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The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River  
Their Social and Religious Life

By DIAMOND JENNESS



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## PREFACE

This report is the outcome of a visit to the northern interior of British Columbia during the winter of 1924-25, when I spent 3 months at Hazelton and Hagwilgate, and periods of about a week each at Fort Fraser, Stony Creek, and Prince George. I made no attempt to investigate the material culture or the language of the Carrier Indians, since these subjects had been adequately covered by Father Morice.

The spelling of the numerous Indian names has presented some difficulty. In the field they were recorded phonetically; but since this report has little value for linguists, and a welter of phonetic symbols would unnecessarily increase the difficulties of the reader, the words have been reduced to their nearest equivalents in English spelling, and only those special characters retained that seemed absolutely indispensable. These characters are: *x*, sound of *ch* in Scotch *loch* or German *ach*; *x̂*, sound of *ch* in German *ich*; *q*, the uvular equivalent of *k*; *l̥*, voiceless *l*; *ω*, sound of *aw* in *law*; *˙* (period above the line), denotes double length of the preceding vowel or consonant; *˘* (above or after a letter), glottal stop; and *˘*, breathing. *Ch* represents the sound of *ch* in *church*.

The folk tales collected during the same winter have already been published under the title "Myths of the Carrier Indians of British Columbia." (See Jenness, 1934.)



# THE CARRIER INDIANS OF THE BULKLEY RIVER THEIR SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

By DIAMOND JENNESS

## LOCATION AND RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING PEOPLES

The westernmost subtribe of the Carrier Indians, the Hwitsowitenne, "Clever People," as it called itself, occupied the basin of the Bulkley River, an important tributary of the Skeena in northern British Columbia, together with a block of territory that extended for an uncertain distance to the south (fig. 61). Flanking it on three sides were other subtribes of the same Carrier nation, but on the west were Gitksan Indians of the Tsimshian stock, whose nearest village, Hazelton, lay only 4 miles from the Carrier village of Hagwilgate (pl. 24). After 1800 there were many disturbances of population in this area due to epidemics of diseases, the growth of European settlements, and the greater ease of communication through the building of roads and a railway. Many Carrier families were blotted out and their places taken by immigrant families from other districts; and there was much intermarriage with the neighboring Gitksan Indians. Today the subtribe numbers rather more than 300, and has two main settlements, Hagwilgate and Moricetown, while a few families reside at other villages along the line of the transcontinental railway. Some of the Indians remain in their settlements throughout the entire year, others cut ties for the railway in winter, or hunt and trap in remote districts where the land is not yet preempted by white settlers and game still survives in fair numbers. Two or three families even roam occasionally as far south as the Eutsuk lake area, which the Bulkley people incorporated into their territory after the earlier inhabitants, who seem to have formed a distinct subtribe, were destroyed by an epidemic of smallpox about 1838. In summer, again, there is generally a slight movement to the coast, where a few natives find employment in the salmon canneries during the fishing season.

## EARLIER HISTORY

To recover the history of this Bulkley River subtribe prior to the nineteenth century seems impossible. Its members claim that they



a small section of the subtribe, the Thin House clan of the Gilserhyu phratry; for though all members of the subtribe, and even Gitksan Indians from the Skeena river, Carriers of the Babine Lake subtribe, and Sekani from beyond Babine Lake, gathered at Dizkle each year to trap the migrating salmon, the surrounding territory (called Dizkle like the village) was the hunting reserve of this one section of the Bulkley subtribe, and no one might hunt there except members of the same phratry. The Hagwilgate canyon, then as now, was the boundary line between the Bulkley Carrier and the Gitksan Indians, who had a permanent home of their own at Temlaham, 4 miles below Hazelton; and the dispersal of the two peoples from their respective villages, Dizkle and Temlaham, led to the establishment of all the modern villages in the area, to Moricetown and Hagwilgate by the Carrier subtribe, and to Hazelton, Kitwanga, and other places by the Gitksan.

So runs one tradition of the Carrier. According to another, Dizkle was the original home of three distinct tribes, the western Carrier, the Sekani, and the Gitksan. Superstitious fear when two squirrels inspected their dam made them scatter and flee to their present homes; and the passage of years has produced their present differentiation (Jenness, 1934, p. 241).

I have examined the supposed site of Dizkle, and Harlan I. Smith, archeologist of the National Museum of Canada, has visited the traditional site of Temlaham. In neither place did we discern any traces of a permanent settlement. One may reasonably doubt, therefore, whether the two villages, glorified by similar legends, ever held the prominent place that tradition assigns to them, if indeed they ever existed outside the fertile imaginations of the Indians.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the principal fishing-place and village of the Bulkley Carrier was at Moricetown. Hagwilgate was established only about 1820, when a rock slide in its canyon almost blocked the river and allowed very few salmon to pass beyond (pl. 25, fig. 1). Most of the inhabitants of Moricetown then moved en masse to the canyon and built new homes on a narrow shelf below it; but they abandoned this rather inaccessible site toward the end of the century and established their present village on the terrace above. The last survivor of the migration from Moricetown, Satsa'n, died in 1914 at the age of about 90.

#### RELATIONS WITH SURROUNDING PEOPLES

Ease of travel in modern times has brought the Bulkley Indians greater knowledge of their fellow Carriers to the east, and revealed to them other Indian tribes in British Columbia of whom they were ignorant in earlier days. This greater knowledge is reflected in the

accompanying sketch-map, which outlines their conception of the names and boundaries of their own and other Carrier subtribes in the latter half of the last century. (See fig. 61.)

Of the easternmost Carrier they apparently knew very little until recently; but with their fellow-Carriers of Babine and Fraser Lakes the Bulkley people always maintained close and friendly relations, marred in the case of the Fraser Lake Indians by only one feud of which they retain any recollection. Equally friendly were their relations with the Gitksan Indians; the difference in their speech neither debarred intermarriage, nor hindered the Bulkley Indians from absorbing many culture traits from their more advanced neighbors. The Gitksan controlled the trade route down the Skeena River to the coast that brought to the Carrier objects of shell and copper in exchange for moose hides and various furs. The coast Tsimshian, who were the principals in this trade, tried to eliminate the Gitksan middlemen about 1850, and, themselves ascending the Skeena, established a yearly market on an open flat at the junction of that river with the Bulkley. There for several years they carried on so amicable a trade with the Carrier that a few of the latter ventured to accompany them back to the coast and to pass the winter months in their midst; but about 1866 a quarrel over some transaction led to a fight in which both sides sustained several casualties. One account states that the Tsimshian returned the following summer and demanded the surrender of the Bulkley River valley in compensation for their losses; but that they never took possession of the area, though the Carrier agreed to their terms. More credible, however, is the following version of the conflict and its issue:

The Tsimshian ascended the Skeena in about 50 canoes and camped at Mission Flat, where that river is joined by the Bulkley. In the course of bartering a Hagwilgate Indian quarrelled with a Tsimshian man over the price of some article and fired his gun to intimidate the dealer. Thereupon the Tsimshian, fearing treachery, seized their weapons and shot indiscriminately at men, women, and children; and the Hagwilgate natives retaliated. Finally the latter retreated to their village, and the Tsimshian, loading up their canoes, hurried back to the coast. For three years they did not return. Then a large party appeared in ten canoes, and the two peoples concluded peace at a great potlatch in which the Tsimshian, as the aggressors in the fight, paid compensation for every Carrier who was slain.

Besides the Tsimshian proper, Indians from the Nass River visited the Bulkley Carrier in order to barter oolakan grease for marten and other furs; and more than once the Carrier, pressed by famine toward the end of winter, themselves traveled through the territory of the Gitksan to one or other of the Nass villages in order to purchase oolakan and other food. Yet they have always disliked the Nass River people, and still remember with bitterness an episode that occurred about 1864. The story, as related by one of the last survivors, who in 1924



was a blind old man tottering toward his grave, throws an interesting light on the customs of the Indians at that time.

One winter when our people were starving, my family, together with my uncle Gyedamskanish, Bini, the chief of the Beaver phratry, and many others traveled overland to Gitlaxdamks village on the Nass River to buy oolakan grease. Soon after our arrival my father discovered that one of the inhabitants bore the same title and crest as himself, and, claiming kinship, ordered me to lodge for the night with his namesake while he and the rest of the family lodged elsewhere. He came to the door early next morning and said to me, "We have bought all we want and will leave the village before noon." So a number of us started back for Hagwilgate, and after traveling a few miles camped near a stump that supported a huge stone. I and some other youths tried in turn to push this stone over, and when it crashed to the ground under our united efforts we raised a shout of victory and returned to our camp.

Now, some Gitwinkul men who were passing heard our shouts and came to see what was happening. My father said to them, "Our lads were merely pushing a stone off a stump." But they answered, "That was the gravestone of the late chief of the village." Greatly alarmed, my father begged them to keep the deed secret, but they immediately went on to the village and spread the news everywhere. Then a woman rushed weeping into a house where some of our people were eating and cried, "Why do we feast these wretches? They have disturbed the grave of our chief." About half our people, led by Bini, retreated inside another house; the rest hastened after us and told us to flee, because Nass, Kispiox, and Gitwinkul Indians were all mustering in pursuit. We did flee, but the Nass natives overtook and captured those who were in the rear. One captive, a noblewoman named Anklo', they proposed to enslave, but she said to them, "You cannot make me a slave, for I am the daughter of a chief. If you carry me off as a captive, you must take also two slave girls for me to lean upon. Besides, why do you want to make me a prisoner? Neither I nor my family touched the grave, but Gyedamskanish yonder and his family." They led her away nevertheless, and with her two slave women to attend to her wants. A Kispiox Indian then disarmed Gyedamskanish, who said to them, "Remember that I am a chief. What are you going to do with me?" "You must return with us," they answered, "to pay for the insult you offered the grave." "Take my brother also," he said, "We will die together"; and when they paid no attention to his words he turned to his brother and said, "Come. Let us go together." The two men were led out onto the ice of the river and ordered to run up and down while their enemies mocked them and shot at them with guns. Gyedamskanish' brother dropped dead at the first shot, but Gyedamskanish himself, though frequently wounded, ran up and down for nearly half an hour before he fell with a bullet through his thigh. The Nass Indians then burned their corpses and returned to Gitlaxdamks.

Meanwhile an influential Indian had concealed another of my uncles inside a large chest, and when the villagers searched the house sat on top of it and refused to move away; his countrymen dared not disturb him on account of his high rank. My uncle's wife stood near him, grasping a large knife in readiness to stab the first man who molested her husband or herself, but no one laid a hand on her. Bini and the rest of our people barricaded themselves inside another house throughout the night, while their enemies threatened them from outside and occasionally fired off their guns.

Early the following morning the principal chief of the village sent round word to all the houses that the fighting should cease and that our people should move over to his house along a path strewn with the white eagle-down that symbol-

izes peace. Preceded by a messenger carrying a white feather, he then conducted them to our camp, a day's journey away, and we returned home without further mishap.

Some time afterward a party of Nass Indians came to Hazelton to conclude a peace with us. They assembled within the potlatch house beside a huge pile of blankets, and we went down from Hagwilgate and stood outside, myself and another youth, the nearest relatives of Gyedamskanish, in the forefront. After our enemies had presented us with a number of blankets, we followed them inside the house and ranged ourselves along one wall while they lined up against the other. Every man was dressed in his finest clothes and carried a gun and a knife, but, to prevent trouble, I and my companions sat in front of the Nass River chief and two Nass youths occupied corresponding places in front of our chief. As soon as we were thus seated, the two ringleaders in the murder approached us and placed a red-tipped feather on each of our heads to indicate that they intended to pay full compensation. Then one of them delivered a speech declaring that they wanted to make peace, and, shaking a rattle, danced and sang a song. The song that he sang is a special chant used by Carrier, Tsimshian, Haida, Kitimat, Bella Coola, and other tribes whenever they make peace with each other. Though I know the words, I cannot understand their meaning, because they are in neither the Tsimshian nor the Carrier tongue.

As the man repeated the song, both his Nass companions and my own people joined in. I, for my part, rose to my feet and, to show that he was smoothing out the issue, held flat on my outstretched palm a tail feather from an eagle. But before the singing ended I thought to myself, "They haven't paid us enough," and I turned the feather on its edge. Immediately the man broke off his chant, and his people added more blankets to those they had surrendered to us already. He then began his song anew, and this time I held the feather flat on my hand until he ended. Since we all felt too sad to hold a feast in common, my kinsmen, without further delay, gathered up the blankets and returned to Hagwilgate, while I and my companion, to cement the peace, stayed 4 days in Hazelton with the Nass Indians and danced with them each evening.

Two years after my uncles were murdered some of us went over to the Nass River, collected their bones, and deposited them on top of a pole at Hagwilgate. At the same time we brought back Gyedamskanish' widow, whom the Nass Indians had detained after her husband's death.

Still another coast people with whom the Bulkley Carrier came into conflict were the Kitimat Indians of Douglas Channel, a Kwakiutl-speaking people who sometimes hunted beyond the divide of the Cascade Mountains within the basin drained by the Zymoetz and Telkwa Rivers. It is noteworthy that both the Kitimat and the Carrier Indians were divided into five phratries, one of which was named the Beaver, and that neither a five-phratry division nor a phratry called the Beaver seems to appear anywhere else in British Columbia. This supports the tradition of the Bulkley Carrier that they borrowed several features in their peculiar social organization from the Kitimat Indians (Jenness, 1934, p. 232), and suggests that a few centuries ago the contact between the two peoples may have been more intimate than in recent times, when the Gitksan have lodged between them like a wedge. A well-frequented trail leads from Kitimat to Terrace and there forks, one branch leading up the Skeena River to the Bulkley, and another



up the Zymoetz River to the Telkwa, which again leads to the Bulkley. It would seem not impossible that the Carrier Indians once controlled the Skeena River down to Terrace and the boundary of the Kitimat Indians, but were then driven back inland by the Gitksan, who perhaps crossed over from the Nass River. To speculate further in this direction, however, is futile until we know in detail the social organization of the Kitimat Indians and can compare it closely with that of the Carrier.

With the Bella Coola Indians, the Bulkley Carrier had no direct relations, although they may have met a few individuals when visiting the Carrier subtribes in the Eutsuk lake and other areas to the south and southeast. They were better acquainted with the Sekani of the Findlay and Parsnip River Basins who often visited the north end of Babine Lake during the nineteenth century, probably also in earlier times; and they vaguely remember the now extinct T'set'sa'ut as another Athapaskan-speaking tribe, living behind Gitwinkul, that was destroyed by the Tsimshian or Nass Indians. Some assert, indeed, that the inhabitants of Gitwinkul itself once spoke the T'set'sa'ut tongue, and that a T'set'sa'ut woman was a slave for many years among the Tsimshian of the coast. Concerning the Tahltan of the Stikine River Basin they had little knowledge until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the two peoples sometimes met at Bear Lake or at Old Fort Babine; yet it was doubtless a vague rumor of the Tahltan that gave rise to the legend of a semihuman race far to the north, the Na'ani, wonderfully skilled in hunting (Jenness, 1934, p. 242). Today the Bulkley Carrier call both the Sekani and the Tahltan Itateni, or, more rarely, by their Tsimshian name T'set'sa'ut; but neither tribe has ever influenced them appreciably, or promoted any changes in their material culture, or their social and religious life, comparable with the changes promoted by the nearer Kitimat and Gitksan.

Among these surrounding peoples the Bulkley Indians, like a many-tentacled cephalopod, had wandering feelers gathering sustenance that enriched the community's life. Yet there was no central nervous system to coordinate the movements of the feelers and to assimilate or reject their booty, no ruling chief or established council to control the actions of the different families and govern their relations with the outside world. Like other Carrier subtribes, the Bulkley natives were divided into a number of fraternities or phratries, each intimately associated with the others, yet politically independent. The phratries assembled and lived together at the same fishing places each season, they joined in common feasts and ceremonies, and they united at times to repel a common danger; but they all owned separate hunting territories to which their members repaired for the winter months, and they associated at will with foreign peoples even

when these might be hostile to others of their countrymen. Since there was no regulation of foreign intercourse and trade and no hindrance to marriage outside the community, foreign ideas and foreign customs could take root in one family or phratry without permeating the others. It was only the constant association, the ties of kinship and marriage, the uniform dialect, and the pressure of common interests that counteracted the strong centrifugal tendencies and knitted the phratries into a definite, though headless, unit justifying the name of a subtribe.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

### PHRATRIES

The Bulkley Carrier recognized five phratries, which they named Gitamtanyu, Gilserhyu, Laksilyu, Laksamshu, and Tsayu.

The suffix *yu* or *shu* in these words means "people," and the prefix *gi* in two of them has the same meaning in Tsimshian. Only one of the five names, Tsayu, "beaver people," is a true Carrier word, the rest being derived apparently from other sources.<sup>1</sup>

Of the other Carrier subtribes, the Babine Lake, west end of Fraser Lake, Cheslatta Lake, and Fort Fraser, recognized the same five phratries under exactly the same names,<sup>2</sup> except that the Babine Indians called Laksilyu, the third phratry, Kwanpe'hwotenne, "People of the fire-side," while the Cheslatta Lake and west Fraser Lake subtribes gave to the second phratry, Gilserhyu, the name Tso'yezhotenne, "the small spruce people."

The Stony Creek subtribe, on the other hand, recognized two phratries only, Gilserhyu and Yesilyu (=Laksilyu). With regard to the Stuart Lake subtribe there is some uncertainty. Father Morice (1892-93, p. 203) states that it possessed only four phratries, Łsamacyu, Tsayu, Yasilyu, and Tam'tenyu; but a Sekani Indian of Fort McLeod, who was related by marriage to the Stuart Lake people, said that there used to be five, and gave names for them that coincided with Morice's names, except that he substituted Eske for Tam'tenyu and added the fifth phratry Kwanpahotenne. I suspect, therefore, that there were originally five phratries at Stuart Lake just as elsewhere, but that in Morice's day two of them had amalgamated, as happened to two phratries among the Bulkley Carrier about 1865.

<sup>1</sup> Lakselyu is evidently laxse'l, the name given by the Gitksan Indians of Hazelton to the Frog-Raven phratry; and laksamshu is probably the same as laxsamillix, the Hazelton name of the Beaver clan in the Eagle phratry.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from minor dialectal differences.

Hagwilgate, the westernmost Carrier village, lies only 4 miles from Hazelton, a village of the Gitksan Indians, and the two peoples commonly intermarry and participate in each other's ceremonies. The phratries of the one subtribe then equate with the phratries of the other; and a man or woman who at Hagwilgate belongs to the Gitamtanyu phratry is attached to the Laxgibu phratry at Hazelton. But the Gitksan Indians have only four phratries to balance the five of the Carrier, so that one phratry has to equate with two. The following table shows how the two systems amalgamate:

<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Gitksan</i>
Gitamtanyu-----	Laxgibu (Wolf phratry).
Gilserhyu and Laksilyu_	Laxse'l (Frog-Raven phratry).
Laksamshu-----	Gisra'ast (Fireweed phratry).
Tsayu-----	Laxsamillix (a clan of the Laxski'k or Eagle phratry).

The phratries were the most important units within the subtribe. Though each was divided into two or more clans that had their own chiefs and distinctive crests, the phratry overruled its clans in many ways. Thus it regulated marriage, for no man could marry a woman of his own phratry, even though she belonged to a different clan in that phratry, and to another subtribe or nation. It took an active interest in all the relations of its members with the members of other phratries, supporting them in their grievances and bearing the responsibility of their misdeeds. Through its chief (who was always a chief of one of its clans) it controlled the division of the hunting territories among its members and acted as a unit in resisting aggression by other phratries. If the members of one clan erected a totem pole, the members of other clans within the phratry contributed generously to the expense and regarded themselves as part owners, so that it was not merely a clan totem pole, but belonged in a measure to the whole phratry. Furthermore, the phratries extended beyond the boundaries of the subtribe far more widely than the clans, so that a man's phratric affiliation gained him support and help where his specific clan was unknown. The first question asked of a stranger (if it were not apparent from his dress or tattooing), was not "what clan does he belong to," or even "what subtribe does he belong to," but "what is his phratry?" And any Laksamshu man, for example, who found himself in a strange Gitksan village looked for a house belonging to the Fireweed phratry (the phratry corresponding to his own) and sought there the protection that he could claim on no other ground, perhaps, than membership in a common phratry.

## CLANS

The following table shows the clans into which the phratries were divided, and gives the title of the chief who ruled each clan.

<i>Phratry</i>	<i>Clans</i>	<i>Title of Chief</i>
Gitamtanyu-----	A, Grizzly House (Kyas-ya')-----	Wos ("Whale").
	B1, House in the Middle of Many (kaiyawinits).	Giste'hwa.
	B2, Anskaski-----	Medi'k ("Grizzly Bear").
Gilseryu-----	A, Dark House (ya'tsaolkas)-----	Netipish ("Crane or Heron").
	B, Thin House (ya'tsowitan)-----	Guxlet.
	C, Birchbark House (kai-ya')-----	Samuix.
Laksilyu-----	A, House of Many Eyes (giner- klai-ya')	Hagwilnexl.
	B, House on Top of a Flat Rock (tsekal-kai-ya').	Widaxkyet (Big Man).
	C, House Beside the Fire (kwan- per-ya').	Widak'kwats.
Laksamshu-----	A1, Sun or Moon House (sa ya') <sup>3</sup> --	Smogitkyemk.
	A2, Twisted House (ya'hostiz)-----	
	B, Owl House (misdzi-ya')-----	Klo'mkan ("Forest Slide").
Tsayu-----	Beaver House (djakan-ya') <sup>4</sup> -----	Kwi's.

The interpretations of these clan names are in some cases obscure. The Grizzly, Sun or Moon, Owl, and Beaver Houses derive their names from their principal crests; and the House of Many Eyes from an incident in the legend attached to its crest.<sup>5</sup> House in the Middle of Many was so-called because the house of its chief was once erected in the middle of a village; and House on Top of a Flat Rock because the house of a former chief at Moricetown was built upon a rock. The meaning of the word Anskaski, and the origins of the names Birchbark House and Twisted House, seemed unknown. For Kwanperya the Indians offered two different interpretations, "House Beside the Fire" and "House of a Small Bird named Kwanpe." The title "Dark House" refers to the custom of quenching the house fire on the eve of a potlatch, when the chief of the clan sang and danced in the gloom. The Thin House boasted leadership by two chiefs, one of whom had moved up from Hazelton when the village was established in the Hagwilgate canyon. His old home (and section of the clan?) in Hazelton had borne the name "Robin's House," because tradition stated that its founder had once visited the nightly home of the robins in the land of the dead (Jenness, 1934, p. 144); but when he moved up with his

<sup>3</sup> The word *sa* means heavenly luminary, either sun or moon.

<sup>4</sup> According to one old man, the clan (and the chief's house) was called Skeyuya': Eagle House, after its other crest. Possibly it had both names, the second, Eagle House, being more familiar to the neighboring Gitksan Indians.

<sup>5</sup> For the legends concerning these crests, see Jenness (1934, pp. 214, 225, 232).

people to Hagwilgate, the clan name was changed to Thin House, because the pillars in the new home were flattened on the inside instead of rounded.

The clans have been listed in the order of their recent standing within their respective phratries. Yet the system was not absolutely rigid, for it underwent changes even during the last hundred years. About 1865 the Tsayu phratry was so decimated by smallpox that its members voluntarily incorporated themselves in the Laksamshu phratry, where they now rank merely as one clan. The Twisted House of the Laksamshu phratry was really a part of the Sun or Moon House that separated off under its own chief when the Sun House became very numerous. Similarly, the two clans in Gitamtanyu phratry, House in the Middle of Many, and Anskaski, had a single origin, though which was the earlier is now uncertain; a member of the House in the Middle of Many claimed priority for his clan, but at the present time the chief of Anskaski clan occupies a higher seat at potlatches.

The head man of a clan was called tene'za', "chief;" his wife (or the principal wife, if he had more than one), zegaiz'a. He was supported by a body of nobles, skez'a, most of whom were close kinsmen. Below the nobles were the common people of each clan, auxataten'e, and below the common people the slaves, elne, who seem never to have been as numerous as among the coast tribes, and, indeed, owned by few Indians except the chiefs. The chief of the leading clan was the recognized head of the phratry, and the heads of the different phratries were coordinate in rank, though the one who had the largest following might possess more power and influence.<sup>6</sup> The principal settlements, Moricetown and Hagwilgate, contained representatives of all the phratries, usually also of all the clans. In such places the maintenance of peace and harmony rested on both the clan and the phratry chiefs. Each clan chief normally settled disputes that extended no farther than his own little unit; when they involved another clan in the same phratry, the head of the phratry, counseled by his clan chiefs, settled them; and when they involved other phratries the heads of the phratries consulted, first with their clan chiefs, then with each other, decided the issues at stake, and arranged for any necessary compensation.

In early times, when Moricetown was still the best place in the district for catching salmon, every clan had there its individual fishing stands, and every clan chief a permanent home. The settlement declined when the landslide 20 miles below partially blocked the Bulkley River, and the majority of the subtribe established the new village, Tsekya, "Rock-foot," beside the Hagwilgate canyon. How many

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<sup>6</sup> The strongest phratries at Hagwilgate today are the Laksilyu and the Laksamshu, which rank about equal, although the latter has the larger membership. At Moricetown the strongest phratry is the Laksilyu.



houses this new village contained originally is not known, but after the smallpox epidemic of 1862 it possessed not only 9 large houses, each of which provided a home for perhaps 20 people, but also a number of smaller houses that sheltered on the average 5 or 6. The 9 large houses were the homes of the clan chiefs and their nearest relatives, and bore the same names as the clans, Grizzly House, etc.; but while the Gitamtanyu and Gilserhyu phratries were represented by a large house for each clan, Laksilyu had only 2 large houses, House of Many Eyes and House beside the Fire; Laksamshu only 1, Owl's House; and the Tsayu or Beaver phratry no large house at all, having abandoned its dwelling when the epidemic carried away nearly all its members (see Plan, fig. 62).

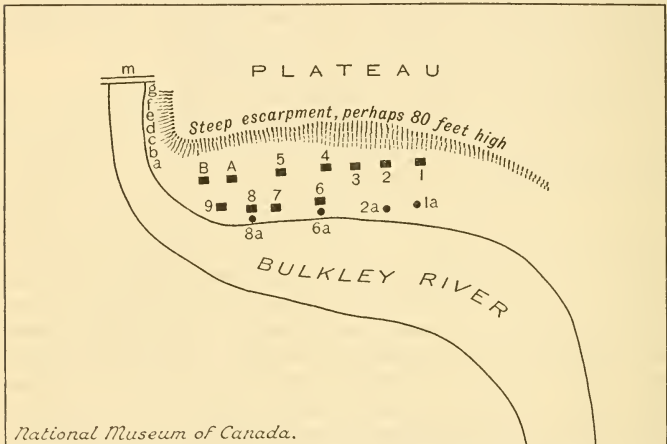


FIGURE 62.—Diagrammatic plan of old Carrier village tse'kya, "Rock-foot," beside the Hagwilgate Canyon on the Bulkley River, British Columbia.

a-g mark the fishing places of the various phratries.

#### DESCRIPTION OF PLAN OF OLD CARRIER VILLAGE AT HAGWILGATE CANYON

1. House of Many Eyes, Laksilyu phratry. This clan house was partly preserved in 1924.

1a. Totem pole of this house, known as kaigyet.

2. House in the Middle of Many, Gitamtanyu phratry. Partly preserved in 1924.

2a. Totem pole of this house, known as esrii, "fungus."

3. Anskaski, Gitamtanyu phratry. In 1924 there remained of this house only two pairs of beams supporting a ridge pole. It had no totem pole.

4. House beside the Fire, Laksilyu phratry. Of this house there remained only a few logs rotting on the ground. A flat stone that lay on the threshold served as an unusually fine doorstep.

5. Dark House, Gilserhyu phratry. This house also was reduced to a few rotten logs. It had no totem pole.

6. Grizzly House, Gitamtanyu phratry. Its site was hardly discernible.

6a. Totem pole of the Grizzly House, known as Grizzly Bear.

7. Thin House, Gilserhyu phratry. There remained on the ground a few logs. It had no totem pole.

8. Owl House, Laksamshu phratry. A few rotten logs remained.

8a. Totem pole of the Owl House, known as Fireweed, though today sometimes called Owl. It really belonged to the Beaver phratry.

9. Birchbark House, Gilserhyu phratry. In 1924 its site was hardly discernible. It had no totem pole.

A, B. Two houses of recent date, owned by Gitksan Indians of Hazelton.

a-g. Fishing places owned by different clans but open to use by a member of any clan or phratry.

m. Modern suspension bridge.

Since the phratries were exogamous units, so also in consequence were the clans, although the decline of the system in recent years has permitted several marriages within the phratries. Children belonged to the clans and phratries of their mothers, not of their fathers, for inheritance and descent followed the female line.

All the hunting territory of the subtribe was partitioned among the different phratries, and trespassing on the territory of another phratry without the consent of its chief led to quarrels and often bloodshed. Within the phratric territory each clan had its recognized hunting grounds that were theoretically subject to endorsement by the phratric chief and to any limitations and changes he might make in the interests of his phratry, but were practically inviolate as long as the clan was strong enough to resent encroachment. The families made mutual arrangements where each would hunt, and two or three generally traveled and camped together. The country was too thinly settled to give occasion for many disputes, and such as did arise were settled by the clan or phratry chiefs. It is said that the phratry chief sometimes remained in the village all winter and did not go out to the hunting grounds, but was supplied with beaver, caribou, and other meat at irregular intervals by returning hunters.

At the present time, individual noblemen who are not even clan chiefs claim possession of one or two small hunting grounds, and their claims are recognized by the rest of the Indians even though they admittedly violate the principle of phratric and clan ownership. But the clan and phratric chiefs have lost their authority, and game has become so scarce that many families do not find it worth their while to hunt, so that no one wishes to stir up trouble by disputing claims which, after all, have little value. How they first came to make these claims is not quite clear. Apparently they were instigated by the growth of individual rights in other directions brought

about by the decline of the phratries and clans, and by the indifference with which they had been permitted to reoccupy the same areas winter after winter for many years in succession.

The division of the fishing grounds corresponded to the division of the hunting grounds. Each clan had the exclusive fishing rights over the lakes and streams within its hunting territories, subject theoretically to the jurisdiction of the entire phratry, exercised through its chief. Before the landslide occurred on the Bulkley River at Hagwilgate, the best place in the whole district for trapping the migrating salmon was at Moricetown, the common center of the phratries; and on the dam built there across the river most, if not all, of the clans had special stations where they could ply their gaffs or set their traps and baskets. The part of the subtribe that moved to Hagwilgate after the landslide subdivided among its clans, in exactly the same way, the various fishing stands in the Bulkley canyon; but the space was so limited, and fish so plentiful, that a member of any clan, in any phratry, might fish at any of the stands whenever it was not actually occupied by its proper owners. (See Plan, fig. 62.)

Fishing places, and portions of the hunting territories, were often sold or given away in payment for certain services. If a chief or nobleman of one phratry contributed generously to the expense of a potlatch given by a nobleman in another phratry,<sup>7</sup> the phratry that had received help, acting through its chief, might publicly "deed over" its fishing rights on a certain stream, or its title to hunt over a particular mountain. The new owners might retain these rights in perpetuity, but in most cases the transfer was regarded as a mortgage only, and the phratry that had originally owned the areas bought them back after three or four generations. In all such transactions the phratric chiefs played the leading roles, but they could not act without consultation with their clan chiefs and principal noblemen.

The hunting grounds are now greatly restricted through the growth of white settlement, the construction of roads and a railway, the leveling of large areas of forests, and the blocking out of the land for villages and farms. It seems impossible today to map the original hunting areas of the various clans. Those that they now claim are widely scattered, and often of very small extent; yet it may be useful to list them in an appendix (see Appendix 1), if only to illustrate, what seems to have been true in earlier times, that the hunting territory of each clan was not a single strip of

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<sup>7</sup> Such a contributor was called *antoma'na'k*. Formerly the man who was giving the potlatch threw all contributions from outside his phratry into the fire, but since 1910, or thereabouts, they have been incorporated with the main pile of goods set aside for distribution.



country, but a number of discrete strips scattered here and there throughout the territory under the subtribe's dominion.

#### TITLES OF NOBLES

Every clan boasted the exclusive ownership of a number of titles which carried a more or less definite ranking and alone bestowed on their owners the hallmarks of nobility. Women as well as men were eligible for all these titles, and a few, of no great importance, were even restricted to women. In general, accession to a title depended partly on inheritance, partly on the ability to give the potlatch necessary to make its assumption valid. The usual successor to a man's title was his sister's son or daughter; but if he had no children, or misfortune prevented the validation of the child's claim by a proper potlatch, the title might pass to a more distant kinsman in the same clan, even one who previously had ranked among its commoners.<sup>8</sup> The boundary line between nobles and commoners was therefore fluid. The son of a chief never became a commoner, because his parents, if only for their own prestige, invariably financed or contributed to the potlatch that gave him a title and opened for him the gate to nobility; but a grandson or great-grandson might easily descend in the social scale, if his parents neglected to ensure his succession by a potlatch and he himself lacked the necessary means. Descendants of nobles below the rank of chiefs naturally glided into the abyss more readily, because their parents' means were limited and kinsmen did not always rally to their support. To climb the ladder again was difficult but not impossible, if we may trust the statements of present-day Indians, and the traditions that recount how friendless orphans through their own achievements married the daughters of chiefs and received the titles of nobles. Doubtless Carrier society, like many others, placed obstacles in the path of an aspiring nobody, and it was only through exceptional circumstances that a commoner could amass enough goods to give the one or more potlatches necessary for his elevation. Yet the history of Satsa'n, a nobleman in the Gilserhyu phratry, bears out the traditions of the Indians that the barriers were not insuperable.

*Satsa'n's* ancestors, a century ago, were commoners without genealogical history or prominence who occupied at potlatches any place they could find in the vicinity of their fellow phratrymen. In the first half of the nineteenth century, however, one of them proved so skillful a carpenter that Widaxkyet, a chief in the Laksilyu phratry, engaged him to carve a totempole, promising

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<sup>8</sup> Whether it could pass to a commoner of the same phratry, but in another clan, is not clear. The clan affiliation of a commoner seems to have been less fixed than his phratric affiliation, so that few objections would be raised if the title were relatively unimportant, and the man could make out a plausible genealogy. Even if he had no kinship claim, he could probably "jump" the title, provided he possessed sufficient influence.

him a rich reward. The man worked on the pole all winter while the rest of the people were hunting; and when he had finished the carving he covered the pole with birchbark to hide it until the day of erection. The pole was duly raised into place at Moricetown, and stood there until about 1870 when it fell and was burned. At the close of the festivities connected with its erection the carpenter found himself possessed of so much property (partly gained by gambling) that he decided to give a potlatch on his own account. He therefore invited all the people, and before distributing his presents stood up and proclaimed, "Hereafter let me not sit in a corner like a nobody, but in front of my phratry in a special place beside the fire. And let me be known, not by my own name, but as Satsa'n." The chiefs of all the phratries consulted together and acceded to his request. He thus acquired a special rank that was neither a nobleman's nor a commoner's; but his niece, who succeeded to the title, ranked as a noble, though she retained the special seat beside the fire. Why the carpenter chose the title Satsa'n, which belonged to a Gitksan chief of Kitselas, on the Skeena River, the present-day Carrier do not know; they merely deny that there was any bond of kinship between the two families.

Although a title never passed, apparently, from one phratry to another, it was sometimes transferred temporarily, and perhaps permanently, from one clan to another within the phratry. Thus, a few years ago, when a member of the Dark House clan in the Gilserhyu phratry died, the clan transferred one of its nobles, Axal'kan, to the Thin House to repay that clan's members for their contributions to the funeral expenses. Under present conditions it really makes no difference whether Axal'kan's successor returns to the old clan or remains in the new, for the big semicommunal dwellings that used to be the chief outward signs of the clan have disappeared. The Indians seemed to think that Axal'kan's transfer was temporary only, and that the title would be "bought back" on some future occasion; but that permanent transfers had formerly occurred for special reasons, such as compensation for murders.

At the present time there are more titles in each clan than there are people qualified to fill them, so that nearly every man or woman who wishes to adopt a new one can choose between several; but whether this was the case in earlier years also is not certain. With the decline in population many titles seem to have found no claimants and dropped from memory. Others, again, may have been superseded by newer titles; for just as Sir Arthur Wellesley, after his victories in Spain, became the Duke of Wellington, so a Carrier nobleman could commemorate some event in his life by adopting a new name and establishing it among his countrymen by a potlatch. His earlier title then dropped out of use, or, more often perhaps, was bestowed on his probable heir, who passed it on to his own heir whenever he himself succeeded to the new-found name.

At feasts the clan chiefs sat together, the chief of the second ranking clan on the right of the phratry chief (i. e., the chief of

the principal clan), and the chief of the third clan, if there were more than two, on the phratry chief's left. The nobles then stationed themselves nearer or farther from their chiefs in accordance with their rank; and directly in front of each man or woman sat the probable successor, nearly always a nephew or a niece. The commoners and such slaves as were admitted lined up at the back or wherever they could find room.

We are not unfamiliar, in our own society, with the serious disputes that have resulted in the course of state functions whenever the Ambassador of Timbuctoo has ventured to claim precedence over the Minister of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Bulkley Carrier similar quarrels arose over the order of seating at feasts and ceremonials, for this order was liable to change from one generation to another. At the present day they recognize the following arrangement, or "table of peerage," as it may be called, but a hundred years ago it was certainly rather different.

TABLES OF PEERAGE, OR TITLES AND SEATING ARRANGEMENTS

GITAMTANYU PHRATRY

Clans: A, Grizzly House; B, House in the Middle of Many, and Anskaski

Rear														
row:	B8	B7	B6	B5	B4	B3	A2	B1	A1	B2	A3	A4	A5	A6
Second row:						B3a	A2a	B1a		B2a				
Front row:			B9		B10					B11				

*Titles*

- B8, Hωlits (Skunk).<sup>1</sup>
- B7, Sowl's.<sup>1</sup>
- B6, Hoigyet.
- B5, Wω'silop'.
- B4, Kano'ts.
- B3, Na'ok.
- A2, Djolukyet.
- B1, Medi·k (Grizzly Bear), chief of Anskaski clan and 2nd ranking chief in the phratry.
- A1, Wω's (Whale), chief of the leading clan Grizzly House, chief of the phratry.
- B2, Gistehwa, chief of the clan House in the Middle of Many and third ranking chief in the phratry.
- A3, Skalił.
- A4, Samsmahix.
- A5, Gu'kyet.
- A6, Guxwoq (Sleepy).

<sup>1</sup> Since the last holders of these titles died a few years ago, none have come forward to take their places.

B3a, Ismediks (Grizzly cub), who is the legal successor to B3, Na'ok, and therefore sits directly in front of that nobleman.

A2a, Baxchan (War-leader), the legal successor of A2, Djolukyet.

B1a, Goqaiuwil, the legal successor of B1, Medi-k.

B2a, Atne (Bella Coola or Kitlope Indian), the legal successor of B2.

B9, Detsan (Raven), who must sit somewhere in front to the right of the chiefs.

B10, Hwille-wi, who must also sit in front to the right of the chiefs.

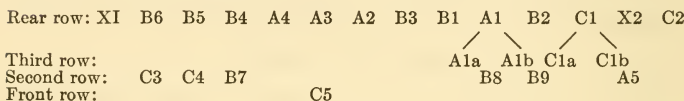
B11, Nagwa'on (Long Arm), who must sit in front to the left of the chiefs.

A title Anklo', belongs to the clan House in the Middle of Many, but the position of its holder is not known.

At the present time there is attached to the phratry a Gitksan man bearing the Gitksan title Axgotdemash (Heartless, Cruel). Having no proper seat at potlatches he finds a place near the door, although he is trying to enroll himself in the Anskaski clan and recognizes its leading man Medi-k as his chief.

### GILSERHYU PHRATRY

Clans: A, Dark House; B, Thin House; C, Birchbark House



#### *Titles*

X1, Altu-z, a nobleman of little importance whose clan was not ascertained.

B6, Bitan'en.

B5, As'ten (Fraser Lake Indian).

B4, Gwatsikyēt (He Who Cuts off Heads with a Knife).

A4, Anabel's.

A3, Nustel (Wolverine).

A2, Weil (Back-pack).

B3, Ne'k (Slave).

B1, Guxlet, chief of the Thin House clan.

A1, Netipish (Blue Heron), chief of the Dark House clan and chief of the phratry.

B2, Chaspit, second chief of the Thin House clan.

C1, Samuix (Species of Small Bird), chief of the Birchbark House clan.

X2, Sama't, whose clan was not ascertained.

C2, Gwitsin'alu (alu, bunched together, but the meaning of the full name was unknown).

A1a, Mas'gibu (White Wolf), who sits directly in front of A1, the head chief, as one of two possible successors.

A1b, Gulta': the second possible successor of A1 for the chieftainship.

C1a, Chanl (Marten): a niece and possible successor of C1 for the chieftainship of the Birchbark House.

C3, Guxkalkalas.

C4, Nenesnox'kaix (Let Some One Ferry Me Over in a Canoe).

B7, Tenez ik (Dead Man): more often called by the equivalent Gitksan work, lulak.

B8, Kana'u (Gitksan word, Frog).

B9, Axal'kan (Gitksan), or Wusnik (Carrier) (Crazy).

A5, Mistu's (Buffalo or Cow).

C5, Satsa'n, who occupies a special position near the fire in the center of the house.

#### LAKSILYU PHRATRY

Clans: A, House of Many Eyes; B, House on Top of a Flat Rock; C, House Beside the Fire.

Rear row: X B3 B2 B1 A1 C1 A2 A3 A4  
Front row: B3a B2a B1a A1a C1a

#### *Titles*

X, Dikyanteitam, whose clan was not ascertained.

B3, Hataxkumex.

B2, Dzi.

B1, Widaxkyet (Big Man), chief of the clan House on Top of a Flat Rock and second chief of the phratry.

A1, Hagwilnexl: chief of the clan House of Many Eyes and principal chief of the phratry.

C1, Widak'kwats (Grizzly's Big Dung), chief of the clan House Beside the Fire and third chief of the phratry.

A2, Kela.

A3, Maxlaxless.

A4, Dikyannulat (Grizzly that Bites and Scratches Trees). The present holder of the title, since becoming a Christian, does not attend potlatches, and his seat has been taken by Gwinu', a Tsimshian Indian from Gitwinkul, for whom there was really no seat.

B3a, Stalo'p (Rain of Stones), who as the legal successor of B3 sits directly in front of that nobleman.

B2a, Wiste-s, the legal successor of B2.

B1a, Gowichan (He Who Pays the Blood-price), the legal successor of B1 for the chieftainship of the clan.

A1a, Gyedamskanish (Mountain Man), nephew and legal successor of A1 for the chieftainship of the clan and leadership of the phratry.

C1a, Axcot (Heartless), the legal successor of C1 for the chieftainship of the clan House Beside the Fire.

There are three other titles in this phratry. The title Klbe'kansi (klbe, "dentalium"), which belongs to the clan House Beside the Fire, has been assumed by a woman who sits anywhere behind the other nobles; Xa ("Goose"), which belongs to the clan House on Top of a Flat Rock, entitles its owner to sit anywhere that he can find room; and Negupte, which belongs to the same clan, has dropped out of use and the seat taken by its last possessor is not remembered.

The Hagwilnexl who preceded his nephew, the present Hagwilnexl, as chief of the House of Many Eyes and chief of the phratry, lived originally at Trembleur Lake, where he was either a nobleman in the same phratry, or its chief. When he moved to Hagwilgate in the latter half of the nineteenth century he succeeded, on the strength of some marriage connection, in wresting the title and chieftainship from its proper heir, Kela. There is consequently much ill-feeling in the House of Many Eyes clan, kept alive by the former



and present chiefs' use of the clan hunting and fishing territories, to which as strangers from another subtribe they had no legal right.

#### COMBINED LAKSAMSHU AND BEAVER PHRATRIE

Clans: A, Sun House, including Twisted House; B, Beaver House; C, Owl House

Rear row: B5 B4 B3 B2 B1 A1 C1 A2 A3 C2 X1  
 Second row: C1a  
 Front row: X2

#### *Titles*

- B5, Wigetumstchol (a Tsimshian word meaning "Large Beaver Man").  
 B4, Namoksu (Tsimshian word).  
 B3, Wila't (Tsimshian word meaning "Echo").  
 B2, Mat (Tsimshian word meaning "Mountain Goat").  
 B1, Kwi's, chief of the Beaver phratry and now second chief in the combined phratries.  
 A1, Smogitkyemk (Tsimshian word of which the last syllable means "Sun"); chief of the Sun House and principal chief in the combined phratries.  
 C1, Klo'mkan (Forest Slide), chief of the Owl House.  
 A2, Gutseut (Short Belly).  
 A3, Amgyet (Resurrected).  
 C2, Sa'pek (Tsimshian word).  
 X1, Biste'i (Tsimshian word meaning "Grouse"); the clan that owned this title was not ascertained.  
 C1a, Kitsilchak (Picks up Weapon Hastily); should succeed to the chieftainship of Owl House, but the title has fallen into disuse. The man who would normally inherit it has taken the title Axxis (Bald-head).  
 X2, Skokamlaxa (Tsimshian word); the possessor of this title came from Gitsegyukla (Skeena Crossing), and has no proper seat in the phratry.

There has been much confusion and dissension in the Laksamshu and Beaver phratries, since their fusion about 1865. Because the Laksamshu Sun clan was at that time the strongest, its chief became the dominant chief in the combined phratries and occupied the highest seat. The chief of the Beaver phratry then became the second ranking chief in the combined phratries, and the chief of the Owl House, or clan in the Laksamshu phratry, the third ranking chief. The last position (C1), however, was inherited by a woman who has few relatives to support her and at potlatches generally finds her seat usurped by the next ranking noble in the phratry, Gutseut (A2). Her husband claims that she should legally be the ranking chief of the combined phratries; that Smogitkyemk (A1) was originally chief of the Beaver phratry, and Klo'mkan (C1), ranking chief in Laksamshu phratry, with Gutseut (A2), the second chief, and Amgyet (A3), the third chief; and that Klo'mkan, after acquiring Amgyet's title also when its former owner died without descendants, has been pushed aside by Smogitkyemk and Gutseut. Other natives denied this, however, and asserted that Smogitkyemk had always been the title of the leading chief in Laksamshu phratry, the head of the Sun House. In addition to the dissension on this score, there is ill-feeling between Kwi's (B1) and Smogitkyemk (A1), the former wishing his phratry to have the precedence and himself to be the leading chief, as was his predecessor and uncle, a man named Kwi's or Bini, who led a strong religious movement in the subtribe. The Beaver phratry, its present chief claims, is rapidly increasing in numbers, while the Laksamshu is now declining. It seems probable that the two phratries would separate again if the social

system retained its old life, but the younger generation of Indians holds it in slight regard.

A cursory perusal of these peerage tables will indicate that many of the titles are in the Tsimshian tongue; in some, perhaps most, cases they coincide with titles actually in use among the Tsimshian. Yet only about a third of the Bulkley Carrier seem to have understood and spoken the Tsimshian language, so that the bearer of a title often knew little or nothing about its origin and real significance. This does not mean, however, that the Bulkley natives slavishly copied and borrowed from their Tsimshian neighbors. Their own system, though extremely fluid, was so full of vitality and life that it was capable of absorbing numerous elements from abroad without impairing its essential vigor. A more detailed examination of its structure will substantiate this point, which is deserving of some attention because it indicates that the system, far from being a recent growth among the Bulkley Indians, has a history extending back over several generations.

#### CRESTS, CLAN AND PERSONAL

##### CLAN CRESTS

The Bulkley Carrier, like our forefathers in medieval Europe, publicly represented their division into "houses," or clans, by the display of certain crests (*nettse'*), of which every clan boasted at least one, and usually several. Such crests were carved on the clan totem poles, painted or carved on the fronts of the chiefs' houses, painted on chiefs' grave-boxes, represented at times on the ceremonial hats and blankets the chiefs wore at dances (pl. 26), and tattooed on the chests of the clansmen, on the wrists of the clanswomen, by close kinsmen of their fathers, who, of course, belonged to other phratries. Occasionally an individual was tattooed with his father's clan crest instead of his own, although this required permission from the chief of his father's clan. With nearly every crest went an origin legend that was not regarded as clan property, and might be related by any member of the tribe except at potlatches, when a sense of propriety restricted its narration to a clan member, generally to the highest-ranking member of the clan. Over the crests themselves, however, there was a jealous feeling of proprietorship, so that their representation by another clan in the same phratry without the consent of their owners led to serious friction, while their usurpation by a clan in another phratry was almost unthinkable. In clans that had several crests, one (or occasionally two) generally ranked very much higher than the rest, because it was more deeply rooted in the local history and traditions. This crest was then as permanent as the clan, and deeply concerned the entire phratry, which felt toward it the same

proprietorship as it felt toward the clan. On the other hand, the minor crests, being of comparatively slight importance, could conceivably be alienated or even dropped.

Clan crests were not restricted to natural objects, but included mythical beings and manufactured articles. The Indians paid no special regard to them when they were birds and animals, but, if the creatures were edible, killed and ate them without ceremony. They did, indeed, ascribe a certain kinship between themselves and two or three of the most conspicuous crests, conceiving that the relationship gave them a certain measure of protection. Thus, if a man of the Laksamshu phratry encountered a whale that seemed likely to endanger his canoe, they believed he had merely to call out that he belonged to the Laksamshu phratry (which reckons whale as one of its principal crests) and the whale would leave him unharmed; even if he belonged to another phratry, but his father had been a Laksamshu man or his mother a Laksamshu woman, he could obtain the same immunity by calling, "My father (mother) was a Laksamshu," which was equivalent to saying, "I am one of your children." Similarly, a Laksamshu man, or the child of a Laksamshu man, was credited with power to stop continuous rain by waving a piece of burning birchbark and calling for sunshine, because the sun also was an important crest in the phratry.

A Bulkley Indian named Saiyella, while hunting with his wife some 40 years ago, came upon two grizzly bears eating berries on a hillside, and, in spite of his wife's warning that two grizzlies were too dangerous for one man to hunt, loaded his flint-lock and went after them. By careful stalking he drew close enough to shoot one animal, but as its body rolled down the hillside, the other grizzly clambered the slope to attack him. Unable to retreat, he rolled some big stones down on top of it, but still it continued to advance. He shouted, "Ha-a," and the bear stopped to listen, but after a moment moved towards him again. Then half weeping with fear, he shouted, "Why do you want to kill me, you grizzly. I am a Gitamtanyu man and you are my crest. Let me alone." Hurriedly ramming two more bullets down his muzzle-loader, he climbed a big rock, and when the grizzly came directly below him, shot it in the head. It rolled over and over down the hill, and as it rolled, he mocked it, shouting, "Why are you rolling down and down? I told you that I was a Gitamtanyu man and you persisted in attacking me. Why are you rolling down now?"

In spite of these instances, however, where one or two crests appeared to carry a totemic flavor it would be a mistake to look upon the system as really totemic. More correctly the crests were emblems, serving much the same purpose as the coats-of-arms adopted by the nobles of feudal Europe; and the representation of a clan crest on the house of a chief closely corresponded with the coat-of-arms carved over the gateway of a baron's castle, and the national flag that waves over our embassies.



## TABLE OF CLAN CRESTS

### GITAMTANYU PHRATRY

#### GRIZZLY HOUSE

*Grizzly (kyas) and Wolf (yis).*—A Gitksan Indian specially engaged for the task carved these two crests on the clan's totem pole in the Bulkley canyon. Below the summit, which was uncarved, was the figure of a wolf head downward; beneath the wolf was the grizzly standing up; and at the base of the pole, the grizzly seated. To explain the origin of both crests, the Indians invoke a single legend, "The Woman Who Married a Grizzly" (Jenness, 1934, p. 129), although the wolf does not appear in the recorded version of that legend.

#### HOUSE IN THE MIDDLE OF MANY, AND ANSKASKI CLAN

*Raven (Dettan).*—This crest was represented in the Bulkley canyon by a carved image of a raven above the large dwelling of the clan House in the Middle of Many, and by two images, one above the other, on the totem pole in front of that house. The Carrier deduce the origin of the crest from the legend of the raven that perched itself on top of a totem pole in the land of the dead and gave warning of the approach of enemies (see Jenness, 1934, p. 234), a legend that they also cite to account for the origin of Guxlet, the title of the second chief in Gilserhyu phratry.

*Fungus (esrit).*—Below the two ravens on the totem pole just mentioned is the figure of a man to whose back was formerly attached a large hollow ball of wood made in imitation of an enormous fungus. This represented the crest Fungus. Tradition states that the Hagwilgate members of the clan House in the Middle of Many once contributed very generously to a potlatch given by Nelli, a chief of the Gitamtanyu phratry among the Nitchaotin or Alkatcho subtribe to the south. At that time Nelli owned and was using as his crest an enormous ball of fungus, the right to which he transferred to his Hagwilgate helpers. They did not take the ball north with them, but hired a Moricetown Indian of another phratry, the Laksilyu, to carve a wooden imitation and attach it to their totem pole, which in consequence received the name *esrit*, "fungus."

*Weasel.*—This crest was represented on the ceremonial headgear worn by the chief of the Anskaski clan, perhaps also by the chief of the other clan House in the Middle of Many.

### GILSERHYU PHRATRY

#### DARK HOUSE

*Logs Carved as Men (tullemale-t).*—This clan, like the other two clans of the Gilserhyu phratry, did not erect a totem pole, but at Hagwilgate displayed its crest inside the clan dwelling of the chief, which formerly had a row of carved images opposite the door.

## THIN HOUSE

*Three Stars (of no special constellation).*—This crest was represented on the old house of the clan in the Hagwilgate canyon by three holes in the front wall. Today the chief, who lives in a modern frame house on the terrace above, has only one star painted above his door. The natives seemed to have no explanation for the crest.

*Frog.*—On the old clan house in the canyon, a frog was painted on the outside of the door. There was some disagreement concerning the origin of the crest. The majority of the Indians cited the legend of the "Girl Who Married a Frog" (Jenness, 1934, p. 168); but one man cited the legend of the "Woman Who Married a Grizzly" (Jenness, 1934, p. 129).

*Small owl (deltsa).*—This crest was painted on the outside of the door, beside the frog. Its origin seemed unknown.

*Fire.*—The front of the old clan house was painted red like fire. The crest is explained from the legend of the mythical chief of the clan, Guxlet, who came out of the ground (Jenness, 1934, p. 234).

*Sidewalk (ye'n).*—An early chief built a sidewalk in front of his house and, sitting there with his head covered with swansdown, issued invitations to a potlatch. When the people gathered for the feast he proclaimed that "sidewalk" was to be regarded henceforth as his new crest, and endorsed his assumption of it by presenting each guest with a bowl of berries covered with mountain-goat fat. Thus only the Thin House possesses the right to build a platform or sidewalk in front of its clan dwelling and to regard it as a clan crest.

*tsim'yak'yak (meaning unknown).*—This is the name of the mythical totem pole in the land of the dead (Jenness, 1934, p. 143), and would be the name of the clan's totem pole, if it ever erected one. Hence it ranks as a crest.

*gitamgiye'ks (meaning unknown).*—This crest would be represented on the clan totem pole by the figure of a man with uplifted palms and an image of a boy on his head. Legend states that it was acquired by a former chief of the clan who ate devilsclub for a year in order to have good luck in his hunting. He then met in the woods a strange woman carrying on her back a baby that cried, "wa wa wa." He snatched the baby away and, without placing it on his back, since it would have scratched and killed him, planted it in a tree beyond her reach, but finally restored it to her for a suitable reward. Thus the clan obtained the crest gitamgiye'ks: and if a man wandering in the woods should hear an unseen baby cry, "wa wa wa," he will be lucky thereafter.

*Crane (dii).*—The chief of the clan sometimes impersonated this bird at ceremonies. It was classed by the Indians as a clan crest, though it might equally well have ranked as a personal crest of the chief. No legend seemed extant.

## BIRCHBARK HOUSE

*Woodpecker (mansit).*—This crest would be placed on the clan's totem pole, if one existed, but it now receives adequate representation from its use by the clan chief as a personal crest. It is based on a legend of a pileated woodpecker that was killed by a Carrier chief (Jenness, 1934, p. 236).

## LAKSILYU PHRATRY

## HOUSE OF MANY EYES

*Kaigyet (a mythical monster).*—This is the principal crest portrayed on the clan's totem pole in the Hagwilgate canyon, and gives its name to the pole.

The chief of the clan also impersonated it at potlatches, when he put on a long-nosed mask of wood, hobbled with bent knees into the potlatch house, and stared at the audience. Its mythical origin is a subject of controversy; some Indians invoke one legend (Jenness, 1934, p. 214) and others another (Jenness, 1934, p. 220).

*Mountain Man (gyedamskani-sh)*.—This crest appears upon the clan's totem pole, near its middle, as a human being wearing a collar of twisted cedar bark. The heir of the clan chief bears the title Mountain Man and impersonates that being at potlatches, thus using a clan crest as a personal crest. Its origin is attributed to a well-known legend (Jenness, 1934, p. 229).

*Otter (nilzik)*.—This crest is represented on the clan totem pole, near its summit, by the figure of an otter. It is also the personal crest of a noble in the clan, Maxlaxlaxs. The Indians could give no explanatory legend.

#### HOUSE ON TOP OF A FLAT ROCK

*Many Small Frogs*.—Half a century ago or more the clan erected a totem pole at Moricetown on which it carved both this crest and a second one, "Big Man"; but when the pole rotted and fell it was burned and never replaced. The Indians ascribe the crest's origin to the same legend, "The Girl Who Married a Frog" (Jenness, 1934, p. 168), as is invoked by the Dark House of the Gilserhyu phratry to explain its crest frog, stating that, when the latter phratry adopted the big father frog as its crest, the Laksilyu phratry adopted the baby frogs because the mother had belonged to the Laksilyu phratry.

*Big Man (denitcho, or, in the Gitksan dialect of Hazelton, widaxkyet)*.—This crest was represented on the now vanished totem pole at Moricetown. The Indians knew no origin legend.

*Swan*.—The Indians do not now remember how this clan crest was represented, if at all, and could give no legend to explain its origin. A nephew of the clan chief, named Negupte, used it as a personal crest, but after he died no one took over the title or adopted the crest.

#### HOUSE BESIDE THE FIRE

It was said that this clan had no crest until recently, when it adopted as its emblem a flag obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company; but since there seems no evidence that the clan is less ancient than others, it probably possessed a crest, like all the rest, and for some reason dropped it.

#### LAKSAMSHU PHRATRY

##### SUN HOUSE AND TWISTED HOUSE

*Sun or Moon (sa)*.—If these two clans had erected a totem pole, this is the crest that they would certainly have carved upon it. At the present time they occasionally display it at potlatches in the form of a glowing plaque or ball that slowly moves across the ceiling of the house after the lights have been extinguished. The people greet its passage with a song, chanted in the Gitksan dialect:

Behold the sun just rising;  
Behold the sun in the middle of its course;  
Behold the sun going down.

They ascribe its origin, and the origin of the clan name Sun House, to a widespread legend (Jenness, 1934, p. 215).

*Whale (neht).*—The chief of the Sun House, Smogitkyemk, impersonates this crest at potlatches. After sprinkling swansdown over his head, he marches to and fro outside the feast house, clad in a ceremonial skirt and garters, and wearing on his back a blanket decorated with a bone figure of a whale. Two heralds enter the house to announce his coming, and two men enveloped in a wooden model of a whale crawl in behind them. Finally, the chief himself enters, walks around the house and withdraws from sight behind a curtain. After an interval he re-emerges, crawling with three other men inside an enormous whale that conceals them from view. Slowly the monster moves around the house, opening and closing its stupendous jaw; and, as it disappears behind the curtain, the chief of some other phratry sings Smogitkyemk's private chant (Soneŋ). Smogitkyemk then appears for the third time, wearing now the mask of a grouse, the third crest of his clan. With bent knees, and hands on hips, he jerks his head from side to side like a bird and begins to dance. At some stage in the ceremony he may, if he wishes, relate the origin legend of the whale crest (Jenness, 1934, p. 225).

*Grouse (chaddzat').*—When the chief enacted this crest as described above, he called it a clan crest; but occasionally he portrayed it in a different way and considered it his personal crest (see p. 511). Some natives claimed that it belonged originally to the Beaver phratry, and that it arose from a forgotten adventure with a being that had the body of a man and the head of a grouse.

*Weasel-skin decorated with the neck skin of a mallard duck.*—The chief of the clan, if he chooses, may wear this crest at potlatches. Tradition derives it from an encounter with the Indians of Kitimat, at the head of Douglas Channel (Jenness, 1934, p. 232).

#### OWL HOUSE

*Owl (misdzi).*—This is the crest that would be carved on the clan totem pole, if one existed. The base of a front post in the old clan house in the Hagwilgate canyon bore a large carving of an owl; the doorway, in fact, was merely a hole in the owl's body. The Indians attributed the crest to the same legend as the clan name (Jenness, 1934, p. 239).

*Moose (denni).*—This crest is said to have been derived from the Babine Lake subtribe. It seems to carry no legend, and must have been acquired in fairly recent times, since the moose did not reach this part of British Columbia until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

*Sapsucker.*—Tradition states that the Laksamshu phratry adopted this crest from the legend that gave rise to the woodpecker crest in the Birchbark House of the Gilserhyn phratry (Jenness, 1934, p. 236).

#### BEAVER PHRATRY

*Beaver (tsa) and Eagle (ske).*—Both these crests were represented on the totem pole of the combined Laksamshu and Beaver phratries in the Hagwilgate canyon, a pole erected about 1865 by a chief of the Beaver phratry, Kw'is, or, as he renamed himself, Bini. This man promoted a strange religious revival that established his leadership over the two phratries, and indeed over the entire subtribe. His influence even extended to the neighboring Gitksan Indians. Hence, when he erected a totem pole he named it Firewood (gila's), after the principal crest of the Gitksan phratry that equated with the Laksamshu,<sup>9</sup> caused the figure of an eagle to be carved on its summit, and an image of a beaver to be attached at about

<sup>9</sup> There is a tradition that before the founding of the village in the Hagwilgate canyon, the Moricetown members of the Laksamshu phratry sometimes wore at potlatches robes of ground-hog skin patterned on each side with fireweed leaves.

mid-height. The Indians removed the beaver after his death and placed it on his grave.

The chief of the phratry sometimes impersonated the beaver at potlatches, regarding it then as his personal crest. It arose, the Indians say, from an encounter with the coastal people of Kitimat (Jenness, 1934, p. 232).

#### PERSONAL CRESTS

In addition to the clan crests every chief, and most, originally perhaps all, of the nobles in each clan, owned at least one personal crest (*chanka*), which gave him at feasts the exclusive right to wear certain paraphernalia and to act in a certain way, for example, to imitate the movements of a caribou or robin. Whenever a man's personal crest coincided with his title it belonged to the permanent structure of the clan and was therefore inalienable; otherwise it ranked as purely personal property and could be sold within or without the clan like a garment or a piece of furniture. It was, therefore, much easier for a man to acquire a new personal crest than for a clan to adopt a new clan crest; the noble merely devised or purchased one that pleased his individual fancy, and established his right to ownership at a potlatch.

When a man (or woman) gave a potlatch, the object or theme that he dramatized, and alone had the right to dramatize, was his personal crest. It was only in this manner, through dramatization at a potlatch, that he made it publicly known and obtained the public endorsement of his ownership. (See pl. 28.) But if a chief chose to dramatize one of his clan crests, as often happened, was he thereby entitled to count it as his personal crest also? Actually the Indians were not consistent in this regard. Thus one of the two clan (or phratry) crests in the Beaver phratry (which contained only one clan) was the beaver, which was represented by the figure of a beaver on the phratry's totem pole; but at potlatches the chief of the phratry dramatized the actions of a beaver and considered it as his personal crest. On the other hand, the chief of the clan House of Many Eyes, in Laksilyu phratry, who dramatized in a similar manner two of his clan crests, Mountain Man and Kaigyet, did not consider them his personal crests, but clan crests only. Generally only the chief of a clan might dramatize a clan crest, whether he called it his personal crest or not; but in at least two instances a noble below the rank of chief has claimed and been allowed the same privilege. Such an anomaly might easily happen if the chieftainship changed hands, for then the deposed chief (or his legal successor) might continue to use at potlatches the clan crest he had used before his eclipse; but one receives an impression that any noble might adopt a clan crest as his personal crest, provided no other member of the clan was using it and the chief gave his consent. Probably, too, what was at one time only the personal crest of a chief



might come to rank as a clan crest, particularly if the chief gained unusual prominence and frequently displayed his crest at potlatches.

Since a personal crest was a mark of distinction, and a noble could hardly give a potlatch without displaying or dramatizing one, it tended to become hereditary, like the title, and a man normally adopted the crest of his mother's brother when he inherited that uncle's title. In such a case he could validate both badges of distinction in a single potlatch. To lighten the excessive cost, three or four individuals often adopted crests (and, if they wished, titles) simultaneously; and parents, clansmen, and friends contributed to the expense, knowing that they would be repaid later. Every noble, who could afford it, bestowed titles and crests on his children while they were still young, for though these early distinctions did not confer high rank, they gave the children definite places in the peerage and marked out their lines of advancement. A typical example was the career of Dikyannulat (European name, Denis), of the House of Many Eyes, Laksilyu phratry, in 1924 a blind old man of perhaps 70.

When Denis had not yet reached his teens, his mother's brother invited the people to attend a potlatch at which the lad blackened his face and danced. His uncle then distributed many blankets among the guests, and announced that his nephew, being descended from the nobility, would later acquire a title and a crest.

Two or three years later, Denis' kinsmen decided to give another potlatch for him and enroll him definitely in the peerage. At this potlatch he was to assume a personal crest, Throwing Dirt, which his grandfather also had assumed in boyhood. Whether it was derived from a legend Denis did not learn, for his grandfather merely instructed him how to dramatize it without explaining its origin. The guests gathered outside the potlatch hall at the appointed time, flung out their arms and shouted, "hau hau," whereupon Denis, naked to the waist, ran in among them and scattered them with showers of dirt. Later they all gathered inside the hall so that Denis might slug and dance before them; and the ceremony ended with a feast and distribution of blankets.

When Denis reached manhood, he gave still a third potlatch and adopted, again without learning its origin, the personal crest, Gun, that had belonged to his mother's brother. Three relatives of his father went among the crowd to announce his coming, and two others hovered on the outskirts of the village, one dressed in a grizzly skin and the other in a black bear's skin. Denis himself then appeared and pretended to shoot the two "animals" with a gun. Subsequently he confirmed his new crest with the usual distribution of presents.

The neighboring Gitksan always narrated the legends attached to their crests when they dramatized them; but the Carrier troubled so little about the legends that many of them have dropped from memory. The owner of a crest had the right to decide how it should be dramatized, and although most men slavishly followed the methods of previous owners, an ingenious individual often contrived some

new device to increase the pleasure of the spectators. The two examples that follow fairly represent the general pattern.

(a) Guxlet, the present-day chief of the Thin House in Gilserhyu phratry, owns two personal crests, laba'on, "the Snatcher," the origin of which he does not know, and the more important crest, guxlet, which goes with his title and is based on a legend of a person Guxlet who emerged out of the ground (Jenness, 1934, p. 234). Of his predecessors, the earliest, who had another title, Boikyut, is said to have lived at Mosquito Flat, where he was the principal chief in the Gilserhyu phratry; the last, born of a Gitksan father and Hagwilgate mother, also bore the title Boikyut but lived at Hazelton, where he ranked as only the second chief of the phratry. The present Guxlet was born at Francis Lake, but moved to Hagwilgate when he was a young man, and, on the score of a rather distant relationship, obtained the title Guxlet, and the personal crest that went with it, when the previous incumbent died in 1918.

Whenever Guxlet gives a potlatch he dramatizes his crest, Snatcher, outside the dance hall in the afternoon, and his principal crest, guxlet, within doors in the evening. Being the chief of his clan, he wears his chiefly regalia, a shirt of cloth covered with tinkling bells, a blanket, decorated with buttons, that partly conceals his trousers, cloth leggings, moccasins, and a coronet of grizzly bear claws. This, of course, is a modern dress that has superseded the older costume of skius. Three heralds announce his approach to the throng outside the dance hall. Finally he himself comes, and, snatching from the people everything that takes his fancy, hands them to his heralds, who carry them to his home and subsequently to the dance hall, where each object is returned to its owner together with a present of one or two dollars.

When darkness closes in and the people have gathered in the potlatch house, Guxlet dramatizes his principal crest. He marches in full regalia around the central fire, singing his sonet or personal song<sup>10</sup> and vigorously shaking a rattle. At intervals he stops to lay his hand on some chief, who must then rise and dance; for thus honoring Guxlet he later receives a reward. After this has continued for an hour or more a chief calls out, "Guxlet, why do you just sing all the time?" Then four men lay Guxlet on his back on a moose hide and pretend to throw him into the fire. His predecessor, the Indians claim, actually was thrown into the fire, which consumed all but his bones; but the present Guxlet merely steals away behind a curtain. After a brief interval 8 or 10 men who sit behind this curtain raise his song, and one of them calls, "O Guxlet, Guxlet." Then the chief comes out again (his predecessor is said to have risen from the floor, unharmed), and joins in the song. A herald sprinkles swansdown over his head and crowns him with a special headdress representing one of his clan crests; and Guxlet closes the ceremony with a dance and song that he has prepared especially for the occasion.

The following day is devoted to feasting, to the giving of presents, and the payment of all those who have assisted Guxlet, except the members of his own phratry, who make personal contributions to the pile of presents, assist in distributing them, and receive their reward at some later date.

(b) In 1921 a noble named Dzi, who belonged to the clan House on Top of a Flat Rock, in the Laksilyu phratry, adopted as his personal crest Caribou. He dressed his uncle and two other kinsmen on his father's side as hunters, equipping

<sup>10</sup> The words are Gitksan, and the present Guxlet does not understand them, but this is of no significance.

them with snowshoes, guns, and packs, and sprinkling their heads with flour to simulate snow. Shortly after noon on the first day of the potlatch the men marched through the village in this array, telling the people they were going to hunt caribou; but when they reached the first ridge above the village and were still in plain view, they removed their snowshoes and packs, lit a fire, and pretended to camp. Soon four gunshots resounded in the woods behind them, and a fictitious caribou—Dzi covered with a caribou hide that had its front legs padded with two sticks—bounded into the open and headed for the village, closely followed by the hunter who had fired the shots. All four hunters took up the chase, and now and then, as they pretended to shoot the animal, tumbled over, to the amusement of the crowd. Finally the "caribou" leaped inside the potlatch house, and everyone trooped in after it.

The people gathered again in the potlatch hall at dusk. As they sat there, talking and laughing, a herald entered with a gun, and said to one of the chiefs, "Have you seen any caribou?" The chief answered, "No, I have not." Presently a second herald came in and shouted, "You are crazy. There are no caribou here." Then came a third herald, who said, "I saw a caribou. It will soon come in." Last of all, Dzi entered the hall with his face concealed beneath a wooden image representing a caribou's head. After displaying his mask to the audience, he retired to rid himself of its cumbrous weight, and, reentering, danced and sang his personal song. The people lingered in the hall a little longer, then went home to prepare for the feast and gifts of the following day. (See pl. 27.)



## TABLE OF PERSONAL CRESTS

### GITAMTANYU PHRATRY

#### GRIZZLY HOUSE

*Whale (w<sup>w</sup>'s).*—This crest naturally belonged to the chief of the clan who bore the title "Whale." At potlatches, after the people had gathered inside the feast house, a woman belonging to some phratry other than Gitamtanyu threw outside the door a hook attached to a long line of which she retained the other end. As she drew it slowly in again she drew with it a huge wooden model of a whale that concealed the chief and an assistant, who retired behind the curtain after being "dragged" round the room. Subsequently the chief came out again, danced, and, if he wished, narrated the legend on which his title and crest were based. (Jenness, 1934, p. 225.)

*Crazy Man (hwisnik).*—This crest, which also belonged to the chief Whale, was said to have come from Kitwanga, a Gitksan village lower down the Skeena River. Whether or not it was based on some legend, the Carrier did not know. The chief used indoors only the crest Whale, but out-of-doors he dramatized this crest Crazy Man by dressing himself and his heralds in the oldest clothes he could find, and pretending to tear them to pieces.

*Wolf (yis).*—This crest, which coincided with one of the two clan crests, and was sponsored by the same legend, belonged to Djolukyet, the second ranking noble in the clan. At feasts he dressed in a wolf skin and pretended to bite the leading chiefs and nobles.

*Old Woman (sete).*—Neither Djolukyet, who owned this crest also, nor any of the other Carrier seemed to know its origin. When dramatizing it at potlatches, the owner dressed and acted like an old woman who could hardly walk.

*The Man Who Pinches Others (eni dzo-kis).*—Djolukyet purchased this crest, his third, in 1923 from a Carrier of Babine Lake, but without enquiring into its origin. He dramatized it by pinching the arms of the leading nobles with two sticks each about 5 feet long.

*Sculpin (saskwa).*—Another crest belonging to Djolukyet, though how he dramatized it was not recorded. It was derived from a well-known legend of a great flood (Jenness, 1934, p. 141).

*Fox.*—Belonged to a kinsman of Djolukyet, whose title was not recorded. It was derived from a legend of a fox that stole fire for mankind (Jenness, 1934, p. 239).

*Seated in the Dirt (klestaste).*—Belonged to another kinsman of Djolukyet. It was derived from the same legend as the next crest and title Sleepy.

*Sleepy (guxwoq).*—This crest belonged to the noble who bore the same title, at the present time a woman. When dramatizing the crest at feasts, she lay on the ground, wrapped in a blanket as if asleep. When "awakened" she moved off a few paces and lay down again. The crest was derived from a well-known legend (Jenness, 1934, p. 219).

*Dance (Gitksan: millamelu).*—Belonged to a sister of Djolukyet, whose title was not recorded. This crest was obtained from a Gitksan Indian of Kitwanga, but nothing further was known about it.

*War Leader (baxchan).*—Belonged to the noble of the same name. To dramatize it he carried a stick in front of two men, whom he urged forward by raising the stick and crying, "he he." Tradition states that it originated from a fight with the Indians of Fraser Lake (Jenness, 1934, p. 239).

*Grouse (gwitakak).*—Belonged to Gu'kyet, who obtained it a few years ago from a Gitksan chief with whom she and her husband were traveling to Kitkargas. They camped in the snow when they were overtaken by night, and the woman strewed boughs for their beds and cooked their supper and breakfast. In acknowledgment of her diligence, the Gitksan Indian gave her this crest, but did not explain its origin. When dramatizing it, she fluttered her blanket and pretended to fly like a grouse.

*Black Bear (sas).*—Two nobles, Skalil and Samsmahix, shared this crest between them. They dramatized it by wearing black-bear skins and imitating the actions of the bear. The crest derived its sanction from the same legend as the clan name Grizzly (Jenness, 1934, p. 129).

#### HOUSE IN THE MIDDLE OF MANY, AND ANSKASKI

*Grizzly (medi·k).*—Belonged to the chief with the same title, who covered himself with a headless grizzly skin and acted like a grizzly. The Carrier did not seem to know the legend on which it was based.

*Club of Antler (dzan'xal).*—Belonged to the same chief Medi·k. It originated from an incident in a fight with the *Witseni*, or Nass River Indians (Jenness, 1934, p. 231). To dramatize it the owner danced with an antler club whose knob was carved to represent a wolf's head, and sang, in the Gitksan dialect:

Soon the wolf will eat the Witseni.

Prancing up to another chief, he tapped him lightly on the shoulder with the club, and subsequently gave this pretended enemy a gift, in one instance a rifle.

*Grizzly Cub (ismediks).*—Belonged to the noble of the same name, who impersonated the animal by wearing its skin and imitating its actions. Its origin was unknown.

*Atne (Kitlope or Bella Coola Indian).*—Belonged to the noble of the same name, who dramatized it exactly as his chief, Medi·k, dramatized the grizzly except that he retained the head on the grizzly skin that enveloped him. Tradition states that this crest was presented to a Hagwilgate Carrier by a Carrier of Ootsa Lake in payment for help at a potlatch; but its further origin was unknown.

*Grizzly Cub's Head (gulakkan).*—Belonged also to Atne, who clad himself in the front half of a grizzly skin and impersonated the animal. One tradition states that it arose from a man's adventure in the woods; as he slept beneath a large tree something fell on him and a few minutes later a monster, half grizzly and half human, descended the tree beside him. More generally, however, it is credited to an incident in a raid on some coast Indians (Jenness, 1934, p. 237).

*Raven (detsan).*—Belonged to the noble who bore the title Raven, which at present is unclaimed. Its origin was attributed to the same legend as the clan crest Raven. In dramatizing it the owner wore a dark blanket, flapped two mimic wings of moore-hide, and cried, "ka ka."

*Arrow*.—Belonged to Gistehwa, chief of the clan House in the Middle of Many, who dramatized it by pretending to shoot the people gathered at the potlatch. Its origin was derived from the legend of the two boys who burst a mountain with their arrows (Jenness, 1934, p. 229).

*Spring salmon*.—Belonged to Høwlits, who clad himself in white clothes to match the color of the salmon and walked in a stooping posture outside the dance house. There seemed to be no origin legend.

*Skunk*.—Another crest belonging to Høwlits, of unknown origin. Its dramatizer wore a skunk skin when impersonating the animal.

*Avalanche (entlo')*.—Belonged to Na'ok. It was credited to a legend about a man who emerged from a mountain and caused an avalanche by sliding down its flank. At potlatches the owner of this crest announced his approach by sending out a herald to sprinkle flour in imitation of snow and to warn the people of the impending avalanche. Na'ok himself then appeared and, like an avalanche, flung aside every one he encountered.

*Shaking the Head (Gitksan: qale')*.—Belonged to Na'ok also, but its origin was unknown. At potlatches people cried, "e," and lay down as he approached them wearing a large wooden mask. One after another then raised his head and cried, "qale." At each cry Na'ok turned his head until it was moving so fast that he became dizzy.

*Kano'ts*.—Belonged to the noble of the same name. It commemorated the adventure of the girls in the canoe and the two medicine boys, or, in another version, the medicine man Guxlet (Jenness, 1934, pp. 175-177, 235). When Kano'ts, dressed in whatever paraphernalia he happened to possess, appeared outside the potlatch house, the people fell down and cried, "e," then rose, clapped their hands and cried, "wə," after the manner of the girls in the canoe.

*White Man (nid'o)*.—Belonged to Kano'ts also, but its derivation was unknown. Its owner, wearing a long moustache and a beard, strutted among the people with his hands on his hips and a stetson hat on his head. The present Kano'ts happens to be a woman.

*Shameless (axata't)*.—Belonged to the noble with the same name, its most recent owner being a woman who preferred her other title Hogyet. At potlatches she stared shamelessly into the faces of the chiefs and nobles outside the potlatch house, and, within, stared at them again from behind a large wooden face mask. The origin of the crest was unknown.

*Nasko River Indians (nas'kuten)*.—Belonged to the same woman Hogyet, and, like the last crest, of unknown origin. At potlatches five women supported Hogyet, two on one side and three on the other, and all six swung adzes fastened by bright ribbons to their wrists while they chanted:

We don't know where this man comes from.  
A Nasko man is coming.

*Rain (chan)*.—Belonged to Sowi-s, a noble now dead who has left no successor. At potlatches he sprinkled water on the people in imitation of the rainstorm that formed an incident in a well-known legend (Jenness, 1934, p. 219).

*Mosquitoes (detku)*.—Belonged to Hwille'wi, a woman now dead whose title remains unclaimed. At potlatches she covered her head with a blanket and pricked the arms of the people with a needle held in her mouth, imitating the mosquitoes of a legend (Jenness, 1934, p. 220).

*Long Arm (nagwa'on)*.—Belonged to the noble of the same name, who stretched out each arm alternately and cried, "Long Arm." Tradition says that it was

derived through the Hazelton Indians from the Indians of the Nass River, but the Carrier knew of no story connected with it.

*Jump Inside (wittsen).*—The owner and the method of representing this crest were not recorded.

*Heartless (argotdemash).*—Belonged to the noble of the same name, a Gitksan Indian now living among the Carrier. Legend states that a grizzly once crushed a dog, whereupon its owner exclaimed, "The grizzly is a heartless animal," and adopted Heartless as his personal crest.

## GILSERHYU PHRATRY

### DARK HOUSE

*Blue heron (netipish).*—Belonged to the chief, since it accompanied his title Netipish. When dramatizing the crest, the chief enveloped his head in a blue blanket and fluttered his arms up and down. No legend recorded.

*Hook (saw).*—Belonged also to Netipish, the chief. When dancing, he caught the skirts of various men in a small hook at the end of a long pole and made them dance in turn, for which he paid them later. No legend recorded.

*Wolverine (nustel).*—Belonged to the bearer of the title Wolverine, at the present time the niece of the chief. She dramatized it by covering her head with a wolverine skin and biting people as she hopped over the floor on her hands and toes. Those whom she bit had to rise and dance with her. The crest probably owes its origin to one of several legends about the wolverine.

*Back-pack (weli).*—Belonged to the bearer of the same title, who dramatized it by carrying a pack on his back. No legend recorded.

*Cow (mistu's).*—Belonged to the bearer of the title. At feasts a herald called to the people outside the dance house, "Has anyone lost a cow?" A second herald with a rope then asked, "Where is the cow? I want to rope it." Last of all came the "cow," Mistu's and a paid helper covered beneath a large blanket decked with a tail and horns. The herald roped this cow and dragged it into the dance house. No legend recorded.

*Sekani Indian (taten).*—This crest belonged to the mother of the chief, who has long been dead. No one has revived it since.

*Fast Runner (nitchaten).*—Belonged to Anabel's, who dressed as for a race, and in dancing leaped high into the air, one step forward and one back. No legend recorded.

*Crazy Man (wusnik).*—Belonged to the owner of the title, who pretended to be crazy and to beat the people with a stick. No legend recorded.

### THIN HOUSE

*Guxlet.*—Belonged to the bearer of the title, the chief of the clan. (For details, see p. 503.)

*Snatcher (laba'on).*—Belonged also to Guxlet, the chief. (For its dramatization, see p. 503.)

*Crane (dil).*—Belonged to Tcaspit, the minor chief of the clan, who merely mimics the bird when giving a potlatch. No origin legend was discovered.

*His Heart Tastes Bad (Gitksan: kaskamgot; Carrier: bet'sidzal'kai').*—Belonged to Bit'a'nen, who clawed at his heart, did everything wrong, and chanted a song in the Gitksan language. The last owner of the title and crest was a woman. No origin legend was discovered.

*Slave (etne).*—Belonged to Ne'k, who dramatized it by wearing old clothes and shuffling about among the people like a wretched slave. No origin legend was discovered.

*Gidamgiye'ks*.—This was a personal crest as well as a clan crest, but its owner's name and the method of dramatizing it were not recorded.

*Auweakas* (a Gitksan word of unknown meaning).—The owner of this crest has long been dead and his title was not recorded. The Indians remember that he flourished two knives when he dramatized the crest, but knew no legend about it.

*Thunder*.—The unrecorded owner of this crest dramatized it by fluttering a blanket and beating a drum. Its origin seemed unknown.

*He Who Cuts Off the Head with a Knife* (*gwatsikyey*).—Belonged to the noble of the same name, who dramatized a tradition relating how a hunter cut off the head of his wife's paramour (Jenness, 1934, p. 215). A pre-European Gwatsikyey is said to have enacted the crest in a more dramatic way during the evening performances in the potlatch house. Dressed in his regalia he danced and sang his personal song, flourishing a large knife. A man shouted to him, "Why are you flourishing that knife?" whereupon two men forced Gwatsikyey to his knees, and while one jerked back his head by the hair, the other cut right through his neck. They then laid his body on a moose skin, placed the head against the trunk, and summoned a medicine man to sing and rattle over him. Finally Gwatsikyey rose up whole and unharmed.

*Dead Man* (*Carrier: tenez'ik; Gitksan: lulak*).—Belonged to the noble of the same name. It was based on a tradition that a dead man once entered a house where some children were playing, gave them a present, and departed, leaving them unharmed. The dramatizer covered himself with a black cloth and, after walking a few paces, fell to the ground in the attitude of death.

*Fraser Lake Indian* (*astén*).—Belonged to the noble of the same name, but its origin was unknown. Its owner wore the costume of a Fraser Lake Indian, carried a pack on his back and brandished a spear.

*Frog* (*Gitksan: kanau*).—Belonged to the noble Kanau, and was derived from the same legend as the clan crest Frog. Its owner, when dramatizing it, hopped along the ground like a frog.

#### BIRCHBARK HOUSE

*Pileated Woodpecker* (*mansil*).—Belonged to the chief of the clan, *Samuix*, who dramatized it by standing in a tree, covered with a blanket, and pretended to fly. The legend is the same as for the clan crest woodpecker.

*Small Bird*, sp.? (*samuix*).—Belonged also to the chief, being his title. To represent this bird he wore a very small blanket beneath which he fluttered his hands to imitate the fluttering of wings. No legend was recorded.

*Satsa'n*.—Belonged to the noble of the same name. It was derived from the myth of a being, Satsa'n, who was able to swell and contract his body at will (Jenness, 1934, p. 141). When giving a potlatch, Satsa'n sat on the ground with a large circular cloth fastened around his neck. Assistants then crawled under the cloth to "swell" his body, and the people pushed them out again to make it "contract."

*Porcupine* (*tetchok*).—Belonged to Su'tli, who covered himself with a blanket, crawled like a porcupine among the people, and whipped them with a "tail." It was based on a mythical contest between a porcupine and a beaver (Jenness, 1934, p. 240).

*Marten* (*chani*).—Belonged to the noble who bore the name, which was said to be restricted to women. As usual she mimicked the actions of the animal. Name and crest were derived from a myth about a marten that ate a youth who was seeking medicine-power (Jenness, 1934, p. 239).



*Ferry Me in a Canoe (nenesenoatkaix).*—Belonged to the noble who bore the name, always a woman. When giving a potlatch, she carried a paddle and sent out three heralds, the last of whom announced her approach with the words, "Here comes a woman who wants to cross the river. Let some one who owns a canoe ferry her over." The crest was derived from the myth of the two boys who visited the land of the dead (Jenness, 1934, p. 99).

*guxkalkalas (Gitksan word, meaning unknown).*—Belonged to the holder of the same title, who was always a woman. When dramatizing it she waved each hand in front of her as though turning two handles. No legend was known.

*gwitsin'alu (Gitksan word, meaning unknown).*—Belonged to the holder of the same title. After sending out three heralds to dance, he himself arrived dancing, laid hold of a chief, and invited him to dance with him. No legend was known.

#### LAKSILYU PHRATRY

##### HOUSE OF MANY EYES

*Otter (nilzik<sup>m</sup>).*—Belonged to Maxlaxlexs, but the present holder of that title has given it to his nephew, who dramatized it by dressing in an otter skin and imitating the movements of the animal. No legend was known.

*Dog (klak).*—Belonged to Kela, who similarly imitated the actions of a dog. No legend was known.

*Throwing Dirt (Gitksan: suwiyit; Carrier: klesgett'lat).*—Belonged to Dikyanulat, who threw dirt at the people outside the potlatch house. No legend was known.

*The Man Who Pays the Blood-Price (gowittcan).*—Presented to the present Hagwilnexl about 1870 (before his accession to the chieftainship and while he bore the title Gyedamskanish), by a Gitwinkul (Gitksan) Indian, whom he assisted in gathering skins and food for a potlatch. Subsequently Hagwilnexl gave it to a cousin. The dramatizer covered his head with swansdown and danced with one or two other men. No legend was known.

*gwinu- (Gitksan, meaning unknown).*—Obtained by Hagwilnexl from the same source as the last crest. Nothing further was discovered about it.

##### HOUSE ON TOP OF A FLAT ROCK

*Old Man (dene'te).*—Belonged to the chief of the clan, Widaxkyet. The Indians referred it to a story about an old man who stole some boys, but they had forgotten the details of the legend. Widaxkyet dressed as an old man, concealed his face under a wooden mask, and, carrying a long stick, toddled among the people and squatted down in front of a chief. Then, pointing the stick at the chief, he slid his hand down it, causing four branching points to open at the top. He slid his hand up the stick and the points closed—the chief was trapped.

*Caribou (witsi).*—Belonged to Dzi. (For its dramatization, see p. 503.) No legend was known.

*Goose (xa).*—Belonged to the noble of the same name, who imitated a goose. No legend was known.

*Rain of Stones (stalo'b).*—Belonged to the noble of the same name. When giving a potlatch he wore a mask and threw stones and sand on the roofs of the houses; and in the evening he scattered stones on the floor of the dance house. The noble who now possesses the title caused considerable excitement at a potlatch he gave in 1918 by substituting nuts for stones. The crest is attributed



to an incident in the legend that gave rise to another crest, Sleepy (Jenness, 1934, p. 219).

*Swan*.—Belonged to Negupte, but no one has taken either the title or the crest since the last incumbent died. At potlatches he wore a white blanket and imitated a swan. No legend seemed known.

#### HOUSE BESIDE THE FIRE

*Heartless (axgot)*.—Belonged to the chief of the clan, Widak'kwats, who beat the house with a big stick when he gave a potlatch. No legend was known.

*Water-grizzly (te'ben)*.—Belonged to the same chief, who dramatized it by wearing a grizzly robe and roaring. Legend states that the Indians once heard a water-grizzly roaring in a small lake on the top of a mountain near Smithers and saw the animal rise to the surface. Hence they adopted it as one of their crests.

*djudalatju (Gitksan word, meaning unknown)*.—Belonged also to the chief. When dramatizing it he wore a large human mask and pretended to grasp people, waving each arm alternately and shouting, "djudalatju".

*Big Medicine Man (Carrier: diyin'intcho; Gitksan: wi'hale)*.—Belonged to Axtot, the chief's heir. In dramatizing it he wore a headdress of grizzly claws, shielded his face with his right arm, and shook a rattle. No legend was known.

*Gambling (Gitksan: gu'he')*.—Belonged to Kibegansi. When giving a potlatch he sat down with his assistants and pretended to gamble.

*Something Devours It All (Gitksan: dzellas)*.—The title of the owner of this crest was not recorded. In his potlatch he pretended to claw the people. No legend was known.

#### LAKSAMSHU PHRATRY

##### SUN OR MOON HOUSE

*Grouse (tcaddzat')*.—Belongs now to the chief Smogitkyemk but formerly to the chief of the Beaver phratry, according to several Indians, or to the chief of the second clan in the Laksamshu phratry, the Owl House, according to the woman who now ranks as its head. In his potlatch Smogitkyemk, clad in a special blanket, struck his elbows against his sides and fluttered his fists as a grouse flutters its wings. He then retired indoors and sent out three heralds to announce his return. The last of the heralds set a log on the ground and announced that the grouse was approaching, whereupon some man in the crowd pretended to set a noose for it. The chief then reappeared, and, kneeling down beside the log, pretended to be caught in the snare.

*Slave (Gitksan: an'ka')*.—Belonged also to Smogitkyemk, who dramatized it by wearing old clothes and acting like a slave. No legend was known.

*Short Belly (Gitksan: gut'seut)*.—Belonged to the noble of the same name. When giving a potlatch he seized everything that came in his way and afterward restored it to its owner and gave him a present.

##### OWL HOUSE

*Forest-Slide (klo'mkan)*.—Belonged to the chief with the same title. The present incumbent is a woman. At her potlatch she sent out three heralds, the first to announce an impending forest-slide, the second to ridicule the first, and the third to repeat the warning excitedly. Then she herself appeared carrying some sticks in each hand, and followed by a number of youths carrying brush-wood with which to push over the people who thronged around them. At the

evening performance in the potlatch house, Klo'mkan wore an owl mask and danced. Tradition states that when the Indians were clearing a site for a house at Hagwilgate they uprooted a big stump and sent it sliding down the hill. As they watched it descend, a man said, "Let the chief take this as his personal crest."

*Moose*.—Belonged to the chief of the clan, Klo'mkan, who dramatized it by imitating a moose. No legend was known.

*Cannibal (deni tsa'al)*.—Belonged also to the chief Klo'mkan, but was derived along with a strip of hunting territory from a Cheslatta Lake Indian in payment for help at a funeral potlatch. When dramatizing it, Klo'mkan covered her back with a blanket which she swung up and down on each side as though engulfing the children who came in her path. The crest refers to a legend of a cannibal woman who carried off all the boys in a village (Jenness, 1934, p. 164).

*Sa'bek (Gitksan word, meaning unknown)*.—Belonged to the noble with the same title. When he gave a potlatch he waved his left arm and shook a rattle after the manner of a medicine man, crying, "I am a medicine man from Wista (said to be a village on the coast)."

*Picks up Weapon Hastily (kitsilchak)*.—Belonged to the noble with the same title, who pretended to strike with a stick anyone who spoke to him while he was dramatizing the crest. No legend was known.

#### BEAVER PHRATRY

*Beaver (tsa)*.—Belonged to the chief Kwi's, who dramatized it in the following manner. After the usual three heralds had announced his approach to the throng gathered outside the potlatch house, he himself appeared, garbed in a beaver skin and crawling like a beaver in flight from two or three men who pretended to spear him with long sticks. When this pantomime ended, the people entered the potlatch house, where they were confronted with a pile of wood near the fireplace (the "beaver's food"), and two or three "beaver lodges" of brush and cloth, in one of which the chief lay concealed. The chief of another phratry approached this lodge and exclaimed, "Why, here is a beaver lodge. Did you not notice it? There must be a beaver inside. Watch the water and the other lodges while I knock it over." As he pushed the lodge over the "beaver" ran out, and, after being pursued by two or three men armed with spears and guns, retreated behind a curtain. There he was permitted an interval to dress, after which he came out again and danced, while the people, led by one of the chiefs, chanted his song or personal song.

*Drunken Man*.—Belonged also to the chief Kwi's, who imitated a drunken man and sang, "Give me that whisky." It is said to have originated from a dream of the present chief's predecessor, Kwi's or Bini.

*Mountain Goat (mat)*.—Belonged to the noble with the same title, who dramatized it by imitating a goat. It is attributed to a legend that presumes to account for its use as a crest by Guksan, a Gitksan Indian of Gitsegyukla (Jenness, 1934, p. 240).

*Tree Floating Down the River (gwisuks)*.—Belonged to Wila't, who carried a long stick to sweep people aside. No legend was known.

The tables just given suggest a marked decline of the crest system under the influence of European civilization. After tattooing went out of favor a hundred years ago, and the large clan houses disappeared a generation later, the clan crests were in evidence only in the graveyards (pl. 29, fig. 1), and on the four totem poles still standing in the Hagwilgate canyon (pl. 29, fig. 2). They linger even

today in the Hagwilgate graveyard, on two headstones that were made in Vancouver according to the specifications of Indians anxious for the usual Christian burial and marble monument, yet conservative enough to wish their bones to lie beneath representations of their clans and phratries; so their headstones have bird-figures engraved on their faces, and one a life-sized figure of a bird on its summit. About 1913 the Hagwilgate Indians, prompted by their missionaries, gathered together most of the stage material they had used in dramatizing their personal crests—the wooden masks and other objects that they had religiously preserved from one potlatch to another—and burned them in a great bonfire. Since then they have acquired one or two masks from the Gitksan, who in earlier years gave them many crests and crest paraphernalia in exchange for the skins of beaver and other animals. Nearly every summer they display these masks in what are still called potlatches; but so little do most of them regard their old clan and phratric divisions that they no longer insist on phratric exogamy or pay any respect to the clan chiefs and leading nobles. The very distinction between nobles and commoners has broken down, for any one who wishes may now become a noble, and the chiefs are often poorer and less esteemed than the nobody who has pushed the past behind him and is successfully carving out a career under the new economic conditions. So the acquisition and dramatization of the personal crests is fast becoming a mere entertainment divorced from its old social significance, and ready to adopt new ideas, and new methods, that are more abreast of modern life.

#### CHIEFS

The chieftainship of a clan was highly coveted, although the authority conferred by the position was in most cases comparatively slight. A son could not succeed his father because of the marriage rules, which compelled a man to marry outside of his phratry and made his children members of the mother's phratry and clan. Hence, the most usual successor to a chief was the son of a sister, or, if his sisters had no sons, a brother; in default of both nephews and brothers a niece could inherit the title provided her kinsfolk backed up her claim, otherwise the position passed to the leading noble in the clan. To prevent disputes a chief generally indicated his personal choice some years before his death by conferring on a nephew the title and crest he himself had used in his younger days, and seating him in front of himself at ceremonies.

The accession of a new chief was a long and expensive affair, involving in former times no less than six potlatches (dze til). Within an hour or two of the old chief's death, the candidate for his place sprinkled swansdown over his head and, standing in front of

the corpse, shook the dead man's rattle and chanted its owner's sonel or personal songs. He then summoned all the people in the vicinity to join in the same songs, chanted without dancing to the accompaniment of a drum. The chanting and weeping continued till late at night, when the candidate and his kinsmen brought in food for the mourners, who retired soon afterward to their homes. The people mourned for 2, 3, and sometimes, if the chief (whose corpse was meanwhile rotting at the back of the house) had enjoyed great prestige and influence, for as many as 15 days; and the feeding of the mourners during this period constituted the candidate's first potlatch, known as the *jeni'hatittse*, "He Falls Down," i. e., is dead.

After the due interval, the candidate finally called on the clanspeople of the dead chief's father to gather firewood and cremate the remains. A day or two later he again summoned the people to his house and gave his second potlatch, *habaraninne awilli*, "Arranging the Arms and Legs (of the dead chief)." Aided by his kinsfolk, he set food before them all and distributed gifts of skins and other articles, taking care to offer most of his presents, first to the clan that had cremated the corpse, in payment for its services, and second, to the chiefs of other clans and phratries in order to win their support for his candidature.

His four succeeding potlatches followed each other at long intervals, because even with the help of kinsmen he could hardly gather the food and presents necessary for one potlatch alone in less time than a year. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the third in the series, called *neokwan tesk'an*, "Make a Fire" (on the theory that the old fire had been extinguished by the tears of the mourners), generally gave rise to two distinct ceremonies, the erection of a wooden grave-hut over the cremation place of the dead chief by his father's clansmen, and the definite appointment of a successor. If there were two candidates for the position, they gave a potlatch jointly, and the chiefs of the other clans and phratries decided between them after each in turn had entertained the people and distributed his presents. If, on the other hand, there was only one candidate, and general agreement to his succession, he often assumed at this potlatch the title and a personal crest of the late chief, and encouraged some of his clansmen to assume crests also. An old man thus described the installation of a new phratry chief as he witnessed it in his early manhood:

On the appointed evening the candidate wrapped round his shoulders the skin of a grizzly bear, his predecessor's personal crest, and with three or four fellow phratrymen similarly clad to represent the new crests they were assuming, awaited in the potlatch house a visit from the men of the other phratries. They meanwhile were painting their faces, covering their heads with swan's-down, and gathering at the houses of their respective chiefs. First, the phratry of the dead

chief's father marched to the potlatch house, sounded drums and rattles outside it, and beat on the walls with sticks. The door opened for them, and they marched around to the right behind their chief, halting in a long file behind the waiting candidate. He conducted them outside again and through all the other main houses in the village, after which they retired to spend the night under some trees while the candidate returned to the potlatch house to superintend the conducting of the other phratries on the same peregrination by his fellow clansmen. He and his phratry then provided an ample supper for the men camped under the trees, and retired to their homes to sleep.

The next morning they carried more food to their fellow villagers, who had spent part of the night composing playful songs about the new chief and his phratry in order to wash away all traces of sorrow for the loss of its former chief. About noon one of the candidate's assistants, dressed to represent his new personal crest, conducted them one behind the other to the potlatch house, where the phratries ranged themselves in order round the three sides, leaving an open space in the middle for dancing and for the coming and going of the members of the candidate's phratry. Each in turn then danced to the chants it had composed the night before, and after they had resumed their seats the candidate's phratry retaliated by offering pails of oil to the composers of the songs, who were obliged to drink as much as they could. Some became very sick, but others flourished the empty pails over their heads and victoriously repeated their chants. The candidate and his phratry feasted the entire assembly, paid the phratry that had just erected a gravehouse over the cremation place of the late chief, and distributed moose hides, beaver skins, and other valuable presents among all the guests. Then the candidate stepped forward and described where he had killed the moose, the beaver, the bear, and the other animals that had furnished the feast, and a prominent noble of his phratry listed all his helpers and the quantity of food and skins each of them had contributed. Finally, the entire phratry mustered behind the candidate and one noble, speaking for them all, announced, "Bear witness, all of you, that this man has assumed the title, the crest, and the personal songs (sonet) of our late chief and is now chief in his place." After a short delay to enhance the solemnity of the occasion, the chief of another phratry rose to his feet and said, "It is well that he should be your new chief. He is a nephew of the old chief; he has provided us with much food and many skins. Hereafter let him take the place and bear the titles of his uncle." The other chiefs spoke in the same strain and the gathering then dispersed.

Occasionally a rival candidate did not submit to the decision of the other chiefs and presumed to direct his clan or phratry as though he himself had been elected. The chiefs of the other phratries then mustered the people at the house of the man they had appointed and re-affirmed his chieftainship, at the same time warning the defeated candidate to drop his pretensions lest he stir up enmity and ill-will. If he still refused to submit, some partisan of the new chief killed him, and the people united in protecting the murderer from blood-revenge.

The new chief was expected to give three more potlatches before he could claim the same dignity as his predecessor. The first of the three, his fourth potlatch, was called ni'habaataitai, "Place the Corpse at the Back of the House;" and the next, tsar yin hatata'ai, "Cease the Song of Mourning," because it ended the ritual connected with the dead chief. His sixth and last potlatch, called taraiyetelti (meaning



unknown), was the greatest of all if he erected a new totem pole, for then he invited Indians from all the surrounding country, even from other subtribes and nations. The mere preparation for the potlatch extended over 2 or 3 years, for first he had to hire his father's phratrymen to cut the tree in the woods and drag it to his house, then engage a skilled craftsman (in nearly all cases a Gitksan Indian) to carve the clan crests on it during the winter months when the people were absent at their hunting grounds. Yet apart from the erection of the pole, the ceremonies at this potlatch closely paralleled those at the others; and actually most chiefs either did not care to erect a pole, or were unable to afford the expense. There seem, indeed, to have been no totem poles at all in Carrier territory before the nineteenth century, with the possible exception of one at Moricetown. The oldest pole that the Bulkley Indians remember stood at Moricetown, where it fell about 1870 and was burned. One, about 25 feet high, uncarved, was erected at Francis Lake about 1875 and fell about 1919; and four, that were erected at various dates during the second half of the nineteenth century, are still standing in the Hagwilgate canyon.<sup>11</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, when European settlement had caused the confinement of the Indians to certain reserves, six potlatches to become a chief were far too heavy a burden for any individual to undertake, especially since a chieftainship now carried no shred of authority and very little prestige. The present-day chief of the Thin House in the Gilserhyu phratry, Felix George, gave only four potlatches when he succeeded his uncle in 1918, and none was as elaborate as the potlatches of earlier years. For his first potlatch he merely distributed a little tobacco among the villagers who assembled at his uncle's home on the day of that kinsman's death. For his second he summoned all the people to his own home immediately after the funeral and presented them with tea, sugar, apples, meat, biscuits, and other foods bought at the European stores in Hazelton. To help him out, his kinsmen and fellow-clansmen purchased some of the food for him, and also placed contributions of money into a bowl so that he could both pay his father's phratrymen for burying his predecessor and distribute a few dollars among the leading chiefs and nobles. Then his mother's brother rose up and proclaimed that Felix George was now the chief of the clan and would bear the hereditary title, Guxlet, together with the personal crest that accompanied it. Everyone understood, of course, that Felix would signalize his appointment by a more liberal feast as soon as he was able to raise the necessary funds.

Two years later Felix summoned together all the phratries and distributed among them 75 sacks of flour, 40 of which had been purchased

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<sup>11</sup> For descriptions of these poles see Barbeau, C. M. (1929, pp. 132-133, 143-146, 149).



by himself, 10 contributed by his brother, 10 by his brother-in-law, and the remaining 15 by various members of his own phratry. Since neither at this potlatch, nor at the two preceding, had any dancing occurred, and he still lacked the second personal crest, Snatching (p. 503), that had belonged to his predecessor, he determined to save up his money for a fourth potlatch, which would go under the same name, taraiyetelit, as the sixth and last potlatch of earlier times.

Within 3 years he accumulated between \$700 and \$800. He then approached three fellow-phratrymen who were erecting grave monuments for themselves and were anxious to celebrate the occasion by giving potlatches. The four men agreed to join forces, and in the middle of summer announced the date of their common potlatch and sent out the formal invitations. Felix George himself bought from the stores in Hazelton 10 moose-hides, 4 cases of biscuits, 40 sacks of flour, several cases of milk and soft drinks, some soap, tea, meat, and a few other items. His eldest son gave him 12 sacks of flour; his brother-in-law and a cousin, each 10 sacks; Netipish, the chief of his phratry, and his brother, 4 sacks each; a kinsman, 3 sacks; a woman relative whose home was at Babine, 1 sack; and a friend from Burns Lake, 1 moose-hide. In addition, he paid a Hagwilgate native \$5 to compose a song for him, and reserved a little money to distribute during the feast. His three colleagues bought other hides and food at the same time, but in less quantity.

The potlatch lasted 4 days. On the first the three men adopted crests which they impersonated in the potlatch house during the evening. Then followed the unusual incident of a raid by the members of the kalullim society (see p. 577 *et seq.*), who invaded the hall and carried off four neophytes. The rest of the people lingered and danced for a little while longer, then quietly dispersed about midnight to their homes. They passed the next 2 days in idle feasting, and the evenings in dancing. On the fourth day Felix and his colleagues distributed their presents and the guests from other places prepared to depart.

Important potlatches brought many guests from other places, such as Hazelton, Gitseggyukla, and Babine; and the Bulkley Indians often attended Gitksan potlatches. Two or three young nobles, delegated by the chief who was giving the potlatch, traveled together and conveyed the invitations to the surrounding villages. In each place they looked for the house of a phratry chief, who entertained them at a meal and received their message. They then visited any other phratry chiefs in the place, repeated the invitation, and passed on to the next village. On the opening day of the potlatch, again, the chief sent round a young noble to summon the people together. The youth entered every house, stood in front of each adult and, tapping the floor two or three times with a stick, said, "Come to the potlatch hall."

Gradually the people mustered outside the hall, where the members of each phratry waited for their chief to lead them inside. The giver of the feast guided every person to his seat, a delicate operation that required both a good memory and good judgment, for any error in ranking was certain to breed serious dissension and ill will. His own phratrymen either remained outside the building, or stood within wherever they could find room to assist in distributing the food and presents piled up in the middle of the floor.

It is clear that whether he was the head of a phratry, or of only a clan within a phratry, a chief had to expend much labor and wealth to gain his position. Even after he had established himself firmly in his seat, he had to keep open house, as it were, to all members of his phratry, to relieve the wants of the poor, and to support his people in their relations with other phratries. His dwelling had to be instantly recognizable, to shelter his immediate family, the families of his nearest of kin, and visitors from other districts, and to serve as an entertainment hall at feasts and ceremonies. It was, therefore, much larger than the dwellings of the other villagers, its roof was supported by two rafters instead of one, and a crest of the clan was often carved or painted on its doorposts. Animal claws and shells suspended at night from the ceiling rattled at the touch of an intruder and guarded the inmates against attack.

A stingy chief who sought only his own profit soon lost his influence; if he were a clan chief, his own clan and the phratry chief would look to one of his nobles for leadership; and if he were a phratry chief, one of his clan chiefs might push him into second place. Only a chief could lead a war expedition, because no one else possessed the means to gather the stores of food necessary to feed the warriors from different places who assembled to take part in it; but if it succeeded, he was given all the captives, who thenceforward became his slaves. These slaves, who were generally well treated and well dressed, performed most of his menial work, and even assisted him in the chase, so that he was able to acquire two or more wives, whereas the ordinary native could seldom support more than one. Yet he, himself, was expected to share the hardships of the chase as long as his strength lasted, when he might pass the rest of his days in quiet state within the village, supplied with all necessities by the able-bodied hunters, and receiving with his fellow-chiefs the largest gifts at every potlatch. One of his special perquisites at feasts was a strip of bear fat about a foot long, which was handed to him at the end of a long stick.

If the Indians demanded from their chiefs liberality, protection, and leadership, they in turn could demand that voluntary submission to their rulings without which the phratries and clans would have lost their coherence and the chiefs their prestige. Hence, when two families

quarreled, the leading chief of any phratry might summon the people to his house, strew his head with swan's-down, the time-honored symbol of peace, and dance before them to the chanting of his personal song and the shaking of his rattle. After the dance he would deliver an oration, recounting all the wealth that he and his clan or phratry had expended in order to confer on him his title, his personal song, his rattle, his ceremonial leggings (*xas*), and his headgear (*anali*), all of which indicated their desire that he should be their leader and mediate in all their quarrels. Turning then to the disputants, he would exhort them to settle their strife, and warn them of the troubles that would overtake their families and clans if they persisted. In nearly all cases he was able to carry his audience with him, and the quarrelers, seeing that popular opinion was opposed to them, distributed moose skins in token of submission. So, although the authority of the chiefs was not codified, and they often ranked little or no higher than some of the nobles, an energetic and tactful man could occasionally guide the actions not only of his own clan and phratry, but of the entire subtribe, and become its official spokesman and leader in the eyes of all the surrounding subtribes.

The four (or five) phratric chiefs did not constitute a definite council, but discussed informally with one another matters that affected more than one phratry. Thus, if a man of one phratry murdered a man of another, the two phratric chiefs, supported by their clan chiefs, cooperated to avoid a blood-feud by arranging for satisfactory compensation. It was they who enjoined on the murderer a fast that lasted sometimes for 25 days, and they presided at the ceremony in the potlatch hall when the murderer and his clans-people handed over the blood-price. The ceremony held at Hazelton, when the Nass River Indians atoned for the murder of the Bulkley chief Gyedamskanish (see p. 479 *et seq.*), illustrates the usual procedure at such a ceremony. Besides handing over an enormous quantity of skins, blankets, stone adzes, and other goods, the murderer's kinsmen nearly always surrendered some fishing or hunting territory, usually, too, a marriageable maiden, who thenceforth could claim no protection from her clan or phratry, but became the unqualified property of the clan to which she was surrendered.

#### THE CYCLE OF LIFE

The Bulkley River child, like other Carrier children, started its career in life swaddled in sphagnum moss and warm furs inside a birchbark cradle that its mother carried perpendicularly on her back, or hung to a tree-limb or a lodge pole when she was working around her home. Not until it could run about did it receive clothes like its parents', first of all a tunic, longer or shorter according to its sex,

then leggings and moccasins, and, in winter, a cap, mittens, and a little robe to wrap around its shoulders. Within the cradle its legs hung perfectly straight, from fear that even the gentlest flexion might impair its speed in running when it grew older. If it cried continually, or was restless and troublesome, its mother believed that it was anxious for a brother or sister to follow it into this world and that she would soon give birth to another child.

For the first few weeks or months it bore no other name than baby; then it received a name that suggested one of the crests in its father's clan or phratry. Thus the daughter of a man who belonged to the Gitamtanyu phratry received the name "Fierce Grizzly," because the grizzly was a crest in that phratry. Though the parents might confer any name they liked provided it suggested a paternal crest, they generally selected one that had been borne by a grandparent or other relative in childhood years. Commoners rarely changed this name in later life, and even a noble often retained it for everyday use. It conferred no rank of any kind, yet it possessed enough social significance to demand a potlatch—at least when the child's parents were nobles, and perhaps, too, when they were commoners, for it is so long since all caste differences disappeared that the Bulkley natives are uncertain on this point. (Pl. 30.) Nobles summoned all their neighbors to the house of the chief of the mother's phratry, where the chief, taking the child in his arms, publicly conferred the name, mentioned its previous bearer, and usually related any story that was connected with it. The mother then carried the child home again, the guests ate the food provided by the parents and by the mother's phratry, and the father divided among his family and nearest kinsmen such gifts as her phratry had contributed for the occasion.

According to the amount of property that the parents were willing to give away in potlatches, a child between infancy and manhood might assume three or four names that had been previously held by different relatives. He obtained his first definite rank among the nobles, however, between adolescence and manhood, when he assumed the title of his mother's brother, or, if that brother were still alive, a title that he had borne in his earlier days. The child's first name had signalized his relationship to his father's clan and phratry; but this later name marked him out as a member of his mother's clan. Thenceforward he sat directly in front of his uncle at all ceremonies, and was publicly recognized as the favored successor. A mother might have several brothers, or none at all; in any case she was related more or less closely to all the men in her clan. Hence, there was always a choice of titles, some marking a line of advancement higher than others; and parents naturally chose the more promising titles for their sons. Yet they did not neglect their daughters, and,

in the absence of nearer male heirs, a woman might obtain the most honored titles and succeed to the highest positions.

Children, from the time they could walk, underwent systematic training along two lines, which the natives distinguished as *geretne* and *gidet'e*. *Geretne* was instruction in the various manual tasks that would fall to their lot when they grew up. The girl learned to carry wood and water, to cure and cook fish, meat, and berries, tan the various hides, design and sew the clothing, make birchbark baskets, sinew thread, and many other objects required in the home. The boy helped to build the houses, learned to manufacture tools and weapons, snow-shoes and canoes, and especially to hunt and fish for the daily supply of food. When he killed his first game, even if it were only a robin or a squirrel, his father entertained his phratrymen and told of his son's deed. Each sex had its own duties; if the men provided most of the necessities of the home, the women organized them and worked them up for use. So while the girl was helping her mother in the camp or village, the boy, as soon as he was old enough, followed his father to the chase, or plied a fish-rake beside him when the salmon were ascending the rivers.

*Gidet'e*, religious and ethical instruction, was the natural complement of this manual training, but followed a more indirect method. Its medium was the folk-tale, narrated in the evenings by the oldest man in the camp when the Indians were scattered in their hunting-grounds, and, in the villages, by the chief of the clan as he lay on his couch at the back of the big clan dwelling. Nearly every story carried with it the explanation of some phenomenon (e. g., the moaning of the trees, the shape of a certain rock), or else a moral (such as the penalty involved in the violation of a certain taboo). While the parents or their brothers occasionally thrashed a child that had committed some breach of etiquette, or violated an important taboo, they generally suffered the offence to pass without remark until the evening, when the oldest man narrated a story just as the inmates were retiring to their beds. After developing the plot until it applied to the particular occasion, he turned to the culprit and asked, "Did you do such and such a thing today?" and the child had no option but to confess. Then the old man resumed his story, and stressed the punishment meted out by *Sa*, the sky-god, or by the animals, for a similar breach of morals or of the customary law. If we may believe the present-day Indians, the shame and humiliation inflicted by this method were harder to endure, and more efficacious, than the severest thrashing.

It was only in the evenings that the Bulkley Carrier narrated their folk-tales, and then only from the beginning of November until mid-March, fearing to continue story-telling after that date lest it should



lengthen out the winter. Very often they followed up a story with direct instruction about the habits of the game animals, the proper methods of hunting and fishing, the numerous rituals and taboos, and the etiquette that governed the relations between nobles and commoners, and between elders and children. The child, they taught, should be respectful to his elders, especially to the widowed, the aged, and the infirm, whether of equal or lower rank; and they pointed to four stars in the Dipper as a warning of the efficacy of an old woman's curse (Jenness, 1934, p. 137). Misfortune should never be mocked nor sorrow ridiculed. When a widower mourned his loneliness, weeping inside his hut, the boy should softly draw near and ask in low tones whether a little food would be acceptable, or a few sticks of wood to replenish the fire. He should never ridicule the animals, or gloat over success in hunting, remembering that the mountain goats destroyed a whole community because a few youths had cruelly tortured a little kid (Jenness, 1934, p. 155). In his play he should never be uproarious, but observe a certain dignity and moderation; for did not Sa, the sky-god, once carry a whole village into the sky and drop the lifeless bones to earth again, merely because the children, refusing to heed the warnings of their parents, had raised a tumult around their homes (Jenness, 1934, p. 125). Regulations such as these, promulgated by the old men at night through folk-tales, had to be observed by every child, but especially by the nobler born, because their parents were expending much property in potlatches to give them high standing, and filial obligation demanded obedience. Often the degenerate son of a noble father had been eclipsed in fame and honor by a poor orphan who had drunk in the words of his elders from a seat behind the door.

The Indians laid down some special rules of etiquette for young girls. A high-born girl was expected to look straight ahead as she walked, turning her head neither to right nor to left; girls of lower rank had to keep their eyes modestly fixed on the ground. While the dentalia shells attached to the ears of a chief's daughter, and the labret inserted in her lip, indicated her high rank, they reminded her also that she should never speak ill of any one, but guard her words and talk slowly, as befitted the daughter of a chief. Mothers, of course, kept strict watch over their daughters, and taught them all these necessary rules; but the folk-tales drove home their lessons, and also warned the children beforehand of the special regulations and taboos that would be incumbent on them as they approached maturity.

Adolescence brought an intensification of the training to boys and girls alike. At that period some girl friend (what clan or phratry she belonged to did not matter) tattooed the boy's wrist to make him a straight archer. From the moment his voice began to change, he



was instructed to refrain from many foods that were thought to lessen his speed in running, impair his sight, or hinder in other ways his success in the chase. He might not eat the heart of any animal, lest it should give him heart trouble; nor the head, especially the head of a mountain goat, lest it should make him dizzy and half-paralyzed, and children born to him should fall sick and die; nor tripe, lest it should make him cough violently when running after game; nor marrow, lest his legs become sore; nor the meat of a bear cub, lest his limbs become stiff; nor the meat of a young beaver, which travels so slowly that he too might become slow at everything; nor caribou leg-meat that enclosed the sinew, lest his legs become tired or suffer cramp; nor the leg of a black or grizzly bear in which the bone lay embedded, lest it make his own legs sore; nor the paws of a black or grizzly bear, lest his feet swell; nor the spruce-partridge, whose slow, short flight might make him short-winded and slow of foot; nor eggs, lest his children have sore eyes, or he himself be sluggish like newly-hatched birds. Not until he reached middle-age might he neglect these taboos, and eat such foods with impunity. One further admonition his elders gave him; he should run up hill, but never down, so that he might become a fast and steady runner. At Haggwilgate several paths led from the high shelf above the canyon down to the water's edge; boys were forbidden to run down these paths, but encouraged to race each other up them.

More rigid still were the regulations for girls at this period. The Indians thought that the adolescent girl was fraught with mighty powers for good and evil; that if she carried a little child on her back the child would cease to grow, or grow extremely slowly; that if she drank from a stream that the salmon ascended they would appear there no more; that if she touched a hunter's snowshoes, tools, or weapons he would capture no game; that if a man so much as saw her face he might die, especially if he were a medicine man, though, if his medicine were very powerful, it might kill the girl instead. She herself was in grave danger; her parents' blood was coursing to and fro in her veins, and only after a year or more did it yield to her own pure blood that would give her health and long life. So for at least 1 year, and generally 2, she might not contaminate her blood with the "blood" of fresh meat or berries lest it should bring on sickness and early death; dried fish and dried berries, roots, and barks became her only foods. On her head she wore a skin bonnet that had long fringes in front to conceal her face, and a long train behind. If her parents were noble, she wore over it a circlet of dentalia shells, and attached dentalia and other shells to three strands of her hair, one in front and one on each side, to make it seem long and trailing; girls whose parents were too poor to afford

these shells merely bound their hair in two braids. Suspended from her neck, or fastened to her belt, were a drinking tube of goose or swan bone so that her lips would neither touch liquid nor any vessel that contained it, and a comb or scratcher to use on her head instead of her fingers. To prevent her hair from falling out, as might happen if she herself combed it, her mother or sister combed it for her. For about 2 years she lived in a tiny hut out of sight of the village or camp, and avoided as well as she could the trails of the hunters. When her people were traveling she followed far behind them, in the same trail, if it was easier, for she was not required, like Sekani girls, to break an entirely new trail. If the party came to a stream, her father laid a log across it so that she might cross without touching the water, or else her mother lingered behind and carried her across; and as the girl passed over, if possible without looking down, she dropped a few twigs into the water. The entire community knew of her condition, for, when the first few days of seclusion had expired, her parents took her home, and, setting her at the back of the house, announced her approaching maturity at a potlatch. If her father was a chief, his sister then pierced the girl's lower lip with a bone awl to hold a labret, and after the presents were distributed she retired once more to her hut, where she was supplied each day with food and drink by her mother, sister, or grandmother. The neighboring Gitksan Indians, who were rather more sedentary than the Carrier, built the girl's hut half underground, and connected it by one, or more often two cords to the parents' house, so that she could signal in case of need. The Bulkley natives seem occasionally to have built similar lodges, but the practice never became usual.

All these restrictions on the girl's liberty were of a negative character, designed to protect herself and the community from fancied harm; and they recurred, for a few days at a time, throughout the whole of her subsequent life. The 2 years' seclusion at adolescence, however, was a period also of positive training, when the mother or other near female relative gave the girl regular instruction in the duties of married life. They supplied her with birchbark to fashion into baskets and trays, hides to tan (pl. 31) and sew into moccasins, and rabbit skin to weave into blankets. If at certain times she was advised to lie down and rest continuously, most of her days were fully occupied with tasks that she would be performing in later years.

Although the Bulkley natives no longer seclude their adolescent daughters in separate huts, they still subject them to various taboos, and warn them against eating fresh meat. A middle-aged woman can still remember how she caused her brother to lose a valuable

beaver net. Her family was moving to another camping place, and, as she followed behind it, she found the net hanging forgotten on a tree. Not daring to touch it, she hooked it over the end of a long pole and deposited it in the evening near her mother's lodge. Her brother used it for several days, but failed to catch any beaver, though all his companions were successful. He then concluded that she had spoiled the net, even though it had not touched her, and in his anger he threw it into the fire.

Sometimes the Indians tried to use the mysterious forces operating in the adolescent girl to prevent the constant dying of infants in a family, which they attributed to the violation of some taboo by one of the parents during his or her youth. When a woman who had lost two or more babies gave birth to another child, she would ask an adolescent girl to bend a twig to the ground, tie down its end with a cord, and then cut the cord with a knife. Thus, the mother hoped, she could remove the curse that had overtaken her and raise her child in safety.

After about 2 years, boys and girls emerged from the adolescent stage and were ready to take their places among the adults of the community. The girl laid aside her special costume and put on new garments; to keep her hair from falling out later, she cut off the three long strands to which she had fastened dentalia shells; and she held herself in readiness for her marriage, which usually took place very soon afterward. Boys, however, did not marry until at least 3 or 4 years later, when they had proved their skill in fishing and hunting and their ability to support a wife. In Carrier subtribes farther east they were expected at this time to undertake a diligent quest for guardian spirits that would help them in emergencies, enable them to heal the sick or to obtain game when the people were starving; but the Bulkley Carrier, believing that guardian spirits and medicine powers came to men unsought, did not insist on a definite quest, although they encouraged their young men to dream, and to pay the greatest attention to their dreams as likely to give them medicine power. They did require each youth, however, to practise a certain ritual (see p. 545 f), both before and after marriage, in order that he might thereby achieve greater success in the chase.

Most young men tried to enhance their appearance by eradicating the eye-brows, moustache, and beard, although a man's good looks counted for little in comparison with his rank, prowess in hunting, swiftness of foot, or reputation for medicine power. With girls, too, rank and conduct theoretically counted for more than beauty. The well-bred girl seldom or never stumbled; if she were a chief's daughter, she looked straight in front of her; if a commoner's daughter, she looked modestly down; whatever her rank, she refrained from

turning her head frequently to one side or the other; and when she sat down, she kept her feet together, not stretched one in front of the other. A slender face and figure, well-developed eyebrows and long hair were very desirable, but neither in woman nor man was beauty considered of prime importance.

The Bulkley Indians preferred a marriage between cross cousins, because it retained the family titles and privileges within a close circle and was more conducive to harmony. For the same reason, when a man's wife died, he regularly married her younger sister, if she had one; and a woman whose husband died went to his unmarried brother. Men who married more than one wife generally chose two sisters.

The distinction between cross and parallel cousins appears in the terms of kinship and relationship given below, where it will be seen that men had one term for the daughters of their fathers' sisters and their mothers' brothers, who were eligible for wives since they necessarily belonged to other phratries, and another term for the daughters of their mothers' sisters, who necessarily belonged to the same phratry, and of their fathers' brothers, who must frequently have belonged to it also. Similarly women distinguished between the sons of their fathers' sisters and mothers' brothers, on the one hand, and of their fathers' brothers and mothers' sisters on the other.

#### TERMS OF KINSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP

**an·e'**, my mother (be·n, his mother).

**sbeb**, my father (bebeb, his father).

**siyi'**, my son.

**stse'**, my daughter.

**sa·k'ai**, my mother's sister (man or woman speaking); sister's daughter (man or woman speaking).

**stai**, my father's brother, my mother's or father's sister's husband, my wife's sister's daughter (man or woman speaking).

**sbits**, my father's sister, my mother's brother's wife, my mother-in-law (man or woman speaking); my brother's daughter, my husband's sister's daughter (woman speaking).

**sezets**, my father-in-law (man or woman speaking).

**sre**, my sister's husband, my brother's wife (man or woman speaking); my wife's brother, my wife's sister, my husband's brother, my husband's sister.

**salt'en**, my husband's brother's wife.

**sla**, my wife's sister's husband, my husband's sister's husband, my wife's brother's wife.

**saz'e**, my mother's brother (man or woman speaking).

**sezi-t**, my father's sister's daughter, my mother's brother's daughter (man or woman speaking); my father's sister's son, my mother's brother's son (woman speaking).

**so·n'di**, my father's sister's son, my mother's brother's son (man speaking).

**salsen**, my mother's sister's son, my father's brother's son (man or woman speaking).

**salte'tse**, my father's brother's daughter, my mother's sister's daughter (man or woman speaking).

- stso**, my sister's son or daughter (man or woman speaking).  
**stchal**, my brother's son (man or woman speaking), my wife's or husband's brother's or sister's son.  
**stiti**, my younger sister (man or woman speaking), my brother's daughter, my wife's brother's daughter (man speaking).  
**sa-t**, my older sister (man or woman speaking).  
**songri**, my older brother (man or woman speaking).  
**stchati**, my younger brother (man or woman speaking).  
**sranten**, my son-in-law (man or woman speaking).  
**siyes'at**, my daughter-in-law (man or woman speaking).  
**sti'l**, my husband's brother's daughter (woman speaking).  
**stchai**, my grandchild (man or woman speaking).  
**stsets**, my grandfather (man or woman speaking).  
**stsani**, my father's mother (man or woman speaking).  
**stso**, my mother's mother (man or woman speaking).

The choice of a husband rested with both the girl and her parents, who generally respected her wishes unless a chief asked for her in marriage, or required her surrender to atone for a murder or other crime. Occasionally the suitor, or one of his parents, suggested the match to the girl beforehand in order to sound out her inclinations, though she herself could neither accept nor reject the proposal. The youth then offered a large quantity of furs, moccasins, arrows, and other property to her mother and kinspeople, and if they rejected the amount as insufficient, gathered still more to add to the price. If they finally accepted, the father invited the suitor to join his household and to help him in hunting and other enterprises. The young couple did not marry immediately, even though they now lived in the same house or lodge; but they tested each other out, as it were, by carefully watching one another's actions and listening to all the conversation that went on in the home. At last one night, when everything seemed propitious, the bridegroom silently crept under his bride's robe, and remained seated beside her when the family arose in the morning, thus openly declaring their marriage. For a year or so longer they remained with her parents, handing over to them everything they acquired except the few skins they themselves needed for clothing. Thereafter they could build their own lodge and hunt by themselves, though the girl's parents still had a claim on their services, and largely relied on their son-in-law's help at potlatches.

A widowed chief (for a man could hardly become a chief until long after his first marriage), or a chief who desired to take an additional wife, was exempt from any period of servitude. He merely notified the girl's parents through a kinsman or kinswoman, who at the same time delivered the bride-price. The parents naturally coveted the honor for their daughter and rarely refused. Shortly afterward the girl, however reluctant she might be to wed an elderly



or middle-aged man, was escorted by the same kinsman to her new home.

Neither was there any period of servitude for a girl surrendered in compensation for a murder or other crime. Her parents resigned every claim to her when they handed her over, with other property, in payment of the blood-price, and the brother or near kinsman of the murdered man who took her to wife enjoyed absolute authority over her. However harshly she was treated, she could not return to her parents, for she now belonged, body and soul, to her husband and his kin. Nevertheless, it does not appear that she was treated very differently from other girls, for every hunter needed a wife to handle the meat and hides he secured, to prepare his food and make his clothing; and an efficient and contented wife increased his own comfort.

The Indians strongly discountenanced marriage outside the caste. If a nobleman married a commoner woman his children were commoners, and only with the greatest difficulty could he secure their elevation, because his wife's brothers and kinsmen could offer no appreciable aid. On the other hand, a girl of noble rank who married a commoner incurred general disapprobation, and was constantly mortified by the lowly position he occupied at all feasts and ceremonies. Her children, too, would in most cases remain commoners, unless her parents and brothers took pity on them and undertook the expenses of the potlatches necessary to raise their standing. If a commoner greatly distinguished himself by his prowess in hunting, or gained a reputation for great medicine power, he might aspire to marry even a chief's daughter, but in that case the chief would certainly wipe away the stain of his birth and confer on him a title in a magnificent potlatch. The ordinary *mésalliance* was liable to turn into a tragedy.

Several youths of noble rank were rivals for the hand of a nobleman's daughter, and enlisted to serve her kinsfolk in the chase. The girl herself, however, favored a commoner, and in spite of her parent's admonitions, refused all her authorized suitors and encouraged his addresses. One night he stole into her lodge and shared her sleeping robe, giving her parents no choice but to recognize their marriage and dismiss the other youths. Soon afterward a nobleman announced that he was holding a potlatch and invited all the people to attend. The chiefs and nobles occupied their accustomed places in the seats of honor, but the girl's husband had to squeeze in among the commoners in one corner. Her old grandmother said to her, "Let us peer through that hole in the wall of the potlatch house and see where your husband is sitting." They looked, and saw him squeezed among the rank and file in the corner. "We warned you about that," the old woman said. The girl was so mortified that she returned home, tied a rope to a tree, and hanged herself.

In a polygamous household, the first wife ranked above the others, who were in a measure her servants and did such cooking, drying



of fish, cleaning of hides, and other duties as were not done by slaves. If they quarreled among themselves, their husband thrashed them soundly with a stick. A man could divorce his wife for misconduct, idleness, or, indeed, any reason at all by sending her back to her father or nearest kinsman, and either retaining the children or sending them with her. To be divorced by a chief in this way was so disgraceful that the woman's father or brother might publicly censure her in a potlatch. For that purpose he stationed her in the middle of the hall with a woman on each side of her, and stood behind with three or four men hired to chant satirical songs, such as, "I did not cook for my husband; I sought after other men, etc." At each song the two women compelled the divorced wife to dance while the audience mocked her. Afterward her kinsmen, to blot out the disgrace, distributed presents to all except their own phratrymen and took the woman home.

Divorce by a chief needed no justification; but a nobleman who divorced his wife generally felt impelled to ventilate his reasons by engaging his father and some men in his father's phratry to satirize the woman in the same way; and a woman who left her husband on account of ill-treatment or neglect similarly satirized him through her own father and kinsmen. The guilty person stayed away on these occasions, but might retaliate in a later potlatch. The divorce, however, was complete, and both the man and the woman were free to remarry whom they pleased.

Before the birth of her child, a mother submitted to nearly as many taboos as an adolescent boy or girl. Old women cautioned the expectant mother that if she lay down too much her child's head might become elongated and impair its health, whereas constant activity would increase both her own strength and her baby's. She was to be sparing in her diet, lest the child should grow too big and make delivery difficult. Neither she nor her husband should eat eggs, which would give the child sore eyes; nor the head of any animal or fish, particularly the head of a beaver, which would make the child's eyes small like a beaver's eyes, or of a rabbit or salmon, which would make the child cry continually; nor the meat of any animal that had been caught in a noose or snare, for it might produce a constriction in the child's neck that would strangle it as it grew up. After the delivery of her first child, the mother should use a drinking-tube, and abstain from fresh meat and fresh fish for a whole year; with later children she could use a cup, if she wished, and eat fresh food after 1 month. To insure her baby being a boy (or girl) she should make a noose and repeat continually, "I want a boy (girl). If a girl (boy) is born I'll hang it with this noose."

As the hour of childbirth approached, the husband built for his wife a special hut which no man save himself dared to enter through fear of becoming lame. Here he attended to all her needs, or else he engaged a female relative to look after her, for a homicide who attended his wife in labor might render her incapable of bearing more children. The helper cut the umbilical cord, placed the baby in its cradle, and wrapped in bark or fur the afterbirth, which the mother herself later concealed in a tree where neither bird nor animal could touch it and by so doing destroy her fertility.

Domestic life varied considerably with the seasons of the year, periods of isolation alternating with periods of intense social activity when the family was almost swallowed up in the clan and phratry. Dominating everything was the necessity of securing an adequate supply of the principal foods, meat, and fish. Consequently the man and his sons (as soon as the latter were old enough) spent most of their time in hunting and fishing, while the woman and her daughters carried home the meat, set snares for small game such as rabbits and marmots, collected berries and roots, cooked the food, dressed the skins, made the clothing, the bags and the baskets, and performed the many miscellaneous duties that are inseparable from a home. Very few women used the bow and arrow or the fish spear, but they shared the line fishing in the lakes and rivers.

The Bulkley natives recognized four seasons, spring (*ko·lit*), summer (*kyen*), autumn (*ta'kait*) and winter (*xait*). They counted by winters, and watched for the appearance of each new moon, which commonly evoked the cry, "Look" (*ho biye*) and the stereotyped answer, "The little moon" (*sa inai*). They seem to have divided the period from one winter to the next into 12 moons, beginning the cycle with the "little white fish moon," which fell around September-October. At Fraser Lake, the Indians used a similar calendar, but had different names for certain moons.

#### CALENDAR

<i>Moons</i>	<i>Bulkley Indians</i>	<i>Fraser Lake Indians</i>
Sept.-Oct.....	Little white-fish moon..... (xlots uzze', because the fish spawns about that time).	Little white-fish moon. (xlus uzza).
Oct.-Nov.....	Time of little cold..... (binin'hozkatsyez).	Big white-fish moon. (xlu'uzza).
Nov.-Dec.....	gyint'ek (meaning unknown)..	hankyi (meaning unknown).
Jan.-Feb.....	Big sun..... (sa-kyo).	Big sun. (sa-cho).
Feb.-Mar.....	Moon inverted like a cup (?).. (minkyes).	Black specks on the snow. (takasstil).
Mar.-Apr.....	Fish month..... (t'lo'gaxt'si uzze').	Fish month. (t'lu'gas uzza).

<i>Moons</i>	<i>Bulkley Indians</i>	<i>Fraser Lake Indians</i>
Apr.-May-----	Month of suckers----- (guskyi uzze').	Month of suckers. (taggus uzza).
May-June-----	Time when ducks moult----- (bininkyetkyas).	Thumb. (ne-chaz).
June-July-----	Time when salmon come up the river. (biningyist'lex).	Sock-eyed salmon. (ta-lok).
July-Aug-----	Time top-of-mountain hunt- ing people go out. (bininzilk'ats tsetattil).	Char month. (bettuzza).
Aug.-Sept-----	When full moon comes up over the last line of trees on the mountain side. (skyanlere-pes).	(?)

In July the entire subtribe used to gather at Hagwilgate (prior to 1820, at Moricetown) to intercept the migrating salmon, which were dried and stored away for the autumn and early winter (pl. 32). This month, and the month following, were periods of abundance, when the diet of salmon could be varied with fresh berries, with wild rice (djankatł), and with the roasted roots of the wild parsnip (djanyankotł) and of the djinitłrets, an unidentified plant whose root attains the size of a pumpkin. Near relatives of each chief then shared with him the big clanhouse, while the other families in the clan occupied small individual dwellings round about. Many days and nights were given over to ceremonies and potlatches, attended not only by all the villagers, but by numerous guests from neighboring subtribes. Since every man and woman participated in these ceremonies, the individual families seemed for a few weeks nearly submerged.

Before any snow settled on the ground, however, the subtribe broke up and the families dispersed to their hunting territories in search of beaver, caribou, bear, goats, and marmots. Tribal activities then ceased, and for a time the families lived solitary, or else one or two together, eking out a precarious existence by the chase. In the autumn, and again in the spring, they snared hundreds of marmots, whose skins the women sewed together into robes and socks; but during the winter proper they secured very little game except bears and caribou. Surplus caribou fat they melted and poured into the long intestine of the animal and carried as a food ration on their journeys; and surplus meat they preserved in boxes or baskets, sealed with the grease that dripped from strips of bear fat laid sloping over a fire.

In March the snow melted rapidly, and living by the chase became more difficult. After their long winter isolation, the families eagerly gathered on the lakes and rivers to fish through holes in the ice, making use of both the spear and the set line. The latter carried

a barb of bone lashed at an angle of about 45 degrees to a wooden shank and baited with a lump of fat. When using the three-pronged spear, the Indians commonly encircled the fishing hole with a low wall of spruce boughs, roofed the shelter with a blanket, and scraped away the snow outside so that the light penetrated through the ice to the water beneath; then, peering through the hole, they observed the fish approaching the lure, and struck them when they disappeared within the shadow of the shelter.

In some years March brought them famine; their stocks of dried salmon were exhausted, the lakes yielded few fish, and the game seemed to keep out of reach. A few families would then cross to the Nass River to join in the oolachan fishery, but the majority supported themselves on the inner bark of the hemlock, which they wrapped in spruce bark and roasted for several hours on hot stones. Then they crushed the fibers with stone hammers and dried the pulpy mass in large cakes that could be softened in water and eaten with fat. As soon as the ice broke up in the lakes, the various households generally scattered again to hunt until summer reassembled them for the salmon fishing at Hagwilgate or Moricetown.

Despite their permanent settlements at Moricetown and Hagwilgate, therefore, the Bulkley Indians were constantly on the move, driven from place to place by the vagaries of the food supply. In summer they used canoes of spruce bark (after the fur-traders came, of birchbark also), but even at that season they traveled mainly on foot, carrying on their backs the meager furniture of their homes. Down to the nineteenth century they lacked even snowshoes and toboggans, though they sometimes improvised a toboggan from an animal's hide, and, in crossing wide expanses of glare ice, dragged their loads on sticks and branches. Present-day natives say that the man always carried the heaviest load, unless he was called away by the chase; but that even the little children bore burdens proportionate to their strength. Their tump-lines were of babiche, with a broad head band of skin, though for other purposes they often used ropes of twisted cedarbark. Torches of birchbark lighted their footsteps in the darkness; and two lumps of pyrites, or sometimes a stick rapidly twirled in the hands against another stick, gave them fire. A stake planted in the ground and pointed toward the sky told passers-by the hour at which friends had preceded them along the trail; and a crude grass image of a human being lying on his side, tied to a tree, indicated that some one had died recently in the vicinity.

Yet life was not all toil and hardship for a Bulkley household. Whenever food was plentiful and three or four families settled down together, they indulged in many games and pastimes. The most

popular was a gambling game played with two short sticks of bone, one of which was marked. Two rows of men sat opposite, and over at one end someone beat a drum. Amid frenzied singing and drumming each side in turn passed the sticks from hand to hand and the other side guessed where the marked stick was concealed. It is probable that this game, so widespread in Canada at one time and still common in the Mackenzie River Valley, did not reach the Bulkley River until the fur-trading days of the nineteenth century. There was, however, an older game, in which the marked stick was known as *chat* and the unmarked stick *ke*. The player seems to have thrown one of his sticks on a board of leather; but the further details are no longer remembered.

Formerly, as today, jumping and racing were popular with the children and younger men. Other games now seldom or never played were:

1. *Snow-snake*.—The players gambled on the distance to which they could "skip" a long wooden dart off a hard snowbank. Players at Fraser and Stuart Lakes did not use an elevated snowbank, but merely skipped the darts over the natural surface of the snow. Their darts were only about 4 feet long, whereas the darts used by the Bulkley Indians averaged 6 or 7 feet.

2. *na'hatilko*.—Each player hurled a 3-foot dart with a disk on the end against a thin slat of wood  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide set upright in the ground, and tried to catch the dart as it rebounded. If he failed to catch it, or missed the lath, he yielded place to his opponent.

3. *Hoop and stick*.—The players hurled short spears through a small hoop as it rolled along the ground; or else one side shot an arrow through it, and the other tried to shoot the arrow at its resting place.

4. *Retrieving with a line*.—The players rivaled each other in retrieving a bundle of twigs sent floating down the river, each hurling a short hooked spear tied to a long line.

5. *Rough and tumble*.—Two small holes were dug in the ground a few yards apart, and the girls lined up at one hole, the boys at the other. A man then waved a strong 4-foot stick between them and chanted, "By and by I shall eat blueberries," i. e., cause many bruises. The children rushed to catch the stick as he threw it into the air, and while the girls struggled to register a "touch" with it against their hole, the boys tried to register a touch at their own.

6. *Tug of War*.—Men and women took opposite sides and tugged on a stout rope of twisted cedar bark. If the front man could pull the opposite woman over to his side, she had to face round and help her adversaries. There were other forms of this game for two people only. Sometimes two men tugged on a swan's bone about 9 inches long; at other times they sat on the ground, feet against feet, and tugged on a stick or rope until one or other was lifted to a standing position.

So life jogged along for the Bulkley Carrier until at last old age overcame him or some catastrophe cut short his career; either he perished in a raid or while hunting, or he succumbed to one of the ailments that afflicted the natives even before the white man introduced new plagues to increase the toll from disease.



The Indians ascribed most of their ailments to supernatural or psychological causes, and tried to combat them by the same means (see *Medicine men*, p. 559). Yet this did not prevent their employment of many herbal remedies, some of which, e. g., the use of balsam gum for wounds and burns, and of fernroot for worms, possessed true therapeutic value. For coughs and colds they inhaled steam, or drank decoctions of wild-rose roots or juniper tips; and to check bleeding they applied a poultice made from the green roots of the cottonwood. Juniper tips, the root of the red-fruited elder, and the barks of the balsam and devilsclub supplied them with purgatives; and for biliousness they injected a decoction of red-alder bark, using the crop of a bird as a syringe. The prescription for a certain tonic called for the drinking, morning and night, of two tablespoonfulls of a decoction made from a handful of each of the following ingredients: Needle-tips of the Jack-pine and of another pine, inner barks of the wild gooseberry and of the wild rose, bark of the red osier dogwood, inner pulp of raspberry canes, and stems of the bear-berry. To this and many other prescriptions might be added a sweat bath, taken, as usual, inside a bee-hived lodge where the bather generated steam by pouring water on red hot stones.

Sooner or later sweat baths, herbal remedies, and the frenzied chants of the medicine men were bound to fail the Indian, and the day came when his father's phratry dressed him in his finest clothes and laid him on the funeral pyre. On top of him lay his widow, who had to embrace her dead husband until she could no longer withstand the smoke and the flames. Even then his kinsfolk, whose servant she now became, pushed her repeatedly into the flames until she was severely burned, if for any reason she had incurred their displeasure. The people sat around in a circle and wept till evening, when they retired to their homes and either left the widow to spend the night at the pyre, or led her to some house of her husband's kin. The neighboring Gitksan made her mourn at the pyre and weave a net to prove that she had passed the night in sleeplessness; but the Carrier, apparently, set her no task. The day after the cremation, the father's phratry gathered the calcined bones in a box and handed them for safe keeping to the phratry of the deceased, who then repaid them in a potlatch. About a year later, the father's phratry built a wooden grave-house over the cremation site, and deposited the bones on top of a post carved with the crest of the deceased's clan or phratry.

If a man died at his hunting grounds, his widow cremated his remains and carried the bones to the village when the hunting season ended. Among the more eastern Carrier, she was obliged to carry them on her back for a year or more, whence the early French

voyageurs called these Indians porteurs, i. e., Carriers; but the Bulkley natives have no recollection of the custom in their own district.

A widow had to serve her husband's kinsmen for at least a year, at times much longer, if they were unwilling to release her; indeed, if she was content with her position, and too old to remarry, she sometimes continued to serve them the rest of her days. She slept in any part of the house that they assigned her, and preserved the strict semblance of mourning, wearing old clothes, keeping her hair short, and refraining from washing her face. In most cases her servitude was light—invariably so if her kinsmen were powerful—and she could secure her release and remarry after the 12 months ended. She usually married a brother or near kinsman of her dead husband, although she was free to exercise her own choice.

A widower underwent exactly the same servitude as a widow, though he, of course, served his wife's kinsmen, and was more immune from ill-treatment; thus, he was not forced to embrace his dead wife during her cremation. At the end of the mourning period, he washed his face and held a potlatch, if his kinsmen were influential; if not, he moved without ceremony into one of the houses of his own clan or phratry. He then generally married any sister of his dead wife who was still unwed, although, like the widow, he was not restricted in his choice.

Today each Bulkley Indian family has its individual frame house, and a widower (or widow), though expected to aid the kinsmen of his dead wife in minor ways, is not obliged to live with them. He refrains from remarrying, however, for at least a year, and generally terminates the period of mourning by giving a small potlatch, at which he hires some one to compose a new song. All the guests dance to the new song, and after eating, return to their homes with trifling presents.

Like other peoples, the Bulkley Indians did not look upon death as the *ultima rerum*, the final goal of all things. They believed that every human being possessed three parts besides his corporeal body: a mind or intelligence (*bini*, "his mind"); warmth (*bizil*, "his warmth"); and a third part, called while he was living his shadow (*bitsen*, "reflection in water, shadow cast by the sun or moon, ghost or apparition of a living person"), and after death his shade (*bizul*). These three parts were indispensable to give the body life and health; but whereas the warmth, being a mere attribute, as it were, of the body, perished with it, the mind probably persisted after death, though whether it then became identified with the shadow, or what happened to it, the natives held to be quite uncertain. Neither the mind nor the warmth left the body during life, but the shadow fre-

quently wandered abroad, especially in sleep or in sickness. Too lengthy an absence, however, caused the owner's sickness and death. To see an apparition of someone—his shadow—was a sure sign that the person to whom it belonged would soon fall sick and die. If a man chanced to see his own apparition, he placed a little bird's down in his cap or moccasin, and hung it over his bed; if in the morning it still felt warm, his shadow had returned and he would live, but if it felt cold he would die. A dog was able to see a wandering shadow, and the barking of a dog at night indicated that such a shadow was roaming in the neighborhood. At times it threw a stick or a stone at someone, who knew at once that, unless he could obtain help from a medicine man, both he himself would die and also the person whose shadow was molesting him. A medicine man, in his dreams, could discover a wandering shadow and imprison it in his own body until, in a public ceremony a few hours later, he could restore it to its rightful owner. It was not infrequent, indeed, for one medicine man to accuse another of stealing a sick person's shadow, and the accused had then either to restore the patient to health by returning it, or else be adjudged a murderer. More frequently still, powers in the animal or spiritual world captured and imprisoned men's shadows, and such men, after recovering them, became imbued with special gifts of foresight and of healing not granted to the ordinary layman.

After the death of the body the shadow, or, as it then became, the shade (*bizul*), journeyed to a City of the Dead somewhere toward the rising sun. It did not know that its body was dead and decaying, being conscious only that it was traveling along a broad smooth path through a pleasant land warm with the breath of summer. It began its journey the moment it left the body, but occasionally it returned an hour or a day afterward, and, reentering the lifeless form, revived the dead man, who was able to explain what his shade had seen.

My cousin Gudzan lay dead one day for an hour, and during that time his shade fared forth along the path that leads to the City of the Dead. The warm, summery air was tinged with a faint smokelike haze, and the landscape was very beautiful. His shade had gone but a short distance through this country when it thought, "Why am I traveling along this path. I will return." But as it started back a black streak moved across the path and barred its passage. Vainly it endeavored to circle round the obstacle, and at last, in its terror, it tried to leap over it. The object moved back, and the shade landed right on top of it. It was its own body that it lighted on, and straightway my cousin came to life again.

In August 1923 a Babine Indian named Nettsis died for a day and also returned to life. He told me that he too found the broad path that leads to the City of the Dead. It ran through a gently undulating plain clothed with summer verdure, and was lined on either side with bushes of ripe blackberries. At the summit of a low hill bubbled a spring of pure clear water. Many footsteps had marked the road, all pointing eastward, but he saw no people.

He halted at the spring, thinking to himself, "The people will laugh at me, for I have no clothes. I had better turn back." So he returned to life again.

Two persons, and only two, the Indians relate, have ever reached the City of the Dead and returned to life again to describe their experiences. One was a youth, the hero of many strange adventures (Jenness, 1934, p. 99); the other a medicine man who, like Orpheus, followed his dead wife to bring her back to earth (Jenness, 1934, p. 143). The Indians derived all their notions of the after-life from these two myths, principally this section of the myth concerning the medicine man.

As the two shadows traveled along the wide, smooth road, the man ahead and his wife behind, they saw many tracks of unmoccasined feet, all pointing in the same direction, and none returning. On either hand were berry bushes, but all the berries were black. The medicine man refrained from eating them, for he was still alive; and when his wife attempted to eat them, he took the berries from her hand and threw them aside. Soon they came to a spring of water. Here the woman wished to drink from the small basket of birchbark that lay beside it; and again her husband forbade her. When he himself dipped the basket into the spring, all the water flowed through it, although he could see no hole; for he was still living, and the basket was intended for the dead alone. People are often thirsty when they die, and this place, a little above the road, is the last drinking place of the dead.

Now they came to a great precipice, down which, in one place, led an easy road. The dead, trying to return to earth, often come back to this precipice, but they can neither find the road again nor can they scale the cliff. Beyond the cliff was a river, and on its farther bank a city, divided into two parts. On the one side all the houses and canoes were black, on the other red; and between them stood a totem-pole named *tsim'yak'yak*. The black houses were the homes of the dead, the red the homes of the robins, which dwell on earth during the day and depart to the underworld at evening. Here the dead woman yawned, and immediately a black canoe put off from the farther bank and began to cross toward her. The medicine man shouted, and the people in the red houses, hearing him, put off in a red canoe. Both canoes reached the bank together. The woman wished to enter the black one, but her husband told her to embark with him on the red canoe. When they reached the opposite shore she wished to enter a black house, but he constrained her to follow him into a red one. There he was given some good dried fish, which he ate.

Behind the house which they had entered stood a smaller house inhabited by a little old woman. She informed the medicine man that the red houses were the homes of robins, the black the homes of the dead. "Presently," she said, "the dead will invite you and your wife to visit them. Go, but do not eat the food they offer you. Warn your wife also not to eat, for otherwise she will never return with you to the land above. I will stand behind your back, and whatever food they offer you, pass it back to me, for I am dead and can eat with impunity. They will seem to give you huckleberries, but the huckleberries will be dead men's eyes."

After a time the occupants of a black house called to the medicine man, "Come over to our house." When he entered with his wife, a man set a blanket on the floor for them to sit on, and offered the medicine man a wooden dish filled with seeming huckleberries. His wife grabbed them up,

but he forced her to release them, and in spite of her anger passed them back to the old woman behind him. Then they set before him the dried flesh of frogs and snakes and lizards. These, too, he handed to the old woman, and, when the meal had ended, led his wife back to the village of the robins.

In the morning the old woman said to him, "If you wish to return to earth alive you must pass over the cliff again. There are two trails that lead to it, besides the broad road for dead people that you followed hither. One trail is very filthy, for it is the path taken by dead dogs. The other is a faint trail, not easy to find, that leads to a place where a huge snake spans the river of death. The snake undulates up and down so that any one who tries to cross on its back falls flat and cannot rise again."

Good and bad alike, the natives thought, shared the same fate; both made their way to the City of the Dead, where they dwelt in idleness, never hunting, and eating nothing but dried frogs, dried snakes, and other loathesome foods. Each morning the robins deserted them and flew back to earth to enjoy the sunlight and the society of man. The living Indian who heard a robin singing during the daytime would say, "yo'hodinne (I am grateful to you)," but when evening drew near, and it sang its departing note, "so so so so," the note that it sings in the City of the Dead, he carefully said nothing, lest his shade should follow after it. He hoped, perhaps, that his own shade would be among the more fortunate that for some unknown reason did not journey to the City of the Dead, but lingered near the grave and sooner or later obtained reincarnation.

The inheritance of physical characters provided the Indians with seemingly solid grounds for their belief in reincarnation. One man's sister-in-law had six toes, and his son, born after her death, likewise had six toes, whence the conviction that the aunt had been reincarnated in the child. Strangely enough, the second son had a crooked thumb that was said to resemble its grandmother's. Another man had a birthmark on his foot similar to one on his mother's uncle, and, believing that he possessed the same shadow, he adopted that uncle's title. The Indians thought that deep and prolonged mourning often induced the shade of a dead relative to enter into the next child, and if such a child cried frequently, its mother, believing that the desires of one life were carried over into the next, would search out something that had been prized by its predecessor. A child credited with being a reincarnated relative was sometimes referred to as *hwatchan e'kaidittsut*, "a person who travels everywhere," because its shadow seemed peculiarly liable to rebirth generation after generation.

Like many Europeans, the Indians claim that they often see the shades of the dead haunting old burial places. Thus, one man stated that a few years ago, when traveling near Quesnel, he observed a woman emerge from a grave, wander away for two or three hundred yards, and return to the grave again. Being a fervent Christian, he went up to the place and prayed for her.



When Simon Fraser and his party reached Fraser Lake in 1806, the local Indians, who are closely related to the Bulkley River people, looked upon them as the reincarnated shades of cremated Indians, because they not only came from the east, up the Nechako river, but they blew smoke from their mouths (Jenness, 1934, p. 257).

### RELIGION

John McLean, who spent several years among the Carrier in the first half of the nineteenth century, states that "the Takelly" (Carrier) language has not a term in it to express the name of Deity, spirit, or soul. When the Columbia religion was introduced among them, our interpreter had to invent a term for the Deity—Yagasita—the "Man of Heaven." The only expression I ever heard them use that conveyed any idea whatever of a superior Being is, that when the salmon fail, they say, "The man who keeps the mouth of the river has shut it up with his red keys, so that the salmon cannot get up."

The Bulkley natives, however, assert that they at least recognized a superior Being long before Europeans penetrated to their country. At Stuart Lake he was called yutarre; at Fraser Lake, yutakki; and by the Bulkley people themselves, utakke, all meaning "that which is on high." He was a typical sky god, and indeed the Bulkley natives often called him sa, "sky or sky luminary." They regarded the sky as another land abounding in lakes and forests like this earth, but neither very warm nor very cold. Sa and his children had their dwelling there, but occasionally he came down to earth to help some unfortunate man or woman (see Jenness, 1934, pp. 183-184, 215-218, 229-231), and once he sent his son instead (Jenness, 1934, pp. 164-165). Thunder the natives attributed to the flapping wings of a bird, about the size of a grouse, that lived on top of a mountain; but whenever the sun and sky were obscured by heavy rain or snow they would say, "utakke nenye" (Utakke is walking on earth), concealed in the storm. Whenever, again, the sun went under something (sa wi'inai), i. e., was eclipsed, they thought that Utakke was punishing them for some transgression and that the phenomenon foreboded sickness. They still recall the terrible epidemic of smallpox that ravaged the Skeena River Basin in 1862, shortly after a total eclipse of the sun.

Although this belief in a sky-God probably dates back to pre-European times, it was not until elements of Christianity had penetrated to the Bulkley Carrier that it gradually assumed a prominent place. Before that time the Indians had looked mainly to powers in the animal world for explanations of life's phenomena and for assistance in life's journey. They thought that animals possessed warmth, mind, and shadows equally with man; that they differed from

man only in their corporeal forms, in possessing certain powers that man lacked, and in lacking other powers that man enjoyed. Thus, they could assume at will the shapes of human beings, and somewhere or other had their individual homes where each species lived very much the same life as human beings. Legend recorded that the wolf, the caribou, the bear, and even the frog had carried people away and married them, or else sent them home with special medicine powers; and even today the Indians believe that such happenings are possible, although now, they claim, the animals usually abduct only the shadows of men. It was from the animals that man acquired much of his knowledge, and on the animal world he depended for his daily food. Every word that was spoken, every act that took place in a village or camp, the animals knew. Hence the Indian needed to be extremely careful in all his relations with them; if he were wise he scrupulously obeyed all the time-honored regulations and taboos, and never treated an animal with contumely or said a disparaging word about it. An old man well summed up their attitude thus:

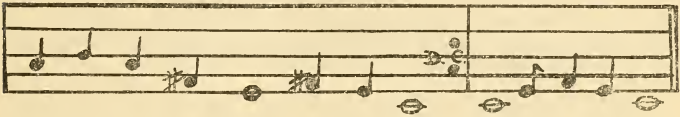
We know what the animals do, what are the needs of the beaver, the bear, the salmon, and other creatures, because long ago men married them and acquired this knowledge from their animal wives. Today the priests say that we lie, but we know better. The white man has been only a short time in this country and knows very little about the animals; we have lived here thousands of years and were taught long ago by the animals themselves. The white man writes everything down in a book so that it will not be forgotten; but our ancestors married the animals, learned all their ways, and passed on the knowledge from one generation to another.

In the earliest times, the Indians continue, many monstrous animals disputed with man the lordship of the earth. There was a lynx larger and more savage than the existing lynx, grizzlies that attacked the Indian villages, huge snakes that destroyed all passers by, and frogs that killed from a distance. Although various heroes long ago rid the world of these creatures and left the fauna as it is today, even now the Indian who wanders in remote places harbors a lurking fear that some appalling monster may suddenly spring up to bar his path. Should a stranger approach his lonely camp he stands on his guard, partly from a traditional fear of human enemies, and partly because he is not sure that the visitor may not prove to be an animal in human guise. He firmly believes that the otter sometimes transforms itself into a youth or maiden and seduces an Indian to his destruction.<sup>12</sup> The hooting of a small owl night after night near his camp fills him

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<sup>12</sup> The Indians therefore advised their young men (and young women) not to think much about the other sex, lest they be deceived by the otter. They believed that a woman became insane if she merely touched the tail of a dead otter, or if someone wrapped one of her hairs round its tail; but that, contrariwise, she would conceive a violent attachment for the man who wrapped one of her hairs round the sweet-smelling hummingbird.

with dismay, for it is warning him that a relative will soon die; although the first time he hears it hooting he may throw a little fat into the fire and pray, "As I now give you this fat so do you provide me with abundant fat hereafter"; or else he may divide his fat into three pieces, and sacrifice the first piece to the owl, the second to the raven, and the third to the bluejay, in order that these birds, rejoicing in the feast, may deliver the game into his hands.<sup>13</sup> Whenever he kills a black bear, he kneels beside its carcass and chants this song, on the vowel "e"; to please its departing shade and ensure his killing other bears thereafter.



About 20 years ago, when I was traveling with my uncle and other Indians east of Moricetown, my dog scented out a black bear, which I killed quite easily, for I had often dreamed of killing bears. Six days later my uncle fell sick, and said to me, "I'll eat some of that fresh bear meat, and rub some of the grease over me. Then perhaps I shall feel better." That evening a young Babine girl joined our camp and said to him, "I should like to eat some of that bear meat too." At first my uncle refused her, because she seemed to be at the adolescent stage when fresh meat was forbidden her; but when she still pleaded he at last gave her a little. At midnight he died, and we discovered that the girl really was adolescent and should not have eaten the meat; it would have killed her had it not killed my uncle first. I myself was unable to kill any more bears for a long time afterward, for they were angry with me; in my dreams I sometimes saw them on the far bank of a river or lake, and always they seemed very angry. Within the last few years, however, I have managed to kill one occasionally.

Bearing this attitude toward the animal world, and being entirely dependent on it for his daily food, it was hardly strange that the Bulkley Indian should turn to that quarter for protection and guidance in the affairs of life. He conceived that he possessed a special gift lacking in white men, the gift of communing with the animal world in dreams, when his shadow wandered abroad and associated with the shadows of the animals. Dreams were therefore tremendously significant. If a man dreamed frequently of black bears, or of beaver, his shadow acquired special knowledge and power that enabled him to kill those animals more easily than other men.

I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not

<sup>13</sup> If the owl continued to hoot, night after night, after this sacrifice of fat, the Carrier of the Stony Creek district, farther east, would sometimes throw an old moccasin into the fire exclaiming, "I hope you'll swallow this old moccasin and choke to death."

know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner.

Kela, who died last winter, was always dreaming, and in consequence he was an exceptionally good hunter. He dreamed frequently of meeting three beaver girls, and sometimes, shortly before the beaver season opened, he would say to his wife, "I dreamed I saw the three beaver girls last night. They were laughing, so I know I shall catch many beaver this season." At other times he would say, "I saw the three beaver girls last night and their heads were drooping, so I shall not catch many beaver this season." In the autumn of 1923 he told his wife that the three beaver girls had spoken to him and warned him that he would die if he sat down to a meal with an unclean woman. Two months later some relatives from Moricetown visited him and stayed the night at his house. The following morning Kela said to his wife, "The beaver girls visited me in the night and reproached me for eating with those women. I think I am going to die." Half an hour afterward he complained of pain in an elbow joint. The pain spread rapidly all over his body and within a few days he died.

Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away, alone or in company with another, to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward, over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid and intense that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in times of crises. Of the various methods of acquiring guardian spirits and medicine power three were in especially high repute, partly perhaps on account of their difficulty.

1. Find a log on which a cock grouse stands and "drums" during the April mating-season, purify your body by bathing, and crawl underneath at dusk. Even though the grouse seems conscious of your presence and stays away for several nights, repeat the process until at last it comes and "drums" on the log above you. If nothing happens except that the noise keeps you from sleeping go home, for you have failed and will never become a medicine man. But if you are fortunate, when its wings begin to flap they will seem to embrace the whole world, and fire will shoot from under them, impelled by a mighty wind. You will lie as if dead, but your shadow, traveling away to a mountain or a river, will encounter a fish, a bear, or other creature and learn from it a song. Return to your home in the morning, but at evening sleep under the log again in order that the grouse may repeat its visit and your shadow may perhaps acquire a second song. When the third night comes

beat your drum and practice the two songs, for now you are a potential medicine man and will have two guardian spirits at your command.

2. Catch a number of live frogs, make a tub of birchbark, and lie in it stripped to the waist. Protect your eyes, mouth, and armpits with moss and let the frogs crawl over your chest. Lie thus night after night until a vision comes to you, and your shadow wanders away inside a cliff or a mountain where it sees a duck, a bear, or other creature, and hears a song and the beating of a drum. You will remember the song when you awake and must practice it each evening just after sunset.

3. Go at evening to a swamp where frogs are numerous, remove your clothes and lie naked in the water. Repeat this evening after evening until at last a frog comes and settles on your body. Many others will follow it. As soon as they cover your body catch the first frog, go out of the water, and dress. Then lie down to sleep under a tree with the frog suspended by its leg only a foot or two above your head. In your dream your shadow, returning to the swamp, will find under the water medicine men chanting a song inside a big house whose door is coated with moss. This will be your medicine song.

The Stuart Lake Carrier, like the Sekani and other Indian tribes to the eastward, seem to have believed that every youth obtained a guardian spirit, but that only a few favored individuals, through dreams of a special character, apparently, acquired definite medicine power and ranked as medicine men. Thus Morice says:

They also attach to dreams the same importance as did most people of antiquity. It was while dreaming that they pretended to communicate with the supernatural world, that their shamans were invested with their wonderful power over nature, and that every individual was assigned his particular nagwal or tutelary animal-genius. Oftentimes they painted this genius with vermilion on prominent rocks in the most frequented places, and these rough inscriptions are about the only monuments the immediate ancestors of the present Dénés have left us. [Morice, 1888-89, p. 161.]

At Fraser Lake and Stony Creek, however, this doctrine underwent a significant modification (pl. 33, fig. 1). There the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few acquired guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine men able to cure diseases and to foresee the future. The Bulkley Indians modified the doctrine still further, probably through the influence of the Gitksan. They knew their kinsmen's methods of obtaining medicine power, and stated that they too followed the same practices in earlier times. At a later period, however, they developed the notion that guardian spirits and medicine power were not amenable to search, but came to man unheralded; that animal spirits took possession even of unwilling Indians, causing dreaminess and a wasting sickness that only the medicine men could diagnose and cure. The medicine men fortified the patients with some of their own power, and trained them to perceive and thereby control the animal spirits inside their bodies until, gaining the mastery, they recovered their health and themselves acquired the power and status of medicine men.



In this revised doctrine of the Bulkley natives, persons who seldom dreamed, or whose dreams had no coherent content, were not attuned to the supernatural world and could never acquire medicine power, however earnestly they might desire it. For the first symptoms of approaching medicine sickness, or of possession by an animal spirit, were frequent dreams, especially dreams that centered about one or two animals. Often the man marked out for that possession was totally unconscious of his destiny; he merely knew that every now and then he dreamed of a black bear or a beaver, and following his dreams had unusual luck in killing those animals. Sooner or later, however, by slow stages or with a sudden onset, a languor overcame him, and he lay in his hut, too listless and weak even to rise to his feet. The people used three expressions to describe his malady: *eyilsin*, "something is inside his body" (*sasilsin*, "he has a black bear inside him"); "he is caught by a dream," because dreams were the gates to the spiritual world and persisted like spirits, so that a man was frequently beset by the same dreams as his predecessors; and "he is caught by a medicine song," because a medicine song invariably issued from every contact with the world of spirits.

A later section will describe in fuller detail how medicine men acquired their status, and how they practiced their art. In no sense did they constitute a priesthood or interpose a barrier between the laity and the supernatural world. The lay Indian did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dream opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever they signified. If he was swift of foot, his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing, his success came from dreaming about the salmon.

When I was about 12 years of age I often dreamed about a tailed man, which surely signified an otter. While still a lad, I dreamed that I was standing on a mountain-side gazing into a bear's den among the roots of a giant cottonwood tree. I broke off a stick and thrust it down the hole. Then I awoke; but the dream, and subsequent dreams like it, brought me good fortune, for I was always finding black-bear dens along my trap-lines. Often I would dream at night about a bear and kill one the very next day.

One winter when I was trapping with my uncle and his son our supplies of food gave out, and my uncle said to me, half jestingly, "You are such a wonderful hunter. Why don't you bring us in some meat?" At daybreak, with two dogs, I went out to visit my traps, leaving my flint-lock in the camp and carrying only my knife. I came to a bear's half-finished den, and, searching about, found the bear itself hiding inside a real den beneath a fallen tree. I tied my knife to the end of a pole, lashed two other poles crosswise across the mouth of the den so that the animal would have to push its head above or below them, and urged on my dogs to scratch through the roof. When the bear,

disturbed by their scratching, poked its head outside, I stabbed it in the back of the neck and killed it.

In time all the people recognized that I was an unusually successful bear hunter. Then one day Djolukyey, who is a powerful medicine man, came to me and said, "The bears are angry with you. They have been visiting you in your dreams, they have been entering your body and helping you to find their dens. Soon you would have become a powerful medicine man; but because you stay with your wife at certain seasons they will no longer come near you and before many years you will become blind. If you wish, however, I will catch the bear, put it back in your body, and make you a medicine man. Then your sight will remain unimpaired." I refused him, because the priest had told us that it was wrong to practice medicine and I wished to do what the priest said. Consequently, before many years I lost my sight.

Nevertheless, dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.

Long ago wolverine was always successful in its hunting, but man and the other animals always unlucky. If a hunter cached his meat, wolverine stole it; if he baited a trap, wolverine stole the bait and escaped scot-free. At last a man caught a wolverine alive, tied it up and threatened to beat it to death unless it revealed the secret of its luck. Wolverine said, "I eat such and such a grass." But the man struck it with his stick saying, "You lie. I, too, have eaten that grass, but derived no luck from it." Then wolverine wept bitterly and said, "Far up on the mountain, and there alone, grows a tiny grass. That is what I eat." The man killed the wolverine, found the grass on the mountain and ate it. Thereafter he was always successful in his hunting. Many other medicines besides this one the Indians learned from the animals, though it was Estes, the Trickster, who first revealed their existence to man.

Hunting medicines of this type were called *yu*; the ritual that always accompanied their use, *xal*; and the hunter who employed the "medicine" and performed the ritual, *xallete*. Apparently every hunter knew at least one such medicine, and the majority several. Although the rituals all conformed to one general plan, the Indians carefully preserved their details secret, believing that the man who revealed his "medicine" to another transferred also its efficacy and deprived himself of its further use. Older hunters imparted their knowledge to their sons and nephews, and occasionally men purchased hunting medicines from one another at considerable cost. The "formula" of one Bulkley native illustrates the general type.

Cut a bundle of devilsclub sticks and, in the evening, after you and your wife have bathed, remove the outer bark of two sticks and from the scrapings of the inner tissue make two or three balls about the size of marbles. Chew these thoroughly and swallow them. Repeat the same procedure every evening for a month, and carefully refrain from touching your wife. At the end of the month bathe, let your wife bathe, and sleep with her during the following

month. Alternate in this way for six months. Then you will be able to trap all manner of fur-bearing animals, and kill all kinds of game. But beware of immorality, lest the animals, smelling your corruption, keep away and compel you to purify yourself again by repeating the entire ritual, or another ritual of similar character.

This was a formula for the "wolf" ritual, practised, with individual variations of detail, by many Bulkley Indians, and by a few Carrier of Fraser Lake. Some men limited its duration to the month immediately preceding the hunting season, others extended it over several months, although tradition states that one man who extended it over a full year made his medicine so powerful that it killed him. The "wolverine" ritual was similar to the "wolf," but, according to one formula at least, required the use of hattak leaves instead of devilsclub<sup>14</sup> until 6 days before the hunting season opened, the sleeping for alternate periods first on one side of the body, then on the other, complete continence before and during the hunting season except on the night preceding its opening day, and the bathing of husband and wife four times during the early morning of that day, after the analogy of the wolverine, which was reputed to end its ritual by diving four times into a swamp. In still another ritual unmarried men, and a few married men who had observed continence for a period, bathed each evening and rubbed their faces and bodies with the smoke of burning "poison-weed" (kanye). In every hunting district the Indians built at least one sweat-house for the practice of these rituals, and for use in cases of sickness.

The early religion of the Bulkley natives that has just been outlined contains many obscure features very difficult to unravel today owing to what we may call the reformation brought about by Europeans and Europeanized natives during the nineteenth century. Before 1850 Christian teachings, or garbled versions of them, had so leavened the aboriginal doctrines as to occasion their drastic reinterpretation. Dreams still retained their ancient significance, the animal world still held a prominent place in the Indians' minds, but dominating them both was the once shadowy and neglected sky-god, Sa or Utakke, now identified with the God of the Christian religion and considered the ultimate power behind all dreams, the ruler of everything on earth and in the sky. If an animal continued to quiver after it was shot, the hunter raised his eyes to the sky and said, "Utakke, this is yours. You have granted me this trophy;" for it was Utakke rather than the animal world that now demanded propitiation. If game was scarce, he threw a little meat or fat into the fire, as his ancestors had done, but instead of praying to the animals he prayed to Utakke, saying, "Utakke, this is yours. Increase this food for us. Grant us long life." When he carried out the long hunting ritual, xał, he was not propitiating the

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<sup>14</sup> Both are laxatives used by the natives for certain ailments.

animals so much as striking a bargain with Utakke, who would deliver the game into his hands if he underwent proper penance. It was Utakke, too, not the animal world per se, that according to the new doctrine exacted punishment for the violation of taboos, for the wasting of food, for mockery of the animals, laughter while eating their flesh or the idle throwing-away of their bones; and the onlooker who rebuked such wrongdoing adopted new expressions such as, "Beware, Utakke made that" or "Don't laugh. Utakke may hear you and give that animal power to harm you." Similarly it was Utakke, not the animal world, that raised the poor and depressed the proud and wealthy; whence the old and needy now blessed their benefactors by saying, "Thank you. Utakke will reward you," and the chiefs warned their children, "Do not laugh at that poor orphan, for Utakke, who governs everything, may make him rich and you poor." The expression *mi*, "it is taboo, take care," took on a new sanction when the Indians thus invested their sky-god with supreme rank and made him the controlling force in the animal and human world alike.

Once the sky grew very dark, the rain poured down in sheets, and the wind howled in the tree-tops. Then a woman called to her boy, who was shouting outside to his playmates, "Come in. You are making too much noise. Sa will hear you and send such heavy rain that no one will be able to go out."

Many years ago the Indians gathered in March to set their nets under the ice of Francis Lake. They caught and dried large numbers of fish, while the children played happily round the camp. Then a boy named Mek made a girdle of some fish-heads and began to dance with them. An old man scolded him, saying, "Don't do that. Sa will see you and by and by you will be hungry." A year passed, and the people gathered again at the same lake; but this time they caught no fish at all. The men left the women to tend the nets and went away to hunt, but the game too had vanished. Before long they were starving, and the first to die was Mek. No sooner was he dead than the lake seemed to teem with fish and the people had no difficulty in catching all they needed.

The elevation of an obscure sky-god to the rank of a supreme deity was not the only readjustment occasioned by the impact of Christian teaching. It led also to a reinterpretation of man's relationship to the supernatural world, and produced a crop of reforming prophets who attempted to graft on the stalk of the older religion various Christian ideas and rituals. The first impetus in this direction came from other Carrier subtribes, themselves stimulated by certain fur-traders, by two Oregon Indians who had been educated at the Red River settlement in southern Manitoba, and, a few years later, between 1842 and 1847, by visits from two Roman Catholic missionaries, Fathers Demers and Nobili.

Two young men, natives of Oregon, who had received a little education at Red River, had, on their return to their own country, introduced a sort of religion, whose groundwork seemed to be Christianity, accompanied with some of the heathen ceremonies of the natives. This religion spread with amazing

rapidity all over the country. It reached Fort Alexandria, the lower part of the district, in the autumn; and was now embraced by all the Nekaslayans (Stuart Lake Carrier). The ceremonial consisted chiefly in singing and dancing. As to the doctrines of our holy religion, their minds were too gross to comprehend, and their manner too corrupt to be influenced by them. They applied to us for instruction, and our worthy chief spared no pains to give it . . . [M'Lean, 1849, pp. 263-264; see also Morice, 1904, chap. 15.]

The Bulkley natives caught the infection from two sources, from their kinsmen at Old Fort Babine and from other relatives around Fraser Lake. At Old Fort Babine, they say, a white man named Misamombin, an employe of the Hudson's Bay Company,<sup>15</sup> dressed in white clothes and white shoes, strung a rosary around his neck, hung a cross to his side, and sang and danced among them. He then ordered them to throw sundry skins and clothes into the fire as an offering to God, forbade them to work on Sundays, and warned them against "black coats" who would come after him to corrupt them with false teachings. If the Indians followed his instructions, he told them, they would become white men when they died; but if they listened to the "black coats" they would turn black.

Soon afterward a Babine Indian named Uzakli, head chief of the Gilserhyu phratry, became afflicted with the medicine-dream sickness and, on his recovery, announced that he had visited God's home in the sky and obtained a new medicine-song with power to heal the sick. He conferred new names on his followers and distributed tin crosses among them. Two years later he had a recurrence of the same sickness and acquired another song, which ran:

ane-e nipili solle yilkyot  
 ane-e nipili, solle yilkyot  
 ane-e-yin betlol ustan a.  
 (Nipili (an angel in the sky), hold my hand.  
 Nipili, hold my hand.  
 I hold the rope that holds up the earth.)

Contemporary with Uzakli was Senesaiyea, a medicine man who lived at Fraser Lake. One summer, when the salmon were late in appearing, the Indians asked Senesaiyea to summon the fish up the river. Gathering his countrymen inside a smoke-house, he shook his rattle, sang a medicine-song, and lay down as if to sleep. After half an hour he arose and announced that his soul had traveled to the home of the salmon and that they would reach Fraser Lake within a few days. Subsequently he claimed that his soul made other visits to the salmon country, and also to the home of God in the sky. So often did he dream of wandering about in sky-land that the people grew skeptical, and he promised to bring back a piece of the sky as evidence. Then one night, as he slept in a smoke-

<sup>15</sup> Probably William McBean. See Morice, 1904, p. 221.



house, he again dreamed that his soul ascended aloft through a hole in the sky, and, after wandering around for a time, returned to the same hole and broke a fragment from its edge. He slept until the sun had risen. When at last he threw off his blanket he found in his clenched fist only a scrap of spruce bark from the cabin roof. Laughingly he showed it to his countrymen and said, "I have been deceiving myself all this time; and other medicine men who claim to visit the sky are deceiving themselves also."

These earliest manifestations of the new ideas that Christianity was quickening in the minds of the Indians deviated only slightly from the old religion; but succeeding prophets introduced further innovations that altered its entire complexion. Among the first was a Fraser Lake woman named Bopa. Tradition states that she said to her daughter, "When I die don't bury me, but leave my body in the house and keep watch from a distance." When she died, therefore, her daughter covered her body with a blanket and moved into a small hut at the edge of the woods. For three mornings she visited her mother's corpse and nothing happened, but on the fourth morning, though it was already decaying, a song issued from its mouth and a voice said, "Wash my body and cook me some food, for I am hungry." The woman washed the body and cooked food, whereupon her mother came to life again and ate. She then announced that she had traveled to a large town on the shore of a sea and entered a house where people offered her fresh apples, which she had refused in order that she might return to life. They then offered her some bread, and she refused that also. Finally, on the fourth day, a man said to her, "Do you want to return to your body?" and when she answered, "It is too far away, the road is too difficult," he replied, "No, it is not difficult." So she returned to her body and lived for another 20 years. She taught the Indians that the dead become white men on the far side of a great sea, and that the whites, who were then beginning to enter the country of the Carrier, were their own kinsmen returning to their old homes. Hence the Fraser Lake Indians gave to Europeans the name *naunil*, which means "ghosts of the dead."

Another Fraser Lake woman named Nokskan (a Gitksan word meaning Kan's Mother) is reputed to have died while she was fishing alone beside a lake or stream. She lay on the ground many days, but at last came to life again and returned to her village, where she told the following story:

I lay on the ground dead, and one side of my body rotted. My shadow did not go to the city of the dead, but to sky-land, where it met Sa and Sa's son. Murder, theft, adultery, and swearing are displeasing to Sa, who bade me tie the hands of offenders and purify them with the lash lest they go after death to an evil place. But whoever avoids these sins, and lives a pure life,

will go to Sa's home, a happy country where people neither work nor eat, but idle away the days in song, or, when inactivity becomes monotonous, ride around the country on horses.

White men will soon visit Fraser Lake, bringing with them horses and cows (or buffaloes). At first they will eat dried fish and dried berries as we do, but after a time they will bring various foods of their own. Then the Indians will have abundance of food and prosper as they never have before.

Nokskan showed the Indians how to make the sign of the cross, and to dance with uplifted palms while they chanted her songs, one of which ran:

sa bez'kai asendla cho wasassalte  
ai ya ha-a ai ya he.

(Sa's child took and carried me aloft.)

This and her other songs the people chanted inside her lodge at the fishing camp, stretching their palms towards heaven and slowly moving round in a circle, while Nokskan, carrying a small wooden cross, stood in their midst. On certain days she called out one man after another, made him kneel in front of her, and whispered in his ear, "What sins have you committed?" After he had confessed, she called for a rope, tied his hands in front or behind according to the gravity of his sins, and sometimes whipped him on the back 10 or 12 times to cleanse him. She treated the women in the same way as the men. Unlike some of her successors, she never baptized the Indians, though she herself submitted to baptism many years later when a European priest visited Fraser Lake.

The first Bulkley River Indian to take up the craze was Lexs, a man of the Beaver phratry. One old native said that Lexs claimed to have visited the sky and received there a new song and a new name, Sisteyel, "I, a man, visited the sky"; but that the people did not take him seriously because he was very poor. A still older man, however, who was a youth of about 14 when Lexs died, regarded him as the real founder of the religious movements which, through the influence of his younger brother and successor Bini, completely gripped the western Carrier and many of the neighboring Gitksan during the middle years of the nineteenth century. According to his account, Sisteyel fell sick and died, but after 2 or 3 days came to life again and declared that he had visited God in the sky and been sent back to earth to instruct his people. He warned them that God was displeased with evil actions such as theft and murder, and that wrongdoers would go to an evil place when they died, whereas the good would ascend to the sky. From his visit he brought back one song, which his countrymen chanted as a prayer:

sisteyal netaiyel sisteyel netaiyel  
he he he he he beyin.

(Sisteyel walked down from the sky. His song.)

Not content with adopting a new name himself, he conferred new names on the members of his family and on one or two near kinsmen. Thus he called his wife Satal, after a woman he claimed to have met in the sky. Soon afterward he became blind, but before he died he enjoined his younger brother to visit the sky as he had done in order to gain authority and knowledge to carry on his mission.

This younger brother who took up Sisteyel's mantle was Bini, who far eclipsed in fame and influence all his predecessors and successors. Although he died about 1870, within the memory of men still living, his name is fast passing into legend and every description of his life and teachings differs from every other. The following account is a composite one, based on the joint testimonies of three old Bulkley Indians, who had been with him in their childhood and were old enough to hunt when he died. One was his nephew and successor as chief of the Beaver phratry, another his sister's nephew, and the third had accompanied him on his last journey and was present at his death.

Bini's boyhood name was Sami, derived from the name of a deceased uncle; and the name he acquired in early manhood Mat, a title in the Beaver phratry. Subsequently he became the chief of that phratry and assumed the title Kwis together with the two personal crests, Beaver and Drunken Man, that went with it.

One spring, when he and his kinsmen were hunting near Decker Lake, he lay down in his house as though indisposed and mysteriously disappeared. His kinsmen searched all round the camp for him, and at last, with the aid of his dog, found him buried in the ground with only his arm protruding above the surface. They carried him home, seemingly dead, and sent for all their relatives in the vicinity; but, while they crowded round his body a man named Omak heard a voice issue from his chest, and listening intently, discovered that Bini was singing.

ane-e anesenle-e so anesenle-e-a  
 anea anesekye meneskye.  
 (Someone healed me, made me well again.  
 I came down from the sky.)

All night Omak continued to watch beside him, and the next day Bini, grown a little stronger, spoke to him and bade him interpret to the people as follows:

"I died and ascended to heaven, but God made me alive again and sent me back to earth to teach you what you must do. You must chant my songs, for they are prayers; and you must make the sign of the cross. Things are going to change. Soon you shall eat dust that is white like snow (flour), and shall hunt and fish for 6 days, but refrain from all work on the seventh. Many horses will come to this country and you shall use them. But now you must cut out a smooth plank and write on it for me."

The people cut out a smooth board and under his direction one man made one letter, another another, until they had carved out his prayers. Quickly his strength returned, and he was able to proclaim his mission without the aid of an interpreter. As soon as he could walk he rose to his feet, and, supported by a man on each side, took a few steps forward. Then he said "Let me go.

I will walk alone." But as he walked his feet sank into the hard ground as though it were soft snow. For years afterwards the Indians pointed with awe to these footprints.

When the fishing season opened, Bini and all his people moved down the Bulkley River to Hagwilgate. Both during and after this journey he lay down several times and died for a few hours; and each time he brought back from the sky a new song. Every evening he gathered the people around him and preached to them, using Omak to interpret and amplify his words. "On top of the sky," he said, "is a happy land filled with happy people who told me to make you all new so that after death you too would go to live in the sky. Then a song issued from my body and I came back to life again in my hut." Rising to his feet he would dance before them, feet together, arms outstretched, and his body swaying up and down; and as he danced he sang one or other of his songs. The best known, still used by Hagwilgate medicine men, ran:

yis!kli yaneket!sal-a  
he he hi ha.

(Horses stamp the ground as they gallop.)

Others were:

ni pa-kyo yatetso'til atso'te  
(People entered the great father's house and became proud and wealthy.)

e e e e a  
noxdzi to'bi eyinlea  
(Their hearts he (God) baptizes.)

and

The great father had a cross.  
Let someone make a cross for me.

After he taught them this last song, his followers made one large cross for himself and many small crosses to distribute among his disciples.

When the fishing season ended, the prophet and his disciples toured the country to gain new converts; but during the remainder of the year he hunted, fished, gathered furs, and participated in potlatches like other Indians. A few years later he caused the totem pole called Fireweed to be erected in the Bulkley canyon (see p. 500) and himself gave a great potlatch for the occasion. He then built in the canyon a frame house furnished with a chimney and decorated with a cross; it was modeled, he said, on a house he had seen in the sky. His costume did not differ from that of other Indians, but in his later years he carried a small bell that he obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post at Old Fort Babine. During his lifetime he was generally known by his phratric title, Kwi's, not by the name Bini, which he adopted after his first visit to the sky, or Samtelesa, which he assumed after a later visit.

Bini carried on his mission for about 15 years, gradually gaining so many adherents that at last he summoned them to his house and selected a number of men to maintain order and prevent wrongdoing. To these "watchmen" he gave sky names, Teluza, Nebezti, Samali, Chali (Charlie), O'rali, Nantali, Maskali, Sazzali, etc. The first three, Teluza, Nebezti, and Samali, took precedence over all the rest and became his principal aides. He performed also one or two miracles in confirmation of his powers. Thus, while sitting with his followers on a hillside overlooking Long Lake, he put some twigs (or flowers) into his mouth and drew out berries. On one occasion, however, he gathered all the Hagwilgate Indians inside his house and ordered them to confess their sins and be purified with whippings from his aides; but, most imprudently, he allowed the confessions to be made openly in full hearing of the entire gathering, and thereby stirred up so much discord in the village that he never dared to repeat the ceremony.

Often the sick appealed to Bini rather than to the regular medicine men. He would then set a basin of water beside the patient, and, after dancing and singing one of his songs, would lie down and gaze intently into the water to discover, apparently, what would be the issue. Finally, while attending a potlatch at Old Fort Babine, he was asked to heal a certain woman who was sick. That night, as he slept, a voice from above warned him that if he complied with the request he would die. He was very troubled the next morning, but when the people carried the sick woman out of doors and laid her down in front of him he placed a pan of water beside her, danced around her once, and, lying down, gazed into the water or perhaps drank some of it. Immediately he fell on his face dead—through a judgment of God, the priests said afterward, though many Indians believe there was strychnine in the water, for at that time they were using strychnine in their hunting. Whatever the real cause, his death caused a great commotion, and a large crowd of his disciples, flocking to Old Fort Babine, conveyed his body to Hagwilgate and buried it in the village. [Pl. 33, fig. 2.]

Folklorists have long recognized that tribal traditions have not the same historical value in all parts of the globe. In Polynesia, where the world of dreams and visions did not merge with the daily life so inextricably as in North America, where there were professional schools for preserving a correct memory of tribal occurrences and rights, and where we can compare the genealogies and tales of islanders who were isolated for several hundred years, we may employ the native traditions with considerable confidence (though not, of course, uncritically) to recover the main sequence of events in the centuries preceding European penetration into the Pacific. But our Canadian Indians seem to have lacked the historical sense, as we interpret history. Many of the plains' tribes embellished with impossible myths so recent an event as the acquisition of horses; the Five Nations of the Iroquois failed to preserve any credible account of the formation of their great confederacy about 1580; and the Ojibwa narrate fantastic fairy tales about the part they played in the War of 1812. The Indians of the British Columbia coast and hinterland, who evolved a complicated caste system in which the inheritance of rank and property depended largely on kinship and the memory of kinship rights, have so interwoven fact and fancy in their legends that, unless we can confirm them from other sources, we cannot trust them even for the events of the early nineteenth century. The many conflicting accounts given of Bini's career strikingly illustrate this "romanticism" in traditional lore. One version has been given above—a composite account derived from the statements of three old men who discussed the subject together. It should be compared with the "history" of Bini published by Father Morice in 1904 (pp. 235–236), and with the following accounts given by two old Bulkley Indians who also had associated with the prophet in their youth.

1. Bini's home was at Moricetown, but, in the spring following Sisteysel's death, he and his people went to fish near his brother's grave about 15 miles



west of Burns Lake. I was then 14 or 15 years of age, and living with my uncle 20 miles to the eastward. Bini, or, as he then called himself, Samtelesa (the sky-name given him by his brother), walked several times around Sistevel's grave, and feeling dizzy, lay down in his house. He lay there for 3 days, apparently dead, but his people made no attempt to bury him, for he had told them that he would die and come to life again. After watching over him for three days they heard a song mounting inside his body until at last it issued from his mouth. He then rose up and began to speak:

"I went up to the sky and talked to God, who told me that his house would come down to this world and make it a happy place to live in. He ordered me to teach you this song, which you must continue to sing day after day, until God's house descends:"

gitaksiya asenla kyo salyinkai'o-nai  
e hye ha . . .  
(Big house up above. We two come down together.)

That evening the people danced and sang his song.

Next day Bini died again, but only for about 3 hours, when he recovered as before, breathing another song:

yizikli e e yaneketiltsai.  
(Horses stamp the ground as they gallop.)

He explained his new song thus: "By and by many horses will come to our country, and there will come also priests who will teach you what I teach you now."

On the third day he fell down and died for about 2 hours, bringing back the song:

niba hanzu li'sta.  
(Our good father has many good things.)

When he died on the fourth day, he produced the song:

e ye he noxlen e.  
(Look at him (God));

and on the fifth day:

sba kyo tagalkwas ele e'kat nesoltse.  
(My great father caused me to be born on top of a cross.)

After he had danced and taught the people this last song, he made a number of little tin crosses, and, calling out the men and women one by one, tied a cross round each person's neck and baptized him by sprinkling water over his head with a stick also shaped like a cross. He then made the sign of the cross over the disciple and conferred on him a new name.

Bini moved his home to Hagwilgate when the Gitamtanyu phratry erected its totem-pole esrił, and scores of natives from all the surrounding villages had gathered to attend the ceremony. He warned them that a great sickness was approaching the country, but that if they danced and chanted his songs it would not harm them. Many of the Indians, however, refused to believe him. When smallpox did attack the Carrier in 1862, Bini gathered the Hagwilgate people at an open spot about 2 miles from the village and made them dance round in a great circle, the children on the outside of their elders, all holding boughs shaped like crosses. He then ringed in the dancers with a long rope, and proclaimed that if the rope broke many of them would die. His prophecy came true, for a woman inadvertently touched and broke the

rope while she was dancing, and soon afterward many of the villagers fell sick and died. I was a lad at this time and danced with them.

Before and during the epidemic, Bini's disciples had danced for an hour or more every day, but after the epidemic he announced, "Hereafter you shall work for 6 days and dance only on occasional days; but on the seventh day you shall abstain from hunting and fishing and dance three times, at morning, noon, and night; because there are three gods, and you must pray to each, your prayers being dances. Furthermore, because there are three gods, three men must serve them, myself, Male (a man of the Gitamtanyu phratry), whom I have baptized Samali, and Gyedamskanish (of the Laksilyu phratry), whom I have baptized Teluza." People say that he also ordered 10 commandments received from God to be carved on a board; but I myself never saw this board, though I remember that three of the commandments were, "Do not steal; do not kill another by violence; do not kill another by sorcery."

Thereafter Bini preached on the 7th day only. At such times he wore the everyday Indian costume, but often carried a bell in each hand, for he said that by and by people would be summoned to prayers with a bell. While dancing, he held his arms nearly horizontal and fluttered his hands. Occasionally he fell down as if dead. Then the people would quietly sit in a circle round him and await the issue, while Samali, his official interpreter, placed his ear against Bini's mouth to catch the new song that came from above. As soon as the disciples learned it from Samali's lips, they rose and danced to it; and Bini joined them a few minutes later. The last song that Bini brought back ran:

e ya huballi hube nesiltchot.

(Light, light, took hold of me (so that I came to life).)

The prophet now traveled with his disciples all over the country, and appointed Samali and Teluza as his watchmen to punish wrongdoers. If anyone ventured to laugh when the people sang Bini's songs, these two men struck the offender with whips of caribou hide. Whenever, too, Bini summoned the people to confess, they stood one on each side of the sinner with their whips and inflicted whatever punishment the prophet ordered. Once Teluza ordered away a certain woman who came to confess, saying to her, "You are only a poor woman and don't need to confess. Go outside." The woman, however, stood her ground and said loudly, "Why should I go outside? I want to confess to Bini that you seduced me." Both disciple and master were thus put to shame, but Bini had to let the incident pass because he dared not dispense with Teluza's services.

Bini's travels throughout the country sowed the seeds of a great revival, which came to fruition when he erected the Fireweed totem-pole in the Hagwilgate canyon. The potlatch that he and his phratry held on that occasion attracted a large concourse of people who carried his songs and dances far and wide. Nevertheless, it was among the Hagwilgate Indians that his mission gained its chief stronghold; elsewhere there were many Carrier who refused to recognise his authority. Whenever he traveled round the country four strong young men always attended him to carry him over streams; for he had declared that heavy rain would inevitably follow the wetting of his feet. On one occasion, when his party had crossed a creek near Barret station and was waiting for him to overtake them, someone suggested that they should let him wade through the water and so find out whether his prophecy would really come true. No sooner had Bini stepped out on to the bank than the clear sky became overcast, the rain poured down in torrents, and the stream rose so rapidly that the fearful Indians thought the whole world was to be covered

with the deluge. At Bini's command they hastily built a lodge of spruce bark and frenziedly danced to his songs. Then the rain ceased, the stream subsided, and a warm sun dried up the land.

After Bini had been preaching for a number of years, he had a contest at Hagwilgate with three medicine men, Widak'kwats, Gukswo, and Akyewas (the two last were Hazelton Indians), who resented Bini's vaunt that their power was insignificant compared with his own. The medicine men shook their rattles and sang their medicine songs, while the prophet danced and chanted the songs he had brought back from the sky. Soon afterward the three men died, and last of all, but in the same year, Bini died also.

The true cause of his death is uncertain. During a visit to Old Fort Babine he was asked to heal a man who was sick. He sipped up some water from a basin, intending to spout it over the patient; but suddenly he fell on his face dead. Some people say that he had used a medicine man's rattle over this patient, and conducted himself in other ways like an ordinary medicine man, though forbidden by God under penalty of death. But I myself believe that someone had poisoned the water.

2. Bini's wife quarreled with his sister, who was living in their hunting camp, and when Bini ordered her to give his sister some food she refused. Very angry, he carried off the two caribou hides that served him for bedding and went away to sleep in the woods. At sunset his wife looked for him, but found only his empty bed-skins. Anxious and contrite, she looked for him again in the morning, and when he was still missing, notified some relatives who were hunting in the vicinity. After a long search they found his shirt, still buttoned at neck and sleeves, high up in a tree, and on the ground some distance away, faintly breathing, his naked body, which they carried to his lodge. He remained there motionless all through the day and night. Next morning he began to utter strange guttural sounds, and when the people failed to understand him—for he was speaking in the language of the dead—he opened his eyes and beckoned to his nephew Samali. Samali, to everyone's amazement, understood what he was saying and interpreted his message. Bini declared that he had ascended to the sky and returned to teach them what was about to happen and what they themselves must do. Heaven, he said, had promised that the poor should be made rich and the rich poor; that the Indians should become like white men and speak a new language; and that great dogs (horses) would descend from the sky and raise a tumult as they ran about on earth. He himself was to unite in marriage, with fitting ceremony, every young man and young woman who had attained the necessary age; and the people were to dance with him day after day.

His relatives then conducted Bini from his hunting lodge to the village, where I myself saw him, being then about 8 years old. He was still unable to talk in our language, but used the language of the dead, which Samali interpreted for him. Yet he danced among the people, and they danced with him. One day he sent some young men to bring him a blossom-laden branch of a saskatoon tree, and as he danced with the blossoms in his mouth, ordered the people to dance their hardest with him. Presently he withdrew the blossoms from his mouth. To our astonishment they had changed to ripe berries.

Later a large crowd escorted him to Hagwilgate, and, at his command, assigned 12 young men to carry him over every stream. As we traveled along with packs on our backs (being very small, I myself did not carry a pack), some of the older people discussed what would happen if Bini wet his feet, and told the young men to let him wade through the next stream. When Bini saw his bodyguard walk over without waiting for him he said, "Very well. I'll wade

across. It was only to save you trouble that I made you carry me." Hardly had he set foot on the opposite bank when a terrific thunderstorm burst over us, though previously the sky had been cloudless. After this the Hagwilgate Indians believed all that Bini told them, and everything he prophesied has come true. He regained his ability to speak our Carrier tongue when we reached Hagwilgate.

Bini made only one mistake in his whole career, but that was a fatal one. He used a medicine man's rattle to heal a dying Babine native, and through thus contaminating the ways of heaven with those of the medicine men he brought about his own death.

The discrepancies and impossibilities in these biographies of the same reformer, all furnished by contemporaries and eyewitnesses of some of the events, show how little we can rely on Carrier traditions for reconstructing their earlier history. The natives have always lived in an age of miracles, and even today they look upon the interference of the supernatural world as an everyday affair, and see supernatural forces at work in the most trivial events. The mundane details of these events signify little compared with the necessity of maintaining a proper rapport between the Indian and the unseen world so that he may enjoy long life and successful hunting. To most of the Bulkley natives Christianity (and today they all adhere to the Roman Catholic church) has not abolished the supernatural world of their forefathers, but merely added a second one that has increased life's complexity because its teachers and missionaries condemn the old principality and demand undivided allegiance to the new. Some of the elder Indians, therefore, try to compromise. Christianity, they say, has introduced nothing that is radically new. Bini and his fellow prophets were ordinary medicine men, as others had been before them. Their shadows visited the sky in dreams, as other men's shadows had visited the homes of the animals; and they acquired from their dreams the usual medicine songs and medicine power. The dream-force that attacked Bini was not really different in kind from other dream-forces, though its "content" was different. The same dream-force had attacked Bini's uncle, Sami, then his brother, Sisteyel; that is why Sisteyel spoke rather crazily and at the last became blind. Bini happened to be made of sterner stuff than his predecessors; he gave full sway to the dream-force and thereby acquired the power to establish his gospel in the land. After Bini's death the same dream-force attacked his relative, Louis, but it was too strong for Louis, who could not obtain a medicine song and consequently became crazy and died. Last of all it attacked Jim Michel's wife, but, when the priest forbade her to voice her song, she also became crazy and died from the pent-up force to which she gave no outlet.

These struggles of the modern Bulkley Indians to reconcile their old religion with the religion that has been brought to them from

without stand out quite clearly in the career of an old Indian named Paul, who distinguished himself at Hazelton every Sunday by wearing a top hat, and a broad sash of purple satin thrown over one shoulder like a bandolier and decorated with gold rosettes and his name in gold letters, "Ease Paul" (pl. 34, fig. 1). The following incidents in his life were taken down from his own lips in 1924, the year before he died.

My father was Guxwoq, "Sleeper," a Hazelton Indian, but my mother was a Hagwilgate woman and my hunting grounds are at Mosquito Flat, 12 miles east of Hagwilgate. As a child I bore the name Sowetinye, "Walking Away," but when I was about 14 I was given another name Axweras, "Persistent Person," and again, when I was about 19, Watex, "Land Otter." Finally when I became a man I took the name Skagilth, "Grizzly Bear That Sleeps Across the road;" but I prefer myself the "baptismal" name, Ease Paul, that was given to me in a vision.

When I was a boy my father, who had recently been made chief, invited the Hagwilgate, Hazelton, and Babine Indians to a great potlatch that he proposed to hold in a meadow near Babine Lake. Many Hazelton and Hagwilgate families traveled with my own family, and we camped together for the night at a place known as "Gitksan camping-place." There a nephew of Satsa'n named Aiyuwindet, who was too poor to marry and consequently had no wife to arrange his bed, sat up in the night and called to the moon, "Travel fast. It is uncomfortable sleeping here alone." Several people shouted to him to stop, because it was not right to speak thus to the moon; but he kept on calling until at last he became tired and fell asleep.

Next evening we reached the meadow where my father was to give his potlatch, and the women busied themselves in collecting fir boughs for our beds. Aiyuwindet's nose then began to bleed copiously. He scooped out a hollow in the ashes of a fireplace and let the blood drip into it; but the hollow soon became full. Someone brought him a root-basket, and that also he filled with his blood. He sat there silent, while messengers went from house to house summoning the people to witness the fate of a man who had dared to talk disrespectfully to the moon. Some one said to him, "Why do you sit there and bleed to death? Stand up and ask the moon to heal you." Aiyuwindet did not answer. Presently blood began to pour from his eyes and from under his nails; and at last he toppled over and died. His relatives drew his body to one side and debated what they should do with it. But that night nearly every one in the camp fell sick and many died, including my father; for smallpox had broken out among us.

After my father's death, my uncle became head of our household and we returned to Hagwilgate. He said to me, "So many people are sick that there are not enough left to hunt and we are starving. You are young and active. Take this gun and go with my son up Rocher Deboulé mountain, where you may come upon some mountain goats."

My cousin and I traveled all day without seeing any game, and at night we took shelter in a hunting-lodge on the slope of the mountain. Before dawn I woke my companion and said, "Get up. We must kill a goat today"; but he answered, "It is too early yet. Wait till dawn." So I lay down again.

As I lay there, just before the dawn, a strange man appeared and said, "Why have you come hither?" "There are many sick in our village," I answered, "and we are in need of meat." "I know that," he said. "Have you



any powder?" "Yes," I replied. "Give it to me," he then said. "It is your own fault that sickness has broken out amongst you. You have sinned and used rattles." Taking some of my powder in his hand, he poured on it pure water from his mouth and rubbed it over my neck. "This will keep you from becoming sick. Can you make the sign of the cross?" I made it with my whole hand, but he corrected me, saying "That is not the proper way. Make it with the two middle fingers only, for the thumb and the other two fingers are small. It is useless for you to hunt goats up here. I am the spirit of fish and can give you fish. Go home now and fish; and stop the medicine man from using his rattle, for it is he who has brought the evil spirits that are killing you."

The spirit vanished, leaving in my hand a little water, which I rubbed over my neck. As I rubbed, a numbness crept over my body and my breathing became troubled. I said to my cousin, "Help me back to the village. A great sickness is coming over me." In the village I lay ill for many days, and during that period I was able to foretell who of all those struck down by the sickness would die.

After my recovery I became an excellent hunter, and could kill as many as 20 caribou in a day. Our hunting lodges at Mosquito Flat were crowded with relatives dependent on me for meat. One night when all my household was asleep a great light suddenly filled the cabin and slowly concentrated over my head, leaving the rest of the house dark. Within the light I saw the figure of the Great Spirit holding a little child on his breast. It did not speak to me, nor could I speak myself, but when I moved my foot a little it disappeared and the light vanished. The Great Spirit visited me several times thereafter, even though I married, but only when perfect silence reigned. Once, too, white spirits visited me and told me that my name should be Ease Paul; that is why I wear those letters on my chest, though I have added my chief's title below them to appease my family. Now for 3 years no spirit has visited me, perhaps because my brain is growing weak. I have been a faithful Christian for 30 years, have never attended a ceremony where the Indians were using drums or rattles, and have constantly implored my countrymen to put away those instruments.

#### MEDICINE MEN

Among the Bulkley Carrier, as we saw in the last chapter, the old doctrine that every youth could, by seeking, acquire a guardian spirit and medicine power underwent radical revision through the influence of new ideas that seeped in from the coast. These new ideas largely reversed the previous attitude of the Indian toward the supernatural world. He still depended on that world to guide him through the vicissitudes of life, but he no longer regarded himself as the active agent in bringing about the necessary contact. Rather he believed that the spirit world itself selected its intermediaries (whether they willed it or not), and that it revealed its selection by producing a state of dreamy phthisis ending, unless properly treated, in death. While the intermediary lay inert and listless, unaware of the reason for his condition and, therefore, unable to cure himself without aid, his sickness evoked from his kinsmen contradictory explanations as earlier ideas struggled with new to hold their place. Some natives, the con-

servatives of their group, maintained that during his dreams the shadow of the patient had wandered to the home of the eagle, the salmon, or the bear, beneath some lake or mountain, where it had remained imprisoned, unable to return; that the body in consequence languished, and the sick man could not regain his health until a medicine man recaptured the shadow and restored it to its home. Others conceived that the shadow returned from the spirit world, indeed, but acquired there a medicine song which remained below the threshold of consciousness pent up like an ill-digested meal, sapped away the man's strength, and caused a slow languor and decline; these Indians, therefore, described him as being afflicted with the medicine-song sickness, and sought his cure through a revelation of the buried medicine song and its out-welling from his lips. Quite different was the interpretation favored by the majority of the natives. They asserted that entrenched within the patient's body lay some supernatural force—the shadow of a bird or an animal; that without reinforcement from the power in other medicine men, the sick man lacked the ability to throw off this incubus or to transform it into a source of strength; and that while the communion of the man's and animal's shadows certainly induced subconscious dreams and one or more medicine songs, no cure was possible until the patient was relieved of his burden or beheld with his own eyes the supernatural shadow within him and acquired from without the additional power necessary for its control. These variant theories led to three slightly different schools of practice. One group of practitioners claimed to recover the shadow from its supernatural prison house; another to open the patient's eyes to his dreams and release his pent-up medicine song; while a third sought to discover and extract the incubating shadow, then either to reinsert it, if the patient was fitted to receive it again, or else to dispose of it in some other way. In their actual treatment of individual cases, the first and third groups of practitioners looked for the ebullition of a medicine song just as much as the second group; but they regarded the song as an invariable concomitant of the sickness rather than its primary cause.

When a man became ill, therefore, his wife or kinsmen called in a medicine man, who brought with him a bag containing his outfit—a rattle (into which some practitioners summoned their guardian spirits), a coronet of grizzly-bear claws, a bone or skin image (bea) of his guardian spirit, animal or fish, to suspend from his neck, and a skin cloak, usually the hide of a bear or wolf. After donning this paraphernalia and seating himself beside the patient, he demanded a bowl of water, sipped up a mouthful and blew it out again to lubricate the passage of the "sickness." He then shook his rattle and chanted one of his dream, or medicine songs, in which the

audience joined. Sipping up more water he chanted a second song, sometimes a third. Finally, he sat silent with his eyes closed, but with his mind searching out the innermost recesses of his patient's body to discern, if possible, the shadow.

Any practitioner, whatever his school, might declare the shadow missing, for all natives believed that medicine men commonly used their powers to steal the shadows of their enemies. If this was the doctor's diagnosis, he returned home, and during the night sent forth his own shadow to secure the release of the captive, or to regain it by force and lodge it for safekeeping in his body. In the morning he visited his patient again, proclaimed his success, and, dipping up a little water from a basin, sipped it into his mouth and spouted it over the sick man. The audience then drummed and chanted the doctor's medicine song while he shook his rattle and danced vigorously round the room. After several minutes he stopped, rapped himself from stomach to chest, vomited the errant shadow into his cupped hands, and, laying them on the patient's head, blew it into his body. Thus he restored the vital spark, dispelled the cause of the sickness, and set the patient on the road to health.

A practitioner of the first school, however, might find that the shadow was imprisoned in the home of an eagle or a bear; that the patient's malady arose, not from sorcery, but from enforced contact with the supernatural world. He then restored the shadow in exactly the same way as if it had been stolen by a medicine man, but his patient forthwith burst into song, the medicine song that his shadow had learned during its imprisonment. This outburst of song marked the first step in his recovery, and also in his acquisition of medicine power and elevation to the rank of a medicine man.

It was not possible to ascertain what special symptoms, if any, the medicine men correlated with the loss of a shadow. Every practitioner claimed the power to discover (though not always to release) a shadow held captive by another medicine man; but he also maintained, whenever the sickness seemed attributable to enforced contact with the spiritual world, that only a medicine man who had experienced the same contact, i. e., contact with the same supernatural being, was able to effect a cure. Hence, he often declared himself unable to discern the cause of a man's illness, and advised the relatives to call in other practitioners. Several in turn might shake their rattles and chant their songs over the sick man before one of them would undertake his cure.

We have seen how the practitioner of the first school operated; he pretended to bring back the shadow from the home of the animal or fish that had imprisoned it. The practitioner of the second school adopted a different method. Sitting beside his patient with a bowl

of water in front of him, he discerned and disclosed the sick man's dream, and bade him recall the medicine song that went with it. The revelation of the submerged dream released the song, which escaped as by explosion from the patient's lips. As it died away he belched out his accumulated sickness and obtained relief.

If a man falls ill with a medicine song that does not come out of him he wastes away and dies; but if it comes out of him and he sings it night after night, he recovers his health and becomes a powerful medicine man. Just as eating bad food causes a pain in the stomach, and, unless vomited, sickness and death, so it is with the song; unless it comes out of you, unless you sing it to the accompaniment of a rattle, and vomit after singing, you become very ill and die. The missionaries now tell us that this singing is wrong, so today people who are stricken with songs are afraid to let them issue and in consequence fall sick and die. My own daughter has this malady; she has spells of craziness, because she is afraid of the priest and seldom allows her song to issue. Whenever she does allow the song to come out of her for a few nights she feels better, and if she would only sing every night for a year she might recover completely. But she has another sickness also, for she was caught by kyan (see below, p. 567); so I am afraid it would be very hard for any medicine man to cure her of both maladies.

For many months young Djolukyet lay on his back, afflicted with a medicine sickness that no one seemed able to diagnose. Finally, his parents called in a famous medicine man named Wisanwan, who brought to assist him about a dozen other practitioners. The boy lay in the middle of the room beside the fire, the medicine men sat in line facing him, and the large audience lined the walls. Each medicine man in turn walked round the patient, singing and shaking his rattle; and the laity swelled his song with their voices, while his comrades, with closed eyes and pounding rattles, concentrated their thoughts on the case before them and prayed for a cure. Last of all Wisanwan rose and said, "Djolukyet here lies near to death, absorbed in his dreams. I will reveal those dreams to him; I will bring the object before his eyes." "Good," ejaculated his assistants; "We will help you with our prayers." Wisanwan placed a beaver hide on his own chest, and another on Djolukyet's, for the beaver was not only his own *eyilseni*, the object of his own dreams, but of Djolukyet's also, though the boy did not know it. He then removed from his back the hide of a mountain goat, another *eyilseni* that he possessed, and laid it on the floor beside the fire, where it waved up and down of its own accord as he shook his rattle. With his free right hand he raised the beaver hide on Djolukyet's chest—raised it just a little, for it clung as though it were the patient's own skin. Instantly Djolukyet obtained release, became conscious of his dream, and, opening wide his mouth, exploded with the medicine song that he still uses today:

sa-bekyo asinler setelner aiyakke.

(A big Dolly Varden trout did it to me; it tried to swallow me. O my.)

Waving his hands in the air he rose to his feet and sang this song again and again. Every evening for about a year and a half he sang and danced until at last he was completely cured, and able himself to practice as a medicine man. During his convalescence and training, another medicine man made for him a wooden image of the Dolly Varden trout, his *eyilseni*, to suspend from the ceiling over his head; and whenever Djolukyet danced and sang beneath this image it swayed to and fro of its own volition.

The practitioner of the third school began like the others; he sipped a mouthful of water, blew it out, and sang one of his medicine songs to the shaking of his rattle. After repeating this procedure two or three times he exclaimed, "Now I see what is wrong with you. I see the shadow of a bear (or other animal) inside your body. You have been dreaming of bears so often that at last one has taken possession of you. Or you have done wrong, eaten fresh meat in the company of an unclean woman, and the angry bear has lodged itself inside you." His assistants called out, "Remove it from his body." The medicine man chanted a few minutes longer, working himself into a state of ecstasy that brought out the perspiration on every limb; he then laid down his rattle, beat a tattoo on the patient's chest with both hands, and pulled out (or sucked out and caught in his hands) the obsessing bear-shadow. Holding it firmly aloft like a bayonet, he cried, "What shall I do with it? Shall I put it back inside him? Shall I make it enter my own body? Or shall I send it away?"

Often it rested with the patient himself to decide the shadow's future. If he said, "I am too weak and ill to endure it. Put it inside your own body," the medicine man laid his hands on his own chest and blew the bear shadow into himself. Being already gifted with bear medicine, or, in other words, having the bear as his guardian spirit, he sustained no harm, and his patient, relieved of the incubus, gradually recovered his health. He recovered also if he requested the shadow to be sent away, and the medicine man blew it into space. But if he said, "Put it back inside me," then he signified his desire to retain the bear as a guardian spirit, and required help from the medicine men to endure and control it. Accordingly they rose to their feet, still singing, and gathered round the fire, where each in turn received the bear shadow and warmed it over the hot coals before handing it on to his fellows. Thus shearing it progressively of its strength they passed it again, after two or three rounds, into the hands of the principal medicine man, who waved it to and fro before the patient's eyes that he, too, might see and recognize it, although it remained invisible to the laity. He then laid it against the patient's chest, blew it into his body, and bade him sing his dream song. With the singing of the dream song the ceremony ended for the day, unless the medicine man discovered a second shadow lurking within the sick man's body and treated it in the same manner.

In most cases a medicine man, whatever his school, had to work over his patient, night after night, for several weeks or months. Theoretically, his powers of healing increased with the amount of skins and money he received in payment, although the resources of a Carrier family were very limited, in spite of contributions from



its kin. Moreover, whether a patient regained his health quickly or slowly, he needed several months of training before he was ready to graduate as a fully qualified medicine man. So usually 1 or 2 years elapsed between the time of his submission to treatment and the date of the final potlatch when his "physician" publicly inducted him into his new station and allowed him to hang out his shingle.

All the people of the village were invited to this potlatch. While the laity crowded against the walls, the medicine men who had assisted in the cure sat in line facing the ex-patient, who lay in the middle beside the fire. The procedure varied a little according to circumstances. Sometimes the ex-patient merely danced a few times round the room behind his healer and instructor, both shaking rattles and chanting the ex-patient's song or songs. On other occasions each medicine man arose in turn, shaking his rattle and chanting a song of his own that was taken up by the audience. Rubbing the novice's chest, he caught in his hands the incubating shadow, inserted it into his own body with a prayer that it might receive some of his strength, and restored it to the novice again. So strenuously did he labor in his task, so vehemently did he strive to impart some of his own supernatural power, that the perspiration poured down his face and he returned to his seat well-nigh exhausted. After each of his assistants in turn had carried out his part, the principal medicine man raised the novice up, placed a coronet of grizzly-bear claws on his head, and exhorted him to chant his medicine song. The novice then walked round the room, shaking his rattle and chanting his song, all the medicine men fell in behind him, and the entire gathering joined in the singing. A few presents distributed at the close of the ceremony concluded the potlatch. A new medicine man had made his debut.

In outward appearance these medicine men—now called diyinne, but in earlier times nilkin—were indistinguishable from other Indians except at ceremonies, when they wore the coronet of grizzly-bear claws, the special cloak, and the necklet with the bone image of the guardian spirit, that were mentioned on a previous page. A few, to ensure success in the chase, painted or carved the images of their guardian spirits on their snowshoes and arrows. Morice states (1904) that Carrier medicine men farther east, especially those of Stuart Lake, painted them also on rocks, but the Bulkley Indians deny this practice, asserting that such pictographs as occur in their own territory were made for pastime only.

Of the special powers credited to a medicine man through his possession of guardian or dream spirits, first and foremost was his ability to restore human shadows that had been lost or stolen, and to cure persons obsessed by the same spirits as himself, or, as some

Indians expressed it, afflicted with the same dreams. Many thought that the violation of a taboo rendered a man peculiarly liable to obsession by an angry spirit, and that confession aided the medicine man in his diagnosis, though it could not alone effect a cure. Since the spirits were numerous, and a medicine man could control only those with which he himself had communion, the Indians needed a specialist for every class of spirit (bear, beaver, etc.), and required many medicine men to keep their communities in health. They still remember another theory of disease, namely, that it arose from a stick, a stone, or other object magically implanted by a sorcerer, and removable only by a medicine man's discernment and suction; but this theory they discarded many years ago in favor of the doctrine of a lost shadow or of obsession from the world of spirits. Today, they say, the medicine man who practices witchcraft does not implant something in his victim's body, but steals and imprisons his shadow; and though this occurs quite commonly, being partly responsible for the high mortality from which they suffer, they no longer dare to kill the suspected sorcerer, as happened not infrequently in the nineteenth century. As late as 1885, indeed, Kwi-s, the chief of the Beaver phratry, shot a medicine man whom he suspected of stealing his brother's shadow; for his brother had intrigued with the medicine man's wife, and both the woman and her lover had died soon after the aggrieved husband composed and openly chanted a song, "My wife shall die."

The most powerful of all Hagwilgate medicine men was Yip, who died during that great epidemic which we now know was smallpox. As it carried off one man after another he could see it traveling through the air, and dreamed that he should catch it in a salmon basket. He said to the villagers, "If I can hold this sickness in a salmon basket until the cold weather comes we shall be saved; but if the basket explodes I myself shall die 2 days later." The people set the trap on the dry ground and watched over it all night. Shortly before daylight it shook and burst. Yip died 2 days later; the smallpox was too powerful even for him.

The medicine man whose guardian spirit was a bear, a beaver, a caribou, or other animal enjoyed, the natives say, unusual success in killing that species of game. He was permitted to eat its flesh, and did so quite freely, although among the Stuart Lake Carrier, according to Morice, it would have been taboo to him.

Two Hagwilgate brothers who were hunting bears one summer sat down beside a small lake and watched two loons swimming round and round in the placid water. Presently one man turned to his brother and said, "You have told me that you are always dreaming about loon. See the wakes of these two birds, stretching like ropes toward us. Take hold of one wake and capture the bird at its end. Then I will believe you." His brother answered, "You know that no one has ever done that before. Nevertheless, I will try." He rubbed his hands in the water, and the end of the wake

approached him. He pulled on the wake as though it were a rope, and the loon drew nearer and nearer until he captured it in his hands. Then he laid the dead bird at his brother's feet and said, "Here is the loon. Let us eat it." But his brother was afraid and answered, "If I eat it I may die. Truly you are a medicine man."

Some medicine men were credited with power to control the weather. Dressed in their special costumes they would shake their rattles, chant their songs, and call for rain or sunshine. In a droughty summer such a man could cause the rain to fall by merely washing his body in a creek.

There are many eyewitnesses still living who attest the marvelous feats ostensibly performed by these medicine men through power derived from dreams. One man, they say, ripped open his stomach while he was dancing, and by merely passing his hand over the gaping wound made his body whole again; another allowed his head to be split open with an axe, and after a brief interval rose up unharmed; a third rubbed his finger over a hard boulder and produced a deep groove visible to this day; and several swallowed fire from blazing torches of birchbark.

About 40 years ago, at a time when many Indians from Hagwilgate, Hazelton, and other places had gathered at Old Fort Babine, a number of medicine men gave a display of their powers. Some pushed porcupine quills deep into their bodies, others, knives that had been heated in the fire. Then someone scornfully asked George, a young Babine medicine man, what he could do. George answered, "Bring me two dishpans and fill them with clear water." When the pans had been set before him, he shook his rattle and danced till the perspiration streamed down his body—for a medicine man's powers always increase as he perspires. He then raised his hand in the air and prayed for power to fulfill his dream, a dream that his stomach filled with black fluid for 3 days, emptied itself, filled with blood, and emptied itself again. Still praying and leaping he approached the two pans, lifted one in his hands and carried it round for inspection. The clear water had turned to blood. He spilt a little beside the fire, laid the pan down, called on the people to sing faster and louder, and, after more dancing and leaping, raised the second pan. In this one the water had become thick and black like tar. Suddenly he swung around and emptied it over his fellow medicine men, who crouched and covered their faces in fear. The black fluid, as it fell, changed to eagle down, which lighted gently on their heads like soft snow.

A spectacular but not uncommon feat was fire-walking, of which perhaps the latest exhibition occurred at Hagwilgate in 1918. An eyewitness on that occasion stated that after the unconsumed logs from a large fire had been rolled to one side, leaving a bed of red-hot coals and ashes, the medicine man, a Moricetown Indian, walked four times barefooted through the glowing embers and emerged unscathed, although his feet sank nearly 5 inches into the ashes. Two other natives who had witnessed a similar performance some years earlier declared that the medicine man was wholly unconscious of his move-

ments, and that, without the testimony of his countrymen, he would have regarded the episode as a dream.

We have seen that the Bulkley Indians, under influences that seeped in from the coast, obtained the notion that medicine power came from the spiritual world not by man's seeking, but through sickness that attacked him even against his will; yet that they still clung to their earlier ideas in regarding this spiritual world as inseparably associated with the world of animals, birds, and fish. It was still the beaver, the eagle, or the salmon that imprisoned a man's shadow in its mysterious home and taught him a medicine song; or else it was the shadow of one of these creatures that took possession of his body. There were, however, other influences, coming in from the same source during the first half, apparently, of the nineteenth century, that gave rise to a slightly different class of medicine men, a class that introduced among the Bulkley Indians features that properly characterized the widely spread Cannibal Society of the Pacific Coast. These new medicine men received their "call" not through the usual form of sickness, but through a violent hysteria that recurred every few hours or days, when it induced in the subject cannibalistic cravings that made him a menace to his fellow men, even his own kin. In the eyes of the Indians he was kyanilkyot, seized by one of those mysterious forces called kyan that have their home in the mountains; and he could be cured only by a kyanyuantan, a man who had experienced a similar affliction and acquired the power to control his kyan. The cure came slowly, in from 1 to 3 years, but on his recovery the patient also became a kyanyuantan, an accredited member of the loosely organized group or society whose speciality was the treatment of this strange complaint.

About 32 years ago, i. e., about 1892, Old Sam, who is now our principal kyanyuantan doctor, was camping out in his hunting grounds when he heard a cry, "hu hu," from a neighboring mountain. The cry was repeated, and though he had never been ill in his life before, a burning fever spread over his body, passed away, and came on again. He prepared his bed for the night and was about to lie down when he heard other sounds from the mountain, the beating of a drum and the thumping of sticks on sticks, that brought to his mind thoughts of kyan and its incursions. Suddenly there came a whistling noise, and something, he knew not what, lifted him from his feet, and hurled him to the back of his lodge, lifted him again and hurled him almost into the fire. There he lay in a daze, but after a few minutes he rubbed some cold, wet snow over his face and cleared his brain.

In the morning he returned to the house where he had left his wife and children. Hitherto he had been very fond of them, but now he was conscious of a deep antipathy and would not go near them. As the inmates were preparing for bed they heard a queer sound from something that had accompanied Old Sam; but no one paid any attention to it, and in the morning the whole party started out for Hagwilgate several days' march away. Throughout this journey Old

Sam's brain seemed to cloud at intervals, and he nourished an impulse to devour his children; but he offered no open violence, and the party reached Hagwilgate without mishap. I was then a lad in my teens, and can remember seeing them arrive late one afternoon, men, women, and even children carrying packs on their backs.

Three or four days after their arrival Old Sam cleaned four steel traps and prepared to set them along Bulkley River. His wife, knowing that he was not feeling well, remonstrated, but he answered her, "The winter is long and the children need more clothes. A foxskin or two will help us." "I will go with you then," she said, "and stand back when you set the traps." So the two went out in the morning, set their traps about 2 miles from Hagwilgate, and started home together in the moonlight. As they walked along, there came from the mountains a peculiar sound like the whirl of wings or an approaching tempest. It drew nearer, and from the woods rose an answering clatter as of a medicine man's rattle. Old Sam trembled violently, for he could see the kyan that to his wife's eyes remained invisible; and when a whistle shrieked he fell flat in the snow, his clothes dropped from him, and he vanished from sight. His wife fled in panic to the village, where she gasped to my mother and others, "My man was telling me a hunting story to shorten our homeward walk when he fell to the ground, shed his clothes, and disappeared."

About half an hour later Old Sam himself arrived. He was stark naked, his eyes were gleaming, and his quivering lips gave forth wild shrieks of "hu hu hu." Gnashing his teeth, he tried to seize one of his children, but the people restrained him and forced some garments on him. One of his relatives hastened away immediately to Kispiox, whence he returned on the following afternoon with a kyanyuantan doctor named Djolusanak and his assistants.

Old Sam had been quiet during the day, but as evening approached the frenzy attacked him again. He tore off his clothes, broke open the door, and raced about in the snow. Djolusanak and his kyanyuantan assistants pursued him, while the members of the cognate kalullim society inside the house pounded long planks with sticks and chanted medicine songs. Old Sam knocked down several of his pursuers and tried to bite them, but Djolusanak caught him by the hair and with the help of others dragged him indoors. So contagious was the malady from which he suffered that no one was allowed within except the kyanyuantan and kalullim people; but listeners outside the house heard Djolusanak remark, "I have discovered what is wrong with him. He desires human flesh. Tomorrow I shall give him dog to eat"; and late that evening Old Sam's brother bought six fat dogs.

The villagers prepared a great feast for the following day. Soon after dawn Djolusanak sent round word that they should stay in their homes, and that when he escorted Old Sam through the houses, one after another, they should cover their heads with blankets and pray that Utakke would cure him. At the same time he warned them that Old Sam was so dangerous he might break loose and bite the face of anyone who neglected to cover himself. In spite of this warning I peeped through a little hole in my blanket, and saw him, stark naked, devouring an unskinned dog that he clutched in his arms; and people say that he devoured six dogs as he visited from house to house. His guardians finally led him back to the potlatch hall, where they danced around him, and shook their rattles. Then he woke up sane, and said "What is the matter with me? I must have been dreaming." Since that time he has experienced no further attacks.

Old Sam had what we call Indian sickness, that only an Indian doctor can cure. It is most prevalent in the vicinity of Kitimat, where many kyan haunt a neighboring hill. Once a man caught in that district by kyan became so



violent that the people, afraid to wait for a doctor, put hot stones on his stomach and burnt a hole right through him. He jumped to his feet and ran shouting towards the mountain, where he disappeared without leaving a trace. Kyan took possession of him permanently.

One old Bulkley Indian cherished the idea that kyan was but a collective term covering all the spirits of the animal world, and that possession by kyan was not a new phenomenon, but merely a variation of the old relationship that had always existed between the Indian and this spiritual domain. The shadows of the grizzly, the otter, the owl, the salmon, and other creatures, he claimed, dwell in houses beneath lakes or inside mountains, and when a man is seized by kyan, becomes kyanilkyot, his shadow wanders away to one of these houses during his dreams and becomes imprisoned there. Smoke or water then seems to swoop down into his body at intervals, rendering him crazy, and he cannot recover until a kyanyuantan travels in his dream to the same house and recovers the shadow. The most violent form of insanity arises from the otter, which sometimes (in dreams) takes the form of a girl or youth, seduces a man or woman and carries off its victim's shadow; insanity from this cause is well-nigh incurable. He himself, he believed had been kyanilkyot, caught by kyan; and he actually shook with incipient hysteria as he described his experience. He was traveling to Babine, and had camped for the night under a group of trees when he began to tremble violently and was seized with a mad impulse to run away. Unable to eat or sleep he lashed his body to a tree and lay down on the ground. Then a black eagle shouted to him from the top of a mountain, and, swooping down, settled with a loud explosion on a tree above his head. He swooned, and did not recover until nearly sunset the next day. During this trance he seemed to enter a great tunnel in the mountain, where two songs came to him from opposite directions. One ran:

he ye nesateltsai eyesenlea he ya he ya.

(A noise that moved away into the distance took hold of me.)

And the other:

he ya he ya tsilyak wate eyesenlea.

(A man who remained in the mountain took hold of me.)

Now and again, even today, the same strange feeling comes over him, but it always vanishes as soon as he takes his rattle and chants these songs. Because he has been caught by kyan, he ranks as a medicine man, and is sometimes called in to heal the sick. When he sings and shakes his rattle over his patient, night after night, he can generally see within the patient's chest the shadow of the grizzly, the beaver, or whatever creature it may be that has caused the sickness. Then he withdraws it into his hands, forces his own power

into it, and restores it to the patient's body. But he is not a kyanyuantan, is not a member of that society, because the kyan that attacked him was not powerful enough to bring on insanity or to call for treatment by the kyanyuantan.

The majority of the Bulkley Indians flatly rejected this interpretation. To them this old man was an ordinary diyinne or medicine man, and his visitation from the animal world was quite different in character from an attack by kyan. Some distinguished three kinds of sickness (apart from wounds and ailments obviously brought on by material causes): The ordinary medicine sickness induced by contact with shadows of the animal world and characterized by phthisis and dreamy languor; violent insanity caused by an otter in human form; and possession by kyan. Still more limited the number to two, regarding the otter sickness as only an aggravated form of possession by kyan. They often spoke of kyan as though it were a formless, indefinite but living force, as when they described it as a devouring sickness that travels invisible, though just as much alive as a man or animal; yet quite as often they insisted that there were many kyan, not all possessed of equal powers, whence some of their victims became violently insane and others only mildly deranged. What primarily distinguished seizure by kyan from every other sickness was a periodic hysteria or dementia associated with a craving for human flesh.

There can be no doubt that this kyan sickness, and the kyanyuantan society based on it, was copied from the cannibal society of the neighboring Gitksan, itself derived from the tribes of the coast. Among the Gitksan, too, the initiates concealed their rites from the laity and devoured human corpses and dogs as they paraded through the villages—or at least pretended to devour them, for in recent times they have not actually eaten the raw flesh, but chewed alder bark instead and let the red juice drip from their lips. The lay Indians in both tribes stand in such awe of the society that they commonly propitiate its members with trivial gifts in order to retain their goodwill; and at Hagwilgate any one who enters a member's house by mistake, even though he is himself a medicine man, atones for the error with a small sum of money. Their awe of the society rests mainly on fear, for they credit its members with power to drive kyan into any person who offers it affront. Hagwilgate natives have heard that at Skeena Crossing—and what happened there might easily happen in their own community—

A man once ridiculed the cannibal society and accused it of deceiving the people; but a short time afterward he himself, through the agency of the society members, was seized by kyan and became demented. The society escorted him through the village and worked over him until his condition became more normal,

then ordered him to stay alone in the mountain all winter and eat devilsclub. When he returned at the end of the winter the kyan gripping him was so powerful that though they bound him with ropes he broke away, killed and ate two or three men and threw away their bones. The society then said, "We can't restrain him. Let him loose." Instantly he vanished toward the mountain and was not seen again for a whole year. Then one night the villagers heard loud shouts of "hu hu" from the top of the mountain. The laity hid in their houses, while the members of the kyanyuantan and kalullim societies hastily put on their head bands, necklets, armlets, leglets, and skirts of red-cedar bark, sprinkled their heads with swan's-down, and gathered in an open spot, beating a drum. Then the man flew through the air crying, "hu hu hu," and, lighting in their midst, said, "my kyan is so powerful that if I remain among you I shall devour you all. So I shall not come back again." As he spoke feathers sprouted from his arms and face and he changed to an eagle that flew away and disappeared over the mountain. This was his fate for ridiculing the kyanyuantan society.

Today, nevertheless, whatever may have been the case in the past before European influences began to break down the social order, there is an important difference in the attitudes of the two peoples toward the phenomenon. It may mean nothing that the Bulkley Carrier, who now considers everyone a noble, at least potentially, believes that in his community any individual whatsoever may be seized by kyan and ultimately gain entrance to the society, whereas the neighboring Gitksan limits membership to persons of noble rank and regards that class alone as liable to invasion by the supernatural force. The Carrier, however, looks upon the kyan sickness as a calamity that he would gladly avoid, even though recovery makes him a member of the society and brings him prestige and profit; but the Gitksan, except insofar as he is modernized and scorns his old customs, regards membership as highly desirable and the qualifying sickness as a matter of little concern. Indeed, if he is of noble birth, he may even offer himself as a candidate, indicating that in many cases the sickness is either simulated or self-induced. To the one people the society is primarily a group of medicine men joined together to treat a peculiar and dangerous disease; to the other it is an organization for conferring prestige and influence on a limited section of the community by means of a spectacular initiation rite that invokes the sanction of the supernatural.

The following episode will illustrate this attitude of the Gitksan:

About 1913 a low-born youth of Kispiox (a Gitksan village 16 miles from Hagwilgate) acquired a little wealth through working in the coastal canneries, and became so ambitious that he determined to enter the wilala society, the name by which the kyanyuantan, or cannibal society, is known among the Gitksan. He made his ambition known, but the members of the wilala and kalullim societies, at a joint meeting, decided that his low birth debarred him from the wilala society, but allowed him to enter the inferior kalullim. This, however, did not satisfy him. He invited the villagers to a potlatch at which he imitated in his dance the frenzy of the wilala member, and, before distributing the huge pile of skins, coats, and money he had heaped on the floor, made

his grandmother step forward and announce, "This huge pile of goods belongs to the poor young man whom you refused to make a wilala." The members of the society said nothing, but the next time the people gathered in the potlatch house they set side by side near the fire a goose with level outspread wings and a small duck that had one wing stretched high in the air. Then a wilala man rose up and asked, "What is the meaning of this? Is not this goose a noble bird?" "Yes, it is indeed a noble bird," responded his fellow members. "But this duck here, of what use is it?" he questioned. "It is a worthless bird that no one wants," they answered. "If that is the case, why does it stretch its wing so high above the goose?" And the answer came amid laughter, "It wants to be a wilala." Thus they humiliated the presumptuous youth.

Such an incident could hardly occur among the Bulkley Indians, where the kyan sickness seems never to be fictitious or consciously self-induced, but is looked upon as fatal unless treated with unremitting care. In the winter of 1924-25, during my visit to Hagwilgate, Old Sam's wife was smitten by the disease, although she was well advanced in years, short, stout, and apparently healthy. An attack of hysteria overcame her each evening toward sunset, and she whistled shrilly and cried, "hu hu." In her dreams she had seen a stick about 4 feet long wrapped in three places with cedar bark; and throughout the day, as she lay on her couch against the wall of her house, a copy of this stick lay beside her. At times she would wander painfully to the kitchen behind, using the stick to lean upon.

The sickness had lasted for several days until her husband, devoid of confidence in the neighboring white physician, determined to use his own power as a kyanyuantan doctor and to treat her in accordance with the old-time custom. The noise of his drumming and singing disturbed the white school teacher on the reserve, who ordered Old Sam and the fellow members of his society to cease their humbug; but since he was afraid to enter Old Sam's house, his exhortations from without passed unheeded. He complained to the white policeman at Hazelton, and to the Indian agent there. This alarmed Old Sam and his people, for they feared that the sick woman, deprived of proper treatment for her malady, would grow worse and die. They recalled two similar cases within the preceding 10 years when the Indians had listened to the priest and had refrained from using their old-time method; and two other cases when the priest and the white doctor had sent the patients to the insane asylum at New Westminister, near Vancouver. All four of these patients had died within a few months, whereas their own treatment, they believed, had nearly always succeeded. Old Sam himself had been cured, and the wife of Felix, my interpreter; and there were two other women in the village suffering from the same malady who were almost cured.

The Indians, therefore, invited me to attend one of their performances that I might substantiate their protest that it was neither

improper nor harmful. It might begin at 4 o'clock, they said, or at 6 o'clock, whatever time the symptoms overtook the sick woman. I reached Felix's house at 4 o'clock and went over with him to interview Old Sam. His wife seemed quite normal at that hour, but he promised to send us word as soon as her ailment developed. We therefore returned to Felix's house and waited. The account that follows is taken directly from my notes, written during the ceremony and revised the following morning.

Just before 6 a messenger put his head inside the door and announced that the patient was becoming restless. Felix had gone to visit a neighbor for a few minutes, but his wife, who, as a member of the kyanyuantan society, was to play a leading part in the performance, hastily dressed, combed her hair, and placed in a flour sack the head band of cedar bark that she would wear throughout the ceremony. Her brother and I followed her to Old Sam's house, a new building consisting of a large, rectangular living room with a kitchen behind. In the center of the living room was a camp stove, along the right wall half a dozen chairs, and on the opposite side, against the other wall, Old Sam's wife, lying on a pile of blankets. In three corners were some wooden chests, while in the right-hand corner nearest the door lay a blind old woman, wife of Netipish, chief of the Gilserhyu phratry, who was slowly dying in the Hazelton hospital. There she lay throughout the entire evening, helpless and apparently unconcerned.

Two other Indians, a man and a woman, had entered the house just ahead of us. The woman, who was dressed entirely in black, had been stricken by the kyan sickness 2 years before, but her cure was now almost complete. In her hand she carried a stick about 18 inches long, representing the stick that had appeared in her dreams. The man, like the brother of Mrs. Felix, belonged to the kalullim society, whose members assist the kyanyuantan society in their rituals.

We sat on the chairs at the side of the room, quietly talking. From time to time Old Sam's wife emitted from her bed a shrill whistling sound, and at intervals a "hu" like a distant wolf. The two women sitting near me caught the infection and broke their conversation with similar sounds. Presently the woman in black rose and drew down the blinds on all the windows so that no one could peer in from the outside. Then she lit a lantern and went out, returning a few minutes later with a young Indian woman, the wife of a Chinaman who was living on the edge of the reserve. This Chinaman's wife was convalescing from the most dangerous of all ailments, violent dementia, caused by constantly dreaming about the land otter.

After a brief conversation together, the three women removed their moccasins and unbound their hair, and the woman in black drew off the moccasins from the feet of the principal patient, Old Sam's wife. Mrs. Felix took out of her bag the head band of red-cedar bark, the woman in black produced similar bands from a chest in the corner, and every person in the room (except myself) placed one on his or her head. The women then sprinkled eagle down over their hair, while Old Sam brought out a tambourine and pushed in front of our chairs two planks 7 feet long by 4 inches wide, which we were to pound with sticks. Finally Mrs. Old Sam shuffled from her bed into the middle of the room and squatted there; the woman in black squatted behind her, and the Chinaman's wife placed herself third in the line. Old Sam, Mrs. Felix, her brother, and the third man remained seated on the



chairs against the wall, Mrs. Felix's brother holding the tambourine, the others short sticks with which to pound the planks. Thus we waited in silence.

Suddenly a whistle shrilled, blown by Old Sam, though none of us saw it. To the Indians it blew kyan into the room. The Chinaman's wife flung her head to the floor with a shriek and beat a wild tattoo with her hands on the bare boards, while her two companions sighed loudly "hu hu hu," and swayed their bodies up and down and from side to side. Old Sam from his chair began to shout his medicine-song, and his assistants joined in, beating the tambourine and pounding the planks. The three women in the middle were seized with violent hysteria; their eyes were staring and dilated, their bodies swayed, their hands quivered as with a palsy. Old Sam's wife, holding her long stick before her in both hands, raised it up and down jerkily; the woman in black swung her shorter stick first to one side, then to the other; while the Chinaman's wife, more violent than either, shuffled along the floor, her head down and her hands beating the boards or clawing the air rhythmically in front of her. Occasionally this woman raised her head and faced the singers in an attitude of wild adoration, trying, like her companions, to join in the song, but, like them, able to utter only shrieks, or whistling sounds, or loud sighs of "hu hu hu."

The song, repeated over and over again, louder and with more frantic drumbeats and pounding of sticks whenever the women's frenzy threatened to break out into greater violence, lasted some 15 minutes. It contained two or three significant words, but from lack of an interpreter I could not follow them. Suddenly it stopped, and there was an interval of about 10 seconds during which the women sighed loudly and repeatedly "hu hu."

Old Sam now started up another song, translated thus by Felix, who came in at this moment and sat down beside me:

A big beaver's nose goes inside the mountain.

The music stirred up the women again, causing them to resume their frantic gestures. Sometimes they faced the drum and executed a kind of squatting dance in front of it, their waving arms and swaying bodies reminding me strongly of Malayan dances. The extreme paroxysm of their first frenzy, however, had passed over, and their movements seemed more controlled by the rhythm of the chant. As the song continued Mrs. Old Sam began to "hu hu" vigorously again, and Mrs. Felix, who herself had caught the infection and "hu hued" once or twice while pounding her plank, rose and slowly danced on her toes toward her. Stretching out her hand, she raised Mrs. Old Sam to her feet, braced her arm with her own, and led her round the room in a slow rhythmic dance, during which the patient continued to bow her head over her horizontally held stick and toss it backward again. The woman in black danced on her toes behind them, flinging out her short stick first on one side, then on the other. Last of all, after two or three futile efforts, the Chinaman's wife struggled to her feet and danced in their train, with her head lowered, her face almost concealed by her hair, and her hands waving gracefully to right and left alternately. As they passed me, so close that I had to move back my chair, I could see their fingers quivering as if palsied; but both their feet and their hands kept perfect time with the song and the drumbeats.

At the close of this song, which also lasted about a quarter of an hour, Mrs. Felix retired to her seat, the three patients sank slowly to the floor, breathing heavily "hu hu," and Old Sam hobbled over to them to shout the same cry "hu," in their ears, one after another. His wife, only half-conscious apparently, pushed back the hair from her forehead, then pulled out a pan of water from beside the stove and mechanically washed her hands, while the

other two women squatted in an attitude of exhaustion. In less than half a minute Old Sam started a third song, which Felix translated as

Something goes into the water,

explaining that old Sam, by "hu huing" in the women's ears, had expelled some of the kyan from their bodies into the air and was now driving it into the pan of water. The three women remained squatting, swaying their bodies as in the earlier songs, but less violently; and when the song ended Mrs. Old Sam pushed the basin of water under the stove again.

The fourth song was in the Carrier language also, being, like the three preceding, one of Old Sam's own medicine-songs. It ran:

Many wolves come for something to eat.

The women continued to squat throughout its repetition, but the Chinaman's wife shuffled a little around the floor.

The fifth song was wordless; the sixth a song of the kalullim society, in the language of the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, which my interpreter could not understand. As soon as it commenced, Mrs. Felix rose and slowly hopped in front of Mrs. Old Sam to lead them in another dance. They stood in line one behind the other, Mrs. Felix facing them and moving her arms like a band conductor to make their feet and bodies keep time with the slow music. Mrs. Old Sam waved her stick up and down in front of her, the woman in black swung her stick from side to side, and the Chinaman's wife waved her arms gracefully to left and right alternately. The dance was perfectly timed and would have found favor in any music-hall. When it ended Old Sam again hobbled forward to "hu" in each woman's ears, even in Mrs. Felix's, since she also seemed to have become infected and cried "hu hu" occasionally with her patients.

The last song, also a chant of the kalullim society, was in the Gitksan language. It ran:

The strong man afflicted by kyan is eating something.

The women still breathed "hu" occasionally as they repeated their dance, and Mrs. Old Sam emitted one or two whistling sounds. So when the song ended and they squatted on the floor again, Old Sam hastened over to "hu" into their ears, and to beat them upward on chest and back with a bundle of eagle feathers in order to expel any kyan that still remained in their bodies. Each woman gave a loud-breathed "hu" as it left her and Old Sam blew it away from the crown of her head. But from the woman in black it seemed very reluctant to depart; even though Old Sam beat her vigorously with his eagle feather and shouted "hu" in her ears, she still "hu hued" hysterically. At last he dropped his feathers and rubbed her vigorously with his hands, when with one dying shriek "hu-e-e" she subsided and sat quiet.

The performance was now over. It had lasted a full 2 hours, and every one was weary. The patients, to all appearance perfectly normal again, pushed back their disheveled hair, rubbed their eyes, and retired to the walls to rest. The tambourine and planks were hidden away, the cedar-bark head bands replaced in the chest, and all traces of the eagle down carefully removed. Presently the woman in black replenished the fire and examined the kettle to see if the water was boiling, for we were all to share in a light supper before returning to our homes. Then the men gathered around me to ask whether their remedy for the dream-sickness was not perfectly reasonable and proper. I told them

that I could see nothing wrong in the ceremony, but advised them either to muffle the tambourine a little or to hold the performance in a house farther away from the school teacher and thus avoid any further complaints.

The performance just described dissipates all doubts concerning the reality of the kyan malady among the Bulkley Indians, for clearly the morbid condition of each woman was neither fictitious nor consciously self-induced, although Old Sam deliberately provoked a temporary paroxysm. It would seem reasonable to conjecture that the Indians, generally speaking, are somewhat unbalanced mentally. They believe that the world around them is full of supernatural beings or forces that are constantly interfering in human affairs, and they readily fall victims to their hallucinations. The notion of a supernatural force or forces lurking in the mountains that may strike them down at any moment induces a condition of periodic hysteria. Since kyan is supposed to be most active in the evenings when darkness begins to close in, it is at that time that auto-suggestion brings on the first signs of hysteria. The blowing of Old Sam's whistle was the spark that ignited the smouldering fire; the women became frantically hysterical, but in a manner conditioned by their beliefs and by the many cases of hysteria they had seen previously. The beating of the drum and planks, the rhythm of the music, checked their frenzy in its first stages, and gradually governed all their movements until they danced, swayed their bodies, and moved their limbs in perfect time with the slow and measured notes. Mrs. Felix' leadership in the dance also helped to bring them under control; and the hysteria was forced to express itself in slow, rhythmic movements until the patients became physically exhausted and their minds cleared. During periods of normality they encountered no social barriers or restraints, and incurred no feeling of inferiority, because they believed their malady unavoidable and fully expected permanent cure. So in time (some cases, the Indians say, require 3 years), they might well outgrow the mental and pathological conditions that induced the hysteria and become fully normal again.

The kyanyuantan, or cannibal society of the Bulkley Indians, then, consists of a group of men and women who are credited with power to heal a peculiar type of hysteria or dementia because they themselves have recovered from the same malady. The society appoints no definite leader, apparently, but one man usually stands preeminent over the rest by reason of his social standing or of the unusual medicine power he is presumed to derive through overcoming the dementia in its most violent form. There are no formal meetings apart from the clinics at which new patients are treated, and certain sessions at potlatches when candidates are initiated into the subordinate kalulim society. From these meetings outsiders are excluded because the

dementia is deemed to be contagious, and no one would voluntarily expose himself to its onslaught. Members are entitled to charge for their services, and enjoy a certain amount of prestige; but their standing at all ordinary ceremonies and potlatches remains unaffected, and today not a single chief belongs to the society, though some may have been members in earlier years.

The kalullim society of the Bulkley Indians is younger than the kyanyuantan. The Indians said that it came from the Gitksan when Old Sam was stricken with the kyan sickness some 40 years ago, but did not take firm root until about 1900, and then only among the Indians of Hagwilgate and Moricetown. Membership is limited to the nobles, that is to say, to the men and women who have assumed titles and claim definite seats at potlatches. Many of the younger Indians are, therefore, ineligible, not because they are debarred from assuming titles, but because they no longer value them enough to scatter their wealth on the necessary potlatches. While they fear to speak disrespectfully of the society, they tend to regard it as a profit-making organization, because its members regularly assist the kyanyuantan doctors in treating patients afflicted with the kyan sickness, and the patients, or their relatives, naturally pay for their services, though on a smaller scale than they pay the kyanyuantan. The majority of the villagers, however, hold the society in higher esteem. To them it is a true medicine-society, for its members have actually experienced the mysterious force of kyan, albeit in a weakened form, and thereby acquired power to assist in the treatment of kyan sickness, though unable themselves to effect a cure. Indeed, they are considered the only people who dare assist in the treatment, because the disease is highly contagious and dangerous, and their past exposure has given them immunity. Moreover, even if some of the members have enrolled deliberately, submitting themselves of their own free will to a kyan infection induced either by a qualified member or by a kyanyuantan, others have caught the infection involuntarily, and only failed to become eligible for the kyanyuantan society because their malady was so slight. Consequently, the kalullim society is really a lower order of the kyanyuantan, though the societies are mutually exclusive and members cannot pass from one order to the other.

A man (or woman), we will presume, is indisposed, and the ordinary medicine men or diyinne diagnose his ailment as a slight infection by kyan, and consequently outside of their scope. The patient's relatives approach the members of the kalullim society and entreat their aid, which is promised for the next feast or potlatch. His initiation into the society then follows the same general course as if he is in perfect health, but merely aspires to become a member. On the first evening of the feast, when the man is sitting quietly in the pot-

latch hall among the audience, one of the leaders of the society (or else a kyanyantán doctor), slipping outside unnoticed, suddenly bangs on the door and shrieks a wooden whistle. The candidate falls prostrate to the floor, for the thoughts of every member are concentrated on him and the whistle is theoretically charged with kyan. A member may now raise one of the society's songs, to which his co-members beat time by pounding on wooden planks. They encircle the candidate, lift him to his feet, and lead him round the fire, with loud shouts of "hu hu hu" or "hap hap hap." Any kyan that has infected him now supposedly flees before the kyan blown into the room by the whistle, and the force that resides in the cries of the members. Once only they circle round the fire, then they go outdoors, leaving the spectators silent in their places, afraid to follow lest they too be stricken by kyan, or else seized and mulcted a heavy fine.

Now from without comes the sound of a chant, and, at its conclusion, a clapping of hands and cries three times repeated of "pr pr pr." The candidate has been "wafted" to kyanberhya, the "house of kyan," some empty dwelling as far from the village as possible which the laity scrupulously avoid for the time, if indeed they are aware of its use. There the society members sing with the candidate all night, leaving him just before daylight to return to their homes. Sometimes they allow him to walk as usual about the village during the daytime; if he is wealthy, and therefore certain to pay liberally for his initiation and to distribute much largess among the people, they may even escort him to the potlatch hall so that the laity may join in their prayers for his recovery to health (a ceremony called by the Gitksan name *gela-ls*). More often, however, they keep him secluded for 3 or 4 days until the potlatch is drawing to its close.

On the third or fourth night of the potlatch all visiting chiefs dance in succession until nearly dawn. Then the head chief of the candidate's phratry steps forward, holding a spoon of sheep horn whose handle is wrapped with red-cedar bark. Slowly he marches, singing his own special song, and, standing beside the fire, thrice raises the spoon aloft and cries, "hu." Then, at the shout "kalullim" from a leader of that society, he pours the grease into the fire and says, "May this grease be as a bridge whereby you (the candidate) may return to us." All now retire to their homes to await the reappearance of the vanished man.

Before noon the next day a kalullim member makes the circuit of the village and invites the people to stand at their doors and watch for something to happen. A near relative of the candidate (usually his father's brother) dresses up in full dance regalia, dons a wooden mask representing one of his clan crests—we will say the grizzly—and, imitating the gait of that animal, searches round the outskirts for



the missing man, who has concealed himself in some prearranged hole in the ground or in a crevice among the rocks. The members of the society follow the "grizzly," and, as soon as he noses out his quarry, drive him away, or, if he is himself a kalullim member, remove his mask and merge him in their throng. Then, singing, they escort their new member inside all the houses in the village, where every inmate who is not a member covers his head with a blanket lest he be rushed off to the same hiding place, initiated into the society, and forced to pay a heavy indemnity.

After the novice and his escort have vanished from sight, the villagers resume their usual occupations for an hour or so, when a repetition of the procession again sends them hastily to their blankets. Only when the procession approaches for the third time are they free to gaze their fill.

The society now secretes itself in the novice's hiding place, and toward evening sends a messenger to gather the villagers in the potlatch hall. The audience lines the walls of the room while the kalullim members conceal themselves just inside the door behind a curtain guarded by two men, one of whom is a near relative of the novice. Drawn out by these two men, the novice emerges from under the curtain, prances with his relative round the room, gesticulating with his hands, and vanishes from sight again. He reappears a few minutes later, shaking a rattle, and executes a formal dance with his relative. Then his helpers bring in the food that has been provided by his phratry, and, when the audience has eaten, the blankets, strips of moose hide, and other goods that are to be given away. A fellow kalullim belonging to the same phratry as the novice distributes these goods, after which the people return to their homes. But an hour or so afterward the members of the society reassemble in the potlatch hall for a private feast, from which they carry away as their own booty the dishes and cutlery furnished by the novice.

For 2 or 3 days more the novice must secrete himself in the vacant house and each evening learn from his fellow members the society dances and songs. Some one composes one or two new songs for his use, and these also they practice in the evenings. The villagers are then invited to attend the final ceremony in the potlatch house, to which the leader who blew the whistle brings a rattle and an extra head band made of cedar bark, and another member of the society an extra cedar-bark collar. The head band and the collar they place on the novice as he sits in front of them, and the leader, shaking his rattle, announces that his protégé is now a fully ordained kalullim and privileged to enjoy that title (pl. 34, fig. 2). The ceremony then closes with a distribution of food. Later the new member quietly pays everyone who has played a prominent role in his initiation,

his payments varying from as much as \$30 to the leader who blew the whistle down to a single dollar, perhaps, to the men who encircled him with the collar. His total expense, including what he spends for food, often runs to as high as \$500.

Such is the general method of initiation into the kalullim society, but the exact details vary on nearly every occasion. Thus in 1921, for the first time, the society used the potlatch hall for the opening ceremony only, and held its other public ceremonies out-of-doors during the hours of daylight. It possesses perhaps a dozen whistles, all purchased originally from the Gitksan Indians by a chief of the Laksilyu phratry, who subsequently sold most of them to three men in the Gitamtanyu phratry. It may be worth adding that the leaders are not elected, but are simply the ranking men and women of their respective phratries.

Besides the kyanyuantan and kalullim, the Bulkley Carrier have still a third society known as the komitt'la, which was borrowed from the Gitksan Indians about the same time as the kalullim. Unlike the latter, however, it exists for purely social purposes, and has no connection with religion or with the healing of the sick. Initiation, which takes place in a potlatch, is comparatively inexpensive. Members are entitled to blow a certain type of whistle, and to wear head bands and collars of cedar bark dyed red in a solution of boiling maple bark. The whistle has a different shape from that used by the kyanyuantan and kalullim societies, whose cedar-bark head bands and collars, too (as well as the wristlets worn by the kyanyuantan doctors to protect themselves from the frantic biting of their patients) are not pure red, but mingled red and white, the latter being the natural color of the bark. In their dances the members of the komitt'la society do not gesticulate with their hands, like the members of the kalullim, but swing a wooden paddle. Some years ago it held private entertainments similar to those held by the kalullim people, but latterly the two societies have held their meetings jointly. Their combined membership is small and apparently decreasing, so that both will probably disappear within another generation. The kyanyuantan society, being more deep-rooted, may last a few years longer, but it too has passed its hey day.

## APPENDIX 1

### HUNTING TERRITORIES

#### GITAMTANYU PHRATRY

##### GRIZZLY HOUSE

1. An area about 20 miles long by 15 miles wide around Tayi (=Maclure?) Lake, near Telkwa, known as *chəchəwt*.

2. A strip about 3 miles square at Lamprey Lake, between François and Morice Lakes. This belonged originally to a clan of the Gilserhyu phratry, the Dark House, but was surrendered to the Grizzly House when the brother of its chief was mortally wounded by the sister of Netipish, the chief of the Gilserhyu phratry. The area was known as *cha pe'kaz*.

3. An area of unspecified extent around a creek north of Moricetown, known as *xai tatsali kwa*, "the river in which people place their packs of meat to protect them from flies."

4. Two small lakes for trapping beaver in the Babine Mountains north of Barrett station, known as *uwitak*.

##### HOUSE IN THE MIDDLE OF MANY, AND ANSKASKI CLAN

1. A tract about 20 miles long by 15 miles wide along the middle reaches of the Morice River, known as *tsamik'aitchan*, "the bottom of the mountain on which *tsami* berries grow."

2. An area of undetermined extent around Trout Lake, between Owen Lake and the wagon road running to François Lake. Formerly there existed on Trout Lake a large potlatch house surmounted by the figure of a raven, the principal crest of conjoint clans. The area was known as *t'a-k'as'lenli*, "where the water flows into *t'a-k'az* lake."

3. The territory around a creek that flows into Owen Lake, known as *tazgli kwa*, "*tazgli* river."

4. A tract around Rose and Old Woman's Lakes, just west of Burns Lake, known as *djakaz*, "middle place."

5. A tract about 5 miles square on Buck Creek, near Houston, known as *tsanko 'sai*, "he remains in a graveyard."

#### GILSERHYU PHRATRY

##### DARK HOUSE

1. An area about 60 miles long by 30 miles wide around Tagetochlain Lake, between Morice and François Lakes, known as *tagitsoxlen*, "the place where the hunter watches for caribou to swim across."

2. An area about 25 miles long by 15 miles wide between the foot of Morice Lake, Morice River, and two creeks that join this river from the southwest and northwest. It belonged originally to the Tsayu or Beaver phratry, but was exchanged for a fishing station at Moricetown. It was known as *talbitskwa*.

## THIN HOUSE

*(Chief Guxlet's section of the clan)*

1. The area from Hagwilget canyon to Moricetown, about 35 miles long by 28 miles broad, known as dizkle, "dead trees all pointing in one direction in the water."
2. A tract about 25 miles square around Owen Lake and Nadina Mountain, known as pitwinni.
3. A tract about 8 miles square halfway between François Lake and Houston, known as tatak, "creek joining two lands."

## THIN HOUSE

*(Chief Chaspit's section of the clan)*

1. A tract about 20 miles square around Atna Lake, near Morice Lake, known as gilenepin diltan, "place around the head of the lake."
2. A tract about 50 miles square just south of Morice Lake, known as neneka.
3. A tract about 35 miles long by 15 miles wide at the west end of Ootsa Lake, known as tailla, "swampy place where brush grows in the water."
4. A tract about 40 miles square on both sides of François Lake, known as t'se konakaz, "one-eyed woman," because there is a tiny lake in the middle of a wide plain.

## BIRCHBARK HOUSE

1. A tract about 30 miles long by 25 miles wide around the west end of Ootsa Lake, known as netanli, "waterfall."

## LAKSILYU PHRATRY

## HOUSE OF MANY EYES

1. An area about 20 miles square around Topley, known as alk'at, "beaver dam on top."
2. An area about 10 miles square at the head of the Telkwa River, known as tse'tsenilla, "much cottonwood coming down the river."

## HOUSE ON TOP OF A FLAT ROCK

An area about 15 miles long by 20 wide on each side of the Bulkley River around Moricetown, known as ta'perte, "trail beside the water."

## HOUSE BESIDE THE FIRE

1. A tract on the Zymoetz River below McDonnell Lake, known as kasklal k'watlat, "many grizzly at its end."
2. The Bulkley Valley from Barret Station to about Telkwa and McClure Lake, known as chost'let.
3. The lower part of Buck Creek and the country around Houston. Recently this has been given to the clan House of Many Eyes in the same phratry.

## LAKSAMSHU PHRATRY

## SUN OR MOON HOUSE, AND TWISTED HOUSE

1. A tract about 15 miles long by 10 miles wide at the head of a creek flowing from the southeast into the Zymoetz River, together with the mountain at its head. It was known as uiyeni, "far across."

2. A tract around a small lake and mountain at the head of Reisetser Creek that flows into the Bulkley River west of Smithers. It was known as guskibewianni, "lake containing suckers."

3. A tract about 8 miles long and 2 or 3 miles wide along the Morice River just east of Barret Station, known as neltsikyey, "source of neltsi or Bulkley River."

#### OWL HOUSE<sup>1</sup>

1. A tract about 10 miles long and 5 miles wide at the head of the Suskwa River, wedged between territories belonging to the Gilserhyu phratry. It was known as alkane'te, "a trail crossing a beaver dam."

2. A tract about 40 miles long by 20 miles wide around the end of François Lake, known as nestikyey, "source of Nesti Creek."

3. A tract around two small creeks flowing from the south into Tahtsa Lake.

#### TSAYU PHRATRY

##### BEAVER HOUSE

1. Area around Telkwa River and Mooseskin Johnny Lake, known as taltse-wiyez.

2. A small area around Day Lake, near Forestdale, known as ndettsane.

3. An area around the head of Buck Creek, known as neltsisklat.

4. An area around Decker Lake, known as ndettlat.

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<sup>1</sup> Hunting territories of this clan have been seized by the Sun or Moon clan, because the chieftainship of the Owl House, in the absence of male heirs, has descended to a woman who cannot maintain her rights against the chief of the Sun House, who is also chief of the phratry.



## APPENDIX 2

### PHRATRIC ORGANIZATIONS OF OTHER CARRIER SUBTRIBES

The phratry-clan system of organization seems to have extended no farther inland than the Bulkley River and Babine Lake, the two districts that bordered on the territory of the Gitksan. Some Carrier subtribes to the eastward ranged themselves into phratries whose chiefs bore hereditary titles; and they even adopted crests for these phratries, or for the chiefs who presided over them. Nowhere, however, did they subdivide their phratries into definite clans, nowhere did their chiefs erect large semicomunal houses or giant totem poles, nowhere was society clearly demarcated into the three strata, nobles, commoners, and slaves. The nobles comprised only the chiefs and their nearest relatives, who were far outnumbered by the common people; and the only slaves were prisoners of war, usually, if not always, women and children, who married their captors and obtained the same rights and status as other Indians. So unstable even were the phratries that today they are almost forgotten, and only resuscitated when members of these subtribes visit the Bulkley River or Babine Lake. The easternmost subtribe around Prince George, indeed, the Tannatenne, may never have adopted phratries at all, although its neighbors on Stuart Lake acquired the system, presumably through association with the Babine Indians. Father Morice (1892-93, p. 203 et seq.) has outlined the Stuart Lake system, which need not, therefore, be repeated. Here I shall merely append some brief notes on the phratries of certain other Carrier groups, whose locations may be found on the map on p. 476.

#### (a) FRASER LAKE SUBTRIBE (NATTLEWITENNE)

<i>Phratries</i>	<i>Crests of Phratries</i>
Tamtanyu-----	Grizzly, black bear, entire weasel, leaf.
Gilserhyu-----	Big frog, crane, small owl.
Laksilyu-----	Raven, big frog.
Llsamashu (lsamashu)-----	Owl, grouse, whale, sun or moon, half of weasel.
Tsayu-----	Beaver, owl.

The phratries in this subtribe coincide with those of the Bulkley Indians, and the chiefs of the Bulkley phratries were regarded as the real chiefs of the Fraser Lake phratries also. Nevertheless, the Tamtanyu and Gilserhyu phratries each acknowledged a local chief, and the Llsamashu had two local chiefs of coordinate rank. A man could not marry a woman of his own phratry unless she belonged to another subtribe; a Laksilyu man, for example, could marry a Laksilyu woman of Hagwilgate, but not of Fraser Lake. (Pl. 25, fig. 2.) Children belonged to the phratries of their mothers, but were not considered nobles unless their fathers were nobles. Thus the nephew (sister's son) and logical successor of the old man who claimed the chieftainship of

Gilserhyu phratry did not rank as a noble because his father had been a commoner; yet he expected to be the next chief of the phratry, if it still continued to exist.

(b) ENDAKO RIVER SUBTRIBE (NU'TSENI)

<i>Phratries</i>	<i>Crests</i>	<i>Chiefs' Titles</i>
Tam'tanyu.....	?.....	?
Tso'yezhotenne (small spruce people).	Woodpecker....	?
Yiselyu.....	Frog.....	1. Naselti-al. 2. Tsekokak (Woman's Skin). 3. Pilancha (Big Hand).
Llsamashu.....	Grouse.....	1. Usakkye. 2. Guzkli'.
Tsayu.....	Beaver.....	?

An epidemic is said to have destroyed the Tam'tanyu phratry early in the nineteenth century. About the end of the century Naselti-al, one of the three chiefs in Yiselyu phratry, adopted a personal crest, Frog, and about the same time the chief of Tsayu phratry, whose title was not recorded, adopted the personal crest, Wolverine.

(c) CHESLATA LAKE INDIANS (TATCHATOTENNE)

<i>Phratries</i>	<i>Crests</i>	<i>Chiefs' Titles</i>	<i>Chiefs' Personal Crests</i>
Tamtanyu.....	Grizzly.....	1. At'na..... 2. Nelli	Old Grizzly, Wolf.
Tsu'yaztotenne.....	Woodpecker....	1. Kles'al..... 2. Anaintil 3. Ne'tsan	Marten, lullim. ?
Yesilyu.....	?.....	?.....	?
Llsamashu.....	Grouse.....	Tsakwiltai (Butterfly).	Butterfly?
Tsayu.....	Beaver.....	1. Ayuna'tle..... 2. Nustel (Wolverine). 3. Tapise'yin.....	Eats Man. Wolverine. ?

About 1900 Kles'al, the chief of the Tsu'yaztotenne phratry, participated in a potlatch at Stellaco, at the west end of Fraser Lake, and seized the opportunity to dramatize his personal crest lullim. Under the pretext that he was going away to hunt he disappeared for 3 or 4 days. His fellow phratrymen then discovered him hiding near the village, adorned with the cedar-bark head band and wristlets that on the Bulkley River signify membership in the Kalullim society; and when they conducted him to the potlatch hall he chanted a song that is still used by that society in Hagwilgate. Probably he had observed its initiation rite at Hagwilgate, or else among the Gitksan, and after he returned to his own district converted it into a personal prerogative; for the society itself has never taken root around Cheslatta or Fraser Lakes.

## (d) STONY CREEK SUBTRIBE (YUTA'WOTENNE)

<i>Phratries</i>	<i>Crests</i>	<i>Chiefs' Titles</i>	<i>Chiefs' Personal Crests</i>
Gilserhyu.....	Small owl.....	1. Sisarpai.....	Wolverine.
		2. Yazcho.....	Sturgeon.
Yesilyu.....	Frog, crane.....	1. Pe-yel.....	} Frog, crane.
		2. Lleanuffih.....	

The Stony Creek Indians claim that they never had more than two phratries, that a man inherited his phratry from his mother, and that his rank depended less on his ancestry than on the number of potlatches he was able to give. Anyone could become a chief by giving a certain number of potlatches; a lesser number bestowed on him the status of a noble. His children were then nobles, potentially at least, provided their mother also was a noble, but if either parent was a commoner, the children were commoners until they succeeded in raising their status by the necessary potlatches. In 1924 these Indians counted on their reservation two chiefs, two who had almost the status of chiefs, since each required to give only one more potlatch, about 20 nobles of varying grades, and some 150 commoners.

Before they were confined to a single reserve, they occupied two villages, one on Nulki Lake, the other on the neighboring Tatchik Lake. Some of them asserted that in former times all the Nulki Lake people belonged to the Yesilyu phratry, and all the Tatchik Lake people to the Gilserhyu. This is clearly impossible, since the phratries were exogamous units and every man must have belonged to a different phratry from his wife. It may be, however, that the hunting territory around these lakes was divided between the two phratries, the Tatchik Lake district going to the Gilserhyu and the Nulki Lake to the Yesilyu. Neither lake contained salmon, so the Stony Creek Indians used to merge during the fishing season with the Indians of Fraser Lake.

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1.



2.

MODERN VILLAGE OF HAGWILGATE.

(Photographs by C. M. Barbeau.)



1. CANYON IN THE BULKLEY RIVER, SHOWING THE MODERN HIGH-LEVEL BRIDGE AND THE RUINS OF THE OLD VILLAGE OF HAGWILGATE BELOW THE CLIFF.

(Photograph by D. Jenness.)



2. A FORT FRASER FAMILY OUTSIDE ITS HOUSE.

(Photograph by D. Jenness.)





1.



2.

A FORT FRASER INDIAN WEARING A CLOTH REPLICA OF THE ANCIENT COSTUME, THAT SHOWS HIS CLAN CREST ON THE BACK.

(Photographs by D. Jenness.)



1.



2.

SCENES AT A POTLATCH HELD BY THE LAKSILYU PHRATRY AT HAGWILGATE.  
(Photographs by C. M. Barbeau.)



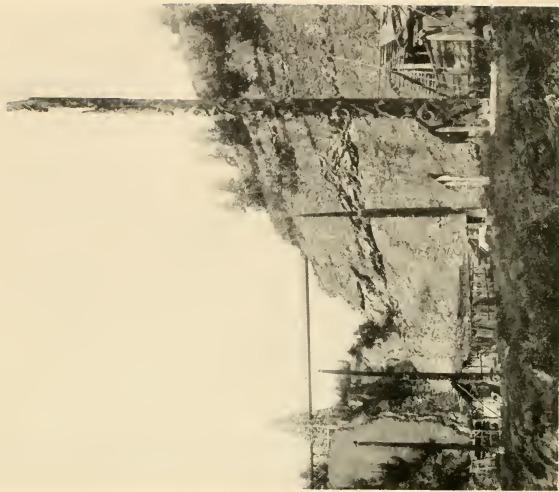
HAGWILGATE CARRIER DRAMATIZING HIS PERSONAL CREST.

(Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.)



1. A HAGWILGATE INDIAN'S TOMBSTONE, DE-  
PICTING HIS CREST.

(Photograph by D. Jenness.)



2. THE FOUR TOTEM POLES AT HAGWILGATE.

(Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.)



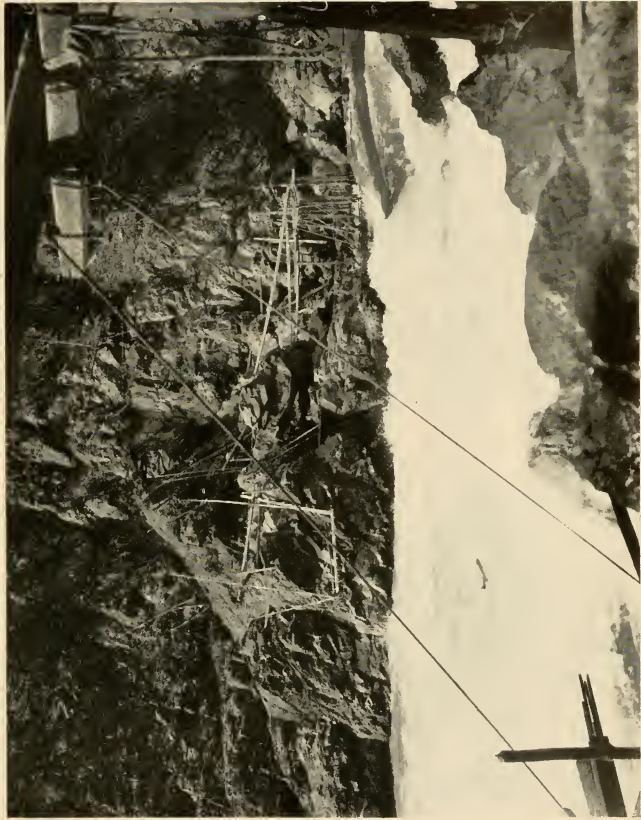
A CARRIER FAMILY AT ALKATCHO.  
(Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.)





CARRIER GIRL DRESSING A HIDE.

(Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.)



FISH TRAPS IN THE CANYON AT HAGWILGATE.

(Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.)



1. VILLAGE OF FORT FRASER, ON FRASER LAKE.

(Photograph by D. Jenness.)



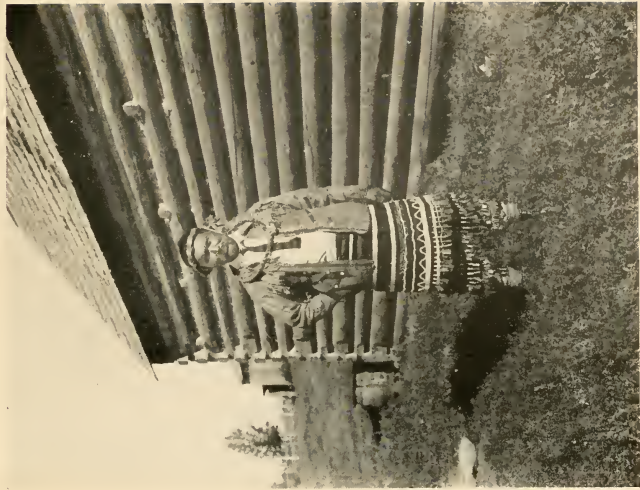
2. GRAVE OF BINI AT HAGWILGATE.

(Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.)



1. OLD PAUL WEARING HIS TOP HAT AND  
PURPLE SASH.

(Photograph by D. Jenness.)



2. HAGWILGATE IN KALUKLIM COSTUME, VIZ.,  
CEDAR-BARK HEAD BAND AND NECK-RING; LEATHER  
COAT WITH PEARL BUTTONS; CLOTH APRON WITH  
PENDANTS OF BEADS, THIMBLES, AND DEER HOOFS;  
AND CLOTH LEGGINGS.

(Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.)