Social condition, beliefs, and linguistic relationship of the Tlingit Indians / by John R. Swanton.

SOCIAL CONDITION, BELIEFS, AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

BY

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SOCIAL CONDITION, BELIEFS, AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

By John R. Swanton

INTRODUCTION

The material contained in this paper is a portion of the results of about two months' work at Sitka, Alaska, between January and March, 1904, and about one month at Wrangell, March to April of the same year. The remainder of the material gathered at that time consists principally of texts in the native language with translations and myths recorded in English. The chief objects of the investigation were: (1) To obtain a sufficient number of Tlingit myths to round out the collections of tales from the north Pacific coast; (2) to collect enough linguistic material for a careful study of the Tlingit language, with the special object of comparing it with that of the Haida, with which some sort of relationship was believed to exist and with which the writer already had considerable acquaintance; and (3) to add as much as possible to our knowledge of Tlingit ethnology generally. This paper comprises most of the notes made with the third purpose in view, and the results of the writer's comparison of Tlingit and Haida. Very little attention is given to the arts, the industries, and the food quest, partly because these have been treated very fully in Krause's monumental work, Die Tlinkit Indianer (Jena, 1885), and in one particular, that of basketry, in "The basketry of the Tlingit," by G. T. Emmons, in volume III of the Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, and partly because these are not so readily studied in connection with language and myths, and indeed require independent investigation.

The phonetics used are almost identical with those employed by Professor Boas, the writer, and others in connection with the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the American Museum of

Natural History, upon the Pacific coast, and are as follows, the arrangement, however, being the writer's own:

	Sonants	Surds	Fortes	Spirants	Nasals	Semi-vowels and breathing	Vowels
Labials	(Only in foreign or a few onomatopoetic words)					w	ū, ō, ^{u}, ^{o}
Gutturals:							
Vocalic-velar	y						
Velars	g	q	q!	x		h	ā, a, ʌ, â
Palatals	g	k	k!	x̣		y	ī, ē, i, e
Anterior-palatals			k·!				
Dentals	d	t	t!	(s)	n		
Sibilants		s	s!	c			
Dental-sibilants	dz	ts	ts!				
Dental-sibilant-aspirates	dj	tc	tc!				
Dental liquids	ḷ	ʟ	ʟ!	ł			

x is German ch in ach!, x̣ almost like German ch in ich. ḷ is nearly the same as dl and ʟ as tl or kl, while ł is an aspirated sound represented best perhaps by hl. dj is English j, tc English ch in church, and c English sh. The velars are similar to the palatals, but pronounced farther back in the throat, and the vocalic-velar farther back yet. The fortes are pronounced explosively or sometimes with a pause following. The characters ^{u} and ^{o} represent barely formed u and o sounds.

TLINGIT SUBDIVISIONS

At the present day tribes speaking Tlingit (or Koluschan) occupy all of the "pan-handle" of Alaska, coast and islands, except the southern third of Prince of Wales island and the smaller islands immediately to the southwest of it, and extend westward along the coast as far as Copper river. The people on Taku and Stikine rivers camp and travel some distance into British Columbian territory, while the Athapascan Indians in turn camp well over into Alaska and come down to the coast towns to trade or visit. The Tägish, a purely interior people living in British Columbia north of the Chilkat, are said to speak a dialect of this language; but, if that is indeed the case, it has probably been adopted by them in comparatively recent times. An Eskimo tribe, the Ugalakmiut, living just east of the mouth of Copper river, has been so far modified by contact with the Yakutat as to be enumerated with the Tlingit tribes proper, though historically it has no right to that position.

Leaving these two peoples out of consideration, fourteen geographical groups may be recognized, as follows: The Tongas (Tʌngā'c qoan), Sanya or Cape Fox Indians (Sā'nya qoan), Henya (Hē'nya qoan), Kuiu (Kuiu qoan), Kake (Kēq! qoan), Sumdum (S!aodā'n qoan), Stikine (Staq!hī'n qoan or Cq!ʌt qoan), Taku (T!āq!^{o}qoan), Auk (Āk!^{u} qoan), Hutsnuwu (X̣ūts!nuwū' qoan), Huna (Hū'na qoan), Chilkat (Djīłqā't qoan), and Yakutat (Yaq"dā't qoan or Łaxayī'k qoan). The Hehl (Xēł qoan), now at Wrangell, once formed an independent group on Revillagigedo island.

Each of these divisions or tribes had at least one winter village and a section of coast on which the people camped every summer or back of which they hunted in winter. The number of permanent towns as well as their location varied considerably from time to time. In the case of the Chilkat there were four of these, while the people of Killisnoo were formerly divided between two.

The following is a list of the Tlingit towns, ancient and modern, that were enumerated to the writer, with the division to which each belongs, though it must by no means be supposed that this exhausts the number:

Tangā'c	Tongas
Gāc	Sanya
Ta'qdjik-ān (Tuxican)	Henya
Ławā'k (Klawak)	Henya
Caxā'n (Shakan)	Henya
Kuiu	Kuiu
Kēq! (Kake)	Kake
S!aodā'n	Sumdum
Qātcxa'na-āk!ˢ, "Human-hip-lake" (Wrangell)	Stikine
Qāłtcal!-ān (tcal!="alders") (Old Wrangell)	Stikine
S!ikanasā'nk!i-ān	Taku
T!āqᵒq!aka-ān, "Town-at-the-mouth-of-Taku-inlet"	Taku
Ā'ntcgałtsu	Auk
Tsa'ntik!i-hīn (Juneau)	Auk
Nałtū'ck-ān, "Town-on-outside-of-point"	Killisnoo
Āngū'n, "Right-across-the-town," signifying that a road runs across a narrow strip of land from behind the town to some body of sea water.	Killisnoo
Gaot!ā'k-ān, "Drum (or Bell) town"	Huna
Lucā'cak!i-ān, "Sand-hill-town"	Huna
Kaq!anuwū'	Huna
Xakanuwū'	Huna
Gonā'xo (at the mouth of Alsek river)	Huna
Gathī'ni, "Silver Salmon creek" (north of Dry bay)	Huna
Lākˢ-ān "Renowned town" (Klukwan)	Chilkat
Qātq!wā'ałtū "Town-on-the-point-of-a-hill" (Katkwaltu)	Chilkat
Yêndē'staq!ê	Chilkat
Djiłqō't (Chilkoot)	Chilkat
Dayê' (Dyea)	Chilkat
Cqaguê' (Skagway)	Chilkat
Decu' (Haines mission)	Chilkat
Cīt!ka', "Behind Baranof island (Cī)"	Sitka
Ła'xq!ˢxo-ān, "Town-where-one-does-not-sleep-much"	Sitka
Kastaxē'xda-ān	Sitka
L!isti'	Sitka
Lana'xk	Sitka
Qona'	Sitka
Q!eckunuwū', "Blue-jay-fort"	Sitka
Daxē't, "Fallen-stunned," because a man there once ate so much halibut that he fell down as if stunned	Sitka
L!uxa'cayik-ān, "Town-straight-opposite-Mount Edgecomb (L!ūx)"	Sitka
Yaqˢdā't (Yakutat)	Yakutat
Łaxayi'k, "Inside of Łā'xa (an island)"	Yakutat

Some of the foregoing names represent probably little more than camps, while others were designations of towns once occupied by people who are now living elsewhere.

Dialectically the Yakutat were set off from all others, and there was also a certain dialectic, as well as social, distinction between the northern and the southern members of the remaining groups. They will be referred to as "northern" and "southern." Each smaller group also had certain minor dialectic peculiarities.

Besides these geographical divisions, which one might almost call "involuntary," the Tlingit were separated socially into two sides or phratries, each strictly exogamic with descent through the mother. One phratry was known as Raven throughout all of the divisions, while the other was usually called Wolf and in the north also Eagle. One small group was outside of both the phratries and its members could marry into either.

Each phratry was subdivided into clans or consanguineal bands, the members of which were more closely related to one another than to other members of the phratry; and each of these bands usually derived its origin from some town or camp it had once occupied. They were, therefore, in a way local groups, but they differed from the geographical groups just referred to in being social divisions instead of comprising the accidental occupants of one locality. Thus every geographical division contained members of both phratries and usually of several clans of each phratry, while on the other hand a clan was often distributed among two or more geographical groups. Finally the clans were subdivided into house groups, the members of which might occupy one or several houses.

As it will not be profitable to more than mention the names of many of the tribal divisions, instead of discussing them at length, the following lists are subjoined. The first gives the geographical groups, the clans, and the phratry to which each of the clans belonged, and the second the house groups under each clan as far as ascertained:

Raven	Wolf
TONGAS	
Ga̱naxa′dî (people of Ga̱′nax)	Te′qoedî (people of the island Teq^{a})
	Daql!awe′dî
SANYA	
Kîksa′dî (people of the island Kîks)	Te′qoedî
Nexa′dî (people of Nēx).	[Outside of either clan]
HENYA	
Tē′nedî (bark-house people)	Cankuke′dî (people of Cān, or as below)
K!uxine′dî (marten people)	Ł̣oaye′dî
Tak^{a}ane′dî (winter people)	Qaq!ō′shît tān (human-foot-house people)

RAVEN	WOLF
KAKE	
SAq^{u}tē′nedî (grass people, so called probably from their numbers)	Tsague′dî (people of Tsa′gua, or seal people)
TAne′dî (people of the creek TAN)	NēSA′dî (salt-water people)
Q!AłtcAne′dî (people of the creek Q!A′łtcAN)	WAS!hī′nedî (people of the river WAS!)
Qā′tcAdî (people of Qātc, a creek on Admiralty island)	CAnkuke′dî (people of a place near Kake, called Caya′, or as above)
KUIU	
Kuye′dî (people of Kuiu)	Nāste′dî (people of the Nass)
SUMDUM	
	Sl̥īt!qoe′dî (people of Sl̥ī′t!qo, a place near Sumdum which may have been named from a variety of whale called sl̥īt!)
STIKINE	
KîkSA′dî (people of Kîks)	Nanyaā′yî (people of Nā′nya (?))
Tî hît tān (bark-house people)	S!īknaxA′dî (people of S!ī′nAX)
Qā′tcAdî (people of Qātc; see Kake)	Xoq!e′dî (people of Xōq!)
Kasq!ague′dî (people of a camp called Kāsq!ē′k^{x})	Kayā′ckidêtān (people of the house with a high foundation, or shelf people)[a]
Tāłqoe′dî (people of Tā′łqo)	Xēł qoan (people of Foam, a place)
TAKU	
Gānaxa′dî (people of Gā′nAX)	Yênyē′dî (mainland people or place of hemlock people)
	Tsat!ênyē′dî (people of Tsa′t!e river)
AUK	
L!enē′dî	Wuckitā′n (people with houses on top of one another)
HUTSNUWU	
Dē′citān (people of end-of-road house)	Wuckitā′n (see above)
Togye′dî (outlet people, so called because they lived at the outlet of a lake—part of above)	DAqL!awe′dî
	Te′qoedî (people of Teq^{e})
Ānq!a′kitān or Q!ā′kitān (people of the house in the middle of the valley)	
HUNA	
T!A′q!dentān (retaining-timber-house people)	Wuckitā′n (see above)
TAq! hît tān (people of slug house—part of above)	TcūkAne′dî (bush or grass people)
Kosk!ē′dî (people of Kōsē′x)	Kā′gwAntān (burnt-house people, or people of the burnt down house)

[a] Said to have stood in a position to the Nanyaā′yî similar to that of servants.

Raven	Wolf

SITKA

Kiksa'dî (see above)	Kā'gwantān (see above)
Watāne'dî (part of Kiksa'dî)	Kûk hît tān (box-house people—part of above)
ɬûk!naxa'dî (king-salmon people)	Q!aq!ā' hît tān (probably a subdivision of the Kā'gwantān)
Q!at!kaā'yî (island people)	Katagwa'dî

CHILKAT

Łuqā'xadî (quick people)	Kā'gwantān (see above)
Ǧānaxa'dî (people of Ǧā'nax)	Taqêstina' (people of Taqsî't, the channel inside of Wrangell island)
Nucekaā'yî (people back of the fort)	Daql!awe'dî

YAKUTAT

Kā'ck!e qoan (people of the creek Kâck!)	Te'qoedî (see above)
Kosklē'dî (people of the town Kosklē'x)	
Ǧānaxa'dî (see above)	
Staxā'dî (?)	

House Groups

All the names in this list except the Sitka names were furnished by Katishan of Wrangell, and it is accurate in proportion to the nearness of the towns to the latter place. Of the Yakutat house groups he knew little. The Sitka list was obtained on the spot.

TONGAS

Ǧānaxa'dî

Yēł hît (raven house)	Kidjû'k hît (hawk (?) house)
Xās hît (moose house)	Nû hît (fort house)
Q!a'tgun hît (house built on a narrow point)	S!aẋ hît (starfish house)
	Qotî's! hît (looking-out house)

Te'qoedî

Cā'nax hît (valley house)	Wā'nda hît (wā'nda house, wā'nda being the name of an ornamental cloak worn at dances. It was trimmed with eagle skins along the sides)
Xûts! hît (grizzly-bear house)	
Kāts! hît (Kāts!'s house)[a]	

Daql!awe'dî

Kûn hît (flicker house)	Kît hît (killer-whale house)

SANYA

Kîksa'dî

Wēq! hît (sculpin house)

Te'qoedî

Xûts! qowu' hît (grizzly-bear's-den house)	Kāts! hît (Kāts!'s house)[a]
	Gûtc ka hît (house on the hill)

[a] See p. 455.

Nēxᴀ'dî

Tcāk! hît (eagle house)
Tcāk! q!ō'sî hît (eagle's-foot house)
S!igē'dî xā'î hît (beaver-house house)

HENYA

Tē'nedî

Yēt hît (raven house)
Yên-wuⱡixᴀ'cî (house drifted ashore)
Tî hît (bark house)

K!uxîne'dî

K!ūx hît (marten house)

Tākᵘane'dî

Yāî hît (whale house)

Cᴀ'nkukedî

Gonaqᴀdē't hît (gonaqᴀdē't house; see p. 460)
Xūts! hît (grizzly-bear house)

Qaq!ō's hît tān

Qaq!ō'sî hît (human-foot house)
Tsisk! hît (moose house)

Łqoaye'dî (no house names obtained)

KAKE

Sᴀqᵘte'nedî

T!ᴀq! hît (retaining-timbers house)

Tᴀnē'dî

Kū'cta hît (land-otter house)

Q!ᴀłtcᴀne'dî (no house names obtained)

Qā'tcᴀdî

Q!āk!ᵘ hît (old-salmon house)
Qotî's! hît (looking-out house)

Tsague'dî

Xā-î hît (yellow-cedar house)
Tūs! hît (shark house)

Nēsᴀ'dî (no house names obtained)

Wᴀs!hī'nedî (no house names obtained)

Cᴀnkuke'dî (no house names obtained)

KUIU

Kuye'dî

Xîk hît (puffin house)
QotxA'naxa hît (star house)

Nāste'dî

Tc!īt hît (murrelet house)
Kūn hît (flicker house)
Dekī'nū hît (fort-far-out house)

SUMDUM

S!it!qoe'dî

S!it! hît (glacier house)

S!īt! hît (s!īt! house, the s!īt! being a whale like a killer and almost as large)

STIKINE

Kîksa'dî

Gagā'n hît (sun house); chief, Qāła'ktc (moving of sides—of a frog)

T!aq! hît (retaining-timbers house); chief, atū' (property)

Xixtc! hît (frog house)[a]; chief, Qāła'ktc (same man as second above)

Tî hît tān

Tī hît (bark house); chief, Gac (a Tsimshian name taken in war)

Qā'tcadî

Nāłx hît (halibut house, nāłx, being the name of the largest variety of halibut) chief, Tāk-sēq! (winter change, because frogs go away when winter comes)

Xîxtc! hît (frog house)[b]; chief, Kēcī'tc (woman turning into a man)

ałqā' hît (gambling house); chief, laqē'; meaning uncertain

Kaoyiyā'yî hît (house lowered from the sky—like one in a favorite Tlingit story; chief, Kātgatē'x (because Raven had a basket of the kind called kāt)

Tcac hît (rush house, in memory of their old houses in the interior); chief, Łtā'ckê (frog's back)

Kāsq!ague'dî

Xēl hît (thunder house); chief, Sgāxk! (named after the raven, because the raven is always begging for something to eat)

l!ādē'n hît (house standing at right angles to the rest); chief, Tā'naxk!; meaning uncertain

Xîxtc! xā'ye hît (frog's-den house); chief, Ān-lēn yēł (big-town raven)

Tān hît (sealion house); chief, Kokustā'l; meaning uncertain

Tāłqoe'dî

Cā hît, or in full, Tāłq° naxk![a]-ca hît (mountain-back-of-Tāłq° house); chief, Qādadū'gu (human skin)

Kaxqoyê'ndua hît (the name of the last monster that the hero Łq!ayā'k! and his brothers killed was Kaxqoyê'ndua); chief, Qoxoē'łcattc

Nanyaā'yî

Q!a'tgu hît (shark house); chief, K!oxcu' (the name of the first Nanyaā'yî, chief of Old Wrangell. Cēks, below, was his nephew)

Hît lēn (big house); chief, Cēks (a Tsimshian name taken in war)

Tatū'k hît (cliff house); chief, Guya'o (monster)

Q!a'tgu nā'sî hît (shark's-intestines house); chief, Gałge'; meaning uncertain.

Kūk hît (box house); chief, Kît-lēn (big killer whale)

Ā'ntcūka hît (house at the farther end of the town—its position in Old Wrangell); chief, Kādjhōsgū't; meaning uncertain

[a] He built this house when he was going to have his children tattooed, and was the first person in Alaska to invite people to a feast on such an occasion, so it is said.

[b] This name was given with a Kîksa'dî woman who settled among these people.

S!ĭknaxᴀ'dĭ

Q!ān hĭt (red house); chief, Cā'xna; meaning uncertain.
Ānkᵃ hĭt (named from a cane taken from the Tsimshian in war and applied to a house in order to disgrace them); chief, Qōłā'n (taken from a picture of wealth seen by this man and called łaā'n)

Xōq!e'dĭ

Ctīn hĭt (steel house), recently adopted; chief, Gux-nā'wu (dead slave)
Ā'nda ū'na hĭt (cannon house); chief, ʟagwᴀ'tc (a kind of weed like rhubarb, used in making peace "because it looks nice")

Kayā'ckidetān

Kīt hĭt (killer-whale house); chief, Tēq (stone)

Xēł qoan (no house names obtained)

TAKU

Gānᴀxᴀ'dĭ

Î'cka hĭt (salmon-hole house)
Yên-wułĭxᴀ'cĭ hĭt (house drifted ashore—at time of flood)
Yēł hĭt (raven house)

Yēnyē'dĭ

Tcāʟ hĭt (halibut house)

Tsat!ene'dĭ

Xūts! hĭt (grizzly-bear house)
Yeyuwa' hĭt; named from a mountain

AUK

ʟ!enē'dĭ

Yᴀ'xtê hĭt (great-dipper house, referring to the constellation)
Tīʟ! hĭt (dog-salmon house)

Wucketā'n

Hĭt ʟēn (big house)

HUTSNUWU

Dē'citān

Yēł hĭt (raven house)
Dē'cu hĭt (house at end of road)
Gūn hĭt (spring house)

Ānq!ā'kitān

Ānq!ā'k hĭt (house in the middle of the valley)

Wucketā'n

Nū hĭt (fort house)

Dᴀqʟ!awe'dĭ

Kīt hĭt (killer-whale house)

Tē'qoedĭ

Xūts! hĭt (grizzly-bear house)

HUNA

T!a'q!dentân

Qacā'yi hit (man's-head house)
Yēł s!ā'ge hit (raven's-bones house)
Yēł ku'dî hit (raven's-nest house)[a]

Taq! hît tân

Taq! hit (slug house)

Kosk!e'dî

Xās hit (moose house)

Wucketā'n

Wū'cka hit (house over all, or shelter for all)

Tcū'kanedî (no house names obtained)

YAKUTAT

(These are all the names the writer could obtain)

Kosk!e'dî

Xās hit (see above)

Te'qoedî

Xūts! hit (grizzly-bear house)

CHILKAT

Łuqâ'xadî

Yēł hit (raven house; others unknown to informant)

Gānaxa'dî

Yā'ī hit (whale house)
Yēł hit (raven house)
ʟ!uk!xâ' hit (worm house)
Xîxtc! hit (frog house)
Qotî's! hit (looking-out house)
Q!āk hit (canyon or valley house)

Nucĕkaā'yî (no house names obtained)

Kā'gwanlân

Łīgū'cî hit (long-(killer whale's-) dorsal fin house)
Kīt hit (killer-whale house)
Kāts! hit (Kāts!'s house)
Gōtc hit (wolf house)
Gao hit (drum house)
Xūts! hit (grizzly-bear house)
Tcāk! s!ā'ge hit (eagle's-bones house)
Tcāk! ku'dî hit (eagle's-nest house)
(The two names last mentioned are said by Wrangell people to have been claimed only in very recent times, the eagle not properly belonging to them)

Daql!awĕ'dî

Kīt gū'cî hit (killer-whale's-dorsal-fin house)
Kīt hit (killer-whale house)

Taqĕstîna'

ʟ!a'oca hit (sandy-bluff house)
Gūn hit (spring house)

[a] Given by an old woman of the T!a'q!dentân.

SITKA

The names in this list are supposed to be given in the order in which the houses stood, beginning at the southern end of the town.

Tī'na hît (copper-plate house); a gonaqadē't came up before the builder of this house in the form of a copper and told him to erect it
Chief, Nixā'na, a Russian name, or Qōxk!â'n; meaning uncertain
Clan, Kîksa'dî

Ga'gā'n hît (sun house)
Chief, Yadustē'q! (wild goose)
Clan, Kîksa'dî

Ctīn hît (steel house); so named because in a fight with the Russians the chief captured a piece of steel and placed it in front of his house
Chief, Nāwuckē'l (wounded wild goose flapping around)
Clan, Kîksa'dî

Qāxa'tdja hît (lively-herring house); referring to a herring jumping about
Chief, Yēłdjī'n; probably from a frog
Clan, Kîksa'dî

Itc hît (rock house)
Chief, Tca'yadēgāx (raven crying everywhere)
Clan, a low class of Kā'gwantān

S!a hît (clay house)
Chief, Łsa'guha (notable voice), referring to the cry of the goose
Clan, Kîksa'dî

Xāl hît (iceberg house)
Chief, Qanē'x (saved or captured man)
Clan, Tcukane'dî

Łū'koa hît (house on a point), because it was on the point where "Baranoff's castle" afterwards stood
Chief, Tuksaiê'x (copper-green color of frog)
Clan, Kîksa'dî

Qotxa'naxa hît (star house)
Chief, Yakwâ'n (swimming wolf); this man led in the last great fight with the Stikine Indians
Clan, Kā'gwantān

Adūwaxî'tcî hît (house that carries a big load, and is bent over with its weight)
Chief, Ts!agê' (boneless frog, because the frog has few bones)
Clan, Kîksa'dî

Tcāk! ku'di hît (eagle's-nest house)
Chief, L!êx (gray wolf)
Clan, Kā'gwantān

Tcāl hît (halibut house)
Chief, Dātxiagu'tc (wolf walking around a person)
Clan, Kā'gwantān

Hīn ka hît (house on the water); said to have stood on piles over water. It was still standing when the writer's informant was a small boy
Chief, Kāk!ⁿnū'k!ⁿ, refers to a wolf
Clan, Kā'gwantān

Dēx-q!aowu'łk (house with two doors)
Chief, Qā'djêxdaqē'na (eagle going around a dead thing and making a noise)
Clan, Kā'gwantān

Nū hît (fort house)
Chief, Dā'tłkêts!ā'tê (stomach of a wolf)
Clan, Wucketā'n

Xūts! hît (grizzly-bear house)
Chief, Ɣā'naxnawu (swimming wolf)
Clan, Kā'gwantān
Ga'yēs! hît (iron house); the first nails seen, found in a spar or plank drifted ashore, were driven into this house.
Chief, Hā'yeāk!ᵘ (hollow left in shallow water by a shark swimming rapidly)
Clan, Kā'gwantān
L!ūk! hît (king-salmon house)
Chief, L!ūk! (king salmon)
Clan, Q!at!kaā'yî
Yā'cka hît (shelf house)
Chief, Goql! (swan)
Clan, Q!at!kaā'yî
Gōtc hît (wolf house)
Chief, Anaxū'ts! (the grizzly bear)
Clan, Kā'gwantān
Tcāk! hît (eagle house)
Chief, Łē'ni (łēn=low tide, and name probably means, expressed in full, "Eagle-walking-on-beach-at-low-tide")
Clan, Kā'gwantān
Ānyê'dî hît (high-caste house)
Chief, Stū'waqa; named from a wolf
Clan, Kā'gwantān
Yā'i hît (whale house)
Chief, Q!ēxî'x; meaning uncertain
Clan, L!ūk!naxa'dî
Kāwagā'ni hît (burnt-down house)
Chief, Āndecî' (many wolves howling about the town)
Clan, Kā'gwantān
Xî'na hît (house at the lower end of the town); so named because it stood at the lower end of the town on Alsek river from which its occupants came
Chief, Stagwâ'n; meaning uncertain
Clan, L!ūk!naxa'dî
Ta hît (sleeping house)
Chief, Cadasî'ktc (a king salmon that always stays in the mountain streams and never comes down to the sea)
Clan, L!ūk!naxa'dî
Xî'na hît (house at the lower end of the town)
Chief, Qāłqā'wa (celebrated man; brother of the chief who erected the second house above)
Clan, L!ūk!naxa'dî
Tcāk! ku'dî hît (eagle's-nest house)
Chief, Q!āłē'q!ᵉ (red-mouthed wolf)
Clan, Kā'gwantān
Ānē'gayak hît (house below the rest of the houses)
Chief, Qāłgā's! (precious parts of an eagle)
Clan, Kā'gwantān
Tūs! hît (shark house)
Chief, Sā'xa (named from a wolf's cry)
Clan, Kūk hît tān, a branch of the Kā'gwantān
Kūk hît (box house)
Chief, Qā'djkatan (man standing on a mat)
Clan, Kūk hît tān

Qotī's! hît (house looking out on the sea)
Chief, Ɣā'ndjiyītgax (hungry wolf crying for food)
Clan, Kūk hît tān
Lādē'n hît (house standing sideways); it was the highest ranking house of the Box-House people
Chief, Qotcē'n (named from a bear)
Clan, Kūk hît tān
Xās! hît (cowhide house; probably moose house originally); once when they potlatched and were without a roof, they covered their house with cowhide
Chief, Yēlnawu' (dead raven)
Clan, Kosklē'dî (subdivision, Xās! hît tān)
Cgādā'yî hît (named from a creek called Cgādā'yî, where the first house of this name stood. It was near a waterfall, referred to in the stories, just south of Yakutat
Chief, Q!aī'tk!l (Raven has eaten of it, referring to food left over by Raven)
Clan, Kosklē'dî
Kū hA'ta hît (house of the stick, or frame, with which salmon used to be chased downstream)
Chief, Ltāyî' (color of an alder tree about his nose)
Clan, Kā'gwAntān

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Tlingit quite uniformly trace the origin of nearly all their clans to the Tsimshian coast "below Port Simpson;" that is, to the neighborhood of the mouth of Skeena river. It is said by some that nearly all of the present clans immigrated in this manner, and that most of the "old Alaskans," those whom they found in possession, have died out. Katishan, chief of the Kāsq!ague'dî at Wrangell, mentioned some of these by name, but a thorough investigation would probably develop quite different stories regarding them, especially as many are very small and are more likely to have been subdivisions than surviving groups. The only point that may have significance is the fact that nearly all so enumerated were of the Raven clan. There are several other bits of evidence which seem to show that the distinction between the two phratries was of more importance historically than would at first appear. Thus, according to a Sitka interpreter, the Eagle people were called Na (nation) or Cêngoqedî'na,[a] but there was no one name for all the Ravens, they being one simply in marriage laws, emblems, and in some other respects. According to Katishan all of the Wolf clans used to be denominated S!ī'tqoedî[b] and all of the Raven clans Ġonatqanā'yî, the latter of which expressions seems to be identical with the word applied by an individual to those of the opposite phratry.[c] This suggests the question whether distinction of phratry could have been associated originally with a racial difference, and such a possi-

[a] This is evidently taken from the name of a clan which the writer has elsewhere called Canuke'dî. The reason for applying this name to the entire phratry is not apparent. Possibly the interpreter was mistaken.

[b] Not to be confounded with the S!ît!qoe'dî of Sumdum (p. 399).

[c] Katishan declared that "there are more Ravens in Alaska than Wolves."

bility again presents itself when we come to consider the origins of the separate clan divisions. Although the list just given contains names of about twenty-five clans belonging to each phratry besides one which falls outside of both, many are nothing more than subdivisions, and only fourteen are found to stand out at all prominently. On the Raven side these are the Ġānaxa'dî, Kîksa'dî, Qā'tcadî, Kāsq!ague'dî, L!enē'dî, Kōsk!ē'dî, L!ūk!naxa'dî, Łuqā'xadî, and Kâ'ck!e qoan; on the Wolf side the Te'qoedî, Daql!awe'dî, Nanyaā'yî, Tcūkane'dî, and Kā'gwantān. The Tcukane'dî were considered low caste, but appear from the stories to have formed a rather ancient group.

It is interesting to find that all the clans of the southernmost towns, Tongas and Sanya, always excepting the Nēxa'dî, belong to this list, they being the Ġānaxa'dî (or Ġānaxte'dî), Te'qoedî, Daql!awe'dî, and Kîksa'dî. Traditions regarding the origin of the two clans first mentioned point unanimously to Prince of Wales island and Kuiu, and, if we are to trust them still further, the Ġānaxa'dî were the first people to settle at Tongas, whither they had come from Ta'qdjîk-ān on the northwest coast of Prince of Wales island, then the principal Henya village. According to another story the Tongas people came to Kuiu from the south, and afterwards started back to the present site of Tongas, which they had previously noticed. During this last migration they camped for a time on an island called Tangā'c, and later gave its name to their village. This tradition probably refers to the Ġānaxa'dî, for the Kuiu and Henya people are very closely related. The Ġānaxa'dî themselves derived their name from another island, Ġā'nax. The family history of these people is certainly closely associated with the town of Ta'qdjîk-ān for it was there that a Ġānaxa'dî woman nursed a woodworm, thus giving her people the woodworm emblem, and, as above noted, the Tak^{u}ane'dî (Winter people) are the Klawak branch of that clan. Another body of Ġānaxa'dî moved to Chilkat, where they are also of high rank, and still others are among the Taku and at Yakutat.

The Te'qoedî received their name from an island called Teq°, said to lie near the northern end of Prince of Wales island, and thus near the traditional home of the Ġānaxa'dî. According to Haida accounts they were their chief opponents at the time when that tribe invaded Alaska and they subsequently fled to the mainland. That the territory in Alaska now occupied by the Kaigani Haida was formerly Tlingit is a well-known fact, and is attested by all of the names of their towns. Thus Sukkwan is from Tlingit suqq°-ān ("grassy town"), and Kasaan or Kā'sî-ān is said to mean "pretty town," because when the people came there they said, "This is the only spot that looks good." At Klinkwan the writer was told that the name of that town in Tlingit signifies "shell-fish village" or perhaps rather "town-where-people-get-things-at-low-tide." Katishan, however, affirmed that it

was named from the yellow cedar bark soaked and spun into long strings and called łān, for which the place was noted. Thus the Tlingit word would be łā'nqo-ān. There is also a difference of opinion about Howkan, since the Haida living in that neighborhood, who pronounce the name 'aokłia'n, affirm that it refers to a stone which used to stand in front of the place, while Katishan derives it from qō'wakan, "deer," the animal being very plentiful in that neighborhood. The first explanation is probably correct. It is uncertain whether Howkan and Kasaan were occupied as towns before the advent of the Haida, but tradition affirms it of Sukkwan and Klinkwan, the former of which was destroyed by the invaders. The people of Kasaan, however, according to Doctor Newcombe, claim to have acquired their town by regular purchase.

From all the accounts obtained it would seem that the Te'qoedî constituted a large part of the population of Prince of Wales island and moved to Tongas and Sanya at the time when the Haida immigration took place, whether that happened peaceably or otherwise. Part of them are now among the Hutsnuwu people and part at Yakutat.

The last group in this region, the NēxA'dî of Sanya, is peculiar as standing outside of the two great phratries. It is characterized principally by the possession of the Eagle crest and Eagle personal names, and possibly it is from this clan that the northern Tlingit have also obtained them. Their name means simply People of Nēx, a creek in their country. Along with many other clans, they are supposed to have come from "below Port Simpson," but on the other hand it is possible that their origin is connected with an Athapascan tribe, which formerly occupied the shores of Behm canal just northward and intermarried with the Tlingit to a considerable extent in ancient times. The remnants of these Athapascans are now living at Kincolith among the Nass Indians.

The presence of a KîksA'dî house group at Sanya has been noted, and although composed perhaps of comparatively new settlers at that place, it is said that the family had received its name, People of Kîks, from an island in the vicinity. At any rate it was certainly one of the great clans that moved up from the south, and besides having a Sanya branch forms the foremost Raven groups at Wrangell and Sitka. They were the first to settle in the latter place.[a] Their antiquity is perhaps indicated by the fact that two of the principal mythologic heroes of the Tlingit bear KîksA'dî names.

It is said that the wives of some KîksA'dî people once quarreled, and all of one side moved out into a house made of bark, from which circumstance they came to be called Bark-house people (Tī hît tān).

[a] Before coming to Sitka proper they lived in the town of Kastaxē'xda-ān, situated in the neighborhood. According to Katishan, the first families to settle in Sitka were the KîksA'dî, KatagwA'dî, and Ǧēs hît tān (Iron house people), the last a part of the Kā'gwAntān.

At Wrangell the Bark-house people are credited with but one house group, but the Tē'nedi of Klawak constitute part of the same clan, their name being merely a variation of Tī hît tān.

The DAQL!awe'dî, the significance of whose name was not learned, are another widely scattered group, being found under that name in Tongas, Hutsnuwu, and Chilkat, while the Tsague'dî of Kake are a branch.

Formerly the Henya of the west coast of Prince of Wales island lived at Tuxican (TA'qdjîk-ān), but later their chief moved to Klawak (ŁAWā'k), where he owned a salmon creek, and all of his people followed. Sometimes they camped at Shakan (CAXā'n) to collect fish eggs, and in modern times many Indians settled there near a large sawmill built by the whites. Some of the Henya families have already been mentioned. The Łqoaye'dî and Qaq!ō's hît tān were both parts of the CAnkuke'dî, but it was not learned whether that family was itself connected with any other. They are also found at Kake, and Krause enumerates them among the clans of the Chilkat town of Klukwan. According to Katishan they took their name from an island called Cān, but according to an old Kake man, from a place near Kake called Caya'.

The Kuiu consisted of but two clans. About the Kuye'dî nothing of consequence was learned, but the Nāste'dî are often spoken of as if they were one people with the Nanyaā'yî and Kā'gwANtān. As frequently happens, however, it is difficult to say whether this means unity of origin or nothing more than membership in the same phratry. It may be of some significance that they share the Flicker house (Kūn hît) with the DAQL!awe'dî. Their name and origin are said to have been derived from the Nass.

While the people of Kuiu, Henya, Sanya, Tongas, and part of the Kakes are said to be very closely related to one another, the origin of some of the Kake clans differs in being intimately connected with the interior of the continent. In the time of the flood, according to one story, there were glaciers extending entirely across the Stikine river, so that canoes could not pass. The Kake Indians, who were then living in the interior, wished to come down, and finally accomplished the feat by passing directly under the glacier. Instead of settling on the river, however, where they could have lived in the midst of plenty, they went out to Kupreanof island, whence in later times they moved back to Wrangell. On close examination this story is found to apply particularly to the Qā'tcADî, who still have the house name Rush house (TcAc hît) in memory of their houses in the interior, but the SAq"tē'nedî, and probably the remaining Raven clans at Kake, are considered divisions of this. According to one of the Kake men, however, the Qā'tcADî were always Tlingit, being descended from a Tlingit woman who was captured by the Athapascans when out picking berries. This was when they first learned that there were Indians up the

river. It is possible that the second account is the truer one, but on the other hand it may have been made up to conceal their extraneous origin, "Stick Indians" as the Athapascans are called, having been very much looked down upon in olden times. Their name is said to be derived from a creek on Admiralty island called Qāte

The NēsA'dî (Salt-water people) also are said to have come down the Stikine from among the Athapascans. Their name is explained by the story that they were carried up that river at the time of the flood and chased down again by the interior tribes.

"A man coming from a certain creek was so lousy that he died, and ever since his people have been called Lousy-creek people (Was!hī'nedî)."

Most important of all the southern groups of Tlingit were the Stikine. They claim that they formerly owned, besides the Stikine valley, parts of Kupreanof and Prince of Wales islands and the coast southward as far as Loring. The last-named district, however, appears anciently to have been the special property of the Foam people (Xēł qoan), who have moved to Wrangell only in recent years. The Stikine also had exclusive rights of trade with the interior Indians, who were valued for what could be gotten out of them but otherwise looked down upon as a lower race. Formerly the principal Stikine town was QāłtcAL!-ān, now called Old Wrangell, some distance south of the present town of Wrangell, and it is claimed that the first carved poles in Alaska were there set up. The Indian town at modern Wrangell was built around a little bay near the northern end of Wrangell island and on several small islets in the bay. From the inclosed appearance of this bay and the outline of the mountain behind it the town was called QatcxA'na-āk![a] (Human-hip lake).

All of the Wolf families in this place, except the Foam people above referred to, appear to belong to one group, and among them the most important, as well of Wrangell as of this phratry, were the Nāṇyaā'ẏî. Although all these clans are said formerly to have come from the Tsimshian coast,[a] the more immediate migration was southward from Taku. During this migration part stopped at a place called Sī'nAX and were afterwards known as Sī!knaxA'dî. The Xōq!e'dî receive their name from a place a short distance south of Old Wrangell called Xōq!, and the Foam people were thought to be related to them, but this may mean nothing more than association together in the feasts. According to one informant the Kāyā'ckidetān were part of the Xōq!e'dî; according to others, of the Naṇyaā'ẏî.

The Raven clans at Wrangell have already been spoken of, except the Kāsq!ague'dî and Tāłqoe'dî, which are said to have had a similar origin. According to their present chief, the former were originally Haida from the StA'stas clan of Masset. More immediately they are

[a] Lieut. G. T. Emmons informs the writer, however, that the Naṇyaā'ẏî were an inland people and did not come up from the south.

said to have come from the Wut-cA'nîna, a clan at Kasaan, which is perhaps identical with the Yā'dAS, a StA'stas branch living at that place. It is not a little curious that a Raven group among the Tlingit should have come from an Eagle group among the Haida. On their way to Wrangell these people stopped for a long time at a place called Kāsq!ē'k", from which they received their present name.

The S!it!qoe'dî are said to be "old Alaskans" and intermarry much with the Taku people to the north.

The Yênye'dî of Taku had close relations with the Nanyaā'yî, and the latter, who are said to have come from the same place, may formerly have constituted one clan with them. The Tsat!enye'dî are named from a creek on Admiralty island. The old Taku village was at the head of Taku harbor, but later the Taku formed another on the north side of the entrance to Taku inlet, and in recent years have resorted a great deal to Juneau.

At Auk (Tlingit, Āk!", little lake) the principal clan was the L!enē'dî, to whom the story of the L!ê'nAXx̣ī'dAq (property woman) is always traced. Some of the Wucketā'n also lived with them, although their place of origin seems to have been Hutsnuwu or Huna. An old man at Sitka seemed to think that the Wucketā'n had come from KAq!Anuwū' along with the Kā'gwAntān and other Eagle clans, but the fact that they possess the same principal crest as the DAqL!awe'dî, the killer whale, suggests an affinity with that clan. The old Auk village Ā'ntcgAltsu (abandoned town) was situated at Point Louisa, north of Douglas island, and the modern town of Juneau is in their territory.

Anciently the Hutsnuwu (X̣uts!nuwū', grizzly-bear fort) people or X̣u'ts!îda qoan (which means the same thing) occupied two different towns on the west coast of Admiralty island. The more southern, called NAltū'ck-ān, was in White Water bay, and the northern, Āngū'n, on the coast above modern Killisnoo where the whites had established canneries and whither the inhabitants of both of these towns have now removed. The two Raven groups living here, the Dē'citān and Ānq!a'kîtān, are said to have separated at some former time on account of internal disturbances. Their names, which are simply derived from those of houses, lead one to suspect that further investigation would show them to be parts of some other Raven group. According to Krause, the Ānq!a'ketān and Te'qoedî lived at NAltū'ck-ān and the Dē'citān, Wuckitā'n and DAqL!awe'dî at Āngū'n. Part of the Hutsnuwu people were called AsA'nk!îqoan, but these appear to have formed a local rather than a clan group.

With two possible exceptions the remaining Tlingit clans to be considered fall into two groups, associated historically with certain distinct regions. One of these is Wolf, and comprises the Kā'gwAntān, of which the Kūk hît tān is a part, the KAtagwA'dî and the TcukAne'dî; the other the Łuqā'xAdî, Nucêkaā'yî, L!ūk!naxA'dî, Q!Atkaā'yî, and

Kosk!ē'dî. Tradition localizes the first of these very strongly about Icy strait, especially upon the peninsula between Lynn canal and Glacier bay, and the second at the mouth of Alsek river (Ałsē'x hīn).

The origins of the first are bound up with the history of a man called Kakē'q!ᵘte, who is the hero of two stories, recorded by the writer, one of which gives the story of the Kā'gwᴀntān and several other clans.

After a fight with live coals as weapons, which resulted in giving them their name, the Kā'gwᴀntān scattered, some going to Huna, some to Chilkat, and some to Sitka where they joined the Kîksᴀ'dî. It is evident that the Kᴀtagwᴀ'dî, to which Kakē'q!ᵘte belonged, and the Tcūkᴀne'dî were both considered as related to the Kā'gwᴀntān. The Tcūkᴀne'dî were named from a creek, Tcū'kᴀn hīn, on which they were encamped at the time of Kakē'q!ᵘte's return from the interior with Athapascans, as detailed in the myth, and they are now considered rather low caste.

Of the families constituting the second group just referred to, the Łuqā'xᴀdî[a] are now at Chilkat, but the story just given localizes them in earlier times at the mouth of the Alsek. The Nucekaā'yî are said to be part of these. The Q!at!kaā'yî (island people) received their name from an island at the mouth of Alsek river said to be called Ga!tsē'nîwâ, and were a part of the L!ūk!naxᴀ'dî of the same region. According to one informant, it was to this latter clan that Kakē'q!ᵘte belonged. It is also said, and with probability, that the Kosk!ē'dî belonged to this clan, though others state that they came from the coast farther west from the Stᴀxa'dî of Copper river, who appear to have been Athapascans.

The origin of the Kâ'ck!e qoan is given in a long story which the writer obtained from a member of that clan. From this it appears that they were originally interior Indians who came down to the coast after some internal disturbance and purchased a creek near Yakutat called Kâck!, from which they received their name. The Kâ'ck!e qoan are also said to be called Stᴀxa'dî, because they have dances similar to those of the true Stᴀxa'dî.

According to one informant, the Taqêstina' of Chilkat were part of the same clan as the Nāste'dî. Katishan informed the writer that in the general migration northward they were lost in the channel east of Wrangell island, which is called Tᴀqsī't, and afterwards received their name from it.

There were four principal Chilkat towns, three of which—Klukwan, Katkwaltu, and Yendestake—were on Chilkat river and inlet, while the fourth, Chilkoot, was near the head of Chilkoot inlet. Many of these Indians have now moved to the white settlements and to Haines mission. According to Krause, Chilkoot was occupied by

[a] Krause has unwittingly constituted a new clan by listing the "Kādûwot-kēdi," evidently an equivalent for Łuqā'xᴀdî, since the words mean the same thing.

the Ǧānaxte'dî; Klukwan by the Ǧānaxte'dî, Kā'gwantān, Taqêstina', and Daql!awe'dî; Katkwaltu by the Nucekaā'yî; and Yendestake by the Łuqā'xadî.

From this fragmentary account it would appear that the Ǧānaxa'dî or Ǧānaxte'dî and Kîksa'dî, and perhaps the Qā'tcadî, L!uk!naxa'dî, and Łuqā'xadî were clans of something like national significance on the Raven side and the Te'qoedî, Daql!awe'dî, Nanyaā'yî, Kā'gwantān, and perhaps Nāste'dî on the Wolf side. Native legend carries most of these back to the Tsimshian coast, but it must be remembered that new bodies of people might be taken into a clan at any time by simple absorption without having any distinguishing marks attach to them.

The aboriginal neighbors of the Tlingit were, in the interior beyond the mountains, various Athapascan tribes, to the southeast the Tsimshian and Haida, and on the extreme northwest the Eskimo.

With the Athapascans, whom they called Ǧo'nana (strange or different nation), a lively trade was carried on along natural lines of intercommunication marked out by the Stikine, Taku, Chilkat, Alsek, and Copper rivers. This trade was one of their greatest sources of wealth, and is said to have lain at the basis of the power obtained by the Nanyaā'yî and Kā'gwantān. The Tsimshian, called by the Tlingit Ts!utsxa'n, they esteemed as people of high culture from whom new ideas and new customs reached them, and seem to have thought much more of them than of the Haida, although recognizing the superiority of the latter in certain respects. Their own term for the Haida is Dekī' na, "Nation-far-out [at sea]," and for the Queen Charlotte islands, Dekī' qoan ā'nî, "Town-of-the-people-far-out." After the Haida reached Alaska the relations between them and the Tlingit became very intimate, and there was a great deal of intermarrying, facilitated no doubt by a very similar social organization. They have had more to do with the Tsimshian since New Metlakatla was founded by Duncan on Annette island. The Tlingit claim not to have known anciently of the far southern people such as the Haida until they found a canoe, containing bodies of strange people, which had drifted ashore, but latterly, at any rate, they waged war continually on the people of Nass and Skeena and on the Haida.

To Tlingit aggressions on the Eskimo allusion has already been made. It seems probable that the Tlingit were slowly pushing westward when the Russians appeared, and would ultimately have reached the Aleutian chain or the Yukon delta.

Russians are known to the Tlingit as Ānū'ci, while other white people are called Ɬēt qoan (white or snow people) or Gū'tsk!î qoan (people from the place where the clouds reach down to the earth—i. e., horizon people). The English they call Gî'ndjîtcwân, a corruption of the "King George man" of the Chinook jargon.

CLAN EMBLEMS

As with other Northwest Coast peoples, the different Tlingit clans usually laid claim to certain distinctive carvings and names; but, unlike the Haida clans, each of which used a number of crests of this kind, the Tlingit divisions had comparatively few, and generally held but one or two in particular esteem. In the case of carvings these crests were commonly held in special consideration only when they occurred in some definite form, such as a wooden hat, house post, or baton. An emblem is said to have been put on the war helmet, so that its owner might die with it. Theoretically, the emblems used on the Raven side were different from those on the Wolf or the Eagle side, and, although a man of high caste might borrow an emblem from his brother-in-law temporarily, he was not permitted to retain it. Some families were too poor to have an emblem, and on the other hand it is said of some of the great ones, like the Nanyaā'yî, that they were so rich that they could use anything.

The wolf is used by most Wolf clans, but was especially valued by the Kā'gwAntān, and also apparently by the Yênye'dî of Taku. The Xoq!e'dî, who anciently had no crest, began to use the wolf in recent times, but met opposition on the part of the Kā'gwAntān and desisted. Most families wore this as a hat; the DAqL!awe'dî had it designed upon a dance blanket. The tc!ît (murrelet—Emmons), a small bird that makes a whistling sound, was used by many Wolf clans, especially the DAqL!awe'dî and the Kā'gwAntān.

The Eagle was a special possession of the NēxA'dî of Sanya, who were outside of both phratries; but it is now employed by the northern Wolves, who from this crest were called also Eagles. Katishan thought that it might have been adopted by them after some trouble with the NēxA'dî, but it is by no means certain that this is the case, especially since the corresponding Haida phratry is likewise called Eagle, and many Haida seem to have married in Sitka. The eagle hat is now worn by the Kā'gwAntān of Sitka and Chilkat. The NēxA'dî claim to it is based on the belief that one of their people was formerly assisted by an eagle, and finally turned into one. The eagle hat is claimed by some of the DAqL!awe'dî, also.

The grizzly-bear hat was used by the Te'qoedî, who claimed that a member of their clan had married a female grizzly bear, while the Kā'gwAntān, who claimed the same thing, had bears' ears fastened to the sides of their heads and called them Kāts! after the name of the man through whom the right had been obtained. The Kā'gwAntān of Chilkat have a shirt made out of grizzly-bear hide, which they wear in memory of this event.

At the time of the flood a grizzly bear and a mountain goat climbed a mountain in company with the fleeing Nanyaā'yî, and ever since that

clan has used a grizzly-bear skin and the head of a mountain goat, the former of which they regard as their very highest crest. The first grizzly-bear skin that they used is, of course, said to have been that of the identical bear which had accompanied them, but this in time became worn out and had to be replaced.

The killer whale is claimed especially by the DAQL!awe'dî, Tsague'dî, and Wucketā'n. The first killers are said to have been made out of yellow cedar by a man of the Tsague'dî or DAQL!awe'dî (which are really parts of the same clan), and they claim it from that circumstance. Yet it is used by other Wolf clans, such as the Kā'gwANtān and KAtagwA'dî, and Kīt anyê'dî s!āx̱ᵘ (killer-whale high-caste hat) is the special emblem of Łontī'tc, speaker for the Sitka Kā'gwANtān.

The S!īt!qoe'dî claim a whale called s!īt!, which is like the killer whale.

The TcūkAne'dî claim the porpoise.

According to Katishan the seal was an emblem of the Tsague'dî, but this was denied by a man of that clan.

The shark hat (tūs! s!āx̱ᵘ) was used by the Nanyaā'yî and Kā'gwANtān, the latter accompanying it with the devilfish face painting.

The Petrel (Ġanū'k) from whom the culture hero Raven obtained fresh water appears on both sides. According to Katishan it was owned by the Wolves; but an old Sitka woman said the petrel hat (tc!īt s!āx̱ᵘ) belonged to the Ravens of Chilkat.

The Dē'citān have the beaver hat.

All Raven clans are supposed to have a right to the Raven emblem; but according to Katishan the Ġānaxte'dî claim it in a special manner, because in the Raven story Raven declared that he himself was a Ġānaxte'dî. The DAqL!awe'dî of the Wolf phratry also think they have some right to it because Raven dragged a house full of fishes ashore at their village. The Łuqā'xadî of Chilkat make so much of this crest as often to be called "Real Ravens," while the Tī hît tān have a special raven emblem which they captured from the Tsimshian in war and call the "Winter Raven." The Kāsq!ague'dî had a hair ornament called yēł tcīn, like the beak of a raven, which hung down on the back of a dancer at the potlatch.

The frog was a special possession of the KîksA'dî, who claimed it from the fact that persons of their clan had had special dealings with frogs, although the stories told about them at Sitka and Wrangell differ. The ĠānAxA'dî of Tongas tell the same story as the Wrangell KîksA'dî about the marriage of a woman of their clan to a frog, and probably claim the frog also. In recent years the Qā'tcAdî at Wrangell and the L!ūk!naxA'dî at Sitka have tried to adopt the frog, but in the latter case their attempt to put up the frog carving precipitated a riot.

The woodworm is a special possession of the ĠānAxA'dî, since one of their women suckled the monster woodworm at TA'qdjîk-ān; and

the Ǧānaxte'dî of Chilkat use a mask of the woman herself. According to another story the Thunders were originally men belonging to the Taqêstina', and therefore that clan claims the thunder emblem.

The common whale hat (yā'i s!āx̣ᵘ) was used by the T!a'q!dentān, K!uxîne'dî, and other Raven groups, its origin according to Katishan having been in the whale killed by Raven.

The king-salmon hat is worn by the L!ūk!naxa'dî and Q!a't!kaāyî.

The swan is also used by the L!ūk!naxa'dî and the goose is used by the Kîksa'dî.

The mouse hat (Kuts!ī'n s!āx̣ᵘ) belonged to the Kosk!ē'dî.

The Tane'dî claim the land otter because the shaman S!āwa'n, who, according to the Raven story, visited a land-otter town and obtained supernatural powers from it, was one of their people.

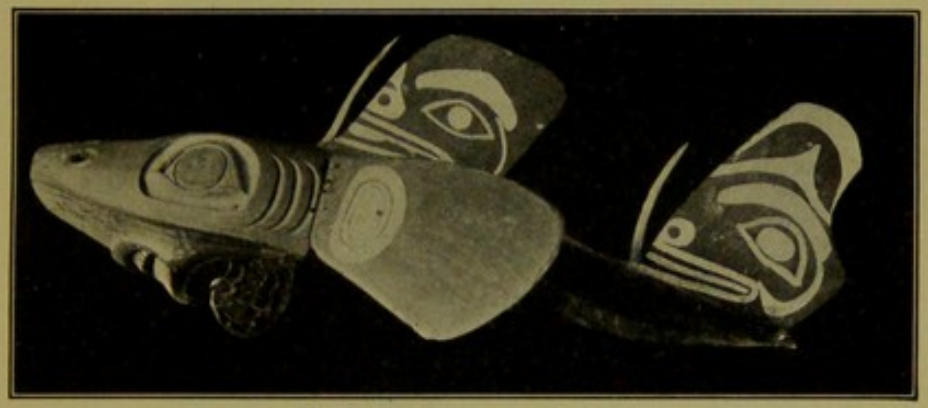


Fig. 103. Crest hat representing shark.

Among other possessions of like nature are the following:

The Kāsq!ague'dî had the green paint hat (nēxî'ntê s!āx̣ᵘ), which was made with two tops side by side, the Nās-ca'kî-yēł pole (see p. 434) which they first carved, and an eagle cane obtained from Edensaw's people at Masset, Queen Charlotte islands. The Kîksa'dî use the cry of the sea lion, which they once heard at Cape Ommaney when the sea lions were fighting with the killer whales. In former times when they rushed to battle they hooted like the owl, evidently claiming this cry on account of the Kîksa'dî woman who turned into an owl.

The S!īknaxa'dî have a cane called ānkᵘ carved like a man, which they captured in a war with the Tsimshian.

The Tāłqoe'dî claim Mountain-back-of-Tāłqᵒ (Tāłqᵒ-naxk!ᵘ-ca), and Kaxkoyê'ndua, a being that Łq!ayā'k!, one of the principal heroes of Tlingit mythology, turned into stone in Tāłqᵒ bay. A house is named after the latter (see p. 402).

The Naste'dî make use of the big rock outside of Kuiu called Fort-far-out (Dekī'-nū), where Petrel, from whom Raven stole the fresh

water, had his spring. All kinds of birds nest upon it, and when the Naste'dî dance they imitate them.

The Ga̱nAxte'dî as well as the Tāk^{u}ane'dî claim the hero Black-skin (Dukt!ū'ɪ.!) and represent him on posts with sea-lion intestines wrapped around his head. The Ga̱nAxte'dî of Chilkat claim a very large basket called Mother-basket.

The ɪ.!ūk!naxA'dî and Q!At!kaā'y̨î claim house posts carved to resemble the Sleep Spirit (TA) seen by Kakē'q!^{u}tê.

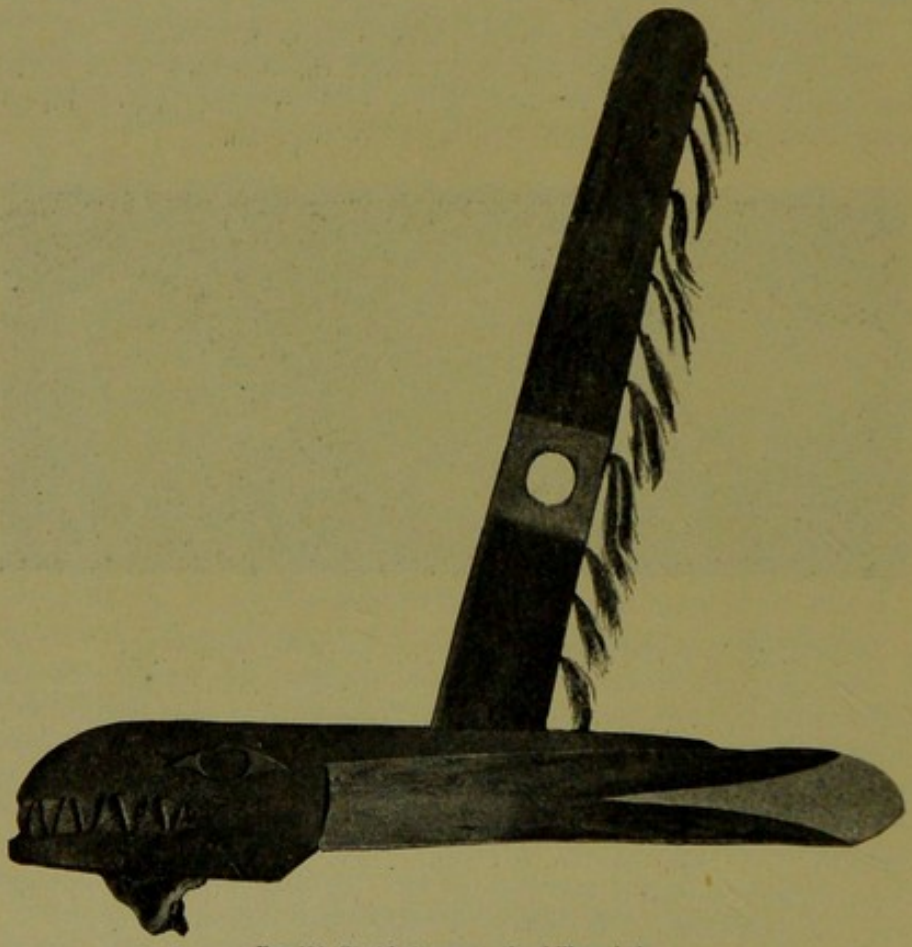


FIG. 104. Crest hat representing killer whale.

The ɪ.!enē'dî claim the Great Dipper (YAxtê').

The T!A'q!dentān also had as emblems a mountain at Cape Fairweather called TsAɬxā'n, which was represented on a hat, and a rock, TA'naku, which was employed in various ways. The origin of the former is referred to the story of Kakē'q!^{u}tê. An island near Cape Spencer called Ga̱nAxa' is used in the same way.

Besides being represented on hats, posts, blankets, and elsewhere, these various clan emblems were indicated by face paintings; plates

XLVIII–LVI are reproductions of some of these from crayon drawings, including also representations of several objects not referred to above. The originals of those in plates XLVIII–LV were made for the writer by an old woman of the T!A'q!dentān at Sitka, and those in plate LVI by Mrs Wigg, his interpreter at Wrangell.[a]

Following are illustrations of a few objects used as emblems or in a similar manner:

Figures 103, 104, and 105 and plate LVIII, *a*, are emblem hats. The first of these represents the shark and the second the killer whale, both having been the property of old Shakes, former chief of the Nanyaā'yî. The third is a grizzly-bear hat owned by one of the Qā'tcadî named "Jim

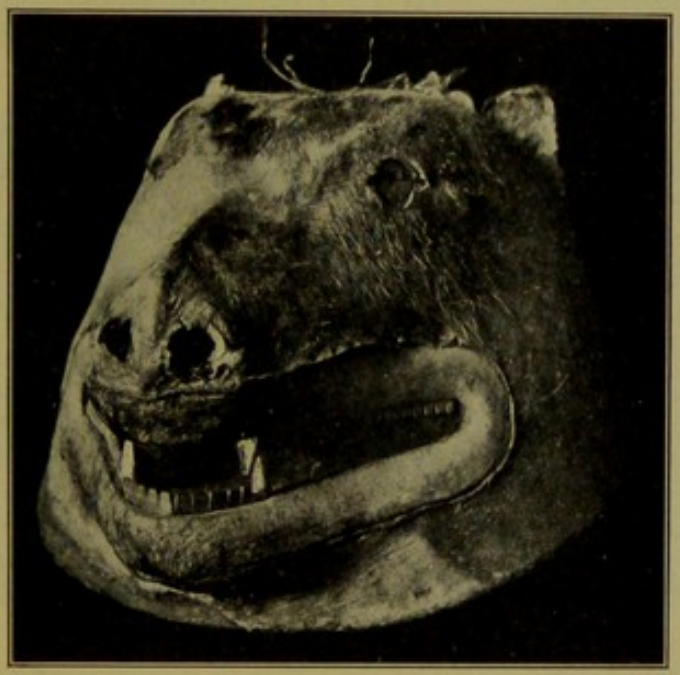


FIG. 105. Crest hat representing grizzly bear.

Coonie." The writer was unable to hear the story of this from its former owner himself, but it is said that his grandfather had obtained the exclusive right to use it by having killed a grizzly bear with his ax after it had destroyed many people. The gash made by his ax is represented on the top of the animal's head. The bear is not ordinarily found in this man's clan, so we must either suppose that it was a personal crest or assume that it had belonged to his mother's father, and thus to some other clan. Plate LVIII, *a*, which is painted in blue, red, and black and set with abalone shell, also represents the

[a] These are reproduced exactly from the originals, including the artist's attempt at emblem hats and ear pendants as well as additional touches to the pupils of the eyes.

killer whale, and was made for one of the DAQL!awe'dî named Gucte-hīn, but was not used many times.

At Wrangell there is preserved a headdress ornamented with abalone shell and weasel skins, which is said to represent the storm cloud (gēt), and a portion of a house front, which belonged to old chief Shakes, mentioned above, and is carved and painted to represent the grizzly bear, here called by a special name, Ck!udatc!ī't (many faces).

The drum shown in plate LVII, *b*, was owned by the same chief and has a killer whale painted upon it. Its owner also has a box used in secret society performances, painted with the killer whale on one side and the moon on the other.

Figure 106 shows one of a pair of room partitions, two beavers being painted on each in memory of a supernatural beaver at Killisnoo from which the Dē'citān obtained their crest.

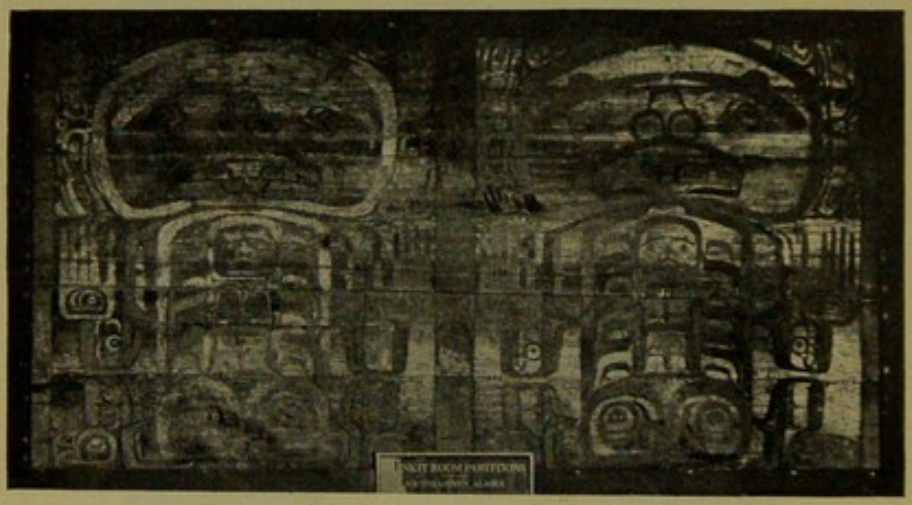


FIG. 106. Room partition bearing design of beavers.

Figure 107 represents a model of the Wolf post of the Kā'gwANtān, which supports the rafters inside. Three wolves and the head of a fourth are represented placed one over the other.

A paddle-shaped dance baton obtained from Katliân, chief of the KîksA'dî, has a sea gull on one side and on the opposite side a crab painted in red, but it is not certain that these were ever used as crests. About the edges are blue lobes said to represent "animal teeth."

Plate LVII, *a*, is a basketry design representing TsAłxā'n. The ten-sided figure in red is the flank of the mountain which is supposed to look red at a distance, the diagonal black bars on either side above are the slopes, the two small white spots sunshine on the sides, and the long white horizontal bars clouds.

NAMES

The house names (see list, p. 400–407) used by each phratry were generally distinct, and even the separate clans often had names of this sort not employed by others, but a man sometimes claimed the right to a house name owned by the clan of his paternal grandfather, and in this way names readily got out of the clan, though not as readily out of the phratry. Thus the Kayā'ckidêtān are said to have claimed the Killer-whale house name because a grandfather of one of their people belonged to the DAQL!awe'dî. In the same way the Qā'tcADî and Kāsq!ague'dî claim Frog house from having had Kîksa'dî ancestors, and the Qā'tcADî claim the Halibut house (Nāłx hît) from intermarriage with the Wut-ca'nîna of Kasaan. The adoption of a name does not, however, always appear to have taken place in a friendly manner. For instance, it is said that a woman of the Wucketā'n left in anger her husband, who belonged to the Ānq!a'ketān, and took the name Ānq!a'kê hît with her, so that it is now used by the Wucketā'n as well. Where a house name has not been borrowed or assumed from some other clan, its origin is traceable to a myth or legend in which the clan in question had some interest, or may refer to some peculiarity of position, construction, or ornamentation. Some were also grandiloquent expressions, indicating the power or wealth of the owner. Among the most common were names taken from a crest.

FIG. 107. Crest post of the Kā'gwANtān.

The great majority of Tlingit personal names referred to some animal, especially that animal whose emblem was particularly valued by the clan to which the bearer belonged. Thus a prominent Chilkat chief was called Danawā'q (Silver Eyes), referring to the eyes of the raven; Xaku'tc! (Shaggy) was a Kā'gwANtān name, indicating the thick, lumpy hair of the grizzly bear, and Kodê'naha, another Kā'gwANtān name, referred to the narrow entrance of a bear's den, which to a bear is supposed to appear like a large doorway. Among Kîksa'dî names are Deîkta' (Frog-sitting-in-the-road); A'tats!în (Lively-frog-in-lake); Tuksaē'q, referring to the frog's brilliant color. Other

names have been given in connection with the lists of houses in Sitka and Wrangell. Where different clans have the same emblem their names referring to it may nevertheless differ, and this distinction runs through all of their other personal names as well, so that wherever a man goes his social position is known by his name. That a man's name might occasionally be used by a woman is shown in the case of the late Mrs Dickinson, of Sitka, whose native name, ĀndA', was adopted by her because there were no males left in her clan who could use it.

The principal animals to which personal names in the Wolf phratry referred were wolf, grizzly bear, tc!it, killer whale, petrel, and, among the northern Tlingit, eagle; and the principal animals to which personal names of the Raven phratry referred were raven, frog, hawk (kîdjū'k), black whale (yā'î), and eagle among the southern Tlingit. Wolf and grizzly bear names seem to have been used most widely by the Wolf people, the former being especially common among the Kā'gwAntān and the latter among the Nanyaā'yî, KAtAgwA'dî, and the Te'qoedî. The Nanyaā'yî who used Wolf names are said to have been mainly those who had had Kā'gwAntān grandparents. Killer-whale names were used by the DAqL!awe'dî and Nanyaā'yî, and porpoise names by the TcukAne'dî. The Wolf people are said to have had names taken also from the shark, dogfish, and halibut. Almost all of the NēxA'dî names are from the eagle.

Names taken from the raven were used pretty generally by all Raven families, but seem to have existed in greatest abundance proportionally among the Łuqā'xAdî and the ĢānAxte'dî, almost all of the names employed by the former having had such an origin. Frog names were probably next most abundant among the Ravens, being of course especially employed by the KîksA'dî and its branches, but also by the Qā'tcAdî, the Kosk!ē'dî, and several other clans. The KîksA'dî claimed also brant, owl, and dog-salmon names, on account of members of that family who had gone to live with such animals. The dog salmon is also said to have been used by the L!enē'dî of Auk. The L!ūk!naxA'dî and the Q!At!kaā'yî had king salmon names, but more still were taken from coppers. The Kosk!ē'dî are said to have had some names from the black whale (yā'î), and the TAne'dî some from the land otter. Herring and ground-hog names were used by the Łuqā'xAdî, the swan (goqL) by the L!ūk!naxA'dî and Q!At!kaā'yî and mouse names by the Kosk!ē'dî. The marten is said to have been employed by some Raven people, and the weasel occurs in at least one L!enē'dî name, Da-L!ēn (big weasel). If any animal were not regularly used by some clan it could be employed without offense. Other crests, such as Mount Fairweather, TA'naku, and the island from which the Q!At!kaā'yî receive their designation, were also drawn upon for personal names by the clans to which these belonged.

As stated above, some personal names were derived from coppers. Some also commemorated certain events, such, for instance, as Djînaɬa'tk! (rolling waves), given to a certain girl by her mother in commemoration of the place where the child's sister had been drowned, while still others were from the names of creeks and totem poles, and many people acquired nicknames not referring to any emblem. In the case of the girl just spoken of the name may have been adopted to avenge the wrong upon the place, as such things were certainly done by the Haida. At a feast a man would give his own clan names to his son's children, but the right to them seems usually to have been confined to the individuals so honored, unless, of course, they belonged to the same clan as the first owner. Sometimes, however, a new name might be coined and applied during a potlatch—one, for instance, referring to the noise made by putting on the main timbers of a house—and in that case the grandchild's clan could keep it.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The exogamic nature of the two great phratries and the exception in favor of one small group have already been explained. It would be interesting in this connection to have detailed information regarding the laws governing intermarriage with other people, but only a few facts were gathered. The possession of an emblem in common seems to have determined phratry relationships in cases where it occurred, but otherwise it was settled by the general phratry designation. A Haida carver living at Sitka, who is usually called "Haida Charlie," belongs to the Łîma'l naas xada'i, of Howkan, who are part of the Sala'ndas, an Eagle family. His Tlingit wife is a Raven. The interpreter stated that it was more usual for men from the south to marry northern women than the reverse. There was a Haida woman married among the Box house people, however, and she called herself a Q!at!kaā'yî, because some time before other Haida had married in such a way with this clan as to place them on her own side. At Wrangell, on the other hand, we find the Raven Kāsq!ague'dî and Tāɬqoe'dî considered as parts of Edensaw's family at Masset, which is Eagle. Transposition of phratries is indicated also by crests and names, for the killer whale, grizzly bear, wolf, and halibut are on the Wolf side among the Tlingit and on the Raven side among the Haida, while the raven, frog, hawk, and black whale are on the Raven side among the Tlingit and the Eagle side among the Haida. No data were obtained regarding intermarriages with the Tsimshian, and the only facts ascertained relative to the Athapascans are that those bands that were adopted among the Tlingit seem to have been taken in as Ravens. Some Tlingit married women from the Flatheads (i. e., Kwakiutl, called in Tlingit T!awiyā'tq!a).

Phratral exogamy is so common a phenomenon that we should hardly take the trouble to inquire among the Indians themselves for

an explanation of it. It may be worth while, however, to note the explanation given by Katishan, that clans "showed respect toward one another" by intermarriage. The expression "showing of respect" is often used and in the following connections: A man showed respect and true politeness to his mother-in-law or a woman to her son-in-law by not addressing her or him directly. A man showed respect to his father-in-law by working for him in exchange for having received his daughter as wife, and the father-in-law showed respect to his daughter and his son-in-law by giving a large dower. A man showed respect to his brother-in-law by returning any present the latter chose to make him with heavy interest; nor was he at liberty to decline an expensive present of this kind.[a]

Terms of relationship were naturally affected by the exogamic phratral divisions. A man called his own people "friends," those of the opposite phratry "opposites" (gonêtkanā'yî), or "my outside shell." Below are the more specific terms, with the Haida in a parallel column for purposes of comparison. The *k!* in parentheses is a diminutive ending used in an endearing sense and not absolutely essential to the word, although very frequently introduced, while the *ga* after Haida words is a possessive suffix.

	Tlingit	Haida
grandfather (applied to all men of generation before that of parents)	łłł(k!) (also applied to eldest of father's brothers)	tcî'nga
grandmother (applied to all women of generation before that of parents)		nā'nga
grandchild (and all of generations following that of children)	cxan(k!)	t!ak!i'nga
man's father	ic	gō'ñga
woman's father		xā'tga
father's brother (including all men of phratry of father's generation and of the succeeding generation)	sa'ni (perhaps "small," "little," meaning "little father")	gō'ñga, and xā'tga
mother (of man and woman)	la	a'oga
mother's sister (including all the women of her phratry and generation)	lā(k!) (little mother)	
mother's brother (including all men of her phratry and generation)	kāk	qā'ga
father's sister (including in general all women of her phratry and generation and of the succeeding generation	āt	sqā'nga
man's elder brother (and all older men of his phratry and generation)	hunx	k!wa'iga
woman's elder sister (and all older women of her phratry and generation)	catx	
man's younger brother and woman's younger sister (also all younger men or women of same phratry and generation)	kîk!	daoga'nga

[a] At Sitka the usual rates of interest were as follows: For three dollars five dollars were returned, for five dollars eight dollars, for ten dollars fifteen. This return might be made at a feast or outside.

	Tlingit	Haida
man's sister (and women of his phratry and generation)	ɬāk!	djā'sga
woman's brother (and men of her phratry and generation)	īk!	dā'ga
mother's brother's children	kāl(k!)	(descriptive term)
father's sister's female children	āt	(descriptive term)
father's sister's male children	sa'nî	(descriptive term)
son (and men of same phratry and generation as son)	yît	gi'tga
daughter (and women of same phratry and generation as daughter)	sî or sî(k!)	gudjā'ñga
sister's child	qēl(k!)	nā'tga
brother's child (said by woman)	(?)	(descriptive term)

Relations brought about by marriage

husband	xox (also applied to husband of sister, who became really such if latter died)	lā'lga,
wife	cat (and reciprocally as above)	djā'ga
father-in-law	wu	qo'naga
mother-in-law	tcān	djigonā'nga
brother-in-law (said by man)	kā'nî	qea'ga
sister-in-law (said by woman)	kā'nî	djī'ñaga
sister-in-law of man and brother-in-law of woman	xox and cat (as above)	ñ'ñago
son-in-law	(descriptive term)	qo'naga

(Many of these were also extended to cover other persons of the same phratry and sex)

In addition to its great house in town each Tlingit house group usually had its salmon creek or portion of a salmon creek with accompanying smokehouse, whither the people resorted in spring and summer to dry fish, to hunt and trap. The mountain valleys where ground hogs were found, the strips of coast on which were collected shellfish, the halibut banks, and the berrying and root-digging grounds were in many cases also owned by clans and families. Others were unclaimed and free to all. Clans that had no land must resort to the common grounds or wait until the owners of others were through with them.

Months were named with reference to the changes in nature, especially the movements of animal life, which bore directly upon the economic life of the people. Following are lists of these names obtained at Sitka and Wrangell, with the native explanations retained even when they are contradictory. The writer's Sitka informant began his enumeration with the moon corresponding to August, and his Wrangell informant with January, but they are placed opposite each other for purposes of comparison, following the Sitka order as probably the more ancient.

Month to which the term roughly corresponds	Sitka	Wrangell
August	Cāx̱ī'yī', because all birds then come down from the mountains.	Qoqaha' dis, "month when all kinds of animals prepare their dens."
September	Dis ya'dī, "small moon," or "moon child," so called because fish and berries then begin to fail.	Dis ya'dī, "moon child," or "young moon."
October	Dis lēn, "big moon," because the first snow then appears on the mountains and bears begin to get fat.	Dis lēn, "big moon."
November	Qoqā'ha dis, month when people have to shovel snow away from their doors.	at qōwu' disi, moon when all creatures go into their dens; or Cē'nax dis (said to mean the same).
December	Ca'nax dis, month when every animal on land and in the water begins to have hair in its mother's womb.	Sax-la dī'si, "ground-hog mother's moon."
January	T!ā'waq dī'si, "goose month," because it is that in which the sun starts back and people begin to look for geese.	T!ā'waq dī'si, "goose month," perhaps so called because the geese were then all at the south.
February	S!īk dī'si, "black-bear month," the month when black and brown bears begin to have cubs and throw them out into the snow.	S!īk dī'si, "black-bear month," the month when the black bear turns over on the other side in his den.
March	Hīn tā'nax kayā'nī dī'si, the month when "sea flowers" and all other things under the sea begin to grow.	Ga̱t dī'si, "silver-salmon month." The reason for applying this name is unknown, as it is not their proper month.
April	Q!ē'ga kayā'nī dī'si, "real flower month," when flowers, nettles, etc., begin to show life.	at ga'daxet yī'na dī'si, "month before everything hatches."
May	Djinkā'ta, "tenth month," when people know that everything is going to grow.	at ga'daxet dī'si, "month when everything hatches."
June	Djī'nkat wanā'ka, "eleventh month," the month of salmon, and so also called xāt dī'si.	Caxeyē' (meaning unknown; see August in Sitka list).
July	at ga'daxēt dī'si, "month when everything is born."	at gata' dī'si, "month when the geese can't fly."
August (part of)	at gata' dī'si, "month when everything born commences to fatten."	

The thirteen month names in the Sitka list probably represent the number of months formerly reckoned, agreeing in this respect with

the Haida calendar. Four names, it will be seen, correspond precisely in both lists, while five other names are the same but are not applied to corresponding periods, and the names are sometimes interpreted differently. The Chilkat were said to count all the months instead of naming them.

Few of the constellations or stars appear to have been named. The Great Dipper, which used to serve as a guide at night, was called Yaxtê′, the Pleïades were called Wēq! ("sculpin"), and three stars in a line—probably the belt of Orion—were known as na′s!gînax-qa ("three-men-in-line"). Venus as morning star was called Kēq! a′caguɬî′ ("morning-round-thing"), and Jupiter (?) as evening star, K!uxdî′sî, a word which seems to mean "marten month" or "marten moon." If the morning star comes up over a mountain southeast of Sitka it means bad weather; if well over in the east it means good weather.

The clan divisions already treated ranked differently in the social scale. Among the very highest were the Kā′gwantān, Kîksa′dî, Ġānaxa′dî, Łuqā′xadî, and Nanyaā′yî; and the importance of these was evidently due in the first place to the size of the towns to which they belonged, and more remotely to the position of those towns relative to trade routes. On the other hand, several of the smaller groups, such as the Tcūkane′dî, were looked down upon as low caste, and the same was true of certain persons within the large groups.

Difference in caste was, of course, associated with etiquette and confused with morality, so that actions that did not come up to the moral standards of the majority of the people were spoken of as "low caste." At the same time one of the writer's informants insisted that a person of high birth would also be considered low caste if he did not conform to these standards. According to the unwritten Tlingit law it was incumbent upon everyone belonging to a phratry to house and feed any other member of that phratry who should visit him, no matter from how great a distance he might come. We can easily understand that such hospitality might be very seriously abused, the guest extending his visit so long as to become a great nuisance if not a serious burden to his entertainer. For this reason such an extension of the visit was said to be the mark of a low-caste person, even if made by a person of high caste, and such an individual was called by a special term of contempt, (n)îtcka-qā′wu. When a person sat down it was good etiquette not to lean back, but to keep the feet together and the body forward as if one were ever ready to move. A disgraceful act was felt so keenly by members of the offender's family that he might be killed for it or, what was perhaps worse, degraded in the eyes of all of his people. Moral standards were very different from ours, so much so that their existence among Indian tribes has often been denied, but so far as the Tlingit are concerned, it is easy to see that very well defined moral standards did exist, to which a high-

caste person was especially expected to conform. The social customs and laws permitted, it is true, great looseness in sexual relations and encouraged stinginess and treachery toward others, but that was due to a standard of morality low in certain respects, not to the absence of a standard. On the other hand, property rights, except in time of war, or occasionally in time of potlatch, were respected with a care which many in the same region would rejoice to have prevail at the present day. It is even said that it was a disgrace to tell a falsehood, and, if we bear in mind the native idea of what constitutes a falsehood, there is no doubt truth in the statement.

As among other American tribes, a girl at maturity was secluded and had to undergo many observances supposed to affect her future life, as also the existence of people about her. Her look might destroy the luck of a hunter, fisher, or gambler, turn objects into stone, etc. Therefore at that time she is said to have been secluded in the house for from two to three months without ever going out.

When a youth desired to marry a certain girl, or when his friends desired to have him do so, the latter went in a body to the girl's mother and her clansmen. Then his mother, sister, or uncle said, "I value the words I am going to speak at forty blankets. If you are willing, kindly accept them." The mother replied, "Perhaps two days later I will speak to you." That time having elapsed the youth's friends went thither again and said, "Will you accept my words?" If she consented to the match the girl's mother said, "Yes," after which the boy's friends left the blankets or money they had before promised. Afterwards the boy, his mother, and their friends brought together many blankets and took them to the girl's mother. The giving of property in this way to a man's mother-in-law or father-in-law was called doā'ye aosî'ne ("putting gifts on back"). Upon this the girl's father sent a message to his daughter's people to come in, and he distributed among them everything thus received except a small amount reserved for himself. After that he had to turn round to the boy's friends and give them a certain amount in the way of dower in order to show his daughter proper respect and to show that he valued her. Then the girl was asked if she were going to behave herself, and they said to her, "You are now able to take care of yourself and know how to save and how much you can earn." If, after a while, the girl did not behave her husband whipped her, and when she ran away to her friends they whipped her again for giving them shame.

The boy's uncle also had to talk to him, saying, "You must get up early and look for your food or in time your wife will be running around with other men and want to marry someone else, and you will be ashamed. Do not drink too much water or it will make you lazy. Do not sit with your legs stretched out in front or you will have to turn over to get up. Always take care of your wife. Do

not keep going into someone else's house to ask for things, but be an independent man so that I shall not be ashamed of you."

Sometimes a man did not get ahead, and his wife went about with other men. This brought shame to both sides, and so people always instructed their sons and daughters that it might not so happen. And so, if a man's hand "looked like an eagle's" (i. e., was rough from work), he was taken for a son-in-law quickly. "As soft as a mat (or carpet)" was said of the hand of one who did no work.

Before a woman gave birth to a child she did certain things to make her delivery easier. Slaves also had to hold her and ease her pains. It would bring a man ill luck to have a child born inside of his house, so a hole was always dug for the woman behind the house, inside of a little hut or shelter made of branches. There she was obliged to go for her confinement, regardless of the weather. The person employed to dig this hole and the nurse who attended on the woman in addition to the slaves must belong to the opposite phratry.

If a very dear relative had passed away, people often took the nail from the little finger of his right hand and a lock of hair from the right side of his head and put them into the belt of a young girl of his clan just reaching maturity. Afterwards she had to lead a very quiet life for eight months and fast for as many days, unless she were delicate, when half as many sufficed. In the former case she fasted steadily for four days, rested two days, and then fasted for the remaining four. After her fast was over, and just before she ate, she prayed that the dead person would be born again from her and also that she would marry well and live a good life.

As soon as he entered the world a child's navel-string was cut off, placed in a bag made especially for it, dried inside of this, and hung about the child's neck until he was eight days old. In the case of a boy the navel-string was placed under a tree on which was an eagle's nest, so that he might be brave when he grew up.

The minute a child cried its breath was caught in a bag. Then the bag was carried to a place where many people were passing, so that it might be trodden under foot. This prevented the child from crying much when it grew older.

If a woman wanted her girl baby to become neat in later life, she put on her breast the borings that come out of a woodworm's burrow and let the child suck this substance along with her milk. Red paint was put on a child's nose to make it strong.

As soon as a person died his body was set up in the house, and his friends showed their respect for him by cutting or singeing off their hair just below the ears and by piling their property around the corpse. They said, metaphorically, that they gave it away or "burned it" for him because they loved him so much. Guards were placed around the house all night, so that no wizard could get in to him. When the dead

person was very much thought of, all his clansmen of both sexes dressed themselves in their best blankets and stood in front of the town just as the sun was setting, each bearing a cane made out of a young tree, the bark on which had been stripped up to one end. Just as the sun neared the horizon all held their canes out straight with the small ends toward it and moved them slowly upward to keep the sun up a little longer. Then each would give utterance to some wish or prayer, such as these: "Let me be rich," "Let me come across sea otter sleeping," "Let me kill seal," "Let me kill land otter."

When it was time to remove the body, the clansmen of the deceased invited those of the opposite phratry to smoke—or, in olden times, chew—tobacco with them. Then speeches were exchanged, after which those invited carried the corpse out through an opening in a rear corner of the house made by removing a wall plank. All the duties of an undertaker were performed by the opposite phratry, for it was not considered respectful to them to invite one's own friends for this office. Just after the body had gone a dog was thrown through the opening made for it. According to the writer's Sitka informant a dead dog was thrown out and afterwards some sand, the former to protect the deceased from the many animals which beset the trail he had to follow and the latter to form a path in front of him. According to Katishan a dead puppy was first thrown through the opening, and the people followed it out strewing ashes, all for the purpose of driving away evil spirits. According to another informant at Wrangell a live dog was thrown out in this way so that the dead spirit or ghost, as distinguished from the living soul which travels on into the other world, would go into the dog instead of into a human being, for if it went into the latter the person would die.

After this the corpse was usually burned, so that the deceased might be near the fire in the "Ghosts' Home." Otherwise he had to remain far back in the house, and shake all the time, no matter how many blankets he wore. Sometimes the body of a very brave man was not burned, because he was thought to be too valiant to care to stay around the fire like weak people. Other persons might also prefer to have their bodies set away intact, but, if a friend of one of these dreamed that he had come to him and complained of being cold, his body was taken up and burned. Before being placed upon the pyre the body was turned around four times in the direction which they conceive the sun to take, just the reverse of its motion as we understand it, and finally laid down head to the sunrise. This was to enable the deceased's soul to be reborn, for, if it were laid head toward the sunset, he would never come back. Shamans' bodies were placed upon points along shore, just where their spirits had directed. Some bodies, probably those of shamans, were removed through the smoke hole.

Last of all came a mourning feast to members of the opposite phratry. Just before food was distributed a little was held up, the name of the dead pronounced, and the food put into the fire. Then a great quantity of the same kind of food was believed to pass to the man whose name had been mentioned. If he received considerable in this way he was proud and happy; otherwise he was ashamed. All of the property given away or destroyed at a feast was dedicated to some dead person who then actually received its spiritual counterpart. Sometimes a man dreamed that his dead uncle came to him and said he was hungry, when he had to give him a feast. In fact, it may be said that these feasts were supposed to be partaken of by men and spirits at the same time, and constituted a sort of communion between them.

FIG. 108. Model of grave post surmounted by grave box.

FIG. 109. Model of grave post having grave box inserted in the back.

The bones of the dead were placed in mortuary houses or on poles, both of which were put up during the feasts just referred to. In the latter case they might be put into boxes supported by either one or two posts, or in cavities excavated in the back of the post itself. Sometimes a memorial pole was set up in one part of the village, while the ashes were in a mortuary house elsewhere.

Figure 108 illustrates a grave post with box placed on top. It was erected at KAq!anuwū' for one of the Kā'gwAntān called Stuwuqā' ("Wants-to-be-higher-than-other-animals," referring to the wolf), who died by violence. The box itself has a figure of the gonaqAdē't's face painted on both sides, this being a Kā'gwAntān emblem, and on the top of the lid, now unfortunately missing, was a figure of the dead man's head. This was painted half black and half red. The hole cut through the pole below represents that by which the highest heaven is reached (see p. 461), the human figure, the being supposed to keep watch of it, and the faces on each side of the hole grizzly bears which infest the spirit road.

Figure 109 has the body placed in a hole in the back. It was erected for a Tcūkane'dî chief called Dāxugē't ("Outside Dry," referring to the fact that the porpoise is dry on the outside almost immediately

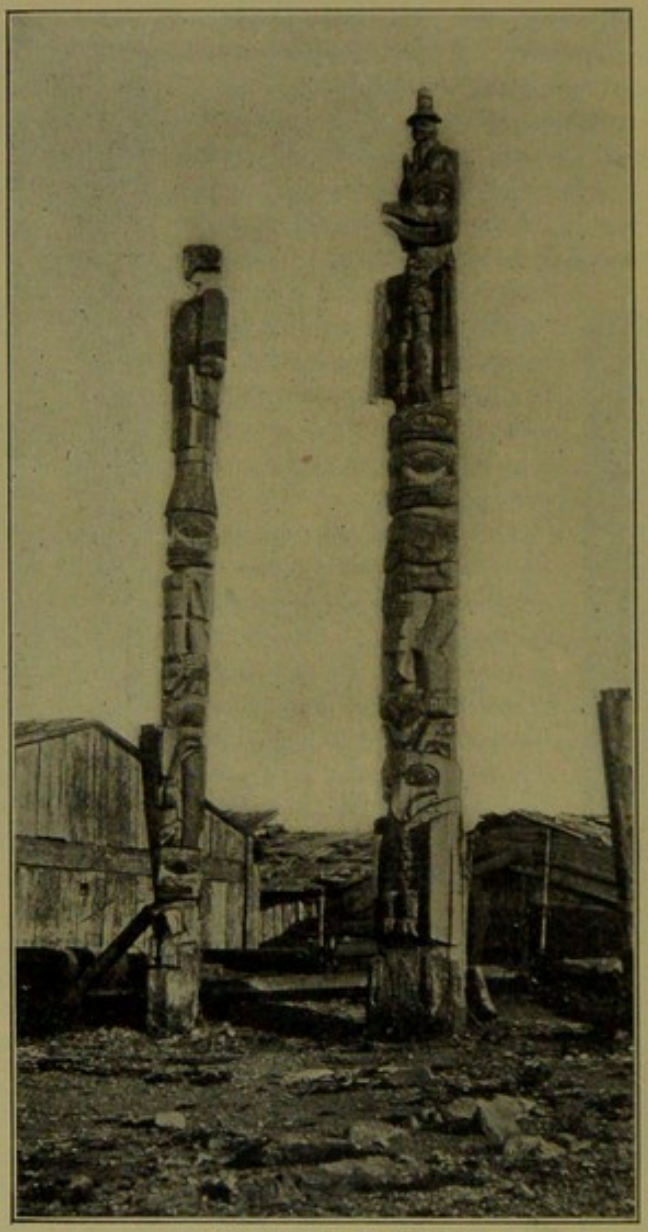


FIG. 110. Grave posts at Wrangell.

after coming out of the water), and the figures are as follows: The main figure represents Cākanayî' ("Mountain Dweller"), a mythological being supposed to live in the mountains who was a great hunter and was himself a Tcūkane'dî. Above him is his dog and at the top an eagle.

In Krause's Die Tlinkit Indianer, page 132, is a copy of the original of this figure, from which it appears that the maker of the model has omitted one of Mountain Dweller's dogs and another small figure. Krause appears to be in error in calling the uppermost figure a hawk

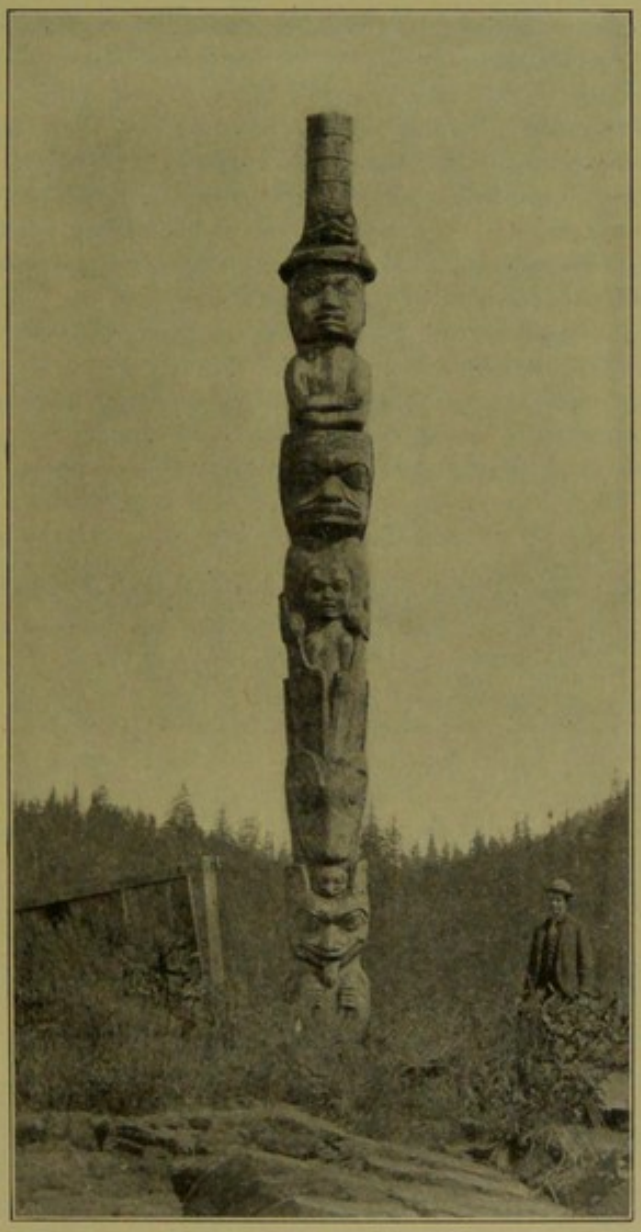


FIG. 111. Grave post at Wrangell.

and the small figure above Mountain Dweller a seal. The Tlingit word for seal is different and that given here (ssäch) would appear to be s!aẋ, starfish, or perhaps s!äẋ", hat.

The larger pole in figure 110 was put up at Wrangell by Katishan's brother. At the top of this is Nās-cA'kî-yēł (Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass-river), the highest being in Tlingit mythology, with Raven (Yēł) on his breast. Below is another being, ŁAkîtcînA', wearing a hat and the red snapper coat with which he used to murder his children, underneath the frog, emblem of the KîksA'dî, and at the bottom the thunder bird (x̣ēL), which stands for Łq!ayā'k!, ŁAkîtcînA''s son. The smaller post in this figure was copied from a dancing cane, which came from the Haida (see p. 417), and is very highly valued. From above down the figures are: eagle holding two coppers, gonaqAdē't holding a copper, frog, sand-hill crane (dūł), frog, gonaqAdē't. Another Wrangell pole, carved to represent an eagle holding strings of fish on a rope, illustrates the story of Man-that-dried-fish-for-the-eagle (Tcak!-q!ē'dî-At-q!An-qa) told by Katishan.

Figure 111 illustrates the story of Black-skin or Kahā'sł!i. The hero is represented in the act of tearing a sea lion in two.[a]

The chiefs' hats so often shown upon poles appear sometimes to be more important than those wearing them, the latter being slaves or figures introduced merely to carry the hats.

POTLATCHES

Superficially the Tlingit potlatch resembled that of the Haida, but with the former only one motive underlay the custom, regard for and respect for the dead, and there was but one kind of potlatch in consequence. The putting up of a house or pole, and the secret society performances, feasts, and distributions of property which accompanied it,[b] were all undertaken for the sake of the dead members of a man's clan, and to them every blanket that was given away and a great deal of food that was put into the fire were supposed to go. It was believed, as indicated in the last section, that the souls of the dead were actually present and feasted and rejoiced with the living, receiving spirit food and spirit clothing along with the reception of their material counterparts by men on earth. Whenever a blanket was given away a dead person had to be named, and he received a blanket in the spirit world; whenever a little food was put into the fire and a dead man's name pronounced, a great deal of the same kind of food was received by him.

Among the Haida, on the other hand, the social idea quite overbalanced the religious. When a man took the place of his dead uncle or brother he was indeed obliged to give a feast and make a distribution of property to those of the opposite phratry, and the latter acted as undertakers; but this potlatch was of very much less importance than the great potlatch which a chief made to his own phratry, which was purely social in purpose and intended only to increase his reputa-

[a] All the stories referred to in this paper are to be published later in the form of a bulletin.

[b] According to Katishan, however, piercings for labrets were made at another time.

tion and advance his standing. The idea of giving property to a member of one's own phratry or of employing him in putting up the house was altogether abhorrent to Tlingit notions of propriety. A Tlingit employed his opposites to do everything—to put up his house and pole, pierce the lips and ears of his and his friends' children, initiate them into the secret societies, etc. If he did not "show respect" to his opposites by doing so, with the intent of not being obliged to pay much property, he was looked down upon by everybody. The same thing might happen if not enough property was received by the phratry invited. Once the L!ūk!naxa'dî did not give away enough food to satisfy some of their guests, so the latter took three or four high names from them by way of retaliation.

When the people were assembled for a feast, the feast giver and his friends stood at the inner end of the house, which was the place of honor, and also around the door, and his guests ranged themselves in two parties facing each other at the sides. The division of the guest phratry at this feast was evidently based on supposed consanguinity. If people were invited from another town they formed one party and the town people the other; if only the town people were invited, they, of course, had to divide into two bands. At Sitka this division was as follows: If a Raven chief gave the feast, the Box-house people danced on one side of the fire and the Wolf-house and Eagle's-Nest-house people over against them, all being Kā'gwantān. If a Wolf chief invited the Ravens, the Kîksa'dî danced against the L!ūk!naxa'dî and Q!atkaā'yî. At Wrangell the Qā'tcadî, Kîksa'dî and Tī hît tān stood on one side when Ravens were called and the Kāsq!ague'dî and Tā!qoe'dî on the other. When Wolves were summoned, the Nāṇyaā'yî and S!ūknaxa'dî stood on one side; the Xoq!e'dî Kayā'ckidetān and later probably the Xē! qoan opposite. The visitors paid for their entertainment, so to speak, by assuaging the host's grief through their songs and dances. Great rivalry was always exhibited by the two parties, however, and their endeavors to outdo each other sometimes almost resulted in bloodshed. Each side attended carefully to the slightest remark made by an opponent, especially by the two song leaders with which each was provided, and the least slight, though couched in the most metaphorical language, was at once seized upon and might precipitate a riot. The actions of each dancer were also scrutinized with great care, and any little mistake noted and remembered. The strain upon a dancer was consequently so great that, if a fine dancer died soon after the feast, it was said, "The people's looks have killed him."

Crests were a favorite subject for representation in the dances, the dancers appearing clad in appropriate clothing, masks, etc., and giving imitations of the actions of the crest animal or object. Even crests difficult of representation, as the mountain Tsa!xā'n and the rock Ta'naku

(see p. 418) were imitated. The T!A'q!dentān, who alone had a right to use TsAłxā'n, represented the manner in which clouds stopped part of the way down its sides when the weather was going to be fair or went all over it when it was to be bad weather. When they met the Chilkat people in dances, those from Sitka and Wrangell danced the Tsimshian dance and the Chilkat people the Athapascan dance.

Masks were used in the shows (yîkteyî') which each clan gave at a potlatch, but they were not valued as highly as the crest hats and canes. The KîksA'dî at Wrangell would show masks of the sun, of various birds, such as the eagle, hawk (kîdjū'k), and flicker (kūn), and of animals, such as the bear, wolf, and killer whale. The Nanyaā'yî showed masks of the killer whale, shark, ground hog, grizzly bear, and gonaqADē't, and the Kāsq!ague'dî the gonaqADē't, Nās-cA'kî-yēł (see p. 434), the owl, and the land-otter man (kū'cta-qa).

Secret society dances were imported from the south, as the name łuqAna', evidently from Kwakiutl LŪ'koala, testifies, but their observance had by no means reached the importance attained among the Kwakiutl and Tsimshian. At Sitka the writer heard of but one man who had become a łuqAna', a KîksA'dî named MaawA'n. He said that the łuqAna' were spirits who came from the body of the łuqAna' wife of the Sun's son, a cannibal woman referred to in one of the chief Tlingit stories, who was broken to pieces and thrown down by her husband. When they came upon him, they would fly along through the air with him. They forced him to eat dogs and do various other things, and they made him cry "Hai, hai, hai, hai." Once, as they were flying along, they left him suddenly, and he dropped upon the side of a cliff where he hung on the point of a rock by his cheek. At the time of his possession people ran around with him with rattles and sang certain songs to keep him from going away, and they also sat on the tops of the houses singing. All this was to restore him to his right mind. At Wrangell the łuqAna' performances seem to have been better known and to have existed in greater variety. A man could imitate any animal except a crest of some other family. As was the case farther south, whistles (łuqAna' doA't-cî) were essential concomitants of the secret society dances.

How far the element of pure entertainment entered into secret society performances is uncertain, but it figured largely at the feasts in other ways. A Sitka man once became displeased at something, started off, and became a mountain called Āwatī'nî-qa (Man-that-went-away-forever-because-he-was-sad).[a] Because this man belonged to the Sitka KîksA'dî that family does not allow anyone to mention the name of this mountain during a feast. If he does they make him

[a] When one says, "There is a cloud on Āwatī'nî-qa (Āwatī'nî-qa yēt â'wacAt)" people know it will be bad weather. If a cloud lies up against it, the weather will be fair; if the cloud goes up against it and disappears, the weather will be stormy.

drink so great a quantity of grease that he usually throws it up, and is very much ashamed in consequence. The sufferer is paid a double amount, however, in the distribution of property.

On the other hand, the stream where ex-Governor Brady's sawmill is situated, called Killer-whale's-dorsal-fin river (Kīt-gū'cî hīn), belonged to the Kā'gwAntān. When they were about to have a feast those people said, "Killer-whale's-dorsal-fin river is running over (Kīt-gū'cî-hīn yenawA'L!), and then one had to be careful, for if he spoke about that creek he was called out and treated as in the other case. Nowadays, however, the river is made fun of, because it is so small. The big Chilkat tray, to be spoken of later, was used in a similar sort of merrymaking.

A feast was prefaced by considerable fasting, in order to bring good luck to the various persons concerned. When a house was being put up the owner fasted and after it was erected he had water-soaked animal stomachs thrown about among the people in the house, at the same time wishing for wealth. Before her lip was pierced for the labret a woman fasted, for otherwise she thought that the hole would spread and take her mouth entirely away. The broad labrets are said to have been made by old women, but the long ones by men to give to the women they were in love with. When he was about to undertake any task a man who had eight house posts in his house had to fast eight days, one for each post. Slaves were always killed and their bodies thrown into the holes in which the house posts were to be inserted.

The copper plates used all along this coast changed hands in potlatch time. Anciently they are all said to have come from Copper river, and when first made they were valued according to their height, some at four slaves, some at six.

Many of the potlatch songs were naturally in memory of the dead, and according to Katishan the most valued of these were composed at the time of the flood and record the sad events that happened then, such as the finding of bodies when the waters went down and the parting of the clans on that occasion. These were very solemn songs and the people thought that they received strength through them. They were never sung on ordinary occasions.

There were plenty of modern songs, however, to record any event, trifling or important, and composed with every sort of motive. If a man's near relative, such as his mother, died, it is said that a song was made up inside of him, where it worked until it came out. "It is not through a man's own will, but the way that Raven made people that brings forth a new song when people are called together after one has died." These songs often dealt with the place whither they thought their friend had gone. There is a Kā'gwAntān song called cā'q!aciyî', sung almost as a woman sings, which was used only at potlatches.

At the beginning of a potlatch, when a house had just been completed, all the host's friends assembled inside of it and "danced it together" by making motions four times to the right and four times to the left as they danced. These motions were accompanied by as many songs.

The following is an account of a feast at Chilkat, substantially as given by Dekinā'k![a], an eyewitness and participant. The givers of the feast were Yēłgū'xo and Yēłxā'k of the Raven people of Klukwan.

After Yēłgū'xo's house was completed his wife came down from Chilkat with leaf tobacco to invite the Sitka people. The first house named was the Wolf house (the house of Ā'naxūts!, chief of the Kā'gwAntān), and they named all the houses up this way (that being the Kā'gwAntān end of the town). In the evening she invited all to supper. When they were all seated in the house, she began distributing leaf tobacco and the guests smoked. Then the woman, and those friends who came with her, rose and delivered the invitation. When the meal was over the town people danced before their visitors by way of payment. They took out all of their crests—such as hats, woven blankets, and emblem shirts—before the visitors, in order to show them respect. Next day she again feasted them and again they danced for her. The morning after that the woman took a piece of charcoal and threw it outside as an invitation to her people to give her property. She asked for this in order that they might feel just as good as the Klukwan Wolves who had built her husband's house, for those of Sitka had not had a hand in it. The woman was sent to them because she also was a Wolf. Had the host lived in the same town he would have sent a brother-in-law instead. So the people went to her that morning and placed before her $1,000 worth of property. The woman knew, however, that her husband was very rich, so she demanded more than $2,000 worth, and obtained it.

After they had made ready their dancing hats, bark rings for the neck and head, etc. all started off and their hostess followed them. They had four dance leaders, and at every place where they camped they practised dancing. While they were going up the dance leaders had to fast for two days and for some time they had to keep away from women; otherwise they would not live long. When people invite others they say, "We will have a war dance together," in order to scare them, meaning thereby that they will have a dancing and singing contest. So the dance leaders had prepared themselves by fasting, abstinence, and the manufacture of medicines made of flowers, as if preparing for war. When they went along to a potlatch the canoes of visitors would divide and rush together as if they were fighting, brandishing wooden knives. They would also, especially if a powerful clan like the Kā'gwAntān, plunder canoes or even towns of their provisions. At this time they carried away all the potatoes from Killisnoo.

When they were very close to the town their hostess told them to go ashore, so that she might give them the last meal. On reaching Yêndê'staq!ê, the town at the mouth of Chilkat river, a cannon was fired off to stop them, because Chief Dānāwā'q! wanted to feast them also. He gave them twenty large boxes of eulachon grease, part of which he distributed and part he gave them to drink. They drank this excitedly and impetuously, snatching the boxes from one another in their eagerness. Then all the visitors, men and women, danced before this chief to pay him for his hospitality. They had great sport. When they camped halfway up to Klukwan two cannon were fired, but they were still too far off to be heard. When they started up again next morning the news had somehow or other reached Klukwan, and many came down to help them by fastening ropes on the canoes and pulling them along from the shore. That day they camped in sight of Klukwan, and both parties began welcoming each other by firing off cannons.

Next day the two givers of the feast started down, accompanied by all their friends, and they brought along twenty boxes of eulachon grease and twenty more of berries, as well as firewood. They also brought the crests and left them overnight there, as a sign that they would be safe with the guests. Next morning the Klukwan people went down to see the Sitka people dance. Four songs had to be made for this dance, and after the fourth was sung the Klukwan people went back to prepare for their own dance.

When the visitors reached Klukwan the first man to come out of the house was Yēłxā'k, who wore a hat provided with ears and covered with abalone shell. He had a bow and arrows in his hand, and as he came down he kept making the motions of letting go an arrow. He did this because he was about to spend a great quantity of money and wished to show how brave he was. Yēłgū'xo came out next. On his head was the Raven hat, and he was leading a number of women. Meanwhile men appointed for the purpose kept firing cannons. Finally all of the people were taken into Raven house (Yēł hît), Black Whale house (Yā'i hît), and Valley house (Q!āk hît).

When guests from foreign towns were going to dance everybody left home and crowded into the dance house, where they were made welcome, and great fun went on. It was customary for the visitors from another town to dance first, so the Sitka people began coming in singing the Tsimshian song. One man stood just inside and one just outside, as watchmen. They sang, "There is a rich man coming. He is on the way." When they were halfway through singing the words, the Sitka chief (Thom) entered dancing. After that the Klukwan Eagles danced in their turn. There were three families, the DAQL!awe'dî, Taqêstîna', and Kā'gwANtān. First a man came in acting like a bear.

He was trying to catch a man in front of him with his claws, and they had also set up a tree for him. After that a person entered acting like an old Athapascan woman catching a fish under the ice with a fish rake.

Those who had invited the people said, "All the people shall not eat to-day. A day shall pass before they eat." This is an old saying which means exactly the reverse. The people who were invited were called by different names, those from Sitka being called "Man-of-war's guests."[a] After they had gotten all of the guests ready to eat, they served roasted salmon first, because the chief for whom this feast was held had been very fond of it. There was still plenty of salmon at Chilkat, although it was cold. After the next dance a still larger feast was given. Then one of the chiefs announced, "The people that I invited as guests are going to eat out of Wu'tcxtaga (a dish). The people that stay at home (i. e., the Klukwan people) are going to eat out of Mother-basket (kAk^{a} LA)." Then all the guests seated themselves on opposite sides, wearing their valuable hats, and the empty dishes lay in front of them turned over. After a while one got up and said to the host, "Your opposites are going to try to drive your sorrow away." They said this because they were going to dance with the dishes in front of them. When people dance in this way, if one side makes a song more than the other, it precipitates a fight, and that is why the givers of the feast have to stand at the rear of the house and at the side close to the door, with crests, so that there will be no trouble. The contesting sides indicate that they want to dance in peace by saying to each other, "I am holding your daughter's hand."[b]

The song leaders on the Sitka side were Na'skɬi-īc and TA'kɬa-īc, and, when they started the songs, the latter said, "A well-made halibut hook will be taken out into the water." This meant that he knew every kind of song, and the opposite people were good for nothing. As soon as he heard this, a Klukwan man named Qāuctê' turned round and asked his wife for his knife, and a fight was imminent. The Sitka people, however, asked the man wearing the Raven hat to call like a raven, and when he said "gā" the disturbance ceased.

After that a dish was brought out as long as the lower arm and hand above the knuckles. The food in this was divided through the center and was to be eaten by two young men of Sitka named CānukAsayî' and Kātcɬātî', who had prepared themselves by fasting all that day and the night previous. Disagreeable things and things such as a person liked were mixed together in these dishes. After the people had all seated themselves, they took this dish, called out the names of the two men, and set the dish before them. When CānukAsayî' was named, he rose and said to the host, "Am I to eat this dishful?"

[a] The word for man-of-war, yê'nawâ, is simply a corruption of the English term.

[b] The daughter of one Wolf man being the wife of another, and vice versa.

The chief's nephew jumped up and said, "Eat it up. Eat it up." CānukAsayî' said, "I wanted to eat this dishful before the Wrangell people but not before the people up here." He said this because the Wrangell people were enemies to those of Sitka. Then the chief's wife rose and said to him, "I want you to eat all the food in that dish. When I was in Sitka with the news, your brother said to me, 'What dish are we going to eat of when I arrive at Chilkat?' Your brother is not here, but as you are here I want you to eat up the food in that dish." (His brother had been taken sick and so was unable to go, leaving the duty or penalty to fall upon this man. If a person merely whispered to anyone before a potlatch that he was going to eat all the food in this dish, it was quickly reported at Chilkat and he was called upon to do so. If he declined he became a subject for ridicule. It was the same regarding any remark dropped before a potlatch. There were also eating contests between two individuals, each of whom strove to empty the contents of his dish first. Sometimes a man's name was called out and all the food in the tray passed to him was eaten before the tray reached him. In these various sports the people threw grease on one another and all over the floor.)

KundułcA't, who was considered a great eater, wanted to get at this dish very much, but he was not selected. Then the young men set to and almost succeeded in eating up the food, but not quite. The feat has never been accomplished. The Chilkat people made so much fun of them while they were eating that they concealed the tray and held it for payment until Thom, the Sitka chief, told them to give it up.

After another song, the big basket called Mother-basket was brought out and set before the people of Klukwan. All of the guests ate with horn spoons that had belonged to the dead chief. After a feast has gone on for some time and people know that the hosts are hungry, they invite them and their wives in turn. The hosts and their wives sleep with their blankets gathered up around their waists.

Next morning the Sitka people were all taken into their hosts' houses to talk with them about taking up the bones of the dead, putting them into a box, and erecting a carving over them. The host asked his visitors to do this, and they performed the service just before the gifts were given out. That was the reason for the feast, and the reason they were summoned.

Now is when the host takes charge of the sport, so next morning two cannons were fired off, and the host told the women of his clan to dress up. He did this so that his guests might know that he was feeling happy. So all the women of that clan put on carved headdresses ornamented with abalone shell, and other good clothing. Around the floor of the house were laid all of those mats that the uncles and mothers of the hosts had formerly used for their guests to sit upon, and one chief had hung up his mother's blanket behind the

guests so that they would feel happy.[a] When the guests came they said to them, "Up to the rear of the house. You will sit on my mother," etc. Any property that the man had left by his dead brothers, uncles, or mother he took out before the people. If he had nephews, nieces, etc., he brought them out also at that time. The chief himself also wore the earrings and other things he had received from dead members of the clan, which he wanted to let the people see. They said that "he spent so much money to let the people see them." It is said that Yē'łgū'xo at this potlatch gave away $6,000 worth of property, and Yē'łxā'k $5,000 worth, besides the usual sums brought in for previous distribution by other members of their clan.

On the second night, just before they started the song for the host when he was about to give his things out, the people were served with food of the finest kinds. (The people sometimes sat in the potlatch house for two days steadily.) A long cloth was stretched out across one end of the house and Yē'łgū'xo came out behind it wearing a hat named Ku'cta-xoste'yî-qa (Man-that-became-a-land-otter). In olden times his uncles and grandmothers had used it, and for that reason he "killed" $6,000 of his property when he brought it out. He had the property that he was going to give in return for what his wife had gotten in Sitka all placed out first, and it was just double what she had received.

This was the custom when people sang. If one did not know how to start a song he would ask somebody in the rear of the house to do so, and pay him fifteen or twenty blankets or the same number of dollars. While the other property was being gotten out they paid the principal guests one or two hundred dollars apiece just for dancing. Sometimes a man felt dissatisfied with what he had received and started to walk out. Then the host went in front of him "with a dead man's name" (i. e., mentioning the name of a dead relative), made him sit down, and doubled the amount of property given to him. It took four days to give out the blankets. As a man's name was called out he would answer "Hade'" ("this way"), equivalent to English "here." At such times the host brought out his brother-in-law or his child and put him on the property before it was distributed. This was to make him high caste, for it would be afterwards said of him that so many blankets "were lost to see him."

The last feast, the one which takes place after giving out the blankets, is called Ānwū'wu ("town food" or "food-that-keeps-the-town-alive"), because what they then eat is the home food. Berries, grease, dried eulachon, dried salmon, all kinds of berries, boxes of crackers, oranges, apples, figs, etc., were brought out.

Finally the guests "left a dance" in that place, to show respect for

[a] In olden times they used to kill slaves just as the guests came into the house.

their hosts, and they danced for many days. When they started for Sitka their canoes were overloaded.

At the last dance the people contended to see who knew the greatest number of songs and which side could last the longer. If one song leader broke down in a song or left some part out it counted against his side. Several boxes of crackers and several trays of grease were also given out for the guests' lunch on their way home.

Sometimes, instead of inviting people to his own town for a feast, a man took food to the town of those he desired to honor. It was called Taking-food-to-another-town-to-give-a-feast-in-memory-of-one's-mother (Dula' naoq!ē'dî dji'udîxa).

A grave post and house were not necessarily put up at the same time. A man might put up the former first and then accumulate more property until he had sufficient for the house. Nor was it necessary that he should put up a house at all.

GAMES

The stick game (cīs) was similar to that played by the Haida and Tsimshian. The number of sticks varied considerably, because many were held in reserve, so that the player could change his luck by changing the sticks. Often a player had certain favorites with which he thought he was always lucky. There are said to have been sometimes as many as 180. The sticks themselves were divided into sets by various markings and the trump stick, called nāq (devilfish), was carefully distinguished from all others. Only one of these was necessary, but usually a set had several, so that a man might change if luck ran against him.

As among the southern coast tribes, two players sat opposite each other and handled the sticks alternately. One player selected three ordinary sticks (cīct) along with the nāq, shuffled them up in shredded cedar bark, and made two parcels, one of which he laid down on each side. The opponent chose one of these and if the nāq happened to be in that pile it was his turn to shuffle. If he missed, the opponent tried again, and, luck serving him, kept on until the tenth or eighteenth time. At this count the shuffler had to make three piles, of which his opponent was at liberty to select two, and only lost in case he then missed the nāq. The game in which the critical count was 18 was called Daxk!ū'ts; the other Kune'. The Tlingit probably counted like the Haida, i. e., each successful guess counted 1, and the opponent had to score it off by a corresponding successful guess and then count 10 or 18 wins more.

All of the gaming sticks received names, which are said to have been much the same all along the coast. At any rate djîl, by which name the nāq is known among the Haida, evidently means "bait," and devilfish formed the principal bait for halibut.

A set of gambling sticks obtained by Lieut. G. T. Emmons, and now in the possession of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, contains, among others, the following-named sticks, as ascertained by him. The writer has added the phonetic equivalents and introduced one or two minor changes in translation that seemed to be required by the accompanying Tlingit word. A large fish called tān, eel (łūt!), robin (cuq!), dead brush (tcāc), flounder (dzA'ntî), porpoise (tcītc), sea-lion head (tan cā'yî), sea lion (tan), salmon eye (xāt wa'gê), dog (kēL), mosquito (tā'q!a, literally "biter"), red paint (łēq!), sea-lion bladder (tan yū'wu), red devilfish (łēq! nāq), silver salmon (gāt), halibut (tcāL), beaver (s!Agē'dî), a sacred plant, probably blue hellebore (s!îkc), red snapper (łēq!), a deep dish (k!AkAnê'), eulachon (sāk), earring (guk kAdjā'c), hide snare for catching bears (da's!A), osprey (cayā'ł), red-flicker feather (kūn t!a'wu), Bear people (x̣ūts! qowu'), grizzly bear (x̣ūts!), red flicker (kūn), star (qotxA'nAxa), spring (tākuî'tî), the king salmon after ascending into fresh water and turning red (q!āk), blue jay (q!ēcq![a]), intestine of sea lion (tan na'si), male grouse (nukt), salmon trap (cāł), deer (qowakā'n), hawk (kîdjū'k), spruce-gum sticks for kindling fire (tēł), a large dog (sawā'k), mountain sheep (tawe'), squirrel berry (tînx̣), hemlock (yên), land otter (kū'cta), shark (tūs!), a berry of blue color (kAnAt!a'), burnt trees after forest fires (kugA'ntî), sun (gAgā'n), rain (sī'wu), [chief that wears] a dance hat (cAndakū'q! [s!a'tî]), mallard (kîndAtcūnē't), club (k!us!), grouse devilfish (kāq! nāq), humpback salmon (tcās!), [man] sitting in it (Atū'tAA, perhaps the name of an arrow), elderberry (yēL!), moon (dîs), fire (q!ān), deer devilfish (qowakā'n nāq), devilfish (nāq).

A second set, obtained by Lieutenant Emmons at Kake, contains the following names: A large dog (sawā'k), sea-pigeon's neck or a savage bear (sakī'ł), black bear (s!īk), raven (yēł), red snapper (łēq!), grizzly bear (x̣ūts!), burnt stick (kAgā'n-ta, or possibly a sea bird called kē'gAn), stone ax (tayī's), robin (cūq!, a nāq), raven (yēł), island (q!āt!), crab (s!a-u), hawk (kîdjū'k), crow (ts!Ax̣wē'ł), a Tlingit (łingî't), the constellation of the Great Dipper (YAxtê'), woman (cāwA't), red-winged flicker (kūn), salmon (xāt), and petrel (gAnū'k).

Another game was played with two principal sticks called nahē'n and naga'n—from the former of which the game derived its name—and a large number of common sticks used as counters. The first two are oval and just short enough to be concealed in the hand. Naga'n is carved and nahē'n is entirely plain. Participants in this game seat themselves in two parties, but only one person on each side handles the sticks. He who does so passes them rapidly back and forth in his hands, behind his back, until the leader on the opposite side says, "Hands out (dA'kdê djīn)," when he has to stretch his hands out straight in front, inclosing the sticks. When his opponent has fixed upon that one in which he thinks naga'n is held, he says, "This one (he'do),"

and if right his side gets one of the counters; otherwise they lose one. The side that gets all of its opponent's counters first wins and takes all that its opponents have put up. Sometimes a man would wager a $50 canoe, value the games at $10 each and make his opponents win five times before getting it.

The game with the knee-shaped die was played by the Tlingit as well as by the Haida.[a] They called the die kîtc!u' ("buttocks-shape"), because the curving side resembles the curve of the buttocks.

A game much like shinny was played on the flats at low tide. The ball was started in the center, and two opposing bands of players tried to drive it across a line at their opponents' end of the beach.

They also shot arrows at a stake or at an arrow in the branches of a tree (see Memoirs of American Museum of Natural History, VIII, 61).

Q!uxiyiyā'gu ("hitting-the-wild-celery-head"). Just before "wild celery" of a certain kind goes to seed its head is cut off, placed on the ground, and surrounded by short pieces of the plant. Then boys form sides and try to spear the wild celery head with short sticks. If one succeeds his side wins, and if he hits a piece of celery he takes it over, but if he misses he loses his arrow. The celery head is called the "porpoise," from its supposed resemblance to that animal.

Q!ē'da. Four rolls of wild grass about 3 inches in diameter but of differing lengths are twisted, and four corresponding ditches are made in the ground to stop them. Then boys form sides, and, while one starts the grass rolls forward, the opponents, standing some distance back from the latter, try to spear them with short sticks before they reach the trenches. The other side rolls in a similar manner, and then they see which has made the more hits. The side which has come out ahead receives as many sticks from its opponents as it has made hits; the game is 20 points. This and the preceding game were both used for gambling.

Squirrel game. A pole is set up and a stick fastened at the top of it at right angles, so that the two have the shape of an inverted L. At the outer end of the second stick a figure is fastened supposed to represent the squirrel, and the boys shoot at this by sides with sharp arrows. Generally boys of the Raven clan play against the Wolves.

Children used to amuse themselves also by catching humming birds on gummed blankets and by enticing bats to a torch waved back and forth, where they were knocked down. Birds were shot with both sharp and blunt-pointed arrows.

MEDICINES AND CHARMS

As usual among Indians, the potency of medicines depended rather on supernatural than on medicinal properties, and their functions were fully as much to obtain positive advantages as to counteract

[a] See Twenty-fourth Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 189-190.

sickness. That certain medicines and certain methods of treatment were of medicinal value is not doubted and perhaps the snuffing of a little s!îkc (species of veratrum) into the nostrils to stop a cold is a case in point. Sea water and various green herbs were also used for the sick. In most medicines, however, the symbolic and supernatural play a much greater part than the empirical. The following list of medicines, along with their uses, was given me by an old man in Sitka:

Land-otter medicine (kū'cta nāk^u) was taken when one was "short-winded in one place."

Smelling medicine (ɬtcA'nî nāk^u) grows on the tops of mountains and is named from its strong odor. It is rubbed on the body for any kind of sickness or blown upon the traps to make them successful.

Medicine-that-makes-one-win (djiẏA'naẋAc nāk^u) is a plant used to make one successful and also angry. When a person's friend has been killed, and one has not succeeded in getting revenge, he can do so by wrapping up a bundle of this with a little image of the person he desires to slay. Anything that has an image of itself so wrapped up will be destroyed.

Medicine-that-tells-anything-that-happens-in-the-town (ā'nto-xox nāk^u) is made out of flowers found in the woods and will inform one of just what is going on.

Loving-each-other medicine (wuctsîxA'nî nāk^u), when properly used, will make a woman suffer for love of the man she has rejected and cause her to walk after him, crying. To the plant one adds bubbles that come up at the edge of the rising tide, so that the girl's sorrow will rise with the rising of the tide, and also earth from her footprints, so that wherever the man walks she will follow him. The Crying-for medicine, of which the writer was told at Wrangell, is of the same kind, but unlike this it could be used only by the Raven people.

As its name implies, Flower-hunting-for-a-rich-man (ānqā'wo gā'-kocî) makes a person wealthy. It is said to grow about 4 feet high and bears its seeds at the top.

Medicine-that-makes-things-humble (ɬqā'tuɬ tcīn nāk^u) is taken to make animals and men humble themselves before the owner of it. The roots alone are used. To make this medicine efficacious the possessor spits some of it out in front of himself as he goes along.

Dzî'nẋî medicine (dzî'nẋî nāk^u—dzî'nẋî being probably the name of a flower) grows only over the place where a ground hog lives. It is put inside of the cheek and chewed so that one may obtain power to kill animals.

Seal's-tongue medicine (tsa-L!ū'te nāk^u) is a large flower which is chopped up and put on big boils or sores to heal them.

Medicine-from-fallen-trees (ās L!îq! nāk^u) will infallibly kill any man or woman on whom it is fastened.

There are certain berries called CAXWA'sl̂ growing in strings. When one heats some of the vines that bear these, breaks them, and places the broken ends close to a white spot in the eye—cataract (?)—the latter will come out.

Syphilis medicine (cā'XNASTÎ nāk^{u}) is, of course, used for the disease for which it is named. Before taking it the patient has to drink some of his own urine.

Entertainment medicine (SAGŪ'yaỵ̂ nāk^{u}) is taken when one is going to be caught up as a "deer" in peace making and is expected to help him when he makes sport for the people he is among. (See p. 451.)

Happy medicine (kātū'k!A nāk^{u}) is used to make one feel joyful. A piece of wood cut from an old tree on which is an eagle's nest is added.

Medicine-always-looking-at-the-sun (gAgā'n łatī'n nāk^{u}) is used in the capture of sea otters. It is so called because it is a flower which turns to the sun at its rising and follows it all the way round. After anointing himself with this sea-otter medicine one must not bathe until after the sealing is over or he would wash the medicine off. While he is out his wife and children have to lie still on their backs at home, and his wife also puts rocks about herself, to keep the sea otter (or fur seal) quiet in one place until the hunter can get to it and shoot it.

The following is an account of the use of another medicine for killing sea otters:

When a man was going to hunt sea otter he fasted and kept away from his wife for a month. He kept his chamber box behind the door, always urinated into it, and let no one else touch it. At the end of the month he started out after an eagle, and having killed one cut off the foot and tied a flower called grabbing medicine (djī'yANAXAC nāk^{u}) to it. Then he made a miniature canoe with figures of himself and perhaps others inside, and he represented himself in the act of aiming at a sea otter. He made the eagle's talon clasp the seat so that he would have a sure aim and secure the animal. When at length he went out and was beginning to approach the sea otter he blew some of his urine toward it. This would confuse it so that it would swim in his direction. Sometimes he tied a piece of wood to the eagle's talon so that the sea otter would stand right up in the water like a buoy and be easily shot. He also made the eagle's talon grasp the seat beside him so that he would be sure to get it. If one did not remain away from his wife his arm would shake and spoil the aim.

In order to shoot a doe the hunter took hairs from the genital region of a doe already killed and fastened them to some of the grabbing medicine and both to the barrel of his gun. When he approached deer waving this, a doe would always come toward him. A stone called danā'k found in the deer itself also gave one good luck in hunting it.

To stop one from spitting blood, slugs were dissolved in water to form a slime, which was given to the patient to drink.

The wealth-bringing medicine above referred to was only one of many things that were supposed to bring riches. If a person who was destined to become wealthy were chopping firewood he might discover eight eggs looking like the largest dog-salmon eggs and very soft. These were called "firewood eggs" (gAn kahā'gu). He had to take these down to his house immediately and leave them outside just over the door. After that he must enter, wash his head, hands, and feet in urine, fast, and abstain from women for some time. Otherwise, as happened to the father of my interpreter, the eggs would go away.

Katlian, one of the chiefs at Sitka, has a small wooden box wound with cord and the hair of slaves and pierced with eight small holes. There are now nails in the corners, but these are said to have been put in after the Russians came, the box itself being much older. This is called danā'k^{u}dākī't and contains things that were supposed to bring wealth. Just what these are was not learned. Originally some of the sun's manure was among them, but its first owner did not act right, and it disappeared. If the gonaqAdē't were seen to come up in the ocean before such a box was made the foam it raised was put in.

Before a man could open this box he had to remain away from a woman for four months. At the end of that period he fasted for seven days and very early each morning he had to strip, wade out into the sea until he was beyond his depth, being sure to return before the raven cried. If the raven did cry before he was through that minute he was certain to die. On each of the seven days of his fast the man blew through one of the small holes and then sucked out. The eighth was for the day on which he ate. Just at daybreak on that day he took out all of his property in skins, etc., and spread the charms in his box over them. There must be two boxes of grease near the fire, some of which was put into the fire at that time and some over the person's own hair. This was to feed the articles in the box. As he was putting grease into the fire he made a motion toward the charms, put his hands up to his face, and blew out. And while his hands were up to his mouth he said, "Let me be wealthy. Let me have five slaves," etc. Then he put the articles back, along with bits of beaver skin, marten skin, etc., and put the box away, and when it was broad daylight he took what was left of the grease to other houses.

In olden times this box caused people to become wealthier continually, and was handed down by a man to his nephew, who then had to do exactly like his uncle. If one did not use the medicine right the charms disappeared from inside, and he became poorer than before.

WAR

Rivalries between opposing parties of dancers at a potlatch often resulted in serious conflicts, but the host's people could generally stop them by rushing between, bearing their emblem, or by making the call of the animal—raven, wolf (or eagle)—for which their phratry was named.

If a man were killed and the murderer escaped into his own house, the people of the murdered man held a council, and if they thought that he was not of high enough caste to make up for the dead person they went out and called the name of one belonging to the same clan who answered the requirements. This person then had to put on his best clothing and run out to be killed, though before this happened he tried to stab one of his would-be slayers. After that the actual murderer was punished by his friends by being compelled to pay a great deal of property. Unless an equal number of persons of the same rank had been killed on both sides a money compensation to the losers, or their extermination, was the only way in which a certain peace could be brought about, and this law held for any number of years after a person had been slain. It was in no way uncommon for such compensation to be demanded a long time after all actual hostility had ceased. To start away for the purpose of obtaining it was called qā'djit ū'wagut.

Revenge for the death of some one for whom no payment had been made and desire to obtain slaves in order to increase the power of the chief and his clan were the commonest incentives to war. When this was fully determined upon, all went out in a body and cut supports for the canoes of the warriors. These were two crossed sticks set under each end of every canoe, and crossed lines intended to resemble these were painted on each warrior's face "so that he might die with them." The paddles of the warriors were also tied up, and the warriors were not allowed to see or go to any woman. This tabu depended upon the length of time they expected to be gone. "Sometimes they did not see a woman for a year." They would also feign that certain sticks were enemies, make images of them, kill them, and tie them up as captives. All the men and their wives had such images.

At the end of four days they took the canoes from their supports, and, if there were a person in their town belonging to the clan they were going against, they would kill him and use his body as a skid on which to drag the canoes down. During those four days the war leader and the shaman fasted. After they had launched their canoes their wives brought down the wooden images they had tied up with strings and gave them to their husbands, who tossed their own images back in return. If any woman failed to catch the image tossed back her husband would die.

While the warriors were away the war leader's wife had to have stones tied about her blanket just as did her husband on the expedition, and she also dressed the image like him. She had a long board which she called a canoe, and all of the wives of the warriors pretended to sit inside of this like their husbands. All ate out of one dish and took care that it did not turn over. If that happened they thought their husbands' canoes would do the same.

Meanwhile the warriors themselves fasted and drank no water for four days, and it is also said that during the expedition a warrior was allowed to eat only one kind of food. The first water they drank on the journey they called cāt!k!. Besides their ordinary use, shamans' hats were worn by warriors. As they went along the warriors took everything away from those they met, both friends and foes. The bow man fasted differently from the others, and whenever they landed he acted as scout and sentinel. When they came to camp, he usually went ahead and looked about, and they did not sleep until he had done this. The war leader, during war time, no matter where he was, always drank from a small basket-work cup hung about his neck.

The shaman, who always accompanied each war party, kept up his fast after the rest had begun to eat, and all of his spirits watched until at last he said, "We shall see a canoe to-day," or "We shall kill some one to-day." After that he began to eat. When he saw a canoe by means of his spirit helpers, he said, "There comes a piece of torn cedar bark," and all of the warriors used the same words toward it. They said this so that all of the people they wanted to kill would be as soft as bark when they came before them. The shaman would also say, "When the sun gets over here some one will be killed."

When they came in sight of a canoe they gave chase. Then the husband of the woman who had missed catching the little image made out of sticks was killed first. When anyone was killed they stood his paddle up in his place. After they had obtained many heads they turned back, and when they got near home they scalped these, unless they had had time to do so on the spot, and dried the scalps by the fire. The scalps were cut off so as to take in the ears.

As they paddled home the warriors sang songs of victory, and when they came round the point next to the village all of the warriors' wives ran out to look at them. When they got close in each watched for the place in the canoe which her husband had occupied, and if a paddle were stuck up there she felt sorrowful; but if not, all of the scalps swinging around over the canoe with the wind made her feel very happy.[a] "Probably the dead enemy feels happy, too," said the writer's informant, "because they have saved his scalp." When they

[a] If a scalp swung at right angles to the canoe the scalp was thought to be happy; if parallel to it, unhappy.

came ashore the scalps were hung out in the wind from the ends of the house stringers toward the sea.

No regular smoke signals were used in war, but if a man's friends had been killed and he was near the town he would light a fire with his flint to let the people know that something was wrong. When an enemy was expected fires were put out very quickly after eating, so as not to attract attention.

When peace was decided upon, one party visited the other, usually bringing their crest with them. Then they danced opposite each other, and a prominent chief, who received the title of "deer" (qowakā'n),[a] was selected from either side and carried off by the opposites, for whom he danced and whom he entertained in various ways.[b] He was very careful in choosing the words he used, so that no hostile meaning could be gathered from them in any way. Katlian, at Sitka, has a small piece of jade hung at the end of a hide string, with which the "deer" used to scratch himself. If he used his fingers it was thought that he would die. The man who brought in the "deer" sang a grizzly-bear song, so that the deer would not be troubled. He likened the "deer" to the bear's head, which is always treated with great respect after the animal has been killed. (See p. 455.)

COSMOLOGY

As usual among primitive people, the earth was conceived of as flat and the sky as a solid vault. Inside of and between these everything was alive with spirits called yēk, and some also resided upon the sky itself.[c] The stars were towns or houses, and the light the reflection of

[a] It is said that a bear once met a deer in the woods and expected it to fight him, but it did not. That is why the person who is taken up when peace is being concluded is called the "deer."

[b] While he acted in this capacity his wife was not allowed to look at him, and certain men watched over him, took care of his toilet sticks, etc. He carried the tail feathers of eagles in each hand and wore eagle's down and quills in his hair.

[c] This statement is in accordance with the idea first derived by a person of European lineage, but if one were to delve deeper into Indian philosophy it would probably be found to give a somewhat erroneous impression. Most Indian languages, at any rate the Tlingit, do not have a true plural, but usually a distributive and occasionally a collective. This means that instead of thinking of so many different objects they think of one diffused into many. Therefore the Tlingit do not divide the universe arbitrarily into so many different quarters ruled by so many supernatural beings. On the contrary, supernatural power impresses them as a vast immensity, one in kind and impersonal, inscrutable as to its nature, but whenever manifesting itself to men taking a personal, and it might be said a human personal, form in whatever object it displays itself. Thus the sky spirit is the ocean of supernatural energy as it manifests itself in the sky, the sea spirit as it manifests itself in the sea, the bear spirit as it manifests itself in the bear, the rock spirit as it manifests itself in the rock, etc. It is not meant that the Tlingit consciously reasons this out thus, or formulates a unity in the supernatural, but such appears to be his unexpressed feeling. For this reason there is but one name for this spiritual power, yēk, a name which is affixed to any specific personal manifestation of it, and it is to this perception or feeling reduced to personality that the "Great Spirit" idea seems usually to have affixed itself. It is true that, as among some other tribes, one of the personal manifestations of this supernatural energy, Nas-cakí-yēt, has so far asserted or maintained an ascendency over the rest as to exercise a certain control over them, but such authority is far from complete. It finds its expression also in the heaven god of the Haida and Tsimshian.

This supernatural energy must be carefully differentiated from natural energy and never confused with it. It is true that the former is supposed to bring about results similar to the latter, but in the mind of the Tlingit the conceived difference between these two is as great as with us. A rock rolling

the sea. The sun and the moon were also the abodes of spirits. The rainbow was thought to be a road by which the souls of the dead passed to the upper world, while the northern lights were spirits of the dead playing about, and shooting stars were embers thrown down from their fires. The milky way was named "Łq!ayā'k!'s tracks" (Łq!ayā'k! q!ō'siyite), because the Tlingit hero Łq!ayā'k! had made it in journeying across the sky.

The earth was in a measure conceived of as a live thing, and a "great liver of the world" is spoken of. Under everything lay Old-woman-underneath (Hayicā'nak![a]), who had charge of a post made from a beaver's foreleg, on which the world rested. When Raven tried to drive her away from this post the earth quaked. According to another story she was attending to a big pot over a fire, and when she was cross with those about her or they used words which displeased her the cover of the pot shook and the earth moved. Or, again, the earth shook when she was hungry and stopped when people put grease into the fire, which immediately went to her.

The number of spirits with which this world was peopled was simply limitless. According to Katishan, there were one principal and several subordinate spirits in everything, and this idea seems to be reflected in shamans' masks, each of which represents one main spirit and usually contains effigies of several subsidiary spirits as well. There is said to have been a spirit in every trail on which one traveled, and one around every fire; one was connected with everything one did. So in olden times people were afraid of employing trifling words because they thought that everything was full of eyes looking at them and ears listening to what they said. As among the Haida, the belief prevailed that supernatural beings went hunting or on expeditions at night and had to get ashore before the raven called; if not they would die instantly. Most of the following items about these "yēks" were told by an old man at Sitka (Dekinā'k![a]).

People reverenced the sun and moon very much, because when these hide their faces, as in an eclipse, it is dark and one can not see. When a man was traveling along out at sea and the sun had just begun to rise above the horizon, he "grasped the shadow of the sun" and blew on his hands, saying, "Let me have luck." Toward morning a fisherman also went out on the ocean, grasped the shadow of the sun and put it around his float, saying, "Now is your luck. Bring me luck. The sun is just coming up with it." If a mock sun, of which there

down hill or an animal running is by no means a manifestation of supernatural energy, although if something peculiar be associated with these actions, something outside of the Indian's usual experience of such phenomena, they may be thought of as such. Although the Indian has, in this latter case, reasoned to an erroneous cause, the difference in his mental attitude is none the less great. The one action he conceives of as natural, the product of purely physical forces; the other as a manifestation of supernatural energy, although in a manner superficially resembling that in which a physical phenomenon presents itself.

are sometimes said to be four, goes down with the sun good weather is portended; if it goes away before sunset, bad weather.

People did not dare to talk to the moon roughly, because two girls who once did so were carried off by it. They were going after water when one of them said, "That moon looks just like my grandmother's labret." Immediately both went up into the moon, and the one who had spoken was smashed to pieces in it. The other you can still see standing there holding her bucket. Afterwards the people always gave feasts for these girls in the moon. When it was darkened at the time of an eclipse, they always blew out toward it to blow away sickness. They thought it would be taken away just as the girls were taken. The stars have already been referred to. In the sky were certain spirits called Fair-girls-of-the-sky (gūs! tukoha'nî).

It was thought that there was some being in the wind, so people always talked to it kindly to induce it to moderate, and offered it a piece of fish. The wolverine (nūsk) was said to have control over the north wind, and when a story is told about one the north wind will blow. The same thing was said when one told a story about the Athapascans, because they live toward the north, and about the wolf. Winds from the north and east blow very persistently out of Silver bay, but when people once complained because Silver Bay blew so much, he said, "It is not I, but my children," meaning the smaller inlets.

People asked the sea for all kinds of things, but especially for sea otter. They thought that it brought great luck. Shamans talked to it also. When a big ocean swell came along, one put some black stuff like charcoal called "black raven" (yēł tū'tc!î) upon it, saying, "I have put this on you. Please cease." They addressed it as a female and asked it to help them by spreading out its legs.

The first big mountain at Cape Edwards is called Xās, and when a person went by it he always said, "Spread out your legs (so that it will not be rough). Do not harm me." There was another high rock to which people always talked as they passed. From Sitka around to Huna there were various places to be spoken to.

When a person bathed in the hot spring, he had to talk to it and he put bits of copper into it to take away his sickness.

There were spirits in the lakes and swamps, and if a man urinated in these places he became weak. He urinated in bed and all the time, and suffered a great deal when he tried to cohabit. The only way to avoid this was to cut a dog open and throw it into the swamp.

At the head of every creek was an old woman whom the salmon tried to reach. The small sized ones wore out their noses trying to get up to her. In the Auk country is a creek to which one had to use good words. Otherwise, if he fell down near the stream, it would cut his hands to pieces, although the rocks are not sharp ordinarily.

They always talked to a glacier, saying, "My son's daughter, be very careful. You might come down on me." Glacier spirits called Fair-girls-of-the-glacier (sīt! tu koha'nî) came to shamans.

When a tree was being cut down, one said to it, "Black bear skins have been laid in the place where you are going to fall. Fall down on them;" though they had not actually placed anything there.

The thunder bird causes thunder by flapping its wings or by moving even a single quill. When it winks, lightning flashes. Upon its back is a large lake, which accounts for the great quantity of rain falling during a thundershower. When a thunderstorm comes upon ripening berries, too much rain falls to let them grow as they should. The thunder bird keeps on thundering and the sky continues cloudy until the bird catches a whale. Then it carries the whale up into the mountains, where bones of whales caught in this manner may often be seen.

A hunter from Daxē'ţ was once overtaken oy a tnunderstorm and was blinded by a great flash. When he finally looked up he saw a big thunder bird astride of a mountain. It had the general appearance of an eagle. Another time some Sitka people out in a choppy place in the ocean heard thundering going on in a certain direction and, repairing to that point next day, found a whale lodged in the trees with claw marks on it. A Russian vessel was almost carried away by one of these birds because the sailors had made fun of it. A certain man was hunting on the mountain Xās. When he reached the top, he saw a dark cloud and heard some one talking to him very plainly in the Chinook jargon. This was a thunder bird and he became very rich from having heard it, and this is why people believe it exists. People also become rich if they merely catch sight of it.

According to Katishan, Nās-cA'kî-yēł (Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass) was the supreme deity and the real object of worship of his people, but the owner of the famous Seattle totem pole informs us, through George Hunt,[a] that he was merely the king of birds, and from that circumstance superior to Raven. Possibly there was some notion of a supreme deity among the Tlingit similar to Haida and Tsimshian beliefs regarding Sîns-sgā'nagwai and Laxha', but this is all the information the writer possesses regarding it. As represented at the foot of the Seattle pole, Nās-cA'kî-yēł is certainly of avian character.

Raven was the creator, or rather organizer, of the present state of things, both in the natural and in the artificial world. "After he was through with his travels he stopped somewhere," perhaps in Yēł qîwaqā'wo (see p. 461). When a raven was flying about, people of either side talked to it.

When people were out halibut fishing and saw a cormorant flying about they said, "Squeeze your buttocks this way." Then, after it had shaken itself and defecated, they said, "It has done so now," and

[a] Personal communication to Prof. Franz Boas.

they expected luck. A man out fishing once said so much to the cormorant that it burst into pieces. Some time afterwards the fire crackled loudly and, when this man went through the motion of seizing and swallowing the fire, it killed him. That is why in those times people were very careful what they did.

As elsewhere in North America, eagle feathers had sacred associations. They were used at feasts in the form of ornaments and the dancers' headdresses were covered with eagle down, which flew about inside of the house and covered everyone. Eagle down and red paint were much used by shamans and are spoken of in the stories as principal media in restoring the dead to life. At the same time there appears to have been no special veneration paid to the eagle, as such, except by certain families, like the Nēxa'dî, which made a specialty of the eagle emblem.

The mallards (kîndatcunē't, i. e., "Flying-up birds") formerly flew up slowly, like the sea ducks, but a mallard once ran into a stick and tore itself open, since which time they have flown up straight. The bird djegenī'k or ts!ēgēnî' does not like the milt of a male salmon, and therefore does not come down to the beaches until the salmon season is over.

When a dead grizzly bear was brought into camp its head was carried indoors and eagle down and red paint were put on it. Then one talked to it as if to a human being, saying, "I am your friend. I am poor and come to you." Before the entrails were burned he talked to them, saying, "I am poor. That is why I am hunting you." When one came to a bear trail he said, "My father's brother-in-law, have pity on me. Let me be in luck" (Xāt gā ɫaxē'l). The term of relationship was probably changed when one of the Raven phratry spoke. These words were not employed because they thought that the bear would come to life again, but because the dead bear's friends might kill the hunter if he did not use good words toward it.

If a bear killed one's brother he tried to get its head and keep it. Then it would be taken out at feasts and exhibited. When a woman met a grizzly bear she took out her large labret and blew toward the bear through the hole in her lip. Then the bear would not touch her. If one made fun of a grizzly bear it might attack him.

The origin of the bear emblem is always referred to the hero Kāts!, who married a female grizzly bear, though to which Wolf clan he belonged is entirely uncertain, the Te'qoedî and Kā'gwantān both claiming him.

That the wolf was also supposed to possess great power is evidenced by his use as a totem by one of the two great phratries and as an emblem of many of the clans.

The wolverine (nūsk) was also held in great respect. Because he can take an iron trap apart and eat what is in it, there was a saying,

"as smart as wolverine." At the same time, he was so annoying that the christianized Indians reckon him next to the devil for badness. Originally he is said to have been an Indian.

Although apparently so harmless, the land otter was dreaded more than any other creature. This was on account of his supposed supernatural powers, fondness for stealing people away, depriving them of their senses, and turning them into land-otter men (kū'cta-qa). As they lived at various points along shore, these land-otter men were called q!ā'tu-qa ("men-inside-of-points"). Naturally enough the land otters were closely associated with shamanism, which, in fact, is said to have come from them through a man named Kaka'. Years ago the Tlingit would not use their fur.

When a person was in danger of drowning, canoes would come to him (or her) and the people in them would say, "I am your friend," and take the person home. After that he became like them, but was called a land-otter man. One woman thus captured saw a number of round objects by the fire which she was told not to touch, but she jumped on one and it burst. They were the land-otters' scent bags. Then she was thrown outside and became a woman once more. In such a case a person had to come to human beings again or other land otters would take him. Cak^{u} are bad-smelling things on the beaches always eaten by the land-otter men. They caused a person upon whom the land-otter man breathed to faint, but if one put native tobacco, iron, or lead into his mouth it counteracted the influence. To restore a land-otter man to his senses live coals were thrown upon him, and after he had fainted slits were made with a knife on the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet, into which urine was rubbed.

My interpreter's father and two other Indians once heard something whistling behind them. When the creature that made the noise got near it climbed into a tree by the fire and began throwing cones upon them. They invited it to talk and to come down and eat, when in a strange, unnatural voice it announced the death of a Klukwan shaman. When they set out a dish of fish for it, it appeared on the other side of the fire and approached it slowly. Its breath smelt strongly of cak^{u}, so they put tobacco and bullets into their mouths. Its mouth was open, enabling them to see its large, savage-looking teeth. Then they said to one another, "Let us throw coals upon it," but the instant a motion was made it disappeared. It kept whistling around and throwing down cones all night. After they had started off in their canoe for Yêndê'staq!ê they met another canoe coming from Klukwan and learned that the shaman the land-otter man had spoken of was dead.

A land-otter man once hung about a spring and made several people who came there faint, after which it stripped them naked and left them in ridiculous attitudes. When one young man went after water the land-otter man kept throwing cones into his bucket. In the morn-

ing it came to him by canoe in the shape of a small man and wrestled with him. The land-otter man threw the youth down twice, but he also threw the land-otter man once. At last it left.

As among the Haida, belief in these beings is deeply rooted, and persons are easily deceived by practical jokers who imitate the sounds and actions attributed to land-otter men.

To obtain good luck people used sometimes to carve round sticks into the shape of land otters and place them in the cave where a shaman's body had been laid, saying to them, "Keep me in good health. Help me wherever I go."

The frog was talked to, and if anyone went by a point between Sitka and a camping place called Daxē'ṭ where one of these animals had turned into a rock, he asked it to help him. The slime exuding from a frog's skin was thought to be very poisonous and fatal to smaller creatures.

Sea lions were hunted, but they were much respected on account of their size and strength and in several stories appear as powerful helpers. The largest sea lions were called by a special name, q!āt!ʌ-cukā'wu ("biggest-animal-sitting-on-the-edge-of-an-island").

The seal was not an object of much reverence, but a man of the Tsague'dî family is said to have been once captured by seals, and afterwards to have related various things about them. He said that the seals are very much afraid of killer whales, and when the latter approach the whole ocean seems to squeak "like dry boards." Their terror of killer whales is due to the fact that the whales destroy everything when they kill seals, whereas men save their stomachs, and it is in the seal's stomach that his soul resides. After the stomach of a seal is blown out to dry the seal spirit comes out and the seal is born again. From this man, according to Katishan, the Tsague'dî claim the seal, but, strangely enough, a man belonging to that family was entirely ignorant of the story. The story itself is doubtless genuinely Tlingit, whether it is properly attributed to this clan or not.

The writer was told at Sitka that anciently people used to talk to a piece of bone that comes out of a seal's shoulder blade, saying, "Will you tell me what I am going to kill? Am I going to kill a seal or a bear?" Then the speaker spit upon it and threw it up into the air. If it remained in a certain position after it fell the man would kill something; otherwise he might as well stay at home.

The killer whale was regarded highly, but reverence for it did not amount to a killer-whale cult, as might almost be said of the Haida. When a killer whale was passing people threw their children into the wash raised by it and said, "I want to be very strong and healthy. Give me things."

The killer whales are said always to have paid attention to human beings because they were never hunted, and they were never hunted

because the first killer whale was made by a man out of a piece of yellow cedar. This is thought to explain why a piece of killer-whale fat thrown into the fire crackles just like a piece of yellow cedar.[a] If one should shoot a killer whale the others would come after him in crowds. Once a certain man did bring killers after him in this way and placated them only by a gift of tobacco. It is curious that ɬagū'ck!î, the term for a killer whale's dorsal fin, has been adopted by the Haida as the name for a particular killer whale of supernatural consequence. (See Memoirs of American Museum of Natural History, VIII, 201.)

There are supposed to be three varieties of killers. Kīt ȳîyagu' is the largest; it has a hole in its dorsal fin. Kīt wu ("white killer whale") is almost all white. Kīt cāq! ("red killer whale") is the smallest but most warlike and always goes in advance. It is also called kīt wusā'nî ("killer-whale spear").

There are also three varieties of porpoises. The smallest, called tcītc, is entirely black; the largest, ɬgîɬwu', has the dorsal fin and whole belly white; while the q!ān is a dark-red porpoise.

People used to talk to the large ground shark, and a member of the Wolf phratry addressed it as "My son's daughter," because it belonged to that phratry, and a Wolf's son was the only person who could marry a girl who wore the shark. He would say to it, "You must look out for me, so that I shall not be harmed when I am traveling."

The skate was the canoe of the land otter, and also the slave of the gonaqADē't.

Salmon are the subject of a special story told along nearly the whole extent of the north Pacific coast, but seeming to have originated among the Tlingit. Haida versions of this are given in Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, VIII, 243–245, and Bulletin 29 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 7–14. There used to be a curious belief that king salmon, after they had passed into the creeks, turned into steelheads.

To what has already been said regarding fishing customs may be added the following: The Tlingit always talked to their halibut lines, halibut hooks, and buoys, addressing them as "brother-in-law," "father-in-law," etc. If one did not do so, these would become ashamed and refuse to let the fish bite. While baiting the hook a person spit upon it and said, "Go right to the fireplace (gān KANA'X tcî'gîdagu q!WAN). Hit the rich man's daughter" Then the hook did not become ashamed.

Floats and hooks were carved into the shapes of various animals, and hooks with raven and land-otter carvings were thought to be most successful—raven because Raven made the world, and the land otter because that animal takes people away and sees things under the ocean.

When a person had let his lines down into the sea in front of a camp

[a] The crackling of yellow cedar has become a proverb. So, when a person uses his tongue too freely, people say, "You talk too much, just like yellow cedar."

where there was a large fire and he heard the fire crackle he said, "Out to the end of my hook" (axtî'q!î cū'dî). This was in order that the spirit in the fire might help him. If, after he had sat still for a while, the corner of his mouth twitched, he said, "I am in luck," for he knew that he had caught something, and when he went out to his line there was sure to be a large halibut on the end of it. With the Tlingit the right side is always the lucky one, and, if a person's mouth twitches toward anyone on that side, it means that that person will bring him good luck. Twitching to the left indicates bad luck.

Food products collected at low tide, especially mussels and clams, were talked to, so that they would not bring sickness upon those eating them. If a person took tobacco just after eating mussels he would be poisoned and was sure to die unless small cuts were made on top of his head and urine poured into them. While digging for clams that draw down out of sight rapidly they said, "Do not go down so fast or you will hit your mother-in-law in the face." The abalone was very highly esteemed as an article of adornment, but the writer does not know whether it was personified or addressed. The first of all abalones, a very large one, is said to have been pulled up from under the sea by a poor fisherman.

To a large fly that "makes worms in salmon" they say, when cutting the fish, "Do not harm us. Do not let the worms get in. Do not poison us."

The little water beetle (ts!î'nq!ê) that moves about upon the surface of fresh water was said to carry away anyone who urinated upon the water where it dwells. Small bone figures of this beetle were passed over sore places by shamans, to heal them.

In olden times people talked to anything that was carved like or in any way resembled a human being. If they saw such an object when they were traveling about, they spoke to it. If a man dreamed that the carving on his house post started a certain song, immediately on awaking he started that song himself. If the owner of a house dreamed that a dead man started a song to his carved post, the house owner began singing it next morning as soon as he awoke. The figure of anything seen by a person which subsequently gave him good luck was often painted on the front of a house. Such paintings, when placed near the corners, were called q!êngu'kc ("spread out on the corners").

After a man had hunted for some time in vain he would go ashore, make a fire, and put grease on the bow of his canoe so that the heat would cause it to soak into the wood. At the same time he talked to the canoe. Grease was burned into the canoe all around and whenever a crackling sound was heard he said, "That is for luck," because he knew that the place whence the sound came was where the seal he was about to get would lie. The hunter also took his spear down

and put it into the water, saying, "You will do great work to-day." Then he placed it by his side, knowing that he would get something.

The Tlingit, like the Haida, believed in spirits that brought wealth to him who saw or heard them and two such are identical in both mythologies. When one heard in the woods a sound like that made by a sucking child he must remove his clothing and pursue it. Then, if he were destined to become wealthy, he would finally overtake and catch a woman carrying a child on her back. She was fine looking and had curly hair, but her finger nails were long and sharp. She would scratch him with these nails and he must keep the scabs that came off when the scars she made were healing. If he gave a piece of one of these scabs to a friend, the latter, by washing or scraping his arm slightly with it, would become wealthy. This woman was known as Lê'naxxī'daq, and is evidently identical with the Skîl djā'adai (property woman) of the Haida.

Taxgwa's was a being who made canoes, and so corresponded to the Haida canoe maker Watgadagā'ñ. One who was destined to become a good canoe maker heard him chopping very fast, woodpecker-like. Then the man had to throw off his coat and shirt and follow the sound, and he had to wash his face and head in the first lake he came to. My interpreter told me that his father once heard the noise Taxgwa's makes, and came upon a tree with fine chips all around the bottom, but he forgot to take off his coat and so missed seeing the being himself.

Mountain Dweller, Cāqanayî', is also said to bring good luck to one who hears him chopping and sees where he has been. Perhaps he is to be identified with Taxgwa's. The gonaqadē't was more popular than any of these. It lived in the sea and could assume any shape.

A very strong spirit, called Kī'wax awuts!ē'x ("one-heard-coming"), travels along, raising his feet high and making a great noise.

Finally, we must mention the four brother transformers who appear so often in Tlingit mythology, especially the headstrong mischief-maker, Łkayā'k!, and Kack!a'lk!, the shaman.

FATE OF SOULS

The soul of a living person was called qātuwu' or wā'sa-tū'watî ("what feels"), "because when a person's feeling is gone he is dead," and the soul after death, yū'kgwahē'yak^{u} (or kayūkgwahē'yak^{u}), or else qayahāyî', "shadow," which is also the word for picture, while the ghost or spirit of the dead body was called s!a'gî. Rather inconsistently, as it would appear, the last word is that applied to the place where souls go after death, sa'gî qā'wu ā'nî ("ghosts' home"). This was an entirely happy region, elevated above the plane of this world, and, since some souls were said to go to the sun, moon, or stars, the towns or houses thought to be there must sometimes have been con-

ceived of as in that country. When a person was unhappy in this world his aunt or uncle would come to him and say, "You are unhappy here. Come to me." Then the person died and went to that happy country. There was a house there called Sleep house (tA hît), where people rested, and this seems to have been the name given by some Tlingit to the next higher region, otherwise known as kī'waA ("way up"), whither went those who died by violence. Access to this latter was had by means of a single hole called āndaqê'n wūł, reached by a ladder. It was guarded by a being in human shape named DjAqt!ā'îq!-qa, who sat by it and cried out "A man is coming up" when a person came up thither, while grizzly bears (āndaqê'n qaẋū'ts!î) watched the spirit road. If a man died unavenged he could not get up the ladder and drifted by on the wind with the clouds. Below the plane of earth was a third region for those who were drowned, and food sent to them had to be put into the sea. According to Katishan, a bad person after death went to Yēł qīwaqā'wo ("Raven's home"), where Raven lives. It was not learned whether this belief is due to white influence or not.

The Tlingit claim to have learned about all these regions from men who had died and come to life again. One such tale occurs in the Raven story, and the following are similar accounts obtained at Sitka:

"In olden days a certain person died and thought it was so hard to walk up into the ghosts' country that he came back. Then he said to the people, 'I haven't any moccasins. I haven't any gloves on. That is a very hard place to go up through, for there are lots of devil clubs and other kinds of bushes in the way. You must also sing songs when anybody dies. It is the same as a road for him and will lead him. There are wolves and bears along the way, which one has to protect himself against.' So the people gave him moccasins and gloves and put a knife in his hand so that he could defend himself. He also said that there were many houses there, and told them to dress him up, put red paint on his face, and eagle down on his hair. He had come to life only to explain how the dead should be treated, so after he had told them all those things he passed away again. Just before going he said, 'When the fire crackles at a certain time—for that is the only way they can talk to you in this world—it is because the spirits are hungry. You must then put grease, berries, and other kinds of food into the fire.' The first time he died the spirits asked, 'What did your people give you to eat when you started on your journey?' So, nowadays when anyone dies people always give feasts to feed the spirits. In the places which people reach after death there are many houses in rows, and the spirits assemble in those houses to share the food sent up from this world. All of the grave houses are named by the spirits, who give the same names to their houses in the ghost country.

"Whenever a person was about to die he said, 'This house is beginning to fill with spirits. They are waiting for me.' This is why people know there are spirits (kayūkgwahē'yak^{u}).

"After that a certain man tried to find out whether there were really any spirits (kayūkgwahē'yak^{u}). So he went out and shouted, 'I invite all of you ghost people (s!A'ge qā'wu) to a feast.' He wanted to see how they looked and to learn whether they could hear. By and by he went out a second time and shouted, 'This way, this way, all you spirits. I invite you all.' In the morning all the spirits he had invited came to the door of the house. He had already laid down mats for them, so he said, naming them from their appearance, 'All Mossy-eyes (WAqcAntus!î'q!-qa) go to the rear of the house; all Dried-out-eyes (WA'qcAntuxū'k^{u}) in front.' He called them so because those that had been long dead had moss in their eyes, while those who had died recently still had dried eyes left. But the ghosts became angry at the words he used and said, 'Do people call us Mossy-eyes because they are going to destroy us? The people that call us Mossy-eyes are not going to beat us, are they?' Still the man kept on calling them by these terms, and when he dished up the first berries he said, 'Give this to chief Mossy-eyes.' Then he filled a second dish and said, 'Give this to chief Dried-out-eyes.' When the food was taken up, however, and Mossy-eyes's name called out, the latter said, 'Put it into the fire. We like it better that way.' Afterwards chief Mossy-eyes said, 'Let this man take home for me what is left in my dish.' This was not a respectful thing for a person to say to the giver of a feast, but he said it because the giver of this feast had not respected them.

"When the host reached Mossy-eyes's house, which was a grave house, with the dish, the house smelt moldy and was so dark that he wandered around to right and left without being able to see anything, and he was unable to find his way out. Then chief Mossy-eyes said, 'Take out pitch and light it so that he can see to get home.' So they tied pitch wood together, lighted it, and fastened it on his head, telling him to go down with it. Part way down, however, the pitch ran out over his eyes so that he could not see and had to be led into the house, but the ghosts told his friends not to help him because he had treated them so rudely.

"Whenever people had a big feast in this world and put trays of food into the fire, mentioning the names of the deceased, this food went directly up to the spirit houses. And when people gave blankets away to those about them it was just as though they gave blankets to spirits, for the spirits also received them.

"When a Wolf man at Sitka was about to give a feast the fire began crackling and he said angrily, 'Why don't you spirits work for food and blankets? You always want people to give them to you.' As soon as this man was through feasting he fell sick and not

two days afterwards he said, 'Numbers of spirits have come to welcome me.' Then he died. So his friends began to dress him up in his war clothes and they put a war spear into his hands. After a time, however, he came to life again and told the people what he had seen. He said that he had seen lots of people outside on the porches of the grave houses. One of these, a chief who had died long ago, spoke from his porch, saying, 'Do you think the spirits are getting starved that you talk to us in that way? We are not getting starved. Do you think that you are going to destroy all the spirits with that war spear?' And on account of the war spear they sent him back into the world. The man also said that that is 'an everlasting place' (i. e., a very large one), like a regular town, and added, 'Whenever any man is going to give a feast for one who has died they feel very happy over it there.' The man died and came to life again four times, after which the war spear was taken from him and he died for good."

"In a certain war a man was killed and went up to Ki'waA, and by and by a woman of his clan gave birth to a child. One time, when some one was talking about that war, the child cried persistently and they said to it, 'Keep quiet. What are you crying about? Why are you crying so much?' Then the infant spoke out saying, 'If you had done what I told you and let the tide go out first we could have destroyed all those people.' The child was the same man who had been killed. From him people knew that there was such a place and that people who died by violence went there. He told the people that when a murder was about to be committed all the people up there came down to look, and that they are the electric sparks (ges!ū'q, St Elmo's fire (?)) which light on houses. They were said to come down on the fireplace of a house where a murder was about to take place.[a]

"If a person with a cut or scar on his body died and was reborn the same mark could be seen on the infant."

SHAMANISM

Along with multiplicity in the number of spirits came a great development of shamanism. It would appear that, taking the people of the north Pacific coast as a whole, shamanism reached its climax among the Tlingit. At all events their shamans were more powerful and influential and more dreaded than those among the Haida. The latter appear to have recognized this and affected to bring many of their spirit helpers from the Tlingit country. But while the Haida shaman personated only one spirit at a time, and usually performed without a mask, each Tlingit shaman was guarded by a number of helpers and possessed a number of masks. Besides depicting a principal figure on each mask, there were usually one or more smaller ones which

[a] This story, or one like it, is repeated everywhere in the Tlingit country.

represented subsidiary spirits (yēk), and these were frequently supposed to strengthen special features or faculties of the shaman. Thus the figures of spirits round the eyes were to strengthen the sight and so enable the shaman to discover hostile spirits; those around the nose strengthened the smell; those around the jaws, the jaws, keeping them firm at all times, etc. Some of these small figures were animals, like land otters, but a favorite was the woodworm, because it can bore through wood and so typifies strong perception. A braided belt might also be used to indicate the woodworm, and this was supposed to go to an enemy's town and find out what was passing there. The shaman also let his hair grow and took no care of it. He usually wore a necklace of bones and had a little whetstone hung about his neck, which he employed as a head scratcher. Besides oval rattles, such as Haida shamans always employed, they sometimes used the large chiefs' rattles, with figures of a raven and other animals upon them. This may have been because Tlingit shamans were generally of higher social rank than those among the Haida. The chief's rattle came to them originally from the south. Besides the mask spirits there were also special spirits to strengthen the rattle. At the command of various spirits bones were worn through incisions in the septum of the nose, and on the head a peculiar hat, often adopted by common people, especially by warriors and by people at feasts. The shaman's body was usually covered with a dancing shirt and a Chilkat blanket, and his legs were encased in dancing leggings.

The shaman's power, like that of a common person, was increased by obtaining many split animal tongues, especially the tongues of land otters. These were combined with eagle claws and other articles, and carefully treasured. (See fig. 112.) The tongues of land otters, freshly killed, were also cut and their blood caught upon twigs.

When he came in to operate upon a patient the shaman ran rapidly around the fire in the direction of the sun's course, which was thought of as directly contrary to the course we understand it to take.[a] He cured by blowing or sucking, or by passing over the affected parts carved objects supposed to have power. Sickness was usually attributed to witchcraft and, after pretending to draw a spear or some other foreign object from the sick man, the shaman designated who had sent it into him. Shamans themselves had power to bewitch people. They could put spirits into inanimate objects and send them out to do mischief. It would appear from various stories that eagle down and red paint were also used in curing, for they are there employed in restoring the dead to life. In one story a shaman pulls a spear from the wound, thrusts it into water, and then blows eagle down over it.

[a] This was probably because the sun was supposed to return to the east beyond the southern horizon.

Besides curing the sick a shaman had many other functions, such, for instance, as the location of supplies of food and assistance against enemies in war. No matter how far apart they might actually be shamans of hostile towns were in the habit of dressing up to fight each other by means of their spirits. Sometimes they performed for no other reason than to show their power. Whenever they did perform their friends fasted and helped them sing the spirit songs, of which there are separate ones for each spirit. All kinds of tales are related of the power of these shamans. Thus it is said that some United States marines were going to cut the hair of a Sitka shaman, when his spirit came into him so powerfully that the arms of the big marine who was about to ply the shears were paralyzed and those of the other marines dropped to their sides.

According to Katishan, the spirits that came to Raven shamans had to be distinct from those that came to Wolf shamans, and it is probable that this held good everywhere. The prominence of sea spirits, such as killer whales, among the helpers of shamans is noticeably less than among the Haida. The sun spirit belonged to the Kîksa'dî, while the sea spirits came partly to Raven, partly to Wolf shamans. Spirits of the crest animals appear usually to have come to shamans of the families to which the emblems belonged. This is said of the woodworm of the Ga̱naxte'dî, but it may be that the prohibition applied only to its occurrence as a principal spirit. Certain shamans' spirits call themselves nīk qoa'nî ("sick people"). At Killisnoo there was a shaman who said that he had his power from "a big Russian."

Fig. 112. Shaman's medicine.

The Nanya̱a̱'yî were so high-caste a clan that their spirits had very high names. One of these was called Curing Spirit (Wudzîne'xe-yēk) and another Man-under-the-earth (Ant!ā'ya̱î-qa). Although Kack!a'lk! and Ł!q!ayā'k! were Kîksa'dî personal names at Sitka, at Wrangell they and their father Łakîtcane' all came to Nanya̱a̱'yî shamans. The greatest of all the shamans' spirits of this family, however, was Unseeable (Łdjī'dîtīn), who was said to be chief of all shamans' spirits. He wore a tall hat and sat in the middle of a canoe in which were two other spirits. The spirit in the bow was called Bow-man (Cakahā'dî); that in the stern, Stern-man (Āt!ī'gî).

This spirit first came years ago to an old Nanya̱a̱'yî shaman named Big-killer-whale (Kīt-lēn). Whenever he said, "Łdjī'dîtīn's canoe is coming," some one would shout, "Let the Nanya̱a̱'yî fast and change their clothing." After they had done this he said, "To-morrow the chief of the spirits will come ashore." Then the shaman dressed as

he saw this spirit, putting on a very large hat with a high crown, a dancing blanket, leggings, and a Chilkat blanket, and painting red stripes across his face. Then he sat on a very high box and sang. Afterwards he handed his baton to each of the Nanyaā'yî women in turn, who were now prepared to dance. All tried to imitate the shaman when he danced, but they were entirely unable to do so. From this circumstance the Nanyaā'yî have a personal name, Łie'-dukūktc, which means that no one can imitate the dancing shaman. After that the shaman tried to imitate the Bow-man, dancing with bow and arrows in his hands. Subsequently shamans in this family acted like Big-killer-whale, and Unseeable was always the first spirit which they saw. The shaman had to be very clean when Unseeable was going to come to him, nor would Unseeable allow any filthy person in his house. When the shaman heard Unseeable's canoe song he shouted out, "The shaman can hear Unseeable's canoe song. All the women must wash and fast." When Unseeable first came to the shaman he walked on water.

Spirits descended in one family from uncle to nephew. Rarely, if a man had no suitable clansman, his spirits would pass to his son. Sometimes a successor was named by the spirits before the shaman's death, and sometimes they named two, in which case the stronger-minded obtained the position.

When the shaman was in his last sickness his spirit would come to him and say, "You will die so many days from now." And when he was dying it said, "My master, you must be taken to such and such a place and be left there [for burial]." Then it would tell his clan what to do and where to live. The shaman's body was accordingly carried to the point indicated and left there without having been burned. It is said that his body always dried up instead of decaying like the body of an ordinary person.

Some time after the shaman's body had been put away the whole clan—men, women, and children—assembled in his house or in one belonging to the clan, where they remained and kept themselves very clean. While they were fasting there an honest youth, selected for the purpose, went out of the house and shouted "[Such-and-such a]spirit is coming in." Then they opened the door and let it in. They started the song of the spirit he had mentioned, and everyone pounded on sticks. While they were singing, the youth who was to succeed his uncle—who must be a young fellow of good character—dropped over and passed into a sort of trance. The people worked over him for a long time to make him come to. Now his clan felt happy at having a shaman among them, for they knew the clan would keep on growing.

The power of shamans was so much dreaded that whenever a person came across a shaman's house built in the woods he feared he would become sick and have his belly grow large. Then only another

shaman could cure him. It was thought that the finger nails of dead shamans would keep on growing and grow right through boards. No one would eat anything near places where their bodies lay for fear of being taken seriously ill, or even dying. Whenever one passed a shaman's grave in a canoe he lowered food and four pieces of tobacco into the sea in front of it, saying, "Give me luck. Do not let me perish. Do not let the wind blow so strongly on me. Let me find other food," etc. The eagle claws hung by the urine boxes of living shamans were asked to keep the petitioner in health.

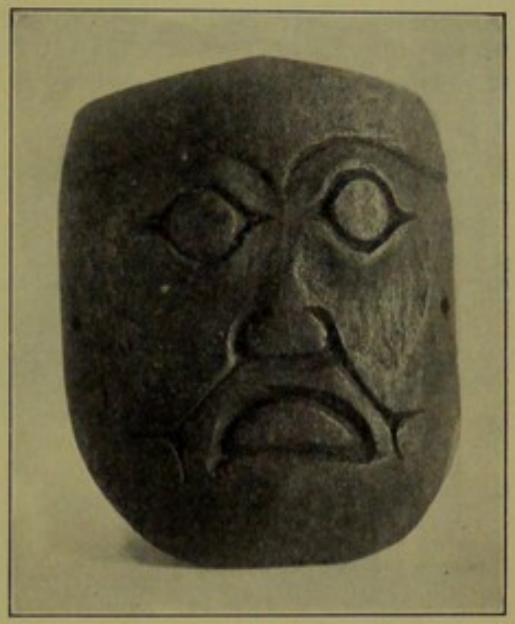


FIG. 113. Anthropomorphic representation of the land otter, carved in bone.

Plate LVIII, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*, are said to be models of masks used by a Łuqā'xadî shaman at Alsek river, called Weasel-wolf (Gotcda'), and represented his spirits (yēk); *b* represents a spirit known as Cross Man (Anaxłxa'), called by the maker of this model "the strongest spirit that there ever was;" *c* was called Spirit-put-on (Ada'oł-yēk),

FIG. 114. Shaman's medicine box.

because it (the mask) was put on in time of war. The tongue is represented as hanging out, because the spirit gets tired in war time. The frog on the forehead represents another spirit; *d* represents the

Raven; *e* represents Land-otter-man Spirit (Kū'cta-qa-yēk), while the lines on each cheek represent starfishes, which are also spirits.

Figure 113 is another representation of the land otter, carved out of bone by one of the writer's informants.

Figure 114 shows a shaman's carved box, in which was a smaller box or case (fig. 115) containing the following "medicines:" Two bits of abalone shell each pierced at one end as if for suspension, one fragment of a dentalium shell, two or three bits of iron, a small piece from the

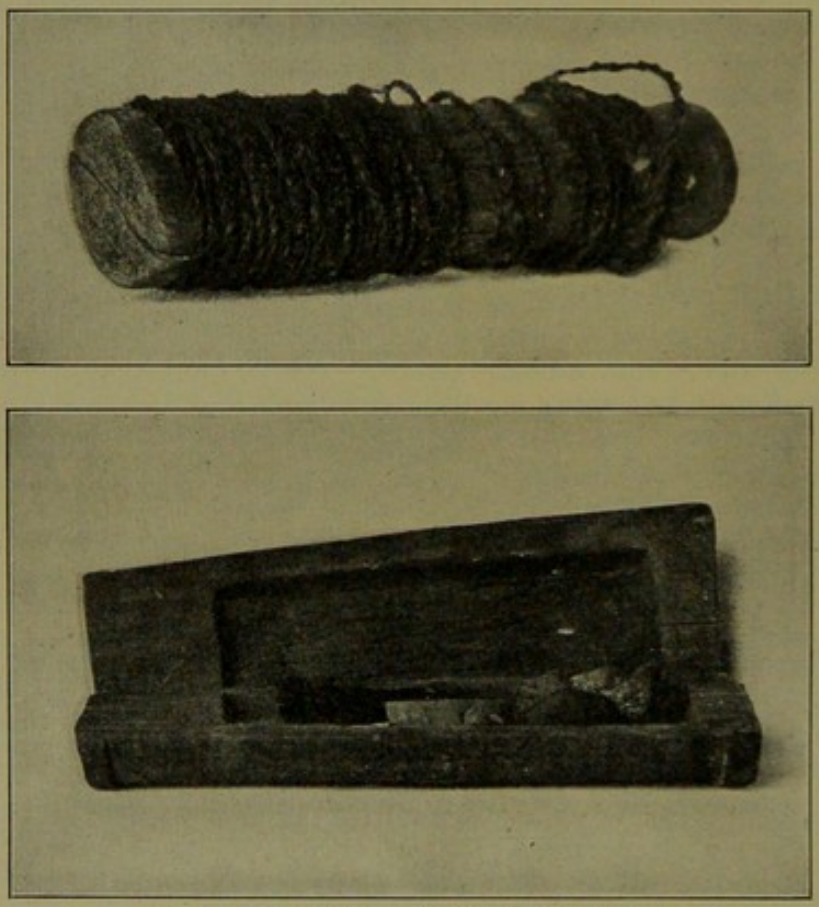


FIG. 115. Medicine case proper wound with human hair.

border of a Chilkat blanket, and fragments of two different kinds of plants. The box seems to have been closed at the top with a slide, which has disappeared. In the place which it should have occupied the finder of this specimen discovered a wooden comb (fig. 116), carved to represent an eagle or a thunder bird. Near the place where this was obtained two shamans belonging to the Kāsq!ague'dî are known to have been buried, one called Cq!atū' and the other Î'stīn-īc ("father-of-Î'stīn").

Figure 117 represents a wooden post that stood at the back of a

salmon trap. The human figure is Moldy-end (Canyak!uła'x), the boy who was carried away by the salmon and became a shaman, and the fish on which he stands is called "Spirit-of-his-feet" (duq!ō'sᵧi yē'gi), meaning "the spirit which guided him."[a]

WITCHCRAFT

It is quite natural to find, along with the prominence of shamanism, a widespread belief in witchcraft. In fact this notion had so taken possession of the Tlingit mind that natural sickness or death was scarcely believed in. The friend of a person who was ill would go to a shaman and say, "I+++ᵧaxō'at, I come after you." Upon hearing this the shaman stopped and looked all around. After the same words

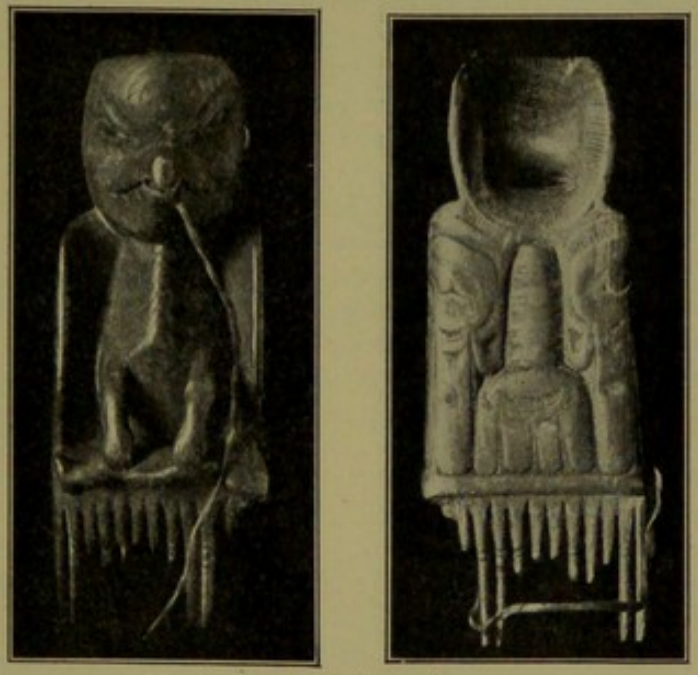


Fig. 116. Shaman's carved comb.

had been repeated three times more the shaman went to the sick person and performed over him. Then he told who had bewitched him, at the same time pretending to draw out a spear, or something of the kind, from the affected part, while making a noise with his lips.

When caught, the wizard was tied up for eight or even ten days without food or drink, unless he confessed to the deed and agreed to find the witching medicine. After he had brought this out he waded into the sea up to his shoulders and scattered it. If he refused to confess he was liberated at the end of the time given, but not infre-

[a] For the story of Moldy-end see the references given on p. 458. These are Haida versions, but are practically the same as the Tlingit story.

quently he died before its expiration. Sometimes, however, his friends interfered and bloodshed resulted.

A wizard acted upon his victim by obtaining a piece of his clothing, some hair, spittle, or a fish bone from which the person in question had eaten the flesh. Then he made an image of his body, which he treated in the way he wanted the living person to suffer, making it a mere skeleton, to bring on emaciation; deforming the hands, to destroy the ability of a woman at weaving, etc. Spittle taken from a person

FIG. 117. Carved post placed on salmon trap.

could be used to make him spit himself to death, hair to give sickness in the head, and so with other portions of the body. The slime of a frog, which is supposed to be poisonous to other animals, was used to bewitch a person so that his eyes and mouth would bulge out like those of a frog. It is probable that the bones of a human being were also employed in witchcraft, as among the Kwakiutl, but the writer has no direct statement to that effect.

A certain Tcūkane'dî was a wizard before his conversion to the Rus-

sian Church at Sitka. He would lie on a sealskin and let it swim out of the house with him, and he would go out to sea just like a porpoise, as fast as the people could let the line out they had fastened to him.

A DAQL!awe'dî once flew about the house where a dead man was lying, in order to bewitch him. One night he was seen to fly out from a grave house and go up the Chilkat river, and the night following all the dead man's friends watched for him with their guns. At last one of these, who was sitting under a box where salmon were cut, heard a great noise, "Wh, wh, wh, wh, wh," and saw the thing perch on a flag pole and give out a squeak like that of an owl. He raised his gun and fired, and the wizard fell at the foot of the pole. He recovered, however, and is still living.

Mice are said to help wizards and witches to steal a person's property. It is supposed that they like to go inside of a dead body, for one time while some Sitka people were singing and beating time for a man who had been speared through the side of his head the body began to move and mice ran out of the wound and out of the mouth. On investigating they found that his insides had been all eaten out, and this within two days.

Another time a Haida came up to Sitka, married a girl there named Qałā'x, who had just reached maturity, and took her home with him. But all of a sudden her husband became sick. He would eat nothing until after all the people except his wife had left the house. Then his wife pulled dried salmon to pieces and set it before him, when mice began running out of his mouth, one after the other, to eat it. Last of all came a big white mouse, the mother of all the rest. After they were through eating he would open his mouth and let them run back inside.

Finally the man's friends discovered this and determined to interfere. Two of them went into an inside room with clubs and a third stood by the door. Then the man's wife again put out salmon and berries, and the mice ate them. Immediately afterwards she put fat on a tray as a signal to the men in waiting. So the man at the door and the two youths rushed in, saying, "This is the thing that is killing our uncle." The latter cried out, "Do not kill my white mouse. Save my white mouse," but they destroyed all of them. Then the chief's stomach was perfectly flat, and two days later he died, for the mice "had been breathing for him." After that all of his wife's brothers went down and took her home, and she told her father what had happened. For this reason, although she was the daughter of a chief, people did not respect her. They said, "We don't care about you. You used to feed mice."

The Haida are said to believe that one must not sleep under a berry bush or the mice will get inside of him.[a]

[a] For further material on witchcraft and shamanism consult Krause, Die Tlinkit Indianer, 283-301.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TLINGIT AND HAIDA LANGUAGES

The grammatical structure of the Tlingit and Haida languages will be given elsewhere.[a] The possibility that they are related in some way was suggested first by Professor Boas, whose reasons therefor are given in the Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology[b] (p. 340–343). With the assistance of material recently collected, the present writer is now able to undertake a more exhaustive comparison along certain lines.

1. *Phonetics.* In this respect the two languages agree closely with each other and with other languages in the same region. In both, however, labials are used less generally, and those which occur seem usually to be onomatopoetic. In Haida *m* is found with some frequency, *p* rarely except when it is evidently onomatopoetic, and *b* has not been found more than five times altogether. In Tlingit *m* appears in a very few onomatopoetic expressions, but *p* and *b* do not occur in words of native origin. Tlingit is furthermore distinguished from Haida by a great expansion in the use of sibilants, in the absence of *l* which is replaced by *n*, and in the absence of *ñ*. The Tlingit language tends to shorten its vowels, resembling in this respect the Masset dialect of Haida, and differing from that spoken at Skidegate and the other southern towns. Obscure *u* and *o* sounds are used continually. Following is a comparative list of the consonants in the two languages:

Tlingit	–	–	[c]m	d	t	t!	s	s!	c	n	–
Haida	[c]b	p	m	d	t	t!	s	–	–	n	l
Tlingit	dj	tc	tc!	dz	ts	ts!	ɬ	ɬ̣	ɬ	y	g
Haida	dj	tc	tc!	–	–	–	ɬ	ɬ̣	ɬ	–	g
Tlingit	q	q!	x	g	k	k!	x̣	–	h	y	w
Haida	q	q!	x	g	k	k!	x̣	ñ	h	y	w

Harmonic sound changes are few in Haida and still fewer in Tlingit. The Haida transposition of *ł* and *l* is naturally wanting from Tlingit, where *l* does not exist, and the interchanges between *g* and *x* or *ẋ* also seem to be wanting. There is, however, an interchange of *c* and *dj* or *tc* similar to the change in Haida from *s* to *dj* and vice versa. On the other hand, *u* and *o* sounds in Tlingit tend to change a following vowel into a similar sound, a phenomenon noticed elsewhere in North America but not observable in Haida.

2. *Roots and stems.* Tlingit words are nearly always resolvable into single syllables or single phonetics, each with a separate significance. Haida constructions are longer and more ponderous, but so many words may be resolved into grammatic syllables that all Haida stems may be regarded as having been primitively monosyllabic. In

[a] In the Handbook of American Indian Languages, not yet published. [b] Chicago, 1894. [c] Very rare.

the summary which follows, 581 Tlingit and 351 Haida roots are compared with reference to their phonetic composition, c standing for consonant and v for vowel:

	c	cv	cvc	cvcc	cc	ccv	cccv	ccvc	v	vc	vcc
Tlingit	17	155	367	10	..	..	..	..	7	24	1
Haida	13	120	133	1	4	35	1	30	6	7	1

It appears from this that the combination cvc is the most common in both languages, although the preponderance is more marked in Tlingit than in Haida, and that the combination cv stands second. Proportionally, stems consisting of single consonants and single vowels appear to be more numerous in Haida, but nearly all the existing stems of this character are probably included in the above enumeration. The 13 consonant stems in Haida are made up largely of the sounds, *ʟ̣*, *ʟ*, and *ł*, to which something of a vocalic character always attaches, while the 17 Tlingit stems are nearly all pure consonant sounds. Actually, therefore, single consonants may be said to be more extensively employed with grammatic significance in Tlingit, a fact in consonance with the short, choppy character of that tongue. The combination vc is also represented more largely in Tlingit. It is curious that while the number of stems of this type is comparatively small they are usually stems of fundamental importance.

Perhaps the most striking difference between these lists is the occurrence of combinations cc, ccv, cccv, and ccvc in Haida, which are entirely absent from Tlingit. It must be said, however, that the initial consonant in such cases is always *s* or an *l* sound—*l*, *ʟ*, *ʟ̣*, or *ł*—a circumstance which leads one to suspect that there is some particular reason for these combinations yet to be disclosed. In case they have been formed from descriptive terms it would be possible to account for those with initial *s* by supposing that *s* represents the Tlingit indicative prefix *s*-, which is always placed immediately before the verb stem. In the same way initial *ł* and *ʟ̣* might be supposed to represent the Tlingit verbal prefixes *ł* and *ʟ*, which are also placed immediately before the stem. Besides mere morphological similarity, however, the only point that may be said positively to favor this view is the fact that Haida stems of the kind are generally utterly divergent from Tlingit stems of corresponding meaning. This is what would be expected if some form retained in Tlingit were replaced elsewhere by a descriptive phrase. The second consonant in the forms cc is always *ʟ*, *ʟ̣*, or *ł*, to which, as before said, something of a vocalic character attaches.

All this would appear to indicate that the great majority of syllables in the two languages primitively belonged to the types cv and cvc, and, while the relative proportion of the type cvc in Tlingit is very much greater than in Haida, there are certain reasons for qualifying the importance of this difference. In Tlingit, for instance, we have

to deal with a set of suffixes composed of single consonants, and it is not always certain that a supposed stem CVC is not really CV plus the suffix *-c*. On the other hand, there are many Haida forms of two syllables ending in a weak vowel, this vowel being perhaps of no significance. Supposing this to be the case, all such stems would resolve themselves into single syllables of the type CVC and increase the proportion of such stems just so much.

To assure ourselves that a comparison of languages on the basis of the types of stems which they contain is of real importance it would be necessary to make similar classifications of the roots and stems of several other languages. This has not been carried out extensively by anyone so far as the writer is aware, but an attempt to treat one of the Athapascan dialects in this manner seemed to show that in this respect Athapascan and Tlingit are much more closely related to each other in this respect than is either of them to Haida.

3. *Word composition.* In both Tlingit and Haida nouns may be stems, they may be formed by combining two other nouns, or they may be taken from verbs or adjectives. In forming a compound two nouns observe the same order as in English. These facts, however, are world-wide and furnish no basis for comparison. The absence of formal gender from both is of little more significance. Tlingit appears to differ from Haida in possessing a plural, but this is really a collective, and nouns in the plural do not require it. On the other hand, certain Haida words referring to human beings have a special plural or collective form which corresponds in a measure grammatically, though not morphologically, to the Tlingit. In both languages terms of relationship take a special plural, but the Tlingit is formed by suffixing the personal pronoun of the third person plural, or indefinite person, while the Haida suffix is never employed independently. Cases are lacking in Haida, case relations being expressed by postpositions, and though what have been called cases exist in Tlingit these are expressed by suffixes, which differ from other postpositions in the language only in the fact that they are single sounds. One of them, moreover, occurs, with precisely the same function, in an expanded syllabic form. Tlingit nouns also take diminutive and intensive suffixes absent from Haida, but it will be shown later that they appear to be represented there in another manner. Both languages distinguish between an intimate, more or less reflexive, kind of possession and one which is more remote, tending to become syntactic; and the latter is expressed in exactly the same manner by both, i. e., the objective personal pronoun is prefixed to the noun and a special syllable suffixed. To indicate intimate possession, however, Haida employs a distinct suffix and dispenses with the pronominal prefix, while Tlingit employs the pronoun and omits the suffix. Haida adjectives of shape and size take a special plural or distributive suffix not represented in Tlingit,

and in the same language we find a suffix with connectives indicating motion in the particular place just referred to. Both have a distributive suffix used after numerals and a few other words.

In the verb we find marked differences. Tlingit verbs have so few affixes that, including a prefixed auxiliary and three substantives very frequently used as prefixes, so far 27 only have been enumerated, while in Haida there are as many as 115. Their distribution with reference to the stem is also very unequal. Of the Tlingit affixes 18 come before the stem and 9 after it; in Haida 60 precede and 55 follow. In actual usage, however, the difference is still more marked. In Tlingit more than one suffix is rarely found in the same verb, and suffixes are often entirely wanting, while the ratio of suffixes to prefixes in any one Haida verb is at least as two to one.

Coming to the varieties of ideas expressed by affixes, we find in Haida, besides 16 affixes of miscellaneous character, a series of morphological affixes, an instrumental series, locatives, temporals of two orders, modals, and 10 suffixed auxiliaries. In Tlingit, however, the first three are entirely lacking, locatives being expressed by adverbs, and auxiliaries are represented by the causative only. This is as much as to say that the bulk of Tlingit affixes are temporal and modal. Nouns are taken up into the Haida verb much more easily than into the Tlingit verb, and the combination of two verb stems, which is very common in Haida, is unknown in the other language. This great divergence between the verbs is mitigated only by the close resemblance among several Haida affixes and the consequent possibility that they have been differentiated from one original, and, by the great independence of those affixes, suggesting word composition rather than a real subordination of elements.

4. *Structure of sentence.* In Haida the verb—or a breathing representing it—almost invariably stands at the end of the sentence, but, while this is commonly the case in Tlingit, the nominal subject or object or a noun and postposition frequently follows. Adverbs precede the verb, usually immediately, in both languages, and are closely related to the postpositions, of which each language has a great abundance. They also agree in placing adjectives after the nouns they depend upon and usually in placing the nominal subject before the nominal object. More important is the fact that the pronominal subject in Haida and the pronominal subjective prefix in Tlingit follow the corresponding objective forms.

5. *Lexical similarities.* Having considered the kinds of phonetics used by Tlingit and Haida, the types of stems and roots, and the composition of words and sentences, we come to the most important point of all—actual similarities in form. This, which is ordinarily the first criterion appealed to, is reserved until the last, because such similarities are confessedly scanty and because such as exist must be viewed

in connection with the morphological characters just considered. There are a certain number of nouns in both languages which are practically identical, although showing slight phonetic variations. Such are the following:

English	Tlingit	Haida
grizzly bear	x̣ūts!	x̣ū′ʌdjī
wolf	ġōtc	ġōdj
ground squirrel	tsʌłk!	djo′lkī
a sea bird	ługuȧ′tc	łʌgua′djī
marten	k!ux̣	k!ū′x̣u
abalone	gu′nxa	gu′lġa
moose	tsisk!	tcī′sk!ᵘ
skate	tc!ī′tġa	tc!ī′tġa
raven	yēł	yēł (Masset dialect)
fox	nagas!e′	nā′gadjē
fur seal	q!ūn	k!ō′un
drum	gao	gaodja′o
wolverine	nūsk	nūsk
iron	hiġayē′ts	hiġayē′djī

It must be said of grizzly bear, wolf, ground squirrel, moose, fox, and wolverine, however, that the animals are not found upon the Queen Charlotte islands, and that consequently the Haida could learn of them only through their mainland neighbors, whose names they would very naturally adopt. It is true that at the present time the Tsimshian are nearer neighbors of most of the Haida than are the Tlingit, but according to the traditions of both Tlingit and Tsimshian the latter formerly dwelt inland, while the Tlingit have moved northward from the coasts which the Tsimshian now occupy. Yēł, the Masset word for raven, may have been adopted from the Tlingit in place of the word xō′ya used at Skidegate, although it is to be noted that the former word occurs in names of houses in the southern towns as if it were well known. The abalone here referred to was not the small native variety, but a large specimen introduced from California in trade, and it is quite likely that one people adopted the word from the other. The same argument applies with still more force to iron, and even the similarity of the names for fur seal may be explained in this manner. The term for drum, on the other hand, appears to be onomatopoetic, and may have been evolved independently by the two peoples. Gaodja′o seems to mean "the thing which gives forth a gao noise." This leaves only the words for marten, skate, and a sea bird unaccounted for, and, if our interpretation of the use of yēł be admitted, we may perhaps assume that these words represent the process of adoption carried to completion. Their striking similarity in the two tongues appears in too marked contrast to the utter divergence of the bulk of the vocabularies of both languages to allow us to infer on this ground alone that we have here anything more than an exchange of words. If no more profound resemblances

than these could be discovered, the question of relationship would have to be answered in the negative.

Before taking up the other points of resemblance, a comparative list of stems taken at random is given, between which there is no agreement, in order to show the unpromising nature of the task. Hyphens are used to indicate prefixes and suffixes.

English	Tlingit	Haida
to dwell	u	na
daughter	sī	gudjañ
to desire	ci	qao
with	n	at or aɬ
father	īc	gōñ (man's), xāt (woman's)
slave	gux	xa'ldañ
to cause (auxiliary)	ka-	-da
downward	yî	-tɬaɬ
they, them	has	l, -lañ
(continuation of motion)	ya-	-gañ
shoreward	dāq	-gīɬ (or -gial)
as follows or precedes, like this	ye	han, hin
to say	qa	su
into a house	nēɬ	-teɬa
again	tsɬu	î'sîñ
long	yat	djiñ
man, male person	qa	îɬñ
berry	kɬīt	gān
to put, do	tan	skît
to go (many persons)	at	dal
to go (one person)	qa	gu
(plural or collective suffix)	-q	-djit
on	ka	un
foot	qɬōs	stɬa-î
at	q	gu
very	lax	-yû'an, -djiɬî'
now, right now, close by	teɬa	xan, han
thing	at	gî'na
to marry	ca	în
I	x-, xat	ɬ
you	i-, wae'	da, dañ
him, her, it, his, hers, its	ac-, du-, a-, hu	la
one	leq	sgoan
two	dēx	stîñ
(completed action)	wa-	-gî
(reflexive)	c	aga'ñ
mountain	ca	ldaga'o
head	ca	qā'djî
like	yêx	gaña'ñ
mind	tu	gut
to be	ti	ē'djî, îs
there	yên	gu
(perfect tense)	du-	ya
completely	cu-	ɣga-, -'odju

English	Tlingit	Haida	
(passive prefix)	wu-	ta- (rare)	
from	x	sta	
salmon	xāt	tcîn	
fresh water	hîn	gaṇ	
however	qo′a	ł!	
up, upward	ke	sa	
when, after	ga-	ṇu	
into	tu	gei	
not	(ʟē) ł	gam	
firewood	gān	tcł̄ā′anu	
smoke	sł̄ēq	gā′yao	
to help (as a supernatural being does)	su	q!an	
you, your (pl.)	yī-, yīhā′n	dala′fi	
night	tāt	gāl	
quickly	djī-	x̣ao-	
to rot	ʟ!ak	q!ol(go)	
back, backward	qox	siłgā′fi	
to weep	g̣āx	sg̣aił	
lake	a	su	
seaward	dak	-sg̣a	
big	ʟēn	yû′an	
to float	x̣āc	ga-i	
canoe	yāk^{u}	ʟu	
this	he	a	
to pull in	yēq	dañi-	
to kill	djaq	tia (sing.)	ʟ!da (pl.)
father-in-law	wu	qō′na	
to know	ku	u′nsaat	
house	hît	na	
woman's brother	īk!	da	
man's sister	ṭā(k!)	djās	
mother	ʟā	ao	
entirely destroyed	qot	ha-ilu	
moon	dîs	qoñ	
to eat	xa	ta	
husband	xox	ʟāl	
hand	djīn	sʟ!a-i	
close to	wan	ʟā	
to die	na	kł̄ō′tał	
to make	yax	g̣ōłga	
mouth	q!a	xē′li	
to laugh at	cuq	k!a	
to shoot with a bow	t!uk	tc!it	
to name	sa	kīga	
to be daylight	gan	sîñ	
red	łēq!	sg̣ēt	
to ask	wus!	kîan	
what?	da(sa)	gūs, gasł′ñ	
spear	yīs	q!a	
to cut off	x̣ac	q!eit	
copper	ēq	x̣al	
and	qa	giên	

ENGLISH	TLINGIT	HAIDA
hole	t!aq!	xēl
where?	gu	gī′sgēt, gī′ɫgan
face	yêt	xañ
good	k!e	la
to be ashamed	dēq!	geiɫxa
post	gās!	gia′gañ, xāt
no	ɫēk!	ga′oano
tooth	ux	tc!iñ
inside	gē	qā′ɫi
halibut	tcāɫ	xā′gu
hair seal	tsa	xōt
to stay or dwell for a time	xe	na-u
to become	nuk^{s}	geiɫ
whale	yāi	kun
the last, the end	hūtc!	ɫan
nephew	qeɫ	nāt
cheek	wac	qa′nsidu
blood	cî	ga-i
song	cī	k!a′gan, sgā′lañ
box	kūk	gō′da
nest	kut	ɫta′ɫga
a spirit, supernatural being	yēk	sgā′na
cliff	gāɫ!	stal
eagle	tcāk!	gōt
to think	djî	gut
eagle down	q!âɫ!	ɫta′ngo
to be afraid of	xēɫ!	ɫgoa
shaman	îxt!	sgā′ga
us	ha	îɫ!
friend, clansman	xon	ɫtā′xui, ta′olañ
to crawl	cī(tc)	lxu-
finger	ɫ!ēq	sl!ga′ñē
grandparent	ɫîɫ	tcîn (male), nān (female)
to rub	t!us	nan
to hide	sîn	sq!ul
ribs	sû′go	xē′wi
shell	yîs!	q!al
old person	cān	q!a-i
floor plank	t!a	tc!u
tree	ās	qa-it
(imperative particle)	dê	ɫ
to float	tît	ga-i
kelp	gîc	ɫqeam
to start traveling	x̱ūn	qa-it
stick or club	qās	sq!ā′ñu
to weave	ak	xa-i
to stand	hān	gia
to invite	îq!	kia
sea lion	tān	qa-i
hair	cāx	qā′djî
mussels	yāk	gal
shell	nuk!^{s}	q!al
enemy, warrior	xa	qa-ido

English	Tlingit	Haida
cloud	gūts!	yên
fort	nu	t!a′odjî
heart	tēq!	k!û′ga
we	tu	t!alᴀ′ñ
herring	yao	îna′n
to fly	qēn	x̣ît
to tie	sa	kiu
mouth of (stream, etc.)	wᴀt	t!ā
dog salmon	tīʟ!	skā′gî
humpback	tcās!	djîdᴀ′n
nose	ɬu	kun
point	q!a	kun
(future sign)	gu	-sga, -asañ, -qasañ
neck	sᴀ	xél
sea water	ēʟ!	tāñ
to spit	tōx	tc!iñ
paddle	axa′	āl
tongue	ʟ!û′t!î	t!ā′ñᴀl
to dance	ʟ!ēx	x̣iaɬ
salmon trap	cāɬ	gī′ao
mat	g̣ātc	lgūs
to paint	xît	dā′gᴀñ
to be sick, sickness	nīkᵘ	st!ē
snow	l̥ēt!	t!aga′o
sea otter	yᴀ′x̣ᵘtc!	qō
younger brother	kī(k!)	da′ogᴀn
hat	s!āx̣ᵘ	da′djîñ
skin	dugu′	q!ᴀl
to feel	t!e	g̣ān
spruce	sīt	q̣a-it
bone	s!āq	skû′djî
weasel	da	ɪga
mashed shell	kᴀts	k!ᴀ′mal
ground hog	s!âx	gwīgᵘ
rain	su	dāl
waves	tît	lû
frog	x̣îx̣tc!	ɬk!iê′nq!ostan ("forest crab")
spear	ʟāq	q!a
spoon	cᴀɬ	sʟā′gwul
breast	xet	qᴀn
to give	ɬu	î′sda
grease	ēx	tao
retaining timbers	t!ᴀq!	da′ai
fog	qogā′s	yā′nañ
to become good weather	dāq	l̥ai
dog	kēʟ	xa
black bear	s!îk	tān
red cedar	ɬax	tc!u
food	wu	ga-ta, tao
to become calm	yēʟ!	l̥a-i
clam	gāʟ!	k!iu
back (part of body)	dᴀq!	skwa-i

English	Tlingit	Haida
stomach	q!oL!	k!ē′dji
foam	xēł	sgoł
medicine	nāk"	x̣il ("leaf")
daylight	qea	siñ
sand	L!ē′wu	tās
dorsal fin of killer whale	gū′cī	ɬgan
killer whale	kīt	sgā′na
to drink	cu	nēł
to blacken	t!utc!	ɬgał
deer	qowakā′n	k!āt
beaver	s!Agē′dī	tc!iñ
land otter	kū′cta	sɪgu
alder	cēq!	qAl
yellow cedar	xā′i	sgała′n
crab apple	q!uts!	k!Ai
hemlock	yēn	q!Añ
finger nails	xāk"	sL!ku′n
eyebrows	s!ī	skā′dji
chin	tī	lkai
porpoise	tcītc	sqol
shark	tūs!	q!ā′xada ao ("dogfish mother")
steelhead	acA′t	tā′iña
flounder	tsA′nti	skA′ndal
red snapper	łēq!	sgAn
sculpin	wēq!	k!āl
chiton	cao	t!a
grouse	kâq!	sqao
sea gull	kē′ɬadī	sq!ên
robin	cuq!	t!in
blue jay	q!ēcq!	L!ai′L!ai

It may be advisable to hold under suspicion those cases in which the form in either language consists of more than one syllable, because such form may originally have been a descriptive term replacing a former word. There are, too, many forms in one language which do not agree with the forms of precisely equivalent meaning in the other, but which do agree with some forms of slightly different significance. In such cases it is permissible to suppose that they have diverged from some common original. With all due allowances, however, the divergence between the vocabularies of the two peoples is certainly very marked and it would be possible to expand the list of differences to two or three times their present extent.

On the other hand, there is a considerable number of words and affixes which do present resemblances. Such are the following:

Tlingit	Haida
łingi′t, people	ɬū, male, man
qa, male, man, person	ga, some persons or things
u, to dwell	u, to continue in one place (na-u, to dwell)

TLINGIT	HAIDA
-yî, possessive suffix	-ga, possessive suffix
dê or -t, to	dA (Masset dialect), to
gĕ, inside of	gei or gĕ, into
dî- or da-, inchoative verbal prefix; also x̣ûn, to start off	-x̣îd (Masset -îd), to begin to do anything
we-, that distant thing	wa-, that distant thing
ga, for (a person)	gAN, for; ga, to or in; ga (Masset), to (a person)
-x, distributive verbal suffix, and distributive suffix with nouns and connectives	-xa, distributive suffix to numerals, connectives, etc.
ti, to be	-dî, suffix which seems to indicate that an action was performed at a certain special time
yîx̣, son	gît, son; yagê'x̣ or ya'ê'x̣, chief's son
sa, to name; su, to render help by magic, etc.	su, to say
tât, night; tâk, year; tâdj, cold	tât, cold, and year
de, already, right now	dei, just that way, carefully
gên, to look	qên, to look
-k!s, diminutive suffix	k!u-, k!At-, diminutive prefix
k!Ats!, small (At k!A'ts!k!u, child)	k!A'tdju, something small
he-, this	hao, this, that (a very general demonstrative)
-t!, back of, behind	t!a, back of
qot, destroyed, vanished	k!ot, to die, dead body
cAt, wife; cā, cawA'x̣, woman	djat, wife; djā(ga), his wife
yis!, knife	yātc, knife
q!wAn, now! (also sign of imperative)	k!wai, now! pray!
gu, where? at what place?	gu, there, at
k!ûn, many	qoan, many
x̣ā'na, evening	sî'ñx̣i, evening (sîñ=day)
tâi, fat; tu, grease	tao, grease; in Masset dialect, "food"
tâq!, to bite, or chew	tā, to eat
ta, stone	tās, sand, or gravel; t!ĕs, stone
ûx̣, to blow (wind)	x̣ūt, to blow (wind)
tAkx, olden times	kAkx, forever
kAt, spear; x̣ît, to push with a stick	kît, to accomplish by means of a stick, to spear; ki'tao, spear shaft
hakx, now!	ha'ku, now!
ta-i, to lie; ta, to sleep	ta-i, to lie, to be prone on the ground
tākx, in the middle of	yākx, middle; taɪdju', half
kā'ni, brother-in-law	qea, brother-in-law
dûł, sand-hill crane	dī'lA, sand-hill crane
sît, to cook	sîł, to steam
t!A'ne, bough	t!An, a knot, or the stump of a limb which has rotted out of a dead tree
qon, before	ku'ngAstA, before (ga and stA are probably incorporated postpositions)
gei, bay	gao, bay, harbor
gAN(tc), leaf tobacco	gul, tobacco
L!a, woman's breast	L!în, woman's breast
x̣ûn, north wind	x̣ao, north wind (Masset dialect)

Tlingit	Haida
k!oɬk, mud	q!oe, mud
huk, to shout	huk, upon them! (war cry)
łukcayā′n, mink	sīyā′n, mink
kʌgā′k, a very small mouse	k!ʌga′n, Keene's mouse
(qa)gū′c, thumb	sɬ.!gō′sē, thumb (sɬ.!=hand)
q!ʌ′tgu, dogfish	q!ā′xada (Masset, q!ā̃ad), dogfish
tsā′gaɬ, war spear	tcā′aɬ, war spear
agʌ, interrogative particle	gua (Masset, gu), interrogative particle
kāk, maternal uncle	qa, maternal uncle
gūk, ear	giū, ear
łʌq!, heron	ɬgo, heron
naq, devilfish	nao, devilfish
sāk, eulachon	sao, eulachon
dʌq, to give food to guests	dayu, to give food to guests

Following is a list of cases of a more doubtful character:

Tlingit	Haida
u, active verbal prefix	u, he (replaces *la* in rapid discourse)
tin, with	dʌ′ñat, in company with (the final syllable is probably the connective *at*, "with")
ka, on, at	ga (Masset), to
ʌt, something	ʌt or ʌł, with, of
-t, verbal suffix indicating purpose of leading verb	(to this may correspond either the postposition *da*, often used after infinitives, or the causative auxiliary *da*)
qaca, human head (qa=man)	qā′djł, head
gān, to burn	gō, to burn
xō, among	sū, among
q!ʌq!, for, on account of	k!iao, on account of
ɣ, to run	ɣao, to do quickly
ki, in the direction of	gui, toward (with motion)
łatsī′n, strong (ła is a prefix)	ɬā′djł, strong
k!ʌk!ᵘ, to cut	q!eit, to cut
xēq!, to go to sleep	q!a, to go to sleep
tʌq, to push, to spear	da-, to do anything by pushing
q!āt!, island	qā′ɬa, reef
gīt, to do, to come to be	gēt, to be like, to be so
tīɬ, body	łu, body
kis!, to be finished	gī, to be finished
get, to be dark	gāl, night
xʌn, to live, exist	xa′ida, person
qōłī′q!o, walrus	qo, sea otter
t!ʌ, spring salmon	tā′gun, spring salmon
wēq!, sculpin	k!ā̃l, sculpin
kahā′gu, seed	qao, seed
tcukʌ′n, grass, brush	q!ʌn, grass

Besides these there are four or five points of resemblance which require more extended treatment. One of these is the persistence of the consonant *n* in words referring to race, people, town, house, etc. Thus, in Tlingit *na* means nation or people; *nu*, fort; *ān*, town; and *tān*

family or stem. In Haida *na* means house, or to dwell, and *lā'na* or *lna*, town. The occurrence of *l* as an initial vowel in Haida is rare and suggests the possibility that it stands for the pronoun of the third person, which is identical in form. Tlingit *tān*, on the other hand, suggests Athapascan *tînne* or *déné*.

A second analogy is furnished by the Tlingit intensive, or, as Professor Boas has called it, selective suffix *-tc*. This is placed after nouns, pronouns, and even adverbs, to which it is desired to call attention, as: łingî't, intensive łingî'ttc, people; xat, intensive xattc, I; lē̄ł, intensive lē̄ła'tc, not. It recalls strongly a Haida demonstrative, *ā'djî*. The *ā* by itself would represent the usual Haida demonstrative indicating something near at hand, and *dj*, which is practically the same as *tc*, the Tlingit intensive.

The consonant *n* is also persistently found in suffixes indicating different sorts of past action. Thus the only Tlingit suffix of strongly temporal character is *-n*, *-īn*, or *-ōn*. This seems to correspond most nearly to the past perfect. At the same time it appears to refer by preference to an action which has taken some time, or has been a customary action. In Haida, on the other hand, we have several suffixes; *gīn*, which indicates a customary past action which the speaker has himself observed or experienced; *gʌn*, which indicates a simple past action experienced by the speaker; *ǫʌn*, indicating any sort of past action; and *gʌñ*, which indicates that an action has been or is being continued for some time. The *g* or *ǫ* in each of these cases is not an insuperable obstacle to a relationship between them and the Tlingit suffix, because it is often dropped, especially in the Masset dialect, or after *d* or *t*; in fact it is a question whether we should not rather regard the *g* sounds as insertions instead of constituent parts of the suffix.

Most curious of all, perhaps, is the analogy presented by certain affixes having *s* for their essential element. In Tlingit there is a prefix *s-* or *sî-*, which is always placed just before the verb stem and employed in simple direct statements, past, present, or future, for which reason it may be called the indicative prefix. Examples: *lē̄ł da sa a'wustîn*, he did not see anything; *le sîdjʌ'qx*, they always killed them; *ducʌ'ttc yę'yaosîqa*, his wife told him; *daqanē'x wusîti'*, he was quarrelsome. In the same language we find a particle *ʌs* of almost identical meaning (xatc x̣îx̣tcî'k!ᵘ *ʌs*iyu' ducʌ'ttc de ayu' aoli*x̣*ā'c, this little frog *it was* he let float to his wife), and, in view of the great independence which the parts of the verb enjoy, it is concluded that the two are actually identical. Now, there is in Haida a very puzzling suffix, *-s* or *-sî*, which has a very wide range of use. After a noun preceded by the indefinite pronoun it makes the expression definite; in other cases it seems to show that the clause it follows is to be taken as a whole—in other words, to turn it into a participle or infinitive, and with some speakers

it even replaces the regular suffixes of the past tense. The Haida forms are, in fact, about what we should expect if the Tlingit particle *as* should become agglutinated to the verbs it so often follows. Possibly we also have here an explanation of the origin of the Haida verb "to be," which usually appears as *ē'djî*, but contracts to *îs* in composition.

The consonant *s* also figures in another connection. Most Tlingit interrogative pronouns and adverbs are accompanied by a syllable *sa—da'sa*, what? *wa'sa* how?—and Haida interrogative pronouns and adverbs contain this same consonant *s* with such uniformity as to lead one to suspect it was originally an affix, viz, *gī'sto*, who? *gasî'ñ*, why? what? *gūs*, what? *gū'gus*, what? *gī'sgēt*, where? *gīsî'(stahao)* whence?

Both languages also make a very extensive use of a general demonstrative form *a* to stand for nouns or pronouns, and in both it is often used to form compound demonstratives or connectives. Finally, as savoring of dialectic change rather than borrowing, attention should be called to the fact that the last six words compared in the list completed at the top of page 483 appear to change regularly from Tlingit to Haida by dropping a final *k* sound or replacing it with *o* or *u*.

Conclusions. In spite of the very great divergences which these two languages present, the points last considered, along with many of the coincidences noted on pages 481–483, can hardly be accounted for on the basis of either borrowing or coincidence. They seem to the writer to be the faint echo of a time when the ancestors of some of the people now represented by the Haida and Tlingit spoke one tongue, and there is certainly nothing in the structure of stems, words, or sentences to contradict this view. At the same time, in order to bring about the differences which now exist, the two peoples must have lived long apart and have been subjected to very different influences. It is quite possible that, instead of being immediately related, Haida and Tlingit have developed separately from some third language, and, unless it were one now entirely extinct, this would naturally be Athapascan, the only language in this region that either of them resembles at all closely. We shall be unable to come to a definite conclusion on this point until the neighboring Athapascan dialects have been thoroughly examined, analyzed, and compared with Haida and Tlingit.

PLATE XLVIII.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate XLVIII

a. Ǥonaqadē'ᵗ hat and accompanying facial paintings. This belongs to Wuckĭna' K!ahugī'c, one of the Kā'gwantān, the chief who held the last potlatch at Sitka. When messengers were sent out to invite people from other towns to this potlatch the crest hats were named aloud, one after the other, beginning with this. The nine following are arranged in the order then observed.

b. Eagle hat (*tcāk! s!āx̱ᵘ*). The painting on the face is called "double-cross painting" (*k!éct wucîna'*). Used by the Kā'gwantān of Sitka and Chilkat.

c. High-caste killer whale [hat] (*kīt anyé'dí*). The facial painting is the jaw of the killer whale seen from in front. This belongs to Łontī'tc, principal speaker of the Kā'gwantān clan at Sitka. At the time of the last potlatch, instead of going in person to invite the guests, he sent his hat.

d. Wolf hat (*gōtc s!āx̱ᵘ*). The facial painting is called K!asa-ī'da, and represents the red of a wolf's mouth when its lips are retracted. It belongs to the Wolf-house people of Sitka, part of the Kā'gwantān.

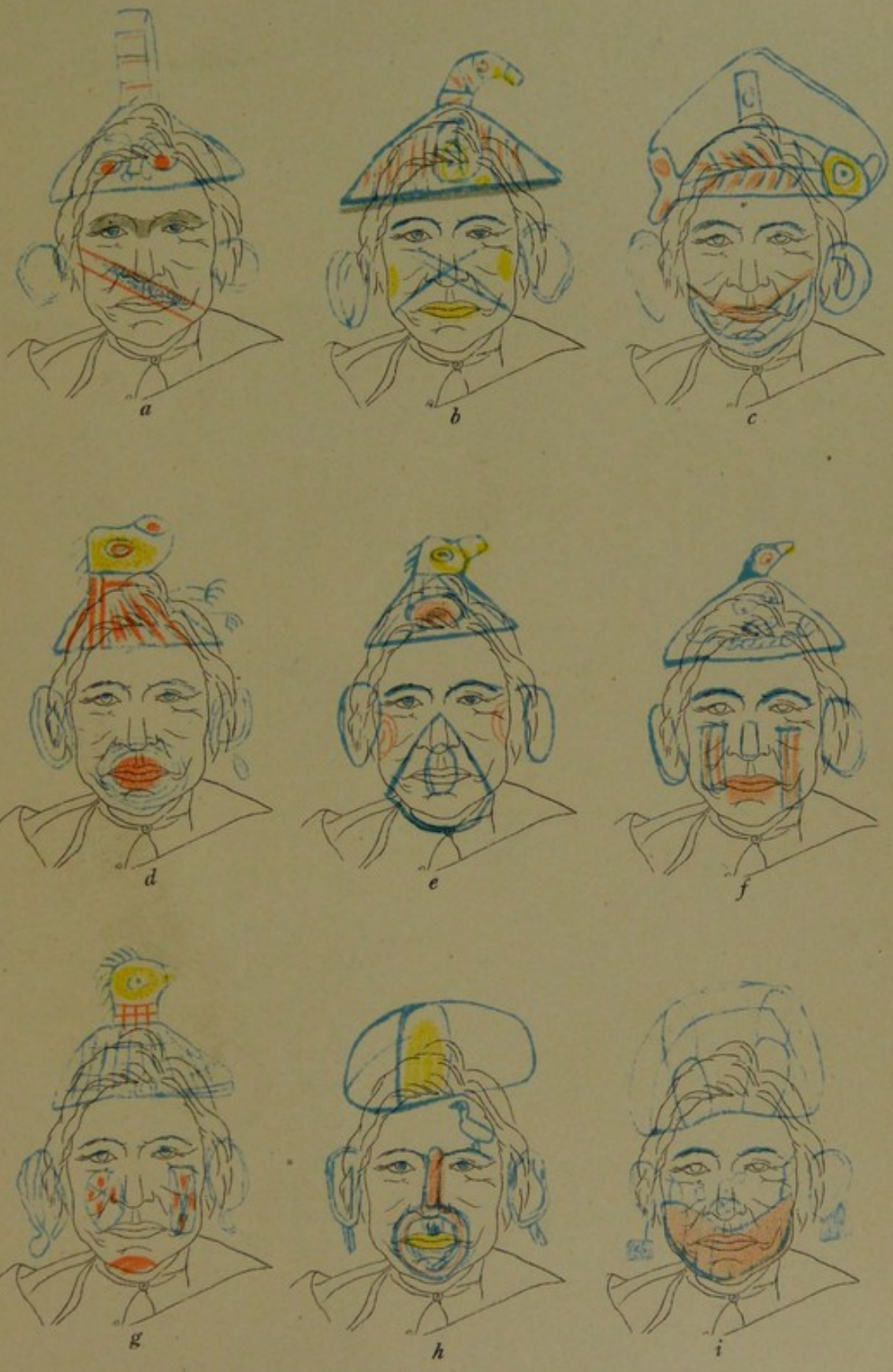
e. Petrel hat (*ǥanū'k s!āx̱ᵘ*). The facial painting shown always accompanies, but the writer's informant was unable to tell what it means. It is used by the Ravens of Chilkat.

f. *Tcl̄it s!āx̱ᵘ*. Tcl̄it is the name of a small bird, which the writer has not identified. The markings on the hat are supposed to represent herring, which this bird is said to push up on the surface of the water from underneath. Painting unexplained. Used at Chilkat.

g. Raven hat (*yēł s!āx̱ᵘ*). The facial painting is said to be without significance. Used at Huna.

h. Hat and painting illustrating the adventure of Raven and a clam. The painting is called *yēs kādē' wucina'* (clam painting). The clam itself is represented over the mouth, its head extending up the nose. Over the left eye is Raven. The hat represents the mountain or cliff in front of which lived the clam, but the yellow band across it is also the clam's head. Used at Huna.

i. On the head are bear ears (*x̱ūts! gangū'c*), and on the face is a painting called "bear traveling" (*x̱ūts! dᴀ'ǥa qō'xo*). The latter refers to an episode in the Raven story in which Raven went fishing with Grizzly bear and Cormorant. The canoe is represented with Grizzly bear in the center, Cormorant in the bow, and Raven in the stern. The earrings have a special name, "That-can-be-seen-across-Nass" (*Nās-kᴀnᴀ'x-dutī'n*). Used at Killisnoo.



FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE XLIX.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate XLIX

a. On the head are bear ears, and on the face is the star facial painting (*kotxaí'-yʌnaxa wucina'*). The earrings are called "Shark's-tail earrings" (*tūs!-kuwu'-gukʌ't*). Used at Killisnoo.

b. Called *yuqî's!-kuqĕ'k*, and said to be the raven that has charge of the falling and the rising of the tide. When the hat is first put on, the wings cover the face, but when the nose is struck they fly open. Used by the Taq! hît tān.

c. A hat illustrating the story of a man (the figure in the center), and two girls (on the sides) who turned into stone while trying to cross Alsek river. Used by the Łuqā'xadî.

d. Whale hat (*yā'-i s!āx̱ᵘ*) with bird facial paintings. Used by the T!a'q!dentān.

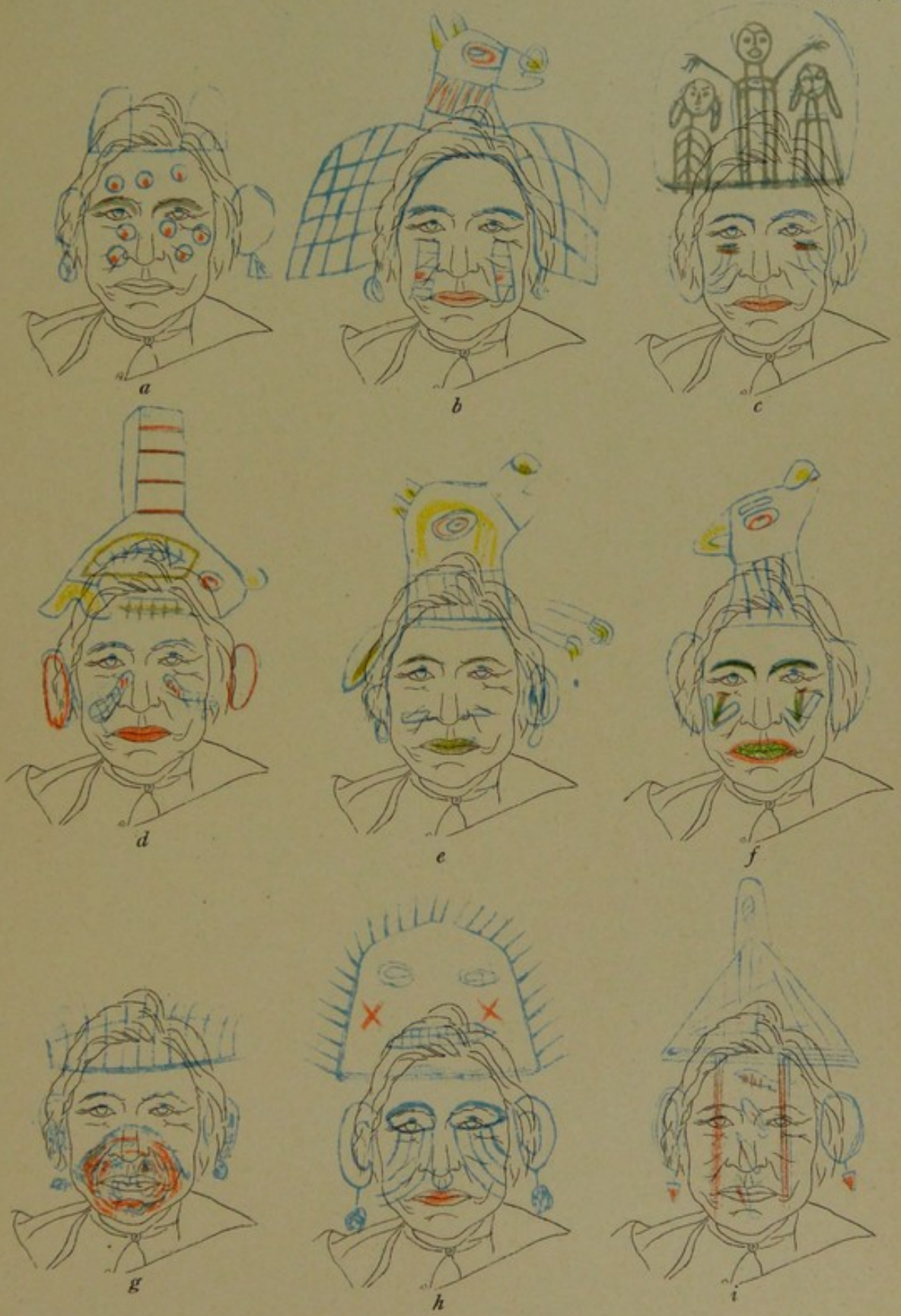
e. "Mountain-being's dog" (*cā-toqoa'ᵘ kĕ'ɬî*). Used by the Taq! hît tān.

f. Mouse hat (*kuts!ī'n s!āx̱ᵘ*). The paintings on the cheeks are supposed to be the mouse's feet. Used by the Kosk!ē'dî.

g. Grizzly-bear-claws hat (*x̱ūts!-xā'gu s!āx̱ᵘ*). The bear referred to is the son of the hero Kāts! mentioned on page 455. Around the mouth is the bear's blood. Used by the Q!aq!ā' hît tān, probably a subdivision of the Kā'gwantān.

h. Shark hat (*tūs!-caî s!āx̱ᵘ*) with devilfish facial painting. Used by the Kā'gwantān.

i. Salmon-trap hat (*cāł s!āx̱ᵘ*). The inner pocket of the trap is at the top with a salmon represented inside. The entrance of the trap is indicated on the face with salmon swimming about in it. Used by the "deer" of any family in making peace (see p. 451).



FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE L.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate L

a. Fort deer (*nū′wu qōwakā′n*). The stockaded fort is represented by the hat. The painting is unexplained. Used by the "deer" of any clan in making peace.

b. Red deer (*ɬeq! qōwakā′n*), so named from the facial painting. On each side of the headdress is an eagle feather, midway between these an eagle quill, and below this a weasel skin. Used by the "deer" of any clan in making peace.

c. At the top are grizzly-bear ears (*χūts! gʌngū′c*), and around the mouth lines supposed to represent the opening of a bear's den. Used by the Kā′gwʌntān.

d. On the head is a grizzly-bear hat (*χūts! s!āχ^{u}*), and below a painting representing a copper supposed to be held in the mouth. Used by the Te′qoedī.

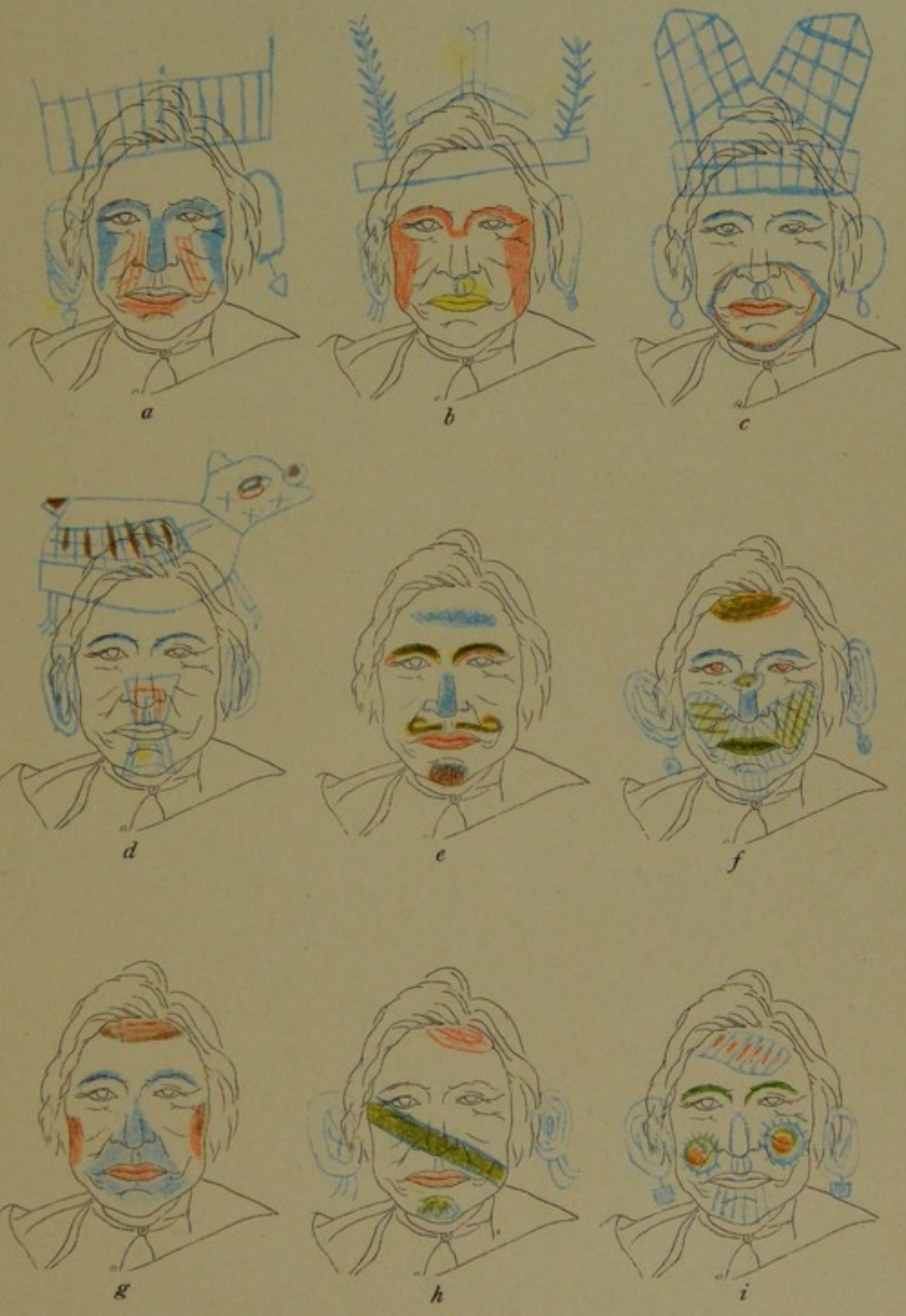
e. Tsaɬxā′n, a mountain near Cape Fairweather, Alaska. The summit of the mountain is represented on the forehead, the base on the chin; between are clouds. Used by the T!ʌ′q!dentān.

f. Tsaɬxā′n, in calm weather. The mountain is painted around the mouth, and fair-weather clouds are on the forehead and ears. Used by the T!ʌ′q!dentān.

g. Facial painting, representing a rock called Tʌ′naku (*tʌ′naku yʌkuχī′da*), a crest of the T!ʌ′q!dentān. The blue around the mouth represents the rock, the other patches of color being purely ornamental. Used by women of the T!ʌ′q!dentān, though here represented on a man's face.

h. Tʌ′naku. The green band represents the slope on the landward side of this rock, and the smaller spots represent clouds. Used by the T!ʌ′q!dentān.

i. Tʌ′naku house (*tʌ′naku hū*). The front of the house is indicated on the nose and chin, and boxes of food lying inside of it are suspended from the ears. The forehead markings are said to stand for trees, and the two large spots for puffins, numbers of which live around this rock. Used by the T!ʌ′q!dentān.



FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE LI.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate LI

a. A mountain in the Huna country called Gēɬa′k!ᵉ. The design is supposed to show the outline of this mountain. It is used by the T!a′q!dentān, and was painted on the house of Yaqxâ′n of that family by Dāxugē′t, a Tcūkane′dī chief.

b. A cliff called Drum (*gao*). The red spot on the right cheek is a cavity in this cliff in which a shaman's body was laid, and the inclined blue and red lines represent the trail by which it was taken up. Used by the T!a′q!dentān.

c. Ǧānaxa′, an island. The markings on the forehead and over the eyes are said to represent the island, while the round spots on the cheeks are called the "holes in Ǧānaxa′" (*Ǧānaxa′ wul*). Used by the T!a′q!dentān, who owned this island.

d. Sea-lion rock (*tan teyī′*). The rock is represented by the blue patch over the mouth, and the sea lions are indicated by small blue lines around the edges of it. On the forehead is a cloud. Used by the T!a′q!dentān.

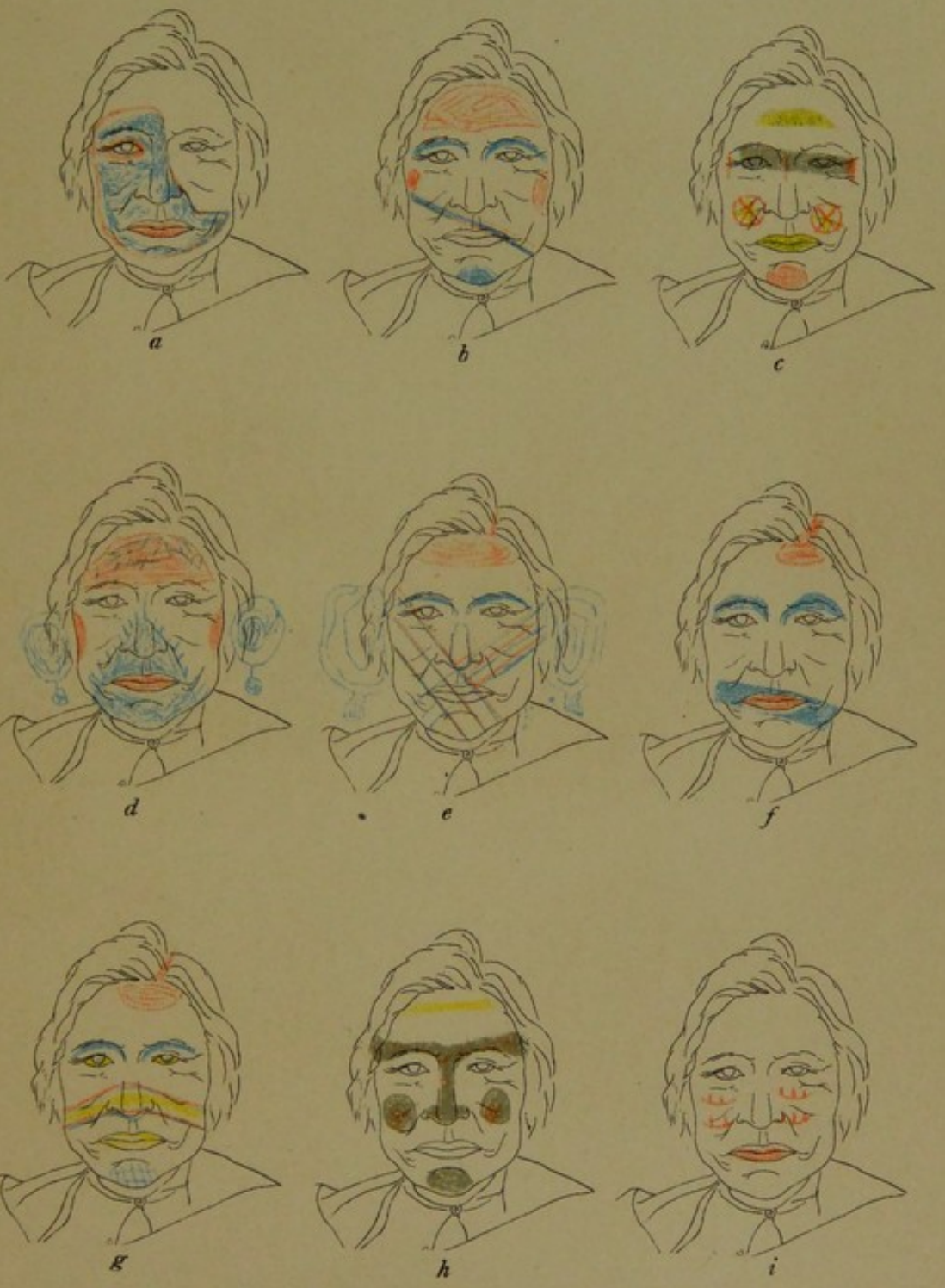
e. Waves that always come in at a certain place where the T!a′q!dentān used to go sealing. Two sets of these are represented crossing each other at right angles. Used by the T!a′q!dentān.

f. The blue band over the mouth represents a point of land (*q!ā*), the red at the parting of the hair a cloud over it, and the blue on the eyebrows slugs. Used by the Taq! hit tān.

g. Over the nose is a lake with rivers flowing out of it both ways. The red on the forehead is a cloud. Used by the Tcūkane′dī.

h. The T-shaped figure represents glacial ice and the other spots spirits (*yēks*) of the glacier. Used by the Tcūkane′dī.

i. Canoes with people in them going to Lituya bay or Dry bay. Used by the T!a′q!dentān.



FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE LII.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate LII

a. The constellation of the Great Dipper (*yʌxtĕ'*). Two stars alone are represented (on the forehead) with rays descending from them. The red patches are clouds. Used by the L!enē'dî.

b. This is called "Half-a-person's-body post" (*qā-cuwu'gās!*). It was put on only at great feasts, and might also be placed on the front of a house. Used by the T!A'q!dentān.

c. Raven (*yĕl*). The tail is on the chin, the wings are on the cheeks, and the head and bill on the nose. The markings on the forehead are said to represent the bird's ribs. Used by all the Raven people.

d. Raven's wings (*yĕl kî'djî*). A wing is represented on each side of the mouth, and on the forehead is a cloud. Used by the T!A'q!dentān.

e. Raven's lower arms (*yĕl djî'nî*); supposed to include sections from wrist to elbow. The red shows where they are cut off. Used by everybody.

f. Raven flying out of a whale, as told in the Raven story. Its claws are shown on each cheek. The spots "probably represent the things it went among." Used by Raven's-nest-house people (*Yĕl-ku'dî-hît tān*), part of the T!A'q!dentān.

g. Same as plate LI, *d*, with a few alterations.

h. Raven's tracks (*yĕl q!o'siyîte*). The V-shaped line indicates his irregular way of traveling about. Used by all the Raven people.

i. Raven's cooking place (*yĕl χwĕ'xĕ*). Raven is figured around the mouth and the spring salmon he is about to cook suspended from the ears. Used by the Taq! hît tān.

FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE LIII.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate LIII

a. Raven traveling by canoe (*yēł daga qōxo′*). This refers to the time when Raven was traveling along in his canoe and made waves by jumping up and down. The waves are represented on the cheeks and are called "black Raven [waves]" (*yēł t!ūte*). Used by the T!ʌ′q!dentān.

b. Raven's passage on the water (*yēł yʌ′kᵘdeyi*). This represents an inlet divided into two parts. The blue is water, the green land, the red a rock permitting an entrance on each side, and the yellow "things around the rock." Used by women of the T!ʌ′q!dentān.

c. Represents two dancing batons with which Raven used to beat time. Used by all the Raven people.

d. Goose (*t!āwʌ′q*). Used by the Kiksʌ′di.

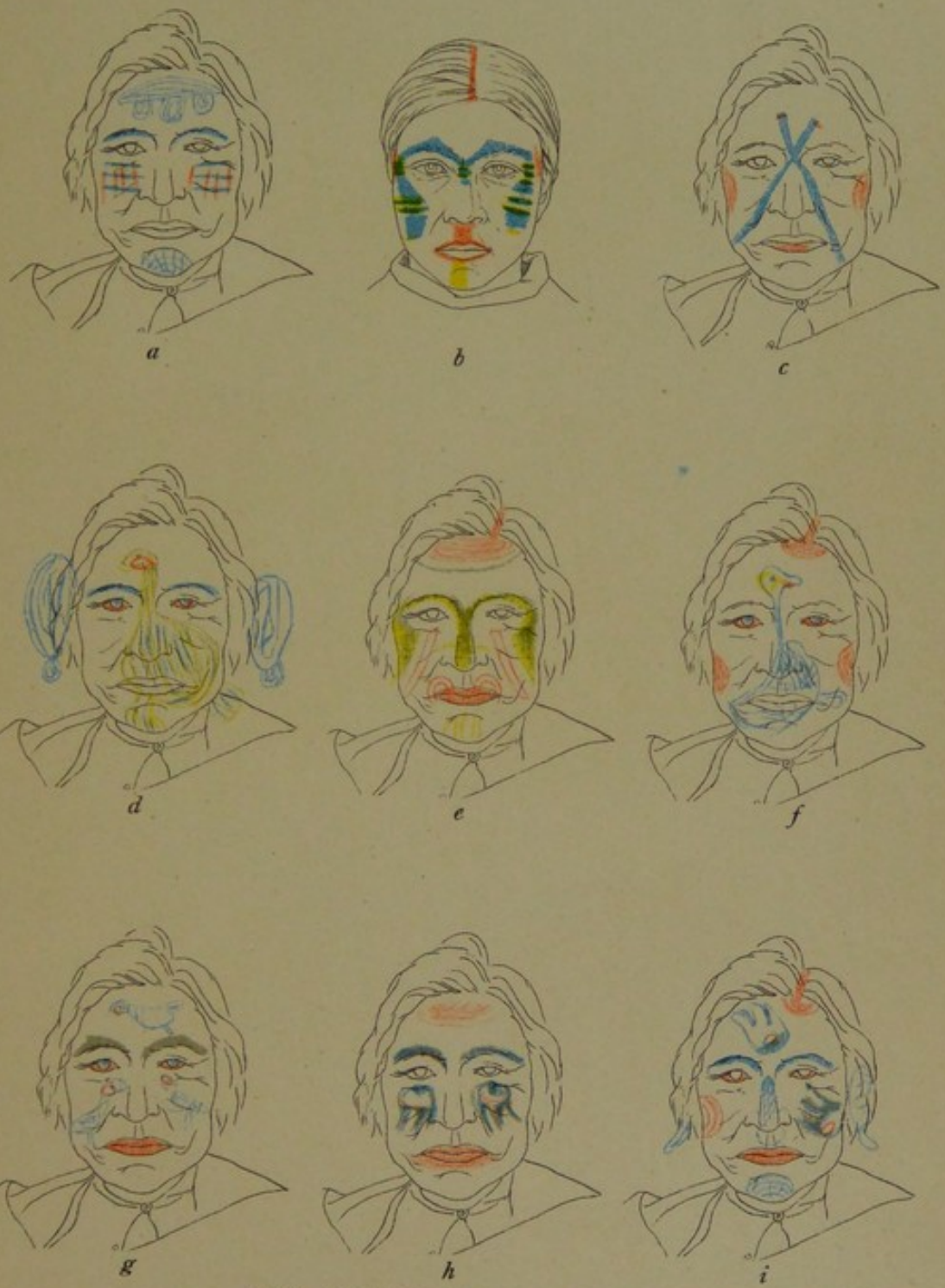
e. Goose head (*t!āwʌ′q cāyi′*). The head and bill are on the nose of the individual, the wings at the sides of his face, and what the goose is digging is represented by the marks below these. The painting on the forehead is said to have no significance. Used by the Kiksʌ′di.

f. Swan painting (*goqʟ wucina′*). Used by the Q!ʌtkaā′yi.

g. Puffins (*xīk*). Used by the T!ʌ′q!dentān.

h. Bear feet. Used by the Kā′gwʌntān.

i. Bear feet (on forehead and left cheek) around a fire (represented by blue on nose). Used by the Kā′gwʌntān.



FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE LIV.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate LIV

a. A painting used by both sexes of the Tcūkane′dī. The bear paws and other marks are said to be simply decorative.

b. Bear tracks.

c. Whale painting (*yā-i q!ēn*). The whale's head is shown around the mouth; the ribs appear on the forehead. Such a painting is on a house front at Huna. Used by the T!a′q!dentān.

d. Whale's tail. The red on the upper lip is the tail, the other figures having no special significance. Used by the Taq! hit tān, who have also the whale hat.

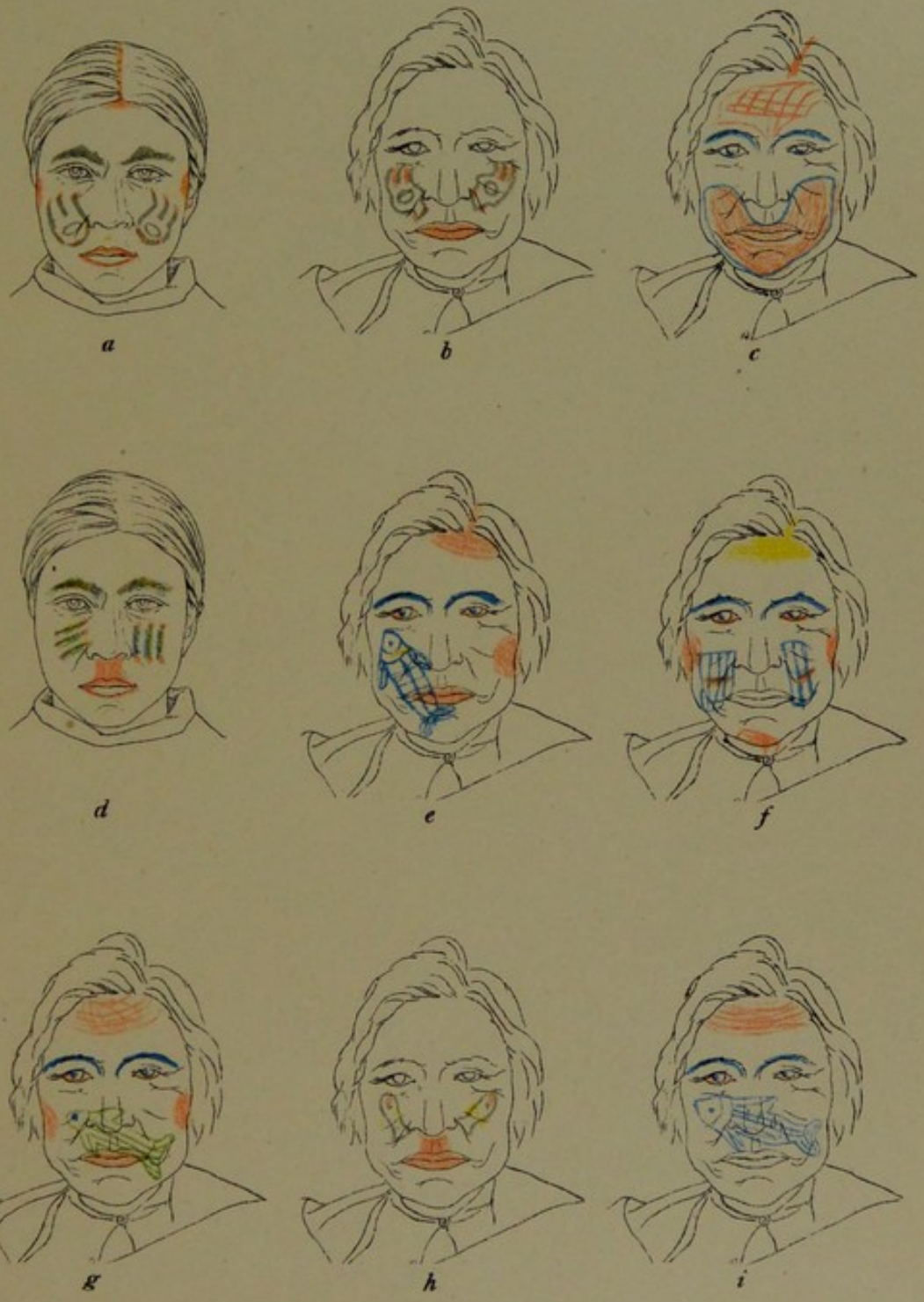
e. A killer whale (in blue) jumping over a rock (red spot on left cheek). Used by the Daql!awe′dī.

f. Killer whales (on eyebrows) chasing seals to rocks (on forehead). Used by Daql!awe′dī.

g. Porpoise (*tcūtc*). Used by the Tcūkane′dī.

h. The king salmon (*ɪ.!ūk!*). A fish is represented on each cheek, and a house front by the red on the upper lip. Used by the Q!atkaā′yī.

i. Spring salmon. Used by the T!a′q!dentān.



a *b* *c*

d *e* *f*

g *h* *i*

FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE LV.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate LV

a. Black sea-bass (*łitisdu'k*). Used by all families.

b. Starfish (*s!ʌɣ*), its body represented on the forehead and its arms on the cheeks. There is also painting on the lower lip around the labret and on the eyebrows. Used by women of the T!ʌ'q!dentān, though here represented on a man's face.

c. Starfish that Raven tore up. This is represented once on each cheek, the fifth arm that was torn off being underneath. Used by all people.

d. Slugs, represented by the blue markings on the eyebrows, are supposed to be moving about on flowers, indicated by the crosshatchings and the chin markings. Used by the Taq! hit tān.

e. A potlatch painting. The large blue spots are dishes (*s!iq!*) and the narrow blue lines above them spoons. The red on the forehead is thought to be a raven's beak. On the chin is a woodworm. Used by the Taq! hit tān.

f. Head house (*qacā'yi hīt*). The green in some way represents the rafters of a house while the ear ornaments stand for heads on the house posts. Used by the Taq! hit tān, who owned a house bearing this name.

g. Little ladder (*dzētk!*). This was first used by a man named Qałʌ'tk!. He was evidently a shaman, because afterwards shamans' spirits used to go up a ladder to reach him, and the inclined red and blue lines represent this ladder. On the ears are abalone shells. Used by the Kā'gwantān.

h. Painting of sticks tied crosswise like a St Andrews cross (*k!ēct wucīna'*). This was originally used by a Wrangell man called Tsunā'k!ᵘ just before the last encounter between the peoples of Wrangell and Sitka, and was adopted by one of the Chilkat Kā'gwantān who killed him. Afterwards his people, both male and female, put it on their faces at dances and when about to go to war. The red represents blood, some of which is coming from the nose.

i. Another form of above.

j. The band of blue over the eyes is a box. The blue of the chin and the red stripe across the box are said to represent a copper plate leaning against the box. From the ears hang teeth of a large shark called *cʌxłʌ'q* found farther south. They are obtained in trade. Used by the Kūk-hit-tān.

k. Painted on the face of a "deer" when peace is being made. The spots on the cheeks represent the bow and stern of a canoe coming to make peace, and the inclined green line represents the pole (*ts!a'ga*) with which it is pushed along. Used by anyone.

FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

PLATE LVI.

Explanation of Facial Paintings—Plate LVI

(Obtained at Wrangell)

a. Sun. On the chin is the reflection of the sun on water. Used by the Kîksa′dî of Wrangell.

b. Raven. Used by all Raven clans.

c. Raven, as painted for mourners.

d. The flicker (*kûn*). The lines on the forehead represent the head, those on the cheeks the wings, and those over the mouth the tail. Used by women of all Raven clans, though here represented on a man's face.

e. The flicker. Used by Raven people of both sexes.

f. The flicker.

g. Killer whale (*kît*). The upright bar is probably the dorsal fin.

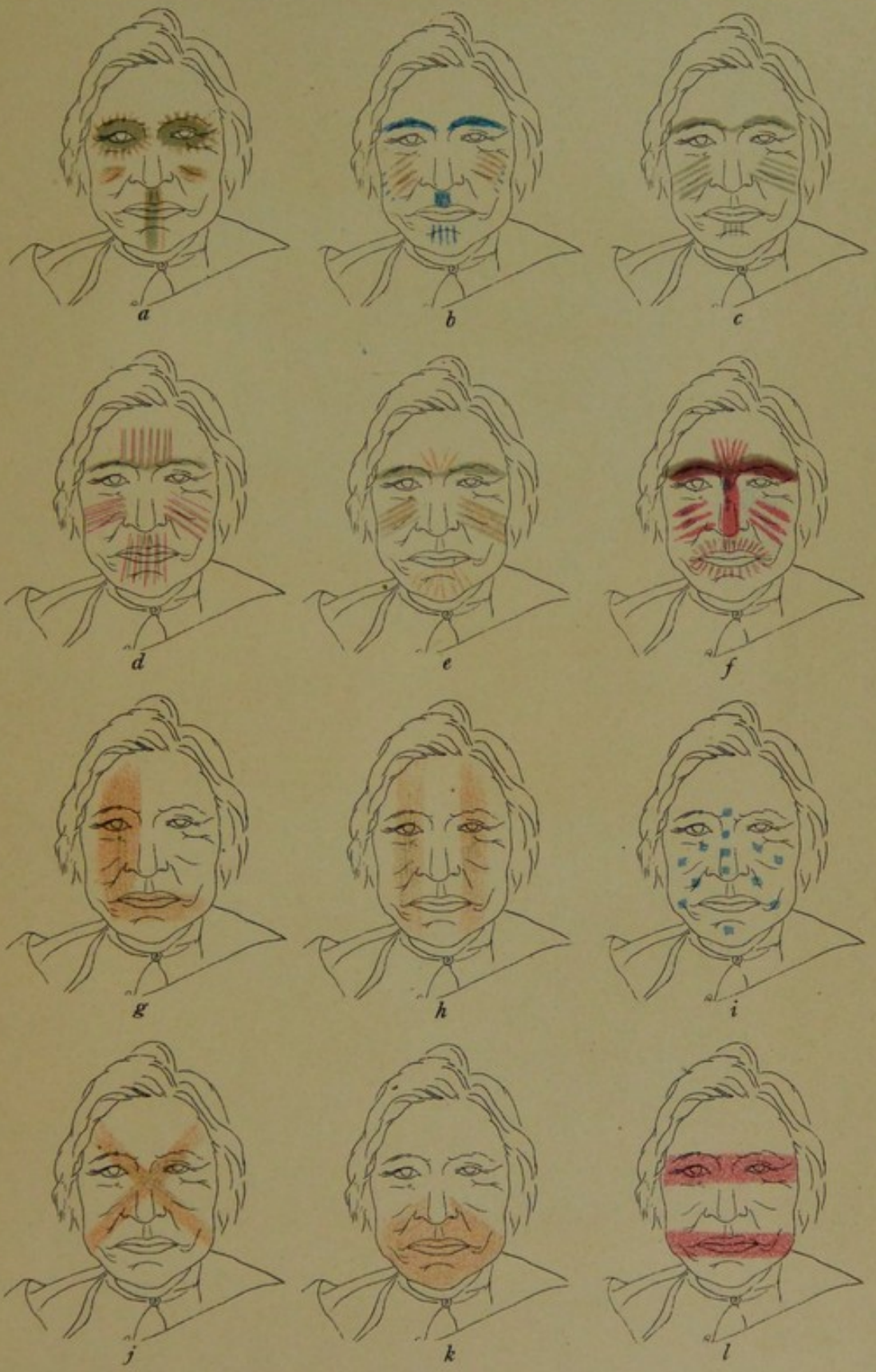
h. The blowing of the killer whale. Two successive jets of vapor are represented. Used by the Nanyaā′yî.

i. Pieces of abalone stuck on with pitch. Used by the Nanyaā′yî and the Te′qoedî.

j. K!êct. See plates XLVIII, *b*, and LV, *h*, *i*.

k. Facial painting used by a Nanyaā′yî shaman when receiving inspiration from Unseeable (*Ẍdjī′dîtûn*). See pages 465–466.

l. Facial painting used by the song leader. When mourning black was substituted for red. All clans employ it.



FACIAL PAINTINGS OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS

a

SMALL BASKET REPRESENTING A MOUNTAIN CALLED TSAŁXĀ'N

b

WOODEN DRUM WITH DESIGN OF KILLER WHALE

A.B. GRAHAM CO. LITH. WASH. D.C.

a. CREST HAT REPRESENTING KILLER WHALE

b. c. d. e. COPIES OF SHAMANS' MASKS