 21, 22, for "phrase 'as well'" substitute "word for mourning as well."
- p. 53, line 21, and 3d line from bottom, for "left substitute "right."
- p. 55, 9th line from bottom, for "Hū" substitute "Hūk."
- p. 58, line 9, "djil" means "bait."
- p. 59, 13th line from bottom, for "and 27" substitute "to 31."
- p. 59, 4th line from bottom, for "either side, called q!ā'dagaño (marked o in Fig. 5)," substitute "either of the sides marked o in Fig. 5."
- p. 63, for line 5 substitute "Wife (or wives) . . . djā'ga."
- p. 63, 3d to 6th lines from bottom, for Paragraph (*m*) substitute the following: "(*m*) Men and women of the opposite clan ('nephews' and 'nieces') are called brother's children, dā'ga gī'tgalañ."
- p. 65, lines 4-8, the statement made has been corroborated by further inquiry.
- p. 66, lines 11, 12, later inquiry has shown that there is also some confusion of clans between the Haida and Tlingit, persons with the same clan name sometimes considering each other as friends, sometimes not.
- p. 73, 13th line from bottom, for "with the aspect of a sea-gull" substitute "with hair as white as that of a sea-gull."
- p. 77, 14th line from bottom, for "near there" substitute "near the reef Qā'gials."
- p. 85, 17th line from bottom, for "at the same time, when the flood" substitute "at the same time. When the flood."
- p. 85, 16th line from bottom, for "went down. Foam-Woman was sitting" substitute "went down, Foam-Woman was sitting."
- p. 88, line 1, for "town" substitute "rock."
- p. 89, line 7, the spelling of "Q!ā'was" should be "K!ā'was," as also throughout this memoir.
- p. 89, 7th, 13th, and 14th lines from bottom, for "Shakan" substitute "Sukkwan."
- p. 89, 2d line from bottom, the people who settled at Klinkwan were the Middle-Town-People (R 19).
- p. 90, line 17, for "Shakan" substitute "Sukkwan."
- p. 91, lines 5, 6, Going-to-be-a-Chief's-Daughter and Woman-whom-they-always-think-too-High-to-marry are two names for the same person.
- p. 91, line 23, is a favorite description of many other people. It is also found among the Tlingit.
- p. 93, "Sā'ki" (E 1) means "up the Inlet;" "Skidā'-i means "powerless."
- p. 96, 9th line from bottom, the village Kloo is properly called T'lanū'.
- p. 97, line 14, for "three" substitute "four."

p. 101, line 6, the word "Eda'nsa" is of Tlingit origin, its original form being "it'ínacu'" ("nothing left of it"), signifying a place where a glacier comes down to the sea, where it is melted by the water.

p. 102, 6th line from bottom, "Sä'naña" should probably be "Sä'nya," the native name for the Cape Fox Indians.

p. 103, 9th line from bottom, Old Kloo is properly called Tlanū'.

p. 107, 3d line from bottom, for "Ravens of Skedans" substitute "the chiefs of Those-born-at-Qā'gials (R 4), the People-of-Pebble-Town (R 9)."

p. 113, line 8, for "Sqagwē't" substitute "Sgagwē't."

p. 113, line 20, "E 23, land-otter" I believe to be incorrect.

p. 126, 2d line from bottom, the Tlingit form of "Qo'naqada" is "Gonaqadē't." This object is generally shaped like a house, but may assume other shapes.

p. 128, line 9, for "Kung" substitute "Qañ."

p. 133, lines 14-17, each support was intended to accommodate a separate grave-box.

p. 142, footnote 1, for "Edensaw" substitute "Moody."

p. 146, line 2, the word "Djīlqa'da" looks suspiciously like "Chilkat," which my informant or interpreter may have confused with the Stikine country.

p. 155, 5th line from bottom, by "his friends' children" are meant the young people of the opposite clan.

p. 158, line 21, for "Gītgunu'naks" substitute "Gīt'gunaks."

p. 168, 3d line from bottom, for "wife's" substitute "host's."

p. 169, 6th line from bottom, for "opposite" substitute "host's."

p. 181, line 4, the statement that the Ū'lala is confined to the chief of Those-born-at-Rose-Spit seems doubtful.

p. 186, line 2 of heading, for "t'lā'gasta" substitute "t'lā'gasta."

p. 191, Story 11 is a famous Tlingit story, which deals principally with Łakitcine' (Ła'gua djī'na), and his sons Kack!A'lk! and Łq!ayā'k!

p. 191, 15th line from bottom, for "Jelly-Fish's" substitute "the sea-monster's."

p. 194, footnote 2, for "clans" substitute "clam."

p. 195, Story 20 also belongs to the Tlingit, who seem to have originated it.

p. 196, Story 24, line 2, for "Qwē'iga qons" substitute "Qwē'iga qons," which signifies "Great-Moving-Cloud."

p. 197, Story 26 was originally a Tlingit Story.

p. 198, Story 29, "Tc!ā'awunk!" is a Tlingit name.

p. 198, Story 30, "ŁA'gua" (Tlingit, ŁA'kua) (was considered a bad spirit).

p. 202, line 5, "djo'lkli" is the ground squirrel.

p. 214, Story 12, "Łgū'skli" means, in Tlingit, "killer-whale's dorsal fin."

p. 222, Story 43, the town of Āngū'n is referred to.

p. 226, Story 59, "Aqā'ne q!ēs" is said by the Tlingit to mean the same as "Kayā'nî q!es," signifying "for the leaves."

p. 227, Story 62, title, for "Last" substitute "Lost."

p. 228, Story 66, translation of title is "One-who-leaves-Blood-in-the-Places-where-he-has-been."

p. 230, Story 75, line 1, "Da!ā'wadis" (properly DAQLawe'di) is a mistake, the family to which this woman belonged being, according to the Tlingit, the Gānaxte'di who are at Chilkat and Tongass.

p. 231, Story 77 is probably the story of the G'īdg'ā'ata (People-of-the-Salmon-Weir-Poles).

p. 235, line 12, Gānō'g (Tlingit, Gānū'k) is the petrel, not the eagle.

p. 235, 3d line from bottom, Gunā'x° is a town near the mouth of Alsek River, which is probably the river referred to here.

p. 238, line 13, for "Shakan" substitute "Sukkwān."

p. 238, Story 2, title, according to the Tlingit, the screech-owl.

p. 239, Story 3, 3d line from the end, "nōsg" is the wolverene.

p. 242, Story 6, line 1, the town referred to is Qaik! on Kupreanoff Island; line 2, "Qā'djīlan" is Old Wrangel (Tlingit, Qā'htcal!-ān [tcAL!, "alders;" ān, "town"]).

- p. 243, Story 7, the title in Tlingit is "Cinā'k!uLax," meaning "Mouldy-End."
- p. 250, line 9, "L!AX" is Mount Edgecumbe.
- p. 250, Story 13, the title, "DA'gu t!aoL" (Tlingit, Dukt!ū'!l!) means "Black-Skin." The Tlingit say that the events in this story happened at the town TA'qđjik-ān.
- p. 250, 9th line from bottom, "DA'gu s'an" is called by the Tlingit "Łatsi'n."
- p. 253, line 18, "Tōđjī'digutL" is called by the Tlingit "Tūtsīdigu'L!" and considered to be a man.
- p. 257, Story 19, line 11, "Cēks" is the name of the head chief at Wrangel.
- p. 258, Story 21, "Gun qade't," in Tlingit, is "Gonaqade't." In Tlingit story this being has a more beneficent character.
- p. 260, Story 24, line 1, "T!ā'q," in English, is "Taku."
- p. 260, 6th line from bottom, for "xañga" substitute "xa'ñga."
- p. 261, footnote, for "La ga" substitute "La'ga."
- p. 269, line 9, for "Tclā'nu ałgolā'-i" substitute "Tclā'nu ał q!olā'i."
- p. 270, 2d line from bottom, after "Yek'nk" add "(Yeł, "raven")."
- p. 272, line 16, the meaning of "Sū'us qī'nga" is probably "looking at a lake."
- p. 275, under (E 19), the meaning of Gu'las is "abelone."
- p. 277, no. 1, for "Tclā'no ałgolā'-i" substitute "Tclā'nu ał q!olā'i."
- p. 277, no. 7, the meaning of "xī'liñas" is probably "thunder."
- p. 277, no. 9, for "Ita'nwat" substitute "Ita'ngoat."
- p. 279, no. 58, after chief's name add "later, Yestaqā'na and Sgē'dagīts."
- p. 280, no. 73, for "Lā'na Ita'ngua" substitute "Lā'na Ita'ngoā."