# Synthesis and Compilation

## THE GROWTH OF HERALDRY OR TOTEMISM ON THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST

Among the Coast nations, the past one hundred and seventy-five years have been filled with social activities that were on the whole intensely creative. From day to day these bold and industrious people were adapting themselves to new circumstances brought about by the coming of the white traders and fully availing themselves of their opportunities. Every tribe, unless weak and easily victimized, acquired new riches through the fur trade and held its own ground; this was particularly true of the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimsyans.

Great ambition fired the souls of the most gifted among the villagers on the salt-water front, who rapidly climbed in the ranks. Some of them, the foremost Eagle, Wolf, and Raven clans of the Tlingits and the Tsimsyans, subdued lower folk and conquered fresh territories. Warlike chiefs, among them Legyarh and Haimas of the Tsimsyans, and Shaiks of the Tlingits, spurred on by jealousies and rivalries for power with their neighbours, captured slaves wherever they dared, as far south as California, became middlemen in the traffic with the tribes of the mountainous interior, and long remained at the helm of their own destinies; they also had much to do with the orientation of the fur trade by the Russians and the British occupants, who competed with each other for their goodwill and services.

As a result of these constant outside influences, important features in the fields of art and social organization came into existence or progressed almost beyond recognition out of prehistoric incentives and experience. The goods, tools, and handicrafts first introduced by the Russians at Sitka and elsewhere in Alaska revolutionized the native technique and outlook, and soon gave rise to the distinctive craftsmanship of the north Pacific Coast tribes. Social upheavals followed in the track of stormy shifts in tribal or national leadership.

The cultural evolution thus fostered by long-sustained relations with the Russians and the British — also with other intrusive elements such as the French and the Kanakas of the South Seas — did not come to a stop as early in the past century as is generally presumed. Among the northern nations it reached its peak as late as 1850–1880, and even later farther south. Only then did the intrusions of the white man (miners and fishermen in large numbers), the preaching of the missionaries, and the resulting discredit of the potlatch upset the earlier balance and bring in withering changes.

The social organization of these people, extensively studied by Dr. Franz Boas, Dr. J. R. Swanton, and other ethnographers since 1886, is not a wholesale legacy of the prehistoric past. Nor had their arts and crafts remained at a standstill in the midst of the turbulent period extending from 1830 to 1880. The deepest influence on all their concepts had been exerted upon them by the Russians and British fur traders and the American whalers, and sweeping renovations had taken place at Sitka, Wrangell, Fort Simpson, Massett, and Skidegate, under the eyes of the newcomers.

At the time Dr. Boas began to study the Kwakiutls — in the late 1880's — they had hardly passed the heyday of secret society activities. Totem poles had not yet made their appearance at Alert Bay, and the showy potlatches were still yearly occurrences. On the other hand, the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Tsimsyans had just given up their so-called "heathenish" practices to covet the advantages of Christianity and to move on with the times. They were adopting new fashions in the building of motor boats and in the erecting of modern houses, chapels, and canneries.

Our knowledge of their ethnography, as obtained since 1880, bears the hallmark of the years when it was secured from their leaders who, immediately after they had turned their back upon the past, became willing informants and imparted their individual experiences and recollections exactly as they possessed them. They had been participants in the rapid social evolution of their own generation, from 1850 to 1900. Outside of their testimony, little was left for ethnographers to gather, except in the scanty literature of the early discoverers and traders antedating 1860.

Undoubtedly the best years for recording songs, myths, and tribal recollections, and for collecting specimens and buying totem poles for museums and world fairs, among these Indians, were those years immediately after this legacy of the recent past had lost its sway over them. Everything was fresh in memory, as it belonged to the last few decades of intense upheaval and progress.

The finest carvers of masks, rattles, and totem poles — Oyai, Neeslaranows, Hæsem-hliyawn, and Hlamee, among the Tsimsyans — thrived until the turn of the last century. Very little would be left now bearing the name of the Haidas, should we discard the splendid work of their craftsmen of 1860–1920 at Skidegate and Massett; these were the two Edensaws, Skaoskay or David Shakespeare, William Dixon, Tom Price, John Cross, the cripple Chapman, and a number of others, not a few of whom survived into our century. In another sphere, the secret societies of the Kwakiutls and the Tsimsyans have continued in operation in some quarters almost to the present day.

If the research work of Dr. Boas, Dr. Newcombe, and Dr. Swanton proved very fruitful, it was largely due to their arrival upon the scene at the psychological moment. Never in the lives of these tribes had there been so much to record, so rich a crop of varied materials to be harvested; the more easily since the old customs suddenly had lost their former sacredness and prestige, and it was possible for the first time to reside in or near the native villages.

Even in the later generation, when the writer of this monograph had his turn in the same field, opportunities still proved encouraging, at least among the thirty tribes of the three Tsimsyan nations, and they could not be exhausted. So they still persist to some extent among most of the Kwakiutls and the Nootkas farther south. Only among the Haidas and the Tlingits have the sands of time run out to the vanishing point.

The vast number of oral texts (consisting of tribal or family traditions and tales), the census-like analyses of social elements, the maps of hunting-grounds, the lists of crests and privileges, etc. recorded for the National

Museum of Canada in the course of eight prolonged field trips since 1916, are so abundant that they could not soon be marshalled into final form and published. They are so explicit and significant that they lend themselves to a chronological reconstruction of their sequences; in other words, they can be used as documents in a historical way. Their bearing upon the knowledge previously acquired elsewhere on the coast may be outlined here in brief.

The bulk of the totemistic culture of this area is obviously quite modern. The totems or emblems represented on house fronts or in carved poles standing in the villages are of the past century or so; all those we actually know came into existence after 1860, and at that time most of them were innovations, quite unlike anything known before.

The earlier work of the Haidas and the Tlingits is found in the oldest collections of carved argillite and metal preserved in our museums; it bears little resemblance to their later themes and style in the "totemic" vein; it is mostly all inspired by foreign models — Chinese or European. The Tlingits, then in the lead, were among the first to acquire metals, tools, and sound craftsmanship. These came to them from the Russian experts employing them at shipbuilding, casting metals, and providing agricultural machinery for Oregon and California in the shops at New Archangel or Sitka. These native helpers were born with tastes and talents of their own; in their spare time they fashioned ornaments for their women and themselves. Soon they had imitators among the Tsimsyans and the Haidas to the south. These imitators were not trained into being mere copyists. In their isolation and stimulating independence they soon moved away from their starting points and became originators, yet without hiding the true sources of their inspiration.

From traditional accounts, the oldest totemic crests among them were the Eagle and the double-headed Eagle, both replicas of the Russian Imperial crest and the badge of the Russian American Company. The adoption by the Na'as in Alaska of the emblems of the white newcomers happened quite early, presumably in the eighteenth century, in the course of their association with them as auxiliaries in the fur and coast trade. Because of its resemblance to the Eagle, they adopted the Gyæbelk or Thunderbird as a secondary crest soon afterwards. This fabulous bird belonged to their ancient lore, but it had come to them from a Siberian concept. Eventually, and through the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Thunderbird spread to other nations to the south including the Kwakiutls, whose favourite decoration on totem poles it still remains.

The rise of this imitative heraldry in Alaska and on the coast of British Columbia was as rapid as it was spectacular. Like wild-fire it followed the trails of southward migrations and predatory inroads of the Eagle clans of the Tlingits and the Tsimsyans among their southern neighbours, when it was not actually diffused by the personnel of the fur-trading posts. In the past six generations, the closely related Eagle and Thunderbird clans swept south and carried the Russian cultural influence under new forms to the Haidas, the Tsimsyans, and the Kwakiutls.

No sooner had the local population become aware of the power of the Eagles over them, than it tried to shake off the yoke and put a stop

to their constant inroads and extortions. But the only way to hold its ground was to fight them with their novel weapons. Like them, they did their best to acquire metal daggers, spearheads, guns, and large coppers for their potlatches. They had hastily to adopt badges of their own as defensive symbols. But some of them, like the older moiety of the Haidas, did it so late that when they assumed the Raven for a totem, it was already the property of some of the newcomers among the Eagles, who continued using it.

The Raven, the Killer-Whale, the Grizzly Bear, the Wolf, and other totems among the three northern nations came into existence as crests less than a hundred years ago. The Wolf has not spread to the Haidas, except under the disguised form of Wasco (Wolf of the Sea, with fins), and the Grizzly Bear was transformed by them into the Grizzly-Bear-of-the-Sea, a whale-like adaptation. After 1833, the Beaver became the highest crest of all for the Tsimsyans and the Haidas, because the leading Eagle chiefs adopting it were the native patrons of the Hudson's Bay Company. This company, just established in their territories, had the Beaver as its emblem. The "totemic" pattern was repeating itself: just as the Na'as had borrowed the Eagle from the Russian traders, the later Eagles were taking on the Beaver badge of the Canadian company.

From non-totemic, as it had been to that date, the social organization over a wide area assumed the form of phratries and clans with crests, but without a pre-arranged or unified plan. For this lack of unity, it turned out to be quite topsy-turvy and difficult to unravel. This new-fangled totemic clan system, until very recently (1925), was still spreading southward and to the interior tribes of Dene stock. The totem pole fashion, however, travelled south much faster than the clan concept. For this reason, the poles on Vancouver Island are, socially speaking, meaningless; they only show, as a matter of prestige, that the chief erecting them had the means to undertake the required expenditure.

War-like chiefs (Neeshawt, head of a noted Raven-Frog clan, and the Eagles bearing the name of Legyarh and their northern kinsmen among the Haidas), through several generations in succession down to 1880 or even later, were personally responsible for many changes in the social structure of their people. The forebears of Legyarh belonged to the Tlingits. At one time, about six generations ago, they were transplanted among the Kwakiutls to the south; then they moved back and settled midway, among the Tsimsyans. A chief bearing the name of Legyarh, apparently about 1830, was the originator of the secret societies among his band. These fraternities of mutually helpful craftsmen and raiders were his own device to break down the resistance of hostile clan chiefs opposing him and to bring about his domination among the northern tribes. They progressed the more easily among the Kwakiutls for the lack of opposition, in the absence of clans. The potlatch, an ancient system of native transactions and social entertainment, everywhere became the vehicle of new ambitions for conquest, prestige, and power.

Northern natives were highly responsive to outside influences because of their own foreign origin, their versatility, which came from their Siberian ancestry, and their advanced traditions. Their persistent cultural incentives issued directly from their Tartar or Mongolian ancestors. As most of their

forebears had crossed Bering Strait into America only a few centuries before the coming of the Slavs, they still retained clear recollections of the use of iron and copper; they had regretfully lapsed from a higher state into the stone age — the reverse of the usual cultural progress elsewhere.

Through their annual barter at the edge of Bering Sea and from cast-off derelicts on the coast, they often received much needed supplies; they also availed themselves of the natural resources of their new territories, for instance, the large nuggets of copper on the Copper and the White Rivers in Alaska, and farther afield; out of these they hammered points and even large dishes. Some of them would at times return to Bering Sea for the barter or to the copper beds to pick up more raw metal. The widely popular Copper-Woman myth among all of them far and wide — the Dzelarhons of the Haidas and the Tsimsyans — is a symbolic allusion to such factual reminiscences.

Almost to the present time, the ties of these new Americans with their Asiatic kinsmen never were entirely severed. Their culture, although forcibly impoverished by their nomadism, remained markedly the same, and the list of similarities or parallel features and themes is remarkably impressive — much more so than anthropologists generally realize.

Down into our times, social and cultural elements have kept trickling across Bering Sea into Alaska, from there to drift on their unbroken way southward or eastward.

Small roving bands trudged on each others' heels up the Yukon River and its tributaries, then south to other salmon rivers, or else in pursuit of caribou herds far into the Rockies. Hunger and the quest for food led some of them still farther afield, across the mountains eastward into the sub-Arctic tundras of Mackenzie River and beyond. This shifting of nomads on the trails of wild animals along the rivers or down the sea-coast never was as intense as after the coming of the Russians. It was even speeded up by the demand for furs for the traders, as late as the latter half of the last century. On this belated process all the tribes involved still preserve many vivid tales and narratives.

The Siberian social pattern persisted among most of them. It survived its transfusion into the New World, because of the maintenance of ancient customs and countless individual recollections. In winding up here, two or three of these may be outlined, as instances to the point.

Within the small nomadic bands of eastern Siberia and Alaska, who were the ancestors of a part of the Northwest Coast people, a group of kinsfolk invariably associated with another of different extraction, with whom its members intermarried, bartered, and exchanged ceremonial services. The partnership between these two associated groups, which may be called moieties, always began with a treaty of alliance comparable to a marriage of convenience. Both moieties, bound to each other by mutual interests and various needs, usually managed to live side by side in peace and harmony. By tradition, they were indispensable to each other.

Less than two hundred years ago — just before the coming of the Russians to the mouth of Stikine River — the Na'as of the present Naha Bay north of Wrangell were thus divided into two tribal halves, when a

feud broke out between them. After having come to blows — two selected emissaries fought a duel in Siberian style to decide the issue — the defeated half broke away and took flight in canoes. The fugitives, near the mouth of Stikine River, encountered white traders from across the sea and, according to their own tradition, took from them the Eagle emblem. Until that time they had not possessed any totems or crests. From then on, only, has the Eagle been their own distinctive badge.

Their opponents, the Laranows, eventually became the Wolves, but the Wolf never was emphatically a totem or a crest; its plastic and pictorial forms as crests are not common anywhere to this day.

Other emblems later were added to the Eagle clans' sacred possessions to mark experiences that they considered supernatural in the course of their episodic trek southwards. Some of these crests — the Cormorant parka, a Siberian garment, and the tall hat woven out of spruce roots, a Mongolian head-gear — are given in their traditions as notable features of the recent past. More crests eventually commemorated actual experiences in their life as sea hunters in the service of the Russians; for instance, the huge Cuttle-Fish or gigantic Octopus and the Giant-Clam, the knowledge of both of these having come to them from the seas far to the south.

Another band joined these Eagles after they had landed on the Queen Charlotte Islands and the mainland opposite. It consisted of the sea and canoe folk under the leadership of Salmon-Eater (Gitrhawn); they traced back their origin to the edge of Bering Sea, and their famed ancestress was the mythic Dzelarhons.

After the use of emblems in the manner of the Imperial Russians had been established everywhere, they sought, in their tribal recollections, outstanding features, out of which they coined emblems or totems for their use. Their preferences furnish some implicit evidence of their near-Siberian origin, which is also otherwise disclosed by their type of habitations, their fishing and hunting devices, and their traditions, ways of living, and emblems. For example:

> The Cap of Cormorant, a head-gear which Salmon-Eater, their chief, who had sailed out of the Foam (the Sea), was wearing at the time of his arrival with six large canoeloads of his people on the Alaskan shore.
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> The wide-brimmed hat of split spruce roots, in the Mongolian style, is covered with small copper frogs, which an old woman in distress is said to have woven at the time of a volcano eruption (possibly at the Aleutian Islands). This old woman, whose frog amulets were a Siberian heirloom, sang a dirge, in which the refrain is "*Hayu*" (Alas! in Chinese), and the words are "Our war-canoe travels over the ocean." This dirge is still preserved among them and has actually been recorded on the phonograph.
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> The sail made of matting (called *ahlarom-skane*), and two dug-out canoes tied together side by side and joined by a bridge made of flat boards, the sail and the twin-canoes, are devices typical of the south-eastern Asiatic coasts; outside of these instances they never spread to the whole Alaskan coast.

The stone pillar of Dzelarhons, in commemoration of the tragic death of the Volcano Woman, who gave birth to a creek everafter issuing from her; this theme of the spirit-like or divine river is also typically Asiatic.

The survival of a considerable number of dirges, of large skin drums to accompany them at the incineration pyres, of mortuary customs, of chants with an actual Chinese refrain, all are reminiscent of a primitive form of Buddhism, such as still exists in northern Siberia. If Buddhism, as now seems certain, has prevailed since prehistoric times in southern Alaska and in British Columbia, we have to face the question of how and when it was implanted there.

Buddhistic dirges and funeral practices may have crossed the Bering Sea, as is almost certain, with the scattered Siberian emigrants as part of their culture, in the past uncounted centuries. If of a later date, they must have been planted among them in the New World by a Chinese or Siberian priesthood — in the manner of shamans and medicine-men. The well-known Chinese records of Fu-Sang on the spread of Buddhism seaward to foreign lands can still provide us with a clue to a historical domain inviting our closer attention, as it did, in the early 1880's, that of the early European Americanists.

**Mythical beings and crests** of the north Pacific Coast Indians, listed and described by Alice Ravenhill in *A Corner Stone of Canadian Culture* (85:11–55).



**Crests of the Gitksan tribes** of the Tsimsyans, as illustrated on totem poles.

*See* their classified list in the author's earlier museum monograph: *Totem Poles of the Gitksan*, pp. 158–177.

Crests classified according to types: Quadrupeds (158–160), birds (161–163), fish (163), reptiles (164), plants and trees (164), sky and natural

phenomena (164), insects (165), monsters with animal features (165), human beings and spirits (165–166), semi-mythical and historical ancestors (167), objects, devices, masks (167–169), people (169). Totals: 525 figures or crests on 109 totem poles.

Crests classified according to their origins, as claimed by their owners (172–175).

Origins of the crests explained in myths (*adaorh*) and traditions (175–177).

**Crests and totems** of the north Pacific Coast, described by Thomas Deasy, Indian Agent among the Haidas ("Winter Festivals of the Indians of British Columbia;" *Victoria Daily Times*, April 23, 1904).

The buildings were adorned with totems, including the mythical Thunderbird, Sea Serpent, and other beasts and birds. The wooden Sea Serpent is 15 feet long and is endowed with two heads and eight feet — one head on each end — shaped like the head of a crocodile, and four of the feet turned toward each head. The Indians claim that such a monster existed in prehistoric times. The wooden Thunderbird kept guard over the residence of the principal chief and was minus head and wings. The Indians informed me that the appendages were stored in the building. Along the banks were numerous totem poles, covered with devices. On one of the buildings was a painting of a Raven (according to the native style). It was all wings, without body or head.

**Lack of system among the Haidas, Tsyimsyans, and Tlingits** about their phratric crests, as described by J. R. Swanton (97: 65, 66).

It so happens that the crests of the Raven clan agree with those of the Bear and Wolf clans among the Tsimshian, whereas the crests of the Eagle clan agree with those of the Raven and Eagle clans among the latter people; and, since crests are considered much more important than the mere name of the clan, each Haida clan considers the two Tsimshian clans, bearing its crests, its "friends." I suspect that in early times the Haida Ravens first came in contact with Tsimshian of the Bear and Wolf clans at Kitkatla, whom they came to regard as their "friends," and with whom they exchanged crests. Later, when they came in contact with the other two Tsimshian clans, they were obliged to regard them as the Tsimshian Bear and Wolf clans did. Since the crests of the Raven clan among the Tlingit agree with those of the Eagle clan among the Haida, and vice versa, I suspect that the same curious condition of affairs will be found there.

**Lack of uniformity in classification of crests among the Haidas, Tsimsyans, and Tlingits,** as indicated by J. R. Swanton (97: 107).

Each family among the Haida had the right to use a certain number of crests — that is, figures of animals, certain other natural objects, and occasionally articles of human manufacture — during a potlatch; or they might represent them upon their houses or any of their property, and tattoo them upon their bodies. Theoretically, the crests used by Raven families should be absolutely distinct from those used by Eagles, and generally this is the case; but, perhaps owing to the fact that the crests used by Haida clans do not coincide with those used by the same clans among the Tsimshian and Tlingit, one or two Raven families at Massett have acquired crests that are on the Eagle side at Skidegate. Thus the dog-fish is used by the Middle-Town-People of Alaska and the Gitins of Skidegate; and the skate, by the Gitans of Widja and the Raven family of Tcaat. Evidently a crest was sometimes acquired by one family in ignorance of the fact that it was already used by the opposite clan elsewhere.

The Killer-Whale is considered the oldest Raven crest, and the Eagle the oldest crest on the opposite side. The Killer-Whale was owned by every Raven family without exception; and the Eagle, by almost every Eagle family.

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

The most elaborate variety of "grave-fathers" was called "two grave-fathers" or "double grave-father." It consisted of a long box with a carved front, capable of holding several bodies, and, as the name implies, was raised upon two posts instead of a single one. The bodies were each enclosed in a smaller box before being placed inside; and all belonged to the same clan, the chief for whom it was erected, and his immediate friends. Such a double grave post is illustrated on Plate VI. It was raised for a chief woman belonging to the Rotten-House-People and ornamented with one of her principal crests, the Dog Fish.

In other cases the grave-box was placed upon the top of a single pole or let into the top of the pole itself; and near Massett I saw a pole which had been channelled along the back like a house pole, the remains placed in the channelling, and the whole boarded over. But, whether any bodies were placed upon the post or not, it was sometimes carved in imitation of a true grave post, stout planks being nailed crosswise on the front of the post at its top, to resemble the front of a grave-box.

**Comparative study of myths embodied in totem poles,** in Franz Boas' Tsimshian Mythology (22: 565–871).

The Tsimsyans distinguish clearly between two types of stories — the myth (*ada'ox*) and the tale (*ma'hlesk*). [M.B. The *adaorh* is considered as truthful; it is the tribal tradition of a pseudo-historical character.]

Similar distinctions are made by all the other tribes of the north Pacific Coast. The *nu'yam* of the Kwakiutl, *ik'anam of* the Chinook, and *speta'khl* of the Thompson Indians, designate myths in the sense here given as opposed to tales . . . (p. 565).

List of myths and tales, and comparative annotations, which are illustrated on totem poles (*See* the details):

Origin of daylight (567, 641, 651).
Incidents based on Raven's voraciousness (Nos. 18, 40, 568).
Raven's beak pulled off by fisherman (No. 24, 568).
Raven swallowed by the Whale (No. 27, 569).
A Giant Cannibal (No. 80, 573).
Origin of mosquitoes (No. 81, 573).
The double-headed serpent (No. 26, 594).
The salmon is stolen (676, 677).
Whale swallows Raven (687, 688).
Thunderbird (711, 716).
The Spider Crab (721).
The Deluge (727).
The Feast of the Mountain-Goats (738).
The Giant Devilfish (739).
The Mouse Woman as adviser (752, 819, 846).
Bear Mother (753).
The Prince taken away by the Spring Salmon (770–779).
Vagina dentata (809, 810).
Testing the husband's faithfulness by the plume (817).
Djilaqons, the Frog, and the volcano (833).
The story of Gunarnesemgyad (835–838).
The Woman carried away by the Killer-Whales (840–845).
The Heavenly Children, the crests painted on the houses (853, 854).

**Spider Woman and Butterfly Myths in Siberia,** according to Waldelmar Bogoras (113: 328).

The Spider-Woman (*Ku'rgu-ne'ut*) descended from heaven on a long thin thread. She plays an important rôle in tales and incantations.

Butterflies were created from autumn leaves scattered by the wind; mosquitoes, out of dirt that the Creator, after finishing his work, rubbed between his palms.

**Mythical and Folk-lore Themes** illustrated on totems, the distribution of which has been traced by Stith Thompson (120).

*The child and the cannibal* (Bella Coola: Boas, Jesup North Pacific Expedition, i. 83). Once upon a time there was a youth whose name was Anutkoats, who was playing with a number of girls behind the village. While they were playing, a noise like the cracking of

twigs was heard in the woods. The noise came nearer and nearer. The youth hid behind a tree and saw that a Snanaik was approaching. She was chewing gum, which caused the noise. He advised the children to run away, but they did not obey. When they saw the gum, they stepped up to the Snanaik and asked her to give them some. The Snanaik gave a piece of gum to all the children, and when she saw Anutkoats, who was advising the children to return home, she took him and threw him into the basket which she was carrying on her back. Then she took all the other children and threw them on top of him into her basket. After she had done so, she turned homeward. Then Anutkoats whispered to the girls totake off their cedar-bark blankets and to escape through a hole that he was going to cut in the basket. He took his knife, cut a hole in the bottom of the basket, and fell down. The girls also fell down, one by one, until only one of them was left . . . (pp. 190, 191).

*The Cannibal who was burned* (Swanton, 97: 265). Five brothers were always hunting. After a while an unknown man came in to them. He came in many times. Once when he was there, the eldest brother's child began to cry, and, after all of the brothers had tried to quiet it without success, he offered to do so; but when they gave it to him, he secretly sucked the child's brains out from one side of its head. When he handed it back, and they saw what he had done, they seized wood from the fire and beat the stranger. Then he became angry and killed all the brothers but the youngest, whom he chased about in the house until morning. The boy ran out and after a long run, still pursued by the ogre, crossed a high mountain. By and by he crossed another and saw a lake beneath it. Running thither, he came to a log, composed of two trees growing together so as to make a fork, floating upon the water. Going out upon this, he threw himself into the crotch.

When the pursuer came up, he saw the man's shadow in the lake and began jumping at it. Now the man began to sing a North Song, and the lake at once began to freeze over. When all had frozen over except the small hole where the ogre was jumping, it froze so quickly after he had gone in that he could not get out again when he came up. Then he saw the man on the tree and asked him to pull him out; but the man only sang louder, so that the ogre was held fast. The man now began to cut some dry wood to build a fire over the ogre's head, telling him at the same time that he was going to save him. When the fire was lighted, the ashes flying up from the monster's head turned into mosquitoes. That is how they started (p. 193).

*The Cannibal who was burned* (353).

*Insects from burnt monster's body* (354).

*Raven's adventures* (Thompson, p. 280). Theft of light [the Prometheus theme] (281). With many tribes the theft of light and the theft of fire are confused. Even when they are not, many of the details are parallel. In some cases light is identified with the sun. Theft of light by being swallowed and reborn [From Bering Strait to all the northwestern area in America]. Light kept in box or basket [same area]. The theft of Fire (289). Fire is stolen by the culture hero for the use of mankind.

*The Deluge* (286). A widespread motif. A few obvious borrowings of the story of "Noah's Flood" occur. Birds cling to sky in flood (287).

*Vagina dentata* (309).

*Transformations by putting on skin* (313). A person is transformed by putting on the skin or feathers of an animal or bird.

*Thunderbird* (318). It is impossible to separate with any degree of precision this motif from that of *Roc*, for stories of the adventure with the *Roc* are told of the Thunderbird, but many other forms of the visit to the Thunderbird appear.

*Monster killed from within* (321).

*Victims rescued when swallower is killed* (321).

*Lulling to sleep by "sleeping" stories* (322).

*Miraculous birth* (323). Stories of miraculous birth are very widespread among the American Indians.

*Immaculate Conception* (323).

*Dirty-Boy* (327). Loathsome bridegroom assumes original form.

*Journeys to the Other World* (330).

*The Orpheus myth* (337). An interesting parallel to the classical story of Orpheus and Eurydice occurs in all parts of North America.

*The Stretching Tree* (332). A tree which magically stretches to the upper world.

*Obstacle flight* (333 and 342). A fugitive throws behind him objects which magically become obstacles in the path of the pursuer. One of the most widely distributed motifs in

folk-lore. For general distribution, *see* Bolte-Polivka, II, 140. Professor Boas sees in the America Indian versions two different currents of transmission: "an ancient one, coming from Siberia by way of Bering Strait; a recent one arising in Spain and passing into Latin America and gradually extending northward until the two meet in California." [M.B. To these must be added the post-European sources from French Canada, as the same theme is a familiar one in Canadian folk tales, not only among the French Canadians but also among the Indians who borrowed it from them, as they did many others.]

*Visit to the land of the dead* (337).

*The Woman stolen by Killer Whales* (342). A variant of the Orpheus myth.

*Bear Mother* (342 and 345).

*Light extinguished and woman stolen* (343). In Siberia and North America.

*Snake paramour* (344).

*Children kidnapped* in basket deceive kidnapper and escape (351).

*Many-headed monsters* (357). From Siberia to America.

*The Seven-Headed Dragon* (358).

*The Tar-Baby* (359). All magically sticking to one another.

## Numbers

**Number of Carved Columns in the North** (Haidas, Tsimsyans, and Tlingits), according to James Deans, in 1884. (33, 34: 345, 346).

There are three or four villages of Haidas in southern Alaska, at Kyganie [Kaigani] and other places, who have also carved columns.

In all Huidah [Haida] Land including the above-mentioned tribes in 1884, I am sure there was not less than 500 carved columns.

The Skickeens of Alaska, in 1862, had a vast number of these columns in their villages.

Amongst the Simsheans at Fort Simpson in the villages of the Nass and Skeena, as well as at various other places, the number and designs of these columns are simply astonishing.

As far as I have seen, the style of the carvings, as practised by the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands and all outlying tribes speaking the same language, and known by the name of Haidas (strangers), is the name as practised by the Kling-gate language; the Simsheans, who occupy a vast territory on the islands, inlets, and rivers of the mainland in British Columbia, and who speak the Simshean language. The modes of carving as practised by the above-mentioned people and nations are unique in their designs, crests and legends, while the styles of their neighbours, the Bill-Billas, Bella-Coolas, Quackguills, and others are so different that it may freely be said they have a style of their own, if the rude carvings, on the ruder poles they have, may be called a style.

**Appraisal. Totem Poles on the north Pacific Coast,** as observed and described by George M. Dawson in 1878 (30: 115 B, 116 B, 117 B).

Among the Tshimsians at Port Simpson, most of the original carved posts have been cut down as missionary influence spread among the people. At Nawitti (Hope Island), Quatsino Inlet (Vancouver Island), and elsewhere, where the natives are still numerous and have scarcely been reached by missionaries, though similar posts are found, they are small, shabby, and show little of the peculiar grotesque art found so fully developed among the Haidas.

As a rough average, it may be stated that there are at least two carved posts for each house among the Haidas, and these, when the village is first seen from a distance, give it the aspect of a patch of burnt forest with bare, bristling tree-stems. The houses themselves are not painted and soon either assume a uniformly inconspicuous grey colour or become green or overgrown with moss and weeds, owing to the dampness of the climate. The cloud of smoke generally hovering over the village in calm weather may serve to identify it. Two rows of houses are occasionally formed where the area selected is contracted. No special arrangement of houses according to rank or precedence appears to obtain, and the house of the chief may be either in the centre of the row or at the end. Each house generally accommodates several families, in our sense of the term; the elder to whom the house is reputed to belong, and who is really a minor chief, of greater or less importance in the tribe — or village — according to the amount of his property and number of his people.