

The Supernatural-Halibut (*narhnarem-trhao*), seeing Iyandems swimming and knowing that he was an Eagle, swallowed him and carried him across the water. Suffocating in the belly of the monster, he used his sharp mussel shell to cut the stomach of the fish. The torment made the Halibut swim only faster, until it climbed up the shore and let Iyandems crawl out of its stomach. But he died when his body was only half way out. So he is shown on the totem pole. The Thunderbird (*rhkyaimsem*) flew down from the mountains and landed upon the Supernatural-Halibut.

As the Eagle canoeloads of Gitrhahla arrived in this neighbourhood, they were thinking of turning back to look for the remains of their lost war chief somewhere along the sea-coast northwards. They came across the Halibut, the Thunderbird on its top, and they recognized their chief half-way out of the Halibut's mouth. They broke into a dirge, took the remains of the dead man, carried them to the Narrows (*mellakrhahla* or, in full, *marhlegyitrhahla*: through-the-people-of-rhahla), and established a new settlement near Krhain (now the site of Prince Rupert), at the mouth of a small stream named Laramktæde. There they prepared natural fortresses in self-defense, for they knew that their Wolf enemies would come down in pursuit. They were not wrong, for they were soon attacked, and rolled whatever they had carried to the top (rocks, logs) down upon the attackers. This time they beat back the Gidaraniits (or Tlingits), whose turn now it was to take to flight northwards.

The Fugitives began to explore the country, to find out whether the land was good. They left the Narrows behind and proceeded south, still sorrowful about the loss of their chief Iyandems, whom they had failed to take alive from the mouth of the large Halibut. They used him and the Halibut on their carved memorials. Usually, on large poles, a man is shown half-way out of the Halibut, but on a small pole like this it could not be done for lack of space. The only figures here are the Eagle, the Halibut, and the face of the man. They were the acknowledged emblems of Lutkudzamti of the Gitrhahla tribe of the Tsimsyans. The picture of Iyandems on the pole is not meant for a real crest, but only to show his past connection with the Eagle and the Halibut. It is peculiar of the Gitrhahla use of the Halibut that it does not carry the human figure coming out of the mouth, as is done elsewhere (for instance, on the lower Nass). The proper way to bring out the Thunderbird is to have it stand on the tail of the Halibut as it did on an older pole seen by the informant at Gitrhahla. On this a human figure was shown at the bottom; above it, the Halibut; farther up, the Thunderbird; and the Eagle on top.

Two more crests, general emblems of the Gispewudwade phratry, were produced on the same pole: the Grizzly Bear (*medeek*). They had been introduced here to show that Lutkudzamti, the owner, belonged to this phratry on the side of his father. So the two phratries (his mother's and his father's) were here brought together on the same pole, which is exceptional among the Tsimsyans, but customary among the Haidas.

So strongly is the Haida influence felt at Gitrhahla (situated on Porcher Island between the mainland and the Queen Charlotte Islands), that informant Peter Denny was prompted to state:

If he happened to die with means, his heirs might erect a totem pole on which his crests (inherited on his mother's side—Gispewudwade) would

be the Grizzly Bear holding up a coffin. His father's lineage, besides, might add its own emblems, the Halibut, the Eagle . . . , and the pole might be placed holding them all together in front of the ceremonial house. Here at Gitrhahla the crests of both sides (father's and mother's) are mixed, as they are among the Haidas. For instance, another totem pole, standing before Simon Morrison's house (*hallaidemkan*—a Wolf), displayed Wolf crests, as well as some Gispewudwade emblems.

The Halibut Crest of the Gidestsu Tsimsyans, tracing back their origin to Gidestsu, a southern post on the coast. According to old Arthur Wellington Clah, of Port Simpson; text recorded by William Beynon, in 1915.

This crest was carved out of wood, and used on a totem pole; it was painted on house fronts, and also represented on ceremonial robes, painted in black and red.

The part of the long tradition in which the Halibut is explained may be summarized like this: three out of four men involved in an adventure at sea belonged to the Gispewudwade phratry; the fourth was of the Eagle phratry. They built houses and then invited the people to a feast to celebrate their escape from death. Here they showed the crests they had acquired in the course of a supernatural experience. A monster chief had given them new emblems, but the Eagle man owned his crest, the Halibut, beforehand. The Halibut crest was called *halibahlesem-trhao*.

The Devil-Fish of Guhlærh in the household of Guhlærh in the Eagle phratry of the Gitandaw tribe, as related by Chief Herbert Wallace (Neesyaranæt), a Raven of the Gitsees tribe of the Tsimsyans, at Port Simpson. Recorded by William Beynon in 1915.

A young man of the Wolf phratry went, one day, down the beach for devil-fish, and saw the head of one between the rocks. He reached down to drag it out, but when he touched it, the fish caught his hand just above the wrist, and, as it was very strong, drew it in. The shell of the fish closed on the hand and held it there as firmly as a rock. It was not a common devil-fish as he thought, but a shellfish known as *kahl'on*. As the hand was held fast by this brute, and he did not know what else to do, he squeezed the fleshy part of the *kahl'on* until it died and loosened its jaws. He then went back to the house where his brother-in-law asked him, "Are there any devil-fish under those rocks?" He replied, "Yes, but they are all stuck fast to the rocks. I cannot pull them out."

The next morning the brother-in-law, also a member of the Eagle phratry, went down and hunted for devil-fish. He saw what seemed to be the head of one among the rocks, and thrust his hand down to drag it out. The *kahl'on* closed its jaws and caught his hand just below the wrist. The young man, unable to move, shouted, "The *kahl'on* has bitten my hand." As he shouted for some time, the people came down and took poles, trying to pry him loose. They could not. Then they tried to move the rock, but it was too heavy. The tide was now rising and the people had failed in their efforts to get him loose. Slowly the water rose until it covered the body of the young man. The men and women now sat in canoes over the rock to which he was fastened and sang dirge songs (*lemih'oi*). When the monster felt that its victim was drowned, it opened its jaws and released him. He floated up, and his body was pulled into a canoe.

This happened at Larhsai'l, Alaska, before the people had taken to flight southwards (*gwenhoot*). That is why the families of Guhlrærh and Sqagwait of the Gitandaw tribe among the Tsimsyans use the Kahl'on (Devil-Fish) as a crest on their poles and head-dresses and robes. The house of Neeshlkudzawlk of the Gitsees tribe also used it as their house-front painting, as they were relatives of the young man who was caught by the *kahl'on*.

The Devil-Fish of Lu'alerh, according to Herbert Wallace, Kanhade chief of the Gitsees at Port Simpson, J. R3an acting as interpreter, in 1915.

The Devil-Fish was used as a crest by Lu'alerh (Eagle, Gisparhlawts) and some other members of the Eagle clans; it was painted on house fronts and on robes; it was also borne on the head as a head-dress.

The Gyaibelk of Sqagwait, Head-Chief of the Ginarhangyik of the Tsimsyans, according to Herbert Wallace, chief of the Gitsees, at Port Simpson; J. Ryan acting as interpreter, 1915.

The Gyaibelk or Supernatural-Fly (*narhnaem-gyæk*) was painted with wings spread out (in various colours) on the house front of Sqagwait, one of the leading Eagle chiefs of the Tsimsyans, and was also used by some of his relatives on the Nass and on the middle Skeena. On his head were shown several human faces. His beak, fixed to the pole, extended about 60 feet feet forward and had to be supported by a pole standing part of the way towards the tip. (It is spoken in the tradition of Salmon-Eater, Gitrhawn.)

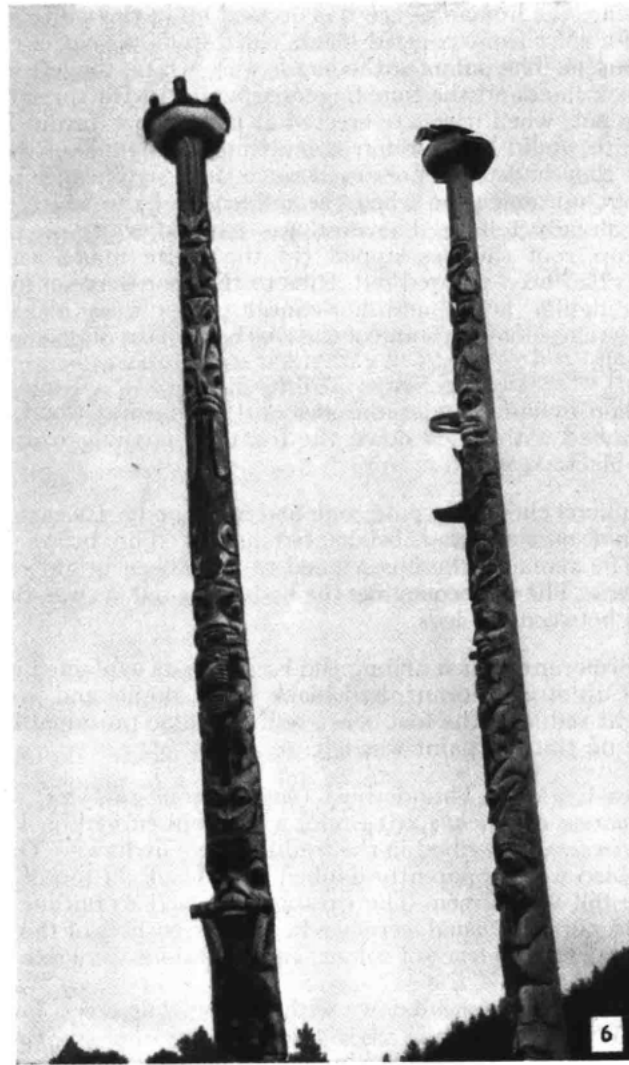
The Eagle's-Nest of Gitiks (Nass River), at Gitiks, a deserted village on lower Nass River. Formerly it stood in Gwunwawq village near Angyadae farther up the river. But after being undermined by a flood, it was replanted at Gitiks, about 1885 (according to informant Lazarus Moody of Gitrhadeen). It stands now at the Jardin Zoologique of the Province of Quebec, at La Tournée-du-Moulin, Charlesbourg, eight miles from Quebec City.

Description. This was one of the two tallest and most impressive totem poles on Nass River. Carved from top to bottom out of a huge red cedar, it stood next to the Eagle pole of Sakau'wan, with which it was related by ownership and story. Like the Eagle pole, it contains mixed emblems or crests illustrating the traditional narrative of the Eagle clan in its southward migrations, one or more crests belonging to the Wolf clan of Nass River that joined forces with the Eagles in their fight against the Blackfish clan, and two or three other crests of a mythological and historical nature.

The minute description following was taken down by Harlan I. Smith, archæologist of the National Museum of Canada, when the pole was being restored for replanting at the Jardin Zoologique near Quebec in 1932.

From top to bottom the figures are:

1. The Eagle on the Nest. It was pinned to the nest with large vertical wooden pegs. A human head at the front tip of each wing looks, from a distance, like the head of a small eagle. The head, neck, and wings were painted white. The pupils consisted of abalone shells. Although the lips



Eagle's-Nest pole of Gitrhawn

and alae showed no sign of paint, they presumably had been ochre red. The teeth (for there were teeth) were also of abalone. The body was black and the tail white, and feathers may have been painted on the top of the tail. The right wing was black and the human form on it was pink (this must have been commercial paint, already available when the pole was erected — the natives formerly did not possess pink). Brows and pupils were black, and the alae and lips were bright red. Plugged holes at $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{1}{4}$ " intervals round the edges probably had held feathers or sea-lion whiskers as decoration.

On the left wing, the human figure was dressed up in the white man's style, with edges of a shirt front painted black, shirt studs, a coat cut away, and the top of trousers. The palms of the hands were white, the left was marked off with a black line, and the four fingers separated with three black lines. Restoring the pole when it was re-erected at the Quebec Jardin Zoologique, Harlan I. Smith would have preferred omitting the details of the shirt and trousers. But they had to be preserved since their significance is that such a pole was put up at a time when the influence of the white man in the country was already telling. The nest was painted white on the outside, and on the top, roof shingles lapped (in the white man's way), and at least in places had been painted red. Ribs to the nest were set into the pole in eight rectangular holes, and horizontal pieces were placed between the ribs. The square holes on some of the ribs had inlays of one or two pieces of abalone shell.

2. The plain cylinder under the nest, in the natural wood, seemed to have been daubed with black down the front, or possibly white had been daubed with black.

3. The Squirrel chewing a pine cone had a red body. Its ears apparently were ochre red outside, and bright red inside. The brows and pupils were black. The alae and the lips seemed to have been bright red, and the teeth were white. The pine cone, like the body, was red, as was the squirrel's tail upturned between the legs.

4. The Cormorant, which among the Eagle crests explained in the myth is called the Cap of Cormorant, had black body, pupils and eyebrows. Its lips were bright red, and the feet ochre red. The alae presumably had been red, although no trace of paint was left.

5. The Sea-Eagle or Thunderbird (*hagwelawrem-rhskyæk*: sea-monster eagle or *narhnarem-rhskyæk*: spirit-eagle) with a bill curved back (elsewhere called *Rhskyaimsem*) described in the traditions of Gitrhawn. The body and wings of the bird were apparently daubed with black on top of white. The head and the bill were green. The ears were carved to outline the inside. The brows and pupils as usual were black, and the corners of the eyes white. The lips and alae had no trace of colour, and the talons were red.

6. The Whale is shown head down with the dorsal fin erect. The Thunderbird and the Whale are usually associated as, in mythology, the Thunderbird's power is to capture the Whale in the sea, after casting its lightning belt at it during a storm. The body, eyes, nose, eyebrows, and the space between the teeth of the Whale were painted black. The lips, the teeth, and alae held no trace of colour. The two side fins possibly were white, and the tip of the tail and the back fin were black.

7. The mythical Frog Woman of old, usually associated with Dzelarh'ons in the myth of Gitrhawn. She is believed to have appeared to the clan ancestors after their village had been destroyed by the volcanic eruption. As in the myth, she wears a hat adorned with Frogs, has a labret in her lower lip, and holds her cane with both hands. On the totem pole her body was painted red, her hair, eyebrows, and pupils black, and the corners of her eyes white. The alae and upper lip showed no sign of colour, but the lower lip

was bright red. The labret in the lower lip was white. The teeth were pits in which abalone shells had been inlaid. No paint inside the mouth could be detected. The cane was black, and the face at its top was red, with brows and pupils black; the lips and alae apparently were red.

8. The Frog, on the head of which the cane was planted, supported the Frog Woman on its back. Its head and body showed signs of green, with black brows and pupils. No trace of red or other paint could be detected on the alae or the lips, which presumably were red.

9. The Sitting-Beaver, gnawing a poplar stick held in its paws, and holding its tail erect in front of its stomach. Its body was red, and the ears inside were bright red. The brows and pupils as usual were black, and the corners of the eyes white. The teeth may have been white; the lips and alae, red. The stick was green, with white grooves and ends. The front paws were detached pieces held on with wooden pegs, painted red. The human face carved on the chequered tail was painted red, with black brows and pupils; corners of the eyes were white, and the lips and alae possibly red.

10. The large figure with long pointed bill (fallen off and lost) at the base of the pole presumably was the mosquito crest introduced here by Hladerh (formerly head of the Wolf clan at Angyedæ). No trace of paint could be detected on this figure excepting the eyebrows and the pupils, which were black.

Function, carver, and age. This tall monument, still known as the Gitrhawn pole (Salmon-Eater), presumably was erected in memory of the Gitrhawn who died about 80 years ago, when the informant Frank Bolton (old Gitiks or Trhalarhæt) was about five years old. It was carved by Aqstaqhl, member of a Wolf clan at Angyadæ, and planted at the village of Gwunwawq. After it was washed away by summer floods, the clan of the owner replanted it at Gitiks, lower down the river, between the poles of Sakau'wan and of Laa'i. These three Eagle poles together, along with a fourth which has disappeared perhaps without being recorded, formed the finest cluster of tall and beautiful carvings on the whole of the north Pacific Coast.

Details about the erection of the Eagle's Nest pole were brought to light by its purchase and removal in 1932. They are quoted here in full from two documents, because of the insight they give into the native mind. Several decades after, the event might have lost significance, for the old customs are well on their way to oblivion.

The first of these is from a letter dated 11 October, 1932, of Mr. Walter E. Walker, who arranged the purchase for the author on behalf of the Jardin Zoologique of Quebec:

"Regarding this pole, I told you there was quite a feeling on the Nass. I found it very difficult to make head or tail of the story. From one source I was told that Mark Oxyden, son [meant for nephew] of a Wolf Chief, at one time had been adopted by the Eagles, but later had moved down the river, and returned to the Wolves where he first belonged. His paternal aunt [of the Eagles] then took over the chieftainship of the [Gitrhawn] clan. Yet Mrs. Doolan and Mrs. W. Moore, his descendants [meant for nieces], claim the pole through him. Another story is of shooting and of the remoulding

of the bullet, and of revenge. The pole was then paid over as blood money . . . The top of the pole is marked in places with rifle bullets."*

The second document consists of a letter written on the same occasion (Kincolith, B.C., Dec. 17, 1932) by Sam W. Lincoln to Dr. McGill, of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, and of an appendix, as follows:

"Gentlemen: I am enclosing summary expenses mentioned on the other sheet, as paid out by my late uncle J. G. Robinson, on old Katekum's [Gitrhawn] totem pole and his death. You will please note the total sum; I am entitled to have some of it in reimbursement. This is how it runs. When my uncle paid out that much, I am entitled to hold that pole belonged to old Katekum [Gitrhawn]. Another party has no authority to sell it without our consent. However, it was sold over our heads by the other party, who was not entitled to it, and who has not paid anywhere as much as had been paid by my said uncle. The figures [quoted below] were taken, as shown, out of his expense books and are pretty well known by his son who is living now. The totem pole was cut down by the other party and sold . . . Hoping to get an answer . . ."

"Robinson & Son, General Merchants, Kincolith, B.C.,

Sept. 22, 1932.

Late James G. Robinson's expenses at the time when the late Kadekum's (Gitrhawn) totem pole was erected at the old village, and also his expenses that time old Kadekum met his death, Nov. 24th, 1916, are as follows: expenses totem pole erected, by cash, \$400; 1 shot gun, \$30; 2 rifles (30-30), \$40; 6 bear traps, \$60; 1 native canoe, \$90; 1 shot gun, \$12; 1 spring bed, \$10; 2 overcoats, \$20; 1 hatch canoe \$15; \$5; \$682. (Kadekum's death). By cash, \$200; 4 rifles, \$80; dry goods worth \$50; \$354.
1 overcoat \$16; 2 table lamps, \$8.

Total expenses \$1,036.

The Pole of Lu'yas, a chief of the Eagle clan of Laa'i, at Angyadae, on Nass River. This clan, like the other Eagle clans, had originated in the Tlingit country to the north. This pole was purchased through the author by the British Museum in London, where it is now preserved.

Description. Six or seven carved emblems used to figure here:

1. A detached representation of the Eagle at the top has long since fallen off and disappeared; the upper part, because of age, is only a shell;
2. The Gyaibelk, a mythological bird, is now the uppermost emblem. With a human face, its nose is a long bill more or less like that of the Thunderbird, and it has folded wings;
3. The Eagle sits below, with a large head and small body and wings;
- 4 and 5. Two Beavers, head down, a young one on the back of its mother. The mother's tail is stretched upward, and that of the young one is turned down on its back; several cylinders (*lanemrat*) used to surmount the head of the mother as a mark of distinction;
6. The Man-Underneath (the water), a familiar crest explained in the traditions of the Alaskan migratory Eagles. When it appeared out of the ocean to the sea-folk, it resembled a bird, had wings, but its human face had a long beak for a nose. Small people sat on its wings and neck, all of them spirit-like;

*This detail was corroborated at the time when the pole was being restored for re-erection near Quebec. Several blunderbuss bullets were extracted from the wood, and forwarded to the author, who still preserves them at the National Museum of Canada.

7. Man-Underneath holds between his arms and legs a large fish, a whale or a bullhead, the head of which is down close to the ground. Long fins are stretched up on both sides of the body, and a human face decorates the head at the spot where a whale's blow-hole is located. In spite of its appearance, this carving may have been meant to represent the Bullhead, a mythical fish which is claimed as a crest by the northern clans of the Eagles.

The Beavers on this pole, like those on the poles of Gitrhawn and Sakau'wan at Gitiks, stand for a later chapter in the story of the Eagle clans on the Nass and Skeena, the northern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and in southern Alaska.

Their origin is explained after the usual pattern. Two forms of this at least are current, one on the Nass, the other on the Skeena to the south. The first is accounted for in the traditions of Radaræh on the Nass, as follows:

"Beavers had their home in a lake they had made by erecting a dam (*andilran*) across a small river. Their house of wood and clay (*qawt*) stood at the centre. The hunters, unable to get at the beavers, decided to break the dam and drain the lake. While the water was flowing away, the beavers came out of their house and began to swim with the current. Even the head of their family was forced to come out. He was a large beaver, the spirit Beaver, with a gnawed stick (*qamrhkan*) on his head — just as it formerly was represented on the pole. He was dressed up for his death. He sang his dirge song (*hlem'oi*), as he swam away from his house behind the others. This dirge is still sung by this clan when their members die. The head beaver was stabbed to death with a spear by Yareks-qawa, of the family of Trhalarhæt, and captured while still alive. His name was Rstsawlemgyæk (Beaver-Eagle) and he became our emblem."

The origin of the Beaver emblem is explained somewhat differently on the Skeena River. Briefly, it is as follows:

"The use of the Beaver as a crest goes back to the time when the ancestors of the three Eagle families at Kitwanga lived at Gitsemkælen, below the canyon of the Skeena.

Strange visitors, according to the myth of origin, mysteriously caused the death of some people at the canyon. They were pursued up the hillside to a lake above Kitsalas, at Kwit'awren. There, changing into beavers, they disappeared under the water. The people drained the lake, with the help of some of their Gitsemkælem relatives, and at the bottom discovered the huge Beaver, the body of which was covered with human faces. Gip-kanaa'o and Larh'ayæorh, ancestors of the Kitwanga Eagles, assisted the Kitsalas people in over-



Eagle's-Nest pole

coming and killing the monster. After they had drawn its body to the shore, they cut it in two parts and divided it among themselves, half for Gitsem-kælem, and the other half for Kitsalas. The Beaver thereafter became the crest of the captors. Sometimes it is shown complete, in a sitting posture; at other times, as on the taller of two poles at Kitsalas, it is represented split in two halves. It is usually at Kitsalas, its head down, and with human faces all over its body."



Eagle-Halibut pole of Lu'yas, at Gitiks

This last account, under its mystic veil, allows us to perceive a historic fact which is known otherwise to us, that is: the Beaver was the badge first of the North West Company, whose headquarters at the turn of the eighteenth century was Montreal. After the amalgamation of this fur-trading concern with the Hudson's Bay Company of London, England, the Beaver

badge passed on to the new company, under the second name. The Hudson's Bay Company established trading posts on the north Pacific Coast, particularly on the lower Nass, in 1831, and at Port Simpson farther south, in 1833. The Eagle clans of the North having been, for a long period, the middlemen of the Russians in the fur trade, whose Eagle coat of arms they had appropriated, became the middlemen of the British newcomers, and likewise they considered their patron's crest, the Beaver, their own to parade, and to enhance their prestige in the eyes of their own people.

Function, carver, and age. The pole of Lu'yas was one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest, on the Nass. When the author first saw and photographed it in 1927, it stood in the bush on the old village site of Angyadæ. But an old photograph shows it standing, slightly leaning to the left of the observer, between two Indian houses of the transitional type. This pole stood for over 70 years (in 1927) before being removed. This is nearly the longest span in the life of a totem in the open. Nobody could remember whom it commemorated. For the family of Lu'yas was then almost extinct, and the old Indian bearing this name (William Smith was the English equivalent) from whom it was purchased for the British Museum, could not give much information, except that his family belonged to the Larh-wisæh group of the Eagles, of which Laa'i was also a member.

The Eagle-Halibut of Laa'i at Gitiks on the lower Nass River, called Halibut (*trhoih*) or Spirit-Halibut (*narhnarem-trhoih*). It was erected first at Gwunwawq village near Angyadæ farther up the river; then, after a flood about 1900, it drifted down and was re-erected at Gitiks.* In 1947, the author brought about its purchase for the University of British Columbia, to where it was removed for re-erection on the University grounds.

*Informant Peter Calder (Kwarhsuh, chief of a Wolf clan, of Angyadæ) saw it re-erected when he was 25 years old. He was 70, in 1947. It had been carved before his time, that is, before 1880.



Eagle-Halibut pole of Laa'i, at Gitiks



Eagle-Halibut pole of Lu'yas, at Gitiks

Description. It was also called Fin-of-the-Shark (*nækem-kæt*), according to informant Lazarus Moody (Wolf, of Gitrhadeen). Its figures are:

1. Person-of-the-Water (*gyædemdzem'aks*), whose usual name is Man-Underneath (the water);
2. The Spirit-Halibut swallowing Gunas, as explained in the myth;



Eagle-Halibut pole of Laa'i, at Gitiks

3. A grave box representing the casket of Laa'i, an Eagle chief of the lower Nass who, in the Eagle migrations from the North, had preceded the Gitrhawn faction;

4. The Beaver (*tsemalih*), sitting gnawing a stick, a later crest of the clan;

5. A human face surmounted by four cylinders (*lanemreit*) over the head of the Beaver;

6. The Shark (*qæt*), on the back of which are carved three human faces spaced out one over another. On the sides of the Shark are two long side fins, and the plain upper part of the pole is the Fin of the Shark;

7. At the top sits the Eagle.

Myth explaining some of the crests (Chief Mountain's version). The ancestral myth of the Gitrhawn (Salmon-Eater) clan gives the following account: After the canoes of the people had travelled down the coast a long way from the North, they landed at a place called Ahlknebart, south of Stikine River. They were close to Marhla'angyesawmks (now called Tongas Narrows). As the sockeye salmon were plentiful here they fished, caught some, and cooked them ashore. The day was warm. Gunas, a nephew of the chief, went into the salt water to swim. His fellows saw a large halibut come up and swallow him. They hunted around and watched, hoping to find traces of the fish. Soon they beheld the Eagle at the edge of the water, and close to it, the great Halibut. They caught the Halibut, cut it open, and found the remains of their kinsman inside. His flesh was already partly decayed, and he had a copper ring around his neck. The father of the dead Gunas stood at the head of the Halibut and started to cry: "This is the place of the Spirit Halibut." It became a dirge, to be remembered ever after. They burned the body and hastened on their journey south.



Eagle and Halibut poles of chief Kasaiks, at Saxman, Alaska

Then they came to open sea waters at Akstaqhl, where the figure of a huge man with long hair rose from the waves. It had the tail of a fish and was holding two king salmon, one in each hand. Standing in the sea, he was devouring the fish. As this was a spirit, they took it for their crest (*ayuks*), and called it Man-of-the-Sea or Man-Underneath (*gyædemtso'yerh*). Later their descendants were to carve it on their poles at Gitiks. The paddlers in the canoes said, "Let's turn back away from him, else he will eat us all up!" The others replied, "Yes, he would eat us!" These words became another dirge (*lem'oi*) for their posterity to keep. The migrants, having passed Akstaqhl, came to old Tongas at a place called Larhtawq, where they met Laa'i (of an Eagle clan), and the grandfather of Sagya'mas (of a Wolf clan) who was the leader of a large group of canoes. After staying with them for a while, they resumed their journey to Leesems (the Nass).

The Shark was called Sea-Monster (*hagwelawrh*) by informant Doolan, of the same clan in the household of Paræt'anrhl. It was assumed as a crest in the following circumstances.

Paræt'anrhl was one of the foremost and bravest members of the Gitrhawn clan, and a famous warrior. One day, while paddling from Kalan

home to the Nass with his wife, he saw a huge monster completely blocking the mouth of the channel. It was a Monster-of-the-Deep (*hagwel'-awrh*), resembling a huge whale, having many human faces with blinking eyes along the top of its back. After this supernatural experience, he adopted it as a crest of the Gitrhawn clan, to be used on a totem pole.

Function, carver, and age. This monument was put up by the family of Laa'i, when an old woman assumed his name and position. Her son, or the family in his name, brought about the erection of the pole, when informant Lazarus Moody (Weehawn, Wolf, of Gitrhadeen) was about ten years old, that is, about 1870. It seems to be about 50 feet high.

Oyai, the outstanding craftsman of the Wolf clan at the canyon of the Nass, took charge of the carving. As Peter Calder stated in 1947 that it was the work of Charlie Morrison (*Tsem'akengahlyæn*) of Gitlarhdams and of the Gistransnat group, it may be assumed that he was responsible for at least a part of it.

After the guests of the opposite phratry from all over the river had begun to raise the pole, a bad storm broke out and the pole fell. Held responsible for the accident, the guests had to contribute to the cost of the new erection, having "thrown to the ground the honour of the Eagles after it had been elevated". The theory is that the pole, while it is being raised, must always face up. Here it had fallen face down, involving the honour of the Eagles as a group.



The Halibut house-front painting, at the southern Tlingit village of Cape Fox

The Supernatural Halibut of Gitrhahla, a coast Tsimshyan tribe of the same stock (Alaskan Fugitives) as Neeswa'mak, Skagwait, and Legyarh.



An Eagle-Halibut house post of the Haidas

Description. From the top down:

1. The Supernatural-Halibut (*narhnarem-trhao*) with head down, it covered the whole length of the pole, with many faces on it; the tail was at the top of the pole, on which sat the
2. Eagle (*rhskyæk*).

Age. It was erected in 1864 or when the informant was two years old (according to what his mother told him), and it was cut down because of decay about fifty years ago, that is, a little before 1900. Gifts were distributed by the owners when they removed it.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old Gitrhahla chief; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

The Halibut of Cumshewa (Haida), collected by Dr. C. F. Newcombe for the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. It bore the Museum number 85045.

Description. Twelve feet high, broad, and rather flat, it stood in front of a small mortuary house which was acquired and displayed by the Museum, together with the frontal pole.

Function, age. For the lack of recorded data as to owner and age, all that can be surmised is that the owner belonged to the Gitrhawn or Salmon-Eater clan whose crest is the Halibut.

A human face is inserted between the forked tail of the fish. The fish is placed head down. Three human faces are engraved in a row on the back of the large Halibut stretching the whole length of the pole. A fine carving, presumably dating back to about 1875.

The Sea-Lion, Shark, and Halibut (Gitrhahla), pole of Ksiyaokem-tsewängyet, who belonged to the northern Fugitive clan of the Eagles. His ancestors, after descending from the north, settled first at Kitkata before coming over to Gitrhahla. The pole is said to be still standing, although not recorded by the author.

Description. — 1. The Sea-Lion (*t'eeben*) is at the top; 2. the Shark (*qæt*) next; 3. the Halibut (*trhao*); 4. the Beaver (*hrtsawl*).

Carver, age. — It was carved about 1900 by 'Arhlawats, a Kanhade of paternal relationship with the owner of the pole.

(Informant, Oswald Tolmie, an old chief of Gitrhahla; interpreter, William Beynon, 1939.)

The Whole-Being (*Trhakawlk*) (Nass River). The pole of Qawq, head of an Eagle clan of Gitlarhdamks. It was the seventeenth in the row from the uppermost along the Nass River front.

Description. It stood in front of a house called Whole-Person (*trhahgyawlk*), a *ptsæn* (hollowed out pole and carved), the front of which was painted (this style of decoration was called *gawaih*). Its figures were: 1. Person-of-the-Glacier (*gyædemsi'yawn*); 2. Person-of-the-Bow of the canoe (*gyædem-tsawyerh*), and the meaning is that it is at the bottom of the waters; 3. Supernatural-Halibut (*narhnarem-trhoih*); 4. *Trhakawlk*, a human figure sitting. This is a name in a myth illustrated here.

Function. It commemorated a former Qawq, and no longer exists.

Carver, age. Carved by 'Arhtsiph, who was still alive in 1927, about 70 years ago.

(Informant, Dennis Woods, of Gitlarhdamks.)

The Whole-Being of Gitsalas (Tsimcyan). The totem pole of the Whole-Being (*trhahkawlk*), belonging to chief Gitrhawn, of a leading Eagle clan, on the Fortress (*ta'awdzep*) in the Gitsalas canyon of the mid-Skeena River. Fallen down, it was re-erected in 1928, under the auspices of the Dominion Government and the Canadian National Railways.

Description. It contains the figure of a Person — the mythical Whole-Being of the northern traditions of the Fugitive Eagles (recounted elsewhere), and of the Eagle on top. It stood at the rear of the house of Gitrhawn.

Function. It belongs to the household of Neesqedeks, chief of a leading Eagle clan.

(Informants: Sam Wise, Gitrhawn, an old chief of the same tribe; and Rosa Herring, Port Essington, a member of the Qawm family; in 1926.)

The Headman-of-the-Sea (Haida). The Gwizukanos totem pole of Tanu, on the Queen Charlotte Islands, as described by Arthur Moody, a Haida carver of the same tribe, in 1939.

This pole, about 40 feet high, still stood on the point at Tanu, in spite of its age; it was then (in 1939) about 70 years old, and was therefore erected a little before 1870. After it had been carved by Gitrhun, the Eagle head-chief of Tanu, the informant's father generously paid him for its carving.

Figures on the pole:

1. The Headman of the Sea (*kwirheldangwo*) who could change himself at will into an animal, then into a man (this mythical being is the object of a long tale);

2. Two young fellows in the Headman's face; they opened his eyes for him when he wanted to look on;

3. The Beaver (*tseng*); or the Shark (*q'arade*) with its whole body.

The Gitrhun clan also owned other crests.

Totem Poles of Menæsk (Nass River), No. 1. Menæsk, the Eagle head-chief of Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass River.

According to Menæsk, an old man in 1927, (Charles Barton acting as interpreter), the crests of his clan utilized on his totem poles and on those of allied households in Gitlarhdams, were: 1. The Squirrel (*ts'enshliky*), on a totem pole then, in 1927, still standing at Gitlarhdams and since transplanted to a park in Prince Rupert. A myth or a tradition accounts for its origin at the time of the volcano eruption on the Nass. 2. The White-Marten (*masha't*), also used on the same pole, and likewise explained. 3. Man-Eagle (*gyædem-rhskyæk*), represented on the poles as a man's face, but with talons and wings. 4. In-All-Hiding (*lutrahyaaurh*), a man with arrows through his head, illustrating a clan tradition. 5. On-the-Rack (*luseskyærhsen*), a rack made of rods interlaced with roots on which to dry crushed fruit. On the pole it is shown in the form of checker lines with three persons on. It is explained in the tradition. 6. Half-Man (*stagyet*), half-a-man or one side of a man, shown on the pole. It forms part of the same myth, and is accompanied by a dirge song (*lem'oi*). Half-Man, another man in full face, and a third man likewise, still stood in sections under the house of Menæsk, in 1927. They had been part of a large totem pole, beautifully carved (photographs were taken). 7. Bill-of-the-Eagle (*tsataorh-rskyæk*), the head of the Eagle is shown on the pole, although the bill only is mentioned in the name. 8. Black-streaks-crosswise (*warhpedo'dze*), a small person painted black crosswise or across his body. 9. Ghost-of-the-Otter (*palkem-watserh*). The Otter is here represented almost like a person, the face only being different. Some stories on the Nass (and elsewhere) tell how the Otter under the features of a person in the forest lured people away. 10. The Small-Eagles (*hlihkyihl-rskyæk*), two young Eagles at the top of the pole. 11. The Dog-Salmon (*qa'it*), also spoken of in the Squirrel myth.

Up until 1918, this clan at Gitlarhdams owned three totem poles, only one of which still stood in 1927. The second, since destroyed, contained the carving of the Squirrel (purchased by the author for the National Museum of Canada). The third, already quite old, was burned at the time when the informant was still young. Several houses together with the pole had been destroyed by fire when the people were away.

This last pole, carved about 80 years ago (by whom?), was quite tall, and had about the same figures as the pole still in existence (the pole of Rhtsiyæ now at Prince Rupert). The second pole, with the Squirrel, stood in memory of Qastu'in; it was erected by the informant soon after he was married, about 60 years ago. It was carved by Kaaderh (Wolf, of Gitlarhdams) and Neesyawq (of the same clan and place). The pole still preserved was put up in memory of Rhtsiyæ; a mark on the back of the pole when erected bears this out. Now over 50 years old, it was carved by Haguhlæn, a Wolf of Gitrhadeen, a very good carver (according to interpreter Barton) who died, when middle-aged, about 1912.

Totem Poles of Menæsk, No. 2, chief of an Eagle clan at Gitlarhdams, on Nass River.

According to Menæsk himself (Charles Barton acting as interpreter, in 1927), the crests of his clan utilized on the totem poles of his group of Eagles in his village, were (this may be theoretical in so far as these crests may not all have been used on the totem poles of this clan at Gitlarhdams): 1. The Chief-Eagle (*sem'awigiyidem-rhskyæk*), their principal crest; 2. the

Croaking-of-the-Eagle (*hayawahlkum-rhskyæk*), represented on the top and on the front of the house; it was a plain eagle on its perch, with wings closed; 3. the Whale (*hlpin*); 4. the Supernatural-Halibut (*narhnarem-throih*); 5. the Shark (*q'aat*); 6. the Gyaibelk, a mythical bird like an Eagle; 7. the Woodpecker (*kaw'awlkenhkk*), a large bird; 8. Person-of-the-Glacier (*kædem-si'awn*), used at the top of a pole, a part of which was still preserved, in 1927, under the owner's house — the corner figure (illustrated); this carving was taken from Qawq's monument or totem pole; 9. the Gyemeren bird with a long bill, one seen in the sea, not far from the Stikine River, according to the myth; 10. Whole-man (*trhakyawlk*), a house-front painting (*qawaq*), the man having his arms outstretched; 11. the Whale-House (*hlpinem-wilp*); the name of their house, the Whale, was also painted on the house front (as a *qawaq*); 12. the Stump-of-the-Tree (*andepkan*) represented in the form of a carving.

The Salmon-Eater Tradition Interpreted

The Gitrhawn (Salmon-Eater) migration from the Aleutian Islands and ultimately from Asia to the north Pacific Coast of America:

The migration of the Gitrhawn or Salmon-Eater tribe encompassed, in one consecutive story, the passage of a seafaring tribe from some island off the Siberian coast across the sea ("the Foam" as it is called) to Kodiak Island or another point on the coast adjacent to the Aleutian Islands, then to the Queen Charlotte Islands, then to the Nass River in northern British Columbia, and still farther south, to Gitamat, on the frontier of the Kwakiutl territories. This migration from island to island and along the sea-coast is often recounted with circumstantial details to-day by Haidas and Tsimshyans. According to them, it required several generations for their ancestors to accomplish this extraordinary voyage. The immigrants were forced to change their language four or five times on the way, because of encounters and alliances with the local inhabitants, who differed from them and were in the majority. This migration of the Salmon-Eater tribe to America via the Aleutians must be considered here only an example, probably the most recent of many. It can date back hardly more than a few centuries; others like it continued even in historical time under the eyes of the white man, after the discovery of Alaska and the northern Rockies. Shifts of the same type surely had happened previously along the same water route, some of them more or less ancient. They would have gone on happening had it not been for the overwhelming interference of the Europeans.

Close to Portland Canal, on the southern Alaskan border, the outstanding Salmon-Eater clan, in four neighbouring nations of the coast, possesses an *adaorh*, a "true" story that the elders were in the habit of relating on ceremonial occasions and of illustrating in totem poles and carvings. This narrative provides us with evidence of a recent ancestral migration along a route that could have been no other than the Aleutian Islands. This *adaorh* I recorded in several versions in 1927, 1929, and 1947, from a few old chiefs on the Nass and Skeena Rivers, in northern British Columbia. About twenty-five years earlier, Dr. J. R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution had obtained somewhat similar records among the Haidas of Massett. My best informant was Mountain or Sagau'wan of Kincolith,

an octogenarian of the Salmon-Eater group, who owned the tallest totem pole known on the northwest coast, a pole illustrating the story of the clan. After Mountain's death, a year later, I purchased the pole from his heirs for the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, where it now stands proudly, 81 feet high, in the rotunda near the entrance. Other carved poles and many small carvings, in tribal villages of the neighbourhood and in various museums, also illustrate episodes of the Salmon-Eater epic. Among the tribesmen of the same blood these episodes were not allowed to fall into oblivion.

A few variants of this *adaorh* (tradition) will be given here in full (pp. 16-35).

It is obvious that the native accounts are coloured with individual interpretation, yet their contents convey a capital story to those who can strip it of its imagery or mysticism. Judged by critical standards, it is as valid as archæological evidence. The details of this narrative were not made out of whole cloth; they could not have come down from generation to generation without reflecting actual experiences somewhere. An ethnologist can check the details, as they form part of geographical environment; and he can measure their occurrence against a scale of fixed historical periods. A tribal experience of this kind does not reach back beyond a very few centuries, for human memory cannot persist indefinitely. Folk movement everywhere in the northwest has been extensive and rapid, from west to east or south; it has tended to disintegrate innate forces of conservatism. Other well known tribal groups, in about six generations, have shifted their habitat from the Yukon down to the neighbourhood of Vancouver Island; some, from the Peace River basin to the Hudson Bay area, or from Hudson Bay to the foothills of the Rockies, close to the United States border.

Exogamous moieties of the type aimed at by the Salmon-Eater and Grizzly-Bear tribes were no novelty on either side of the North Pacific. In a large area of Alaska and adjacent territories, they were already as customary as among the Chukchi, the Koryak, the Giliak, and the Ket.¹ All the northern villages or tribes without exception, on the north Pacific Coast, and not a few in Siberia, were split into halves, opposite each other. These halves were non-totemic; they formerly knew of no tie with patronymic totems or heraldic animals. Only very recently, since the coming of the white man to the north Pacific Coast of Canada and southern Alaska, have clan totems come into existence. They are as recent as the impressive crop of detached totem poles, which do not date back much beyond 1860. Indeed, both speedily developed together, as part of the progress of the coast tribes in the fur and other frontier trades with the white man.²

The boards laid for Dzelarhons across the tops of the two canoes tied together remind us of the double dugouts or skin boats lashed together side by side. These double canoes are unknown on this side of Bering Sea except in the traditions of the northwestern tribes originally from Asia and among

¹ On the Ket see Roman Jakobson: The Paleosiberian Languages, Amer. Anthropologist, Vol. 44 (N.S.) 1942, pp. 602-620.

² See Marius Barbeau: Totemism, A Modern Growth on the North Pacific Coast, Journ. of Amer. Folk-Lore, Vol. 57, 1944, pp. 51-58; the same: Totem Poles: A By-Product of the Fur Trade, Scientific Monthly, Vol. 55, 1942, pp. 507-514.

some Eskimos also from Asia, but they are typical of the South Seas and the coast of China. Salmon-Eater and his tribe, by using a double canoe at their first wedding ceremony in Alaska, begin to unfold for us a story of remote cultural affiliations. Who was Salmon-Eater? A Kurile Islander, or a sea hunter from still farther afield, down the Asiatic coast?

The matting sail that the recluse princess saw emerging from the sea was unique only on this side of the North Pacific; on the far side woven sails were used extensively. Like the double canoe, the sail goes back to balmy Asiatic coasts or adjacent seas. The prehistoric natives of North America may never have used sails of their own invention, and this lone sail may have been made of weeds or sea grass, as such sails are still made across the Pacific.

The mystical frog in the Dzelarhons story is a concept of Chinese origin. The frog itself is nearly unknown on the Pacific Coast of America north of Vancouver Island; and also, says Jochelson, in the same latitudes in Asia, that is north of Manchuria. Knowledge of the frog could not have come to the Aleutians from remote inland parts of America; for the drift of populations has set in the opposite direction. It formed part of the cultural endowment carried by emigrants from eastern Asia.

The Cormorant Cap, treasured as an heirloom, points to a geographical connection, since only two species of cormorant could have inspired this feature in the narrative, the spectacled cormorant and the pelagic cormorant. Two other species, one found on the northwest coast of America as far as Kodiak and the base of the Aleutians, the other on the Siberian coast, could not have provided Salmon-Eater with the head-dress so highly prized by his descendants. One was too small and common at his point of landing, the other too remote from it.

The pelagic cormorant occurs on the Aleutians, on the northeast coast of Asia as far as East Cape and the Arctic Coast, and in Alaska from Norton Sound southward as far as southern Alaska, but apparently not on Nass River. The likelier species, however, is the spectacled cormorant, which combined all the attributes implied in the story. This cormorant was one of George Steller's discoveries, during the fatal winter of Bering's death.

The flightless spectacled cormorant (*Phalacrocorax perspicillatus*), to quote Stejneger in his biography of Steller,¹ was a sensational discovery, "because its wings were too small to carry its gigantic body, but chiefly because — like the sea-cow — it is known only from Bering Island and was exterminated by ruthless hunting." As large as a goose, it weighed from 12 to 14 pounds. "When properly prepared according to the method employed by the Kamtchadals, namely by burying it encased — feathers and all — in a big lump of clay, and baking it in a heated pit, it was a palatable and juicy morsel." So wrote Steller, the only naturalist to see the bird alive. In spite of its being then exceedingly abundant, the species became exterminated about 1850.

A representation of the cormorant, of what species no one can tell, is found on at least one totem pole of the descendants of Salmon-Eater, on lower Nass River; and a number of smaller carvings of the Niskæes

¹ Leonard Stejneger: Georg Wilhelm Steller, The Pioneer of Alaskan Natural History, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 351.

and Tsimshians showing the cormorant are preserved in our museums. If Salmon-Eater, some time before Bering and Steller, sojourned on Bering Island, he would have been impressed by the great cormorant, so much so that he would have kept it as a token of his passage there. And in time it became an emblem sacred to his posterity, even to his latest descendants on the lower Nass within the Canadian border.

The sea-otter garments of his niece Dzelarhons tell a somewhat similar tale. The sea-otter does not occur in Bering Strait; it is rare on the west side of Bering Sea and cannot live much farther north than Bering Island, because of the lack of its shellfish food in deep waters. On the Alaskan Coast it stops south of the delta of Yukon River. Dzelarhons and her people, by using sea-otter garments, reveal what seems to have been originally an east-Asiatic complex. The Chinese mandarins highly prized the skin of the sea-otter and willingly paid a great deal for it to the Kurile Islanders, their earliest providers. The garments acquired by Salmon-Eater and his clan were to them also a mark of rank. Dzelarhons was so ruled by this partiality that she preferred to be naked rather than don the only robe her uncouth hosts could afford as a substitute — perhaps a bear or a caribou parka.

The labret in her lower lip and the leather garment adorned with valuable tsik shells are articles of finery that belong typically to the Bering Sea culture and extend even beyond, on the Asiatic sea-coast. The labret area of diffusion on the North Pacific extends from the Kurile Islands eastward, through the Aleutians, and far down the North American west coast. But nowhere is the labret as intensely prevalent as among Dzelarhons' people, the Haidas, the Tsimshians, and the Tlingits. It is absent in the sites of the old Bering Sea culture. In Alaska, Eskimo men, rather than women, in recent times decorated the lower corners of the mouth with two labrets; and labrets were used occasionally by the Aleuts when first known. Dzelarhons' labret seems to have come to her from the Aleutian Islands rather than from the Far North.

Other features of the Dzelarhons story suggest eastern Asia as a background. The tall stone statue of a supernatural woman, out of whose body gushed a river (such rivers are divine in China); the prayers addressed to her with deep reverence (the west-coast natives on the whole were not praying men); the bewitched trout leaping from the pan into the fire, a theme familiar in the "Arabian Nights" and in all Asia; the copper shields forming the hut of the recluse in the hills (shields and armour were a common body protection in east-Asiatic warfare); slavery and ancestor worship; the use of stone pots — all may tell a similar tale of foreign importation over the same water and island route from the Orient. The use of whale blubber points to the ancient craft of whale hunting, the original centre of diffusion of which may prove to be, like that of the poison dart for it, eastern Siberia rather than North America.¹

Dirge songs, always part of funeral rites among the eastern Asiatics, bring us still closer to the original home of the Foam clan of Salmon-Eater.

¹ The Asiatic origins of whale hunting as practiced by the Aleutian Islanders and the people of the north Pacific Coast are indicated by E. P. Hohman in *The American Whaleman* (New York, 1928), in which he says that whale hunting was practiced first by the Siberian Tatars and the Japanese. See also R. F. Heizer: *Aconite Poison Whaling in Asia and America: An Aleutian Transfer to the New World*, *Bur. of Amer. Ethnology, Bull.* 133, 1943, pp. 415-468.

Many laments of the same type as those chanted by the recluse princess were added at various times to the tribal repertoire, which is quite unlike that of any other North American people. These songs remained sacred commemorations ever after. They are still sung as part of funeral rites of chieftains, which formerly included incineration on a pyre, in the Oriental style.

The dirge of *Hano!* of the Tsimsyans, for instance, belongs to a clan of Nass River. Of it, Kiang Kang-hu,¹ a learned Chinese authority on songs and rituals, said: "It sounds very much like a Buddhist chant in a funeral service. This chant comes from Hindu music." The Dirge of Raven Drum of the mid-Skeena River in northern British Columbia the same Chinese scholar considered "like a Buddhist chant for funeral services among the nomads of Mongolia." Its refrain "*Hayu! Hayu! Hayu!*" astonished him. It means, "Alas! Alas! Alas!" in Chinese. Dirge singers often repeat it. It is part of familiar Buddhist liturgical chants. In British Columbia the *Hayu!* refrain occurs only in the mourning songs of the Eagle and Wolf clans of Nass and Skeena Rivers. Most of the Eagle clans are descended from the Salmon-Eater faction of the salt waters; both clans are recent immigrants from the north.

The expansion of Buddhist rituals and funeral rites into northwestern America may seem a surprising development. Yet in the light of materials recently gathered at the National Museum of Canada and the American Museum of Natural History it can hardly be doubted.² Jochelson observed Buddhism among the Paleo-Siberian tribes of northeastern Siberia, close to Alaska. Of the round skin drums that mark the rhythm in the funeral rites of the Koryak tribes — just as in the adjacent North American area — he says³ that they "are used in Siberia only by the Buddhists, . . . their divine services." These Siberian Buddhists form a primitive priesthood better described under the name of shamans or medicine men; their type is also widely familiar on this side of Bering Sea.

The cultural patterns west and east of the North Pacific are closely interrelated, and the diffusion of some of the elements from their native source is at least recent in part. Only in the light of this truth can we approach certain problems of archæology with a chance to solve them. For instance, the Garuda bronze figurine, the babirusa tusks; the ancient Chinese coins and pottery found in Indian graves along the coasts of Alaska and British Columbia, the chain of mysterious cairns on mountaintops and the suspension bridges, cannot be explained otherwise.

Boas records⁴ a Garuda bronze figurine of an odd type dug up on the lower Nass (where the Salmon-Eater clan now has some of its most typical representatives, for instance Chief Mountain, of Kincolith), at a place formerly covered with heavy timber. It must have been buried there

¹ See Marius Barbeau: The Siberian Origin of Our North-Western Indians, Proc. Fifth Pacific Sci. Congr., Canada, 1933, Vol. 4, Toronto, 1934, Pp. 2777-2789, reference on pp. 2781-2782; the same: Asiatic Survivals in Indian Songs, Scientific Monthly, Col. 54, 1942, pp. 303-307, ref. on pp. 304-305.

² Barbeau, The Siberian Origin of Our North-Western Indians, pp. 2785-2787. A monographic study has been initiated in collaboration with Mme. Christine Krotkor, of the Dirge Songs of the Northern Rockies and the funeral rites of the same region, showing the Buddhist character of this cultural feature.

³ Waldemar Jochelson: The Koryak: Religion and Myths (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. 6, Part 1), Memoirs Amer. Museum of Nat. Hist., Vol. 10, Part 1, 1905, p. 59.

⁴ Franz Boas: A Bronze Figurine from British Columbia, Bull. Amer. Museum of Natural History, Vol. 14, 1901, pp. 51-52.

generations ago, certainly before the coming of the white man. It could not possibly have been brought over more recently than from 1570 to 1770, probably before. Yet the earliest European captain to span the Pacific between the northwest coast of America and China was Cook, in 1778-1779; he did not come into contact with any native of the Portland Canal area, nor was he allowed to land on the Chinese coast.

A pair of babirussa or wild-boar tusks from the South China Sea was unearthed some sixty years ago by James G. Swan of the Smithsonian Institution, in the grave of an Indian "doctor" on the northwest end of Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, in an area occupied by the Dzelarhons clan.¹ How could these tusks from the Celebes and adjacent islands have found their way into the sacred possessions of an Indian shaman who died at an advanced age about 1840? The Garuda bronze may also have been the sacred possession of a shaman, the Alaskan counterpart of a Siberian Buddhist priest.

When they sailed out of the foam and landed on the Alaskan coast, members of the Salmon-Eater clan certainly owned prized articles. Their *adaorh* describes several, and it did not mean to exhaust the list. Other relics of the past no doubt were treasured by the clan in secret medicine bundles of the type still in existence; among them may have been the babirussa tusks.

All the evidence points in one direction: to the same Asiatic source, and to the Aleutian Islands as the shortest route into prehistoric America for such cultural importations at a fairly recent date. Through this same gate, in part — for we must also keep in mind the trade and importation route of Bering Strait — we may find the means of unravelling not a few puzzles of cultural transmission and the explanation of mushroom cultural growths typical of the northwest coast.

The legend of Copper Woman sets forth how metals were brought by Dzelarhons to her people after they had crossed the sea; they were acquainted with the uses of metal but had moved away from their sources of supply.

The Asiatics had passed out of the Stone Age. A rising civilization, unevenly distributed through the Chinese coast and island regions, had spread slowly in every direction. It crossed the North Pacific into America, chiefly through small emigrant bands over Bering Strait and along the Aleutian Islands. The Dzelarhons symbol shows how the northwestern natives themselves, even the tundra folk, believed the Aleutians to have been the way of its passing into their possession.

When the first Europeans discovered their country, the Indians had a small supply of metals and were well acquainted with the craft of cold-smithing — that is, shaping metals into useful forms by hammering and rubbing. Some of them, stimulated by the example of the Russians at Sitka and elsewhere or engaged in their service, soon developed into skilled craftsmen — carvers, engravers, metalworkers, weavers. In no other way could the fine arts of engraving argillite, copper, or silver, carving wood, and weaving Chilkats have come into existence. The gradual evolution of these crafts can be traced back to a dual source: prehistoric aptitudes and

¹ F. W. True: Babirussa Tusks from an Indian Grave in British Columbia; *Science*, Vol. 4, 1884, p. 34.

manual dexterity due to an Asiatic heredity, and intrusive influences from the activities of the white man.

As soon as the leaders of the Tlingits, northwest of the present Wrangell, beheld the eagle badge of the Russian American Company and the double-headed eagle crest of the Czar, they coveted them, and were bold enough to make them their own, changing them only a little in the process.

The *adaorh* of Salmon-Eater's clan and of closely related clans once stationed at the mouth of Stikine River relates how these people discovered the new eagle crest and straightway assumed the name and symbol of the Eagle clan. The Eagle and Thunderbird crests, according to the Indians' own admission, were the first of their kind in their country. Their initiators were the Salmon-Eater seafolk who recently had crossed the ocean and had encountered the Russians.

The eagerness of these newcomers to acquire coats of arms or totems was purely derivative. So much is revealed in a passage of the Menæsk *adaorh* of the Niskæ:

Still in the presence of the Thunderbird (on a huge house surmounted by a great eagle with outspread wings, which they were beholding for the first time), Menæsk summoned two of his nephews to draw its picture, so as to preserve it in paint. These craftsmen, after several days of effort, produced the likeness of the bird by painting its head, wings, and tail. . . . It was the spirit of the deep sea. As soon as they had finished, the chief, exultant, proclaimed, "This shall be my totem." So it has remained ever since.

This account indicates, in the Indians' own words, the beginning of the crests on the north Pacific Coast, also of their social corollary, the clan system, symbolized by painted or carved totems. All this obviously happened under the influence of the Russians, following their arrival on the Aleutian Islands (1741) and on the Alaskan coast (after 1790 or so). Recently discovered materials, now being weighed and published, disclose beyond doubt that the "lost colony of Novgorod in Alaska" dates back to about 1571, thirty-five years before the founding of Jamestown in Virginia.

The power of the white man, chiefly through the Russians, soon became overwhelming; it spread far afield, with the Salmon-Eater clan its chief agent and protagonist.

Among the people of the north Pacific Coast a native element formerly existed by itself, as part of an early occupancy of the country. Then a wave of newcomers forced itself in, bringing with it novelties — the manual arts, a clear-cut social organization, and secret societies.

Among the northern Haidas, the Stastas or Eagle clan claimed to be of foreign extraction (according to J. R. Swanton). "The Raven clan may represent the real Haida, and the Eagles may be later comers . . . Djilaqons herself was brought from the mainland . . . Some of the Eagles, such as Master-Carpenter and The-Singers, are connected with arts for which the Haidas were more or less indebted to the Mainland-People."

The leading exponents of the arts among the Haidas included more than one craftsman of the Salmon-Eater or Eagle clan, foremost among them the two Edensaws, uncle and nephew, the first a coppersmith, the second a famous wood carver. When this clan from the north branched off into the preserves of the Tsimsyans and the Kwakiutls on the adjacent coast, it had long since become aware of its superior powers. Its ambitions and war-like activities proved a nightmare for others, up the rivers and down the

coast, almost as far as California. It specialized in the arts and crafts, in canoe building, in coppersmithing, in travelling long distances for its trade in furs, in slaves, and in raids upon less warlike tribes. And its leaders served as middlemen for the white fur traders.

Stone-Cliff (Legyarh), head chief of the Tsimshians in the 1830's, of the same extraction, was confident enough of his own resourcefulness to invite the Hudson's Bay Company to establish its headquarters in his preserves, at the point later called successively Fort Simpson and Port Simpson. This establishment was meant as a British outpost, facing the Russian territories north of Portland Canal. In order to create firm ties with his allies in the Salmon-Eater style, Stone-Cliff married one of his nieces to Kennedy, the chief trader at the post, and considered himself thereafter the protector of the white traders in his domain. He was feared and respected everywhere, as legendary a figure as his ancestor Salmon-Eater. In the role of patron of the great company Stone-Cliff appropriated its emblem, the Beaver, as his own crest or totem. The Beaver, at first the badge of the North West Company, then of the Hudson's Bay Company after its amalgamation with the North West Company, finally became the totem of Stone-Cliff. And as a work of art it proved the most impressive of the lot — the majestic Sitting-Beaver gnawing a stick, still standing at the edge of the sea at Port Simpson, or the Sitting-Beaver of Wiyæ at Massett, now in the National Museum of Canada.

Like his clansmen in other nations, Stone-Cliff retained the Eagle as a general emblem, but he shared with his compeers, the Edensaws and Wiyæ of the Queen Charlotte Islands, the use of the Prince-of-Beavers as a totem. Sometime before 1800 the Eagle had come to his ancestors from the Russians; the Beaver, from the British, in the 1830's. These were the first totems ever known on the north Pacific Coast. The others followed as derivatives or subordinates or, as in southern British Columbia, meaningless imitations."

When Stone-Cliff was checked in his rapid progress southward by the local chiefs of the Skeena River, who were conspiring against him, he resorted to a device familiar to his sophisticated Oriental ancestors. To bolster up his power, he founded secret societies — the Gitsontk, the Hamatsa, and the Luhlim. These societies were powerful organizations, trained in the manual arts, in warfare, rapine, and sudden raids. The better to impress or startle the common people, they indulged at night in spectacular rites in which spirit voices (in cedar whistles) rent the air and terrified timid souls. Seemingly there was no limit to Stone-Cliff's boldness and daring, and he achieved his purpose, that of subduing other Indians and gaining for himself some of the white man's prestige.

The Gitsontk, a secret society of young "makers" or "inventors" trained in craftsmanship and ingenuity, became the ruling class wherever its subversive activities were at play. For the benefit of the Stone-Cliff junta, in the 1840's, it was about to upset the whole clan system established by the earlier Salmon-Eater immigrants of the same restless Asiatic breed. Masks, totem poles, narhnorhs or spirits, and winter performances in potlatches were, directly or indirectly, Stone-Cliff's own work or that of his imitators and rivals. This last-minute flare-up, in the native annals, happened almost on the white man's doorstep, at the curtain call of prehistory.

¹ Marius Barbeau: *Eagle Strikes*, in *Alaska Beckons*.