

night, they paddled; when daylight came they rested, as they did not want to meet any war-raiding parties who might be travelling about.

Soon they came to Hartley Bay, which was the home of the Gitrha'ta. Here they rested in the village and then travelled on until they came to Metlakatla. When they arrived at Nees'wamak's village, here the people were surprised. The niece of Nees'wamak, who had been thought dead now entered her uncle's house. "It is I. These are your two grandchildren. Their father was Hæmtseet. Before sending us back to you, he gave his name to my oldest son. This name is Legyærh. He also gave you this canoeload of many valuable things. Some of the *narhnorhs* are to be the property of Legyærh. The ten slaves who manned the canoe are to be your property, and the man who was our guide is to return to his own Gitwilgyawts tribe. The Wudstæ treated us very kindly. Only the boys ridiculed Legyærh, because he was much more clever than they. They were very jealous of him. So their father sent us to you."

The gifts and the slave men were placed in front of Nees'wamak. "It is well that you should have come. It is your wisdom that has brought you back to us. Now that your eldest son has arrived, he will be my successor, as he seems to be a good leader. I will show him to all my fellow chiefs among all the Tsimssyan, inviting them to a feast at which I am going to present my nephews, the eldest being Legyærh and the youngest Neespelæs, as well as my niece who is Belham-næ'erh [Mother-of-Pearl, black fish].

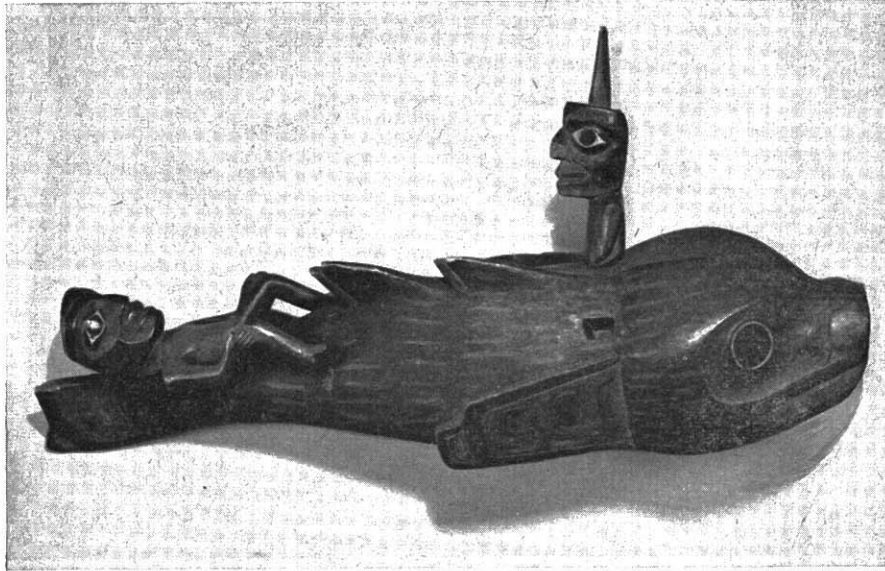
Nees'wamak announced that his successor would be Legyærh. When Legyærh did finally succeed his uncle, he retained his Wudstæ name of Legyærh, and, being a warlike leader, he soon became head-chief of all the Tsimssyan. This is the narrative of the Fugitive (Gwenhoot) Eagles.

THE CORMORANT HEAD-DRESS OF SEN'ARHAET

(This narrative was recently recorded by William Beynon from Mrs. Helen Clifton and Mrs. Robinson, of Hartley Bay. Sen'arhæt was the 'royal' Eagle chief of Kit'amat.)

The members of the Eagle clan are all connected: those among the Haida, the Git'amat, the Gitsalas, and the Niskæ—those of the Gitrhawn group. This is their myth of origin.

The Haida lived at a village known as Tsigwa, and there a great chief and his people lived. One day, his nephew, together with four companions, set out to fish trout some distance from the village, and they intended staying there overnight. As they were travelling along, the man sitting in the bow of the canoe looked into the water, and behold a beautiful head-dress appeared in the water. It looked like a live cormorant. He took his pole,



7. Dog-fish carrying two people.

pulled it up into the canoe, and placed it before the prince, who at once put it on. As he did so, he declared, "The Hauts' (Cormorant) is a crest of our house. Now this head-dress shall belong to us." So he wore it.

The prince and his companions went on until they came to the place where they intended to fish trout. They caught a great many fish. At night, they cleaned some of the trout, which they placed on their toasting sticks by the fire to cook. When the prince began to eat his trout, a little frog came and jumped on to his leaf dish, much to the annoyance of the prince. He took the little frog, cast it into the bushes, and got another roasted trout to eat. Just as he was about to eat, again the little frog jumped into his plate. This time, the prince was angry, and he threw the frog some distance away. He took another leaf and a freshly roasted trout and was about to eat it when again the little frog jumped into his plate. He was so really angered that he took the frog and threw it into the fire, saying, "That is what you get for being so much of a nuisance!" Then he ate the trout.

That night as they camped, the young fishermen heard the voice of a weeping woman calling, "O my child, my only child, what have you done to my child! Give me back his garment, so that I may be pacified!" At first, the weeping voice was quite distant. Then it drew closer. Before morning, it was very close and more insistent. Then the young men, who were very much alarmed at what they were hearing, made preparations in great haste to leave and return to their village.

PART I. TSIMSYAN TEXTS

The prince sat in the stern of the canoe. When the canoe pulled away from the shore, the young men saw a young woman run down to the water's edge, calling, "Take me with you! Come, take me with you!" The fishermen turned the canoe to the shore, and when the canoe came close, the young woman disappeared into the woods. So the men in the canoe kept on travelling.

Soon the young woman reappeared on the beach and called out to them, "Take me with you, so that I may be near my only child!" Again the young men turned in to take the woman into the canoe, but as they neared the beach, she again disappeared into the woods. So the young paddlers kept on their journey. And again the young woman came out, calling, "Take me aboard your canoe; I must find my only child!"

The prince called out, "You are only fooling with us. We will not come in for you."

They kept on travelling. The woman followed along the shore, calling out, "Come and take me in your canoe; I want to find my son, my only son!" But the young men now paddled steadily.

Then the woman called out, "When you reach the first point ahead of you, the bowman in your canoe shall fall dead. When you reach the second point, the next man shall fall dead. When you come to the next point, the man in the middle shall fall dead. And when you come to the point before you reach the village, the steersman shall fall back dead. After you have landed and finished telling what has happened, you, the prince, shall also fall dead. This is because you have killed my only child, and you would not return to me the cloak he was wearing."

The young men paddled very swiftly. When they came to the first point, the man in the bow of the canoe fell backwards dead. When they reached the next point, the man sitting next to the bowman fell backwards. The man sitting in the middle fell back when they reached the next point. And when they came to the last point before the village, the steersman fell back dead.

As the canoe landed on the beach, the people all ran down. Seeing the dead young men, they began asking the young prince what had happened to them. For a long while the prince did not answer, as he knew that what had just happened to his companions would also happen to him. After a long while, he told them the truth and showed them the Cormorant Hat they had found. He put it on, and as soon as he had finished telling what had happened he also fell dead.

The people knew that something terrible would happen. A shaman told the chief, "The little frog that was burned by the prince was *narhnorh*. Now there will be retaliation on the people of this village. They then began at once to make plans to leave the village the next day. That night when all were asleep, a great ball of fire descended from the mountains. Before the people had time to escape, they were destroyed, and the whole village burned up.

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Near the village was a secret cavern in which adolescent girls were taken and kept in seclusion. They were cared for by their paternal aunts or grandmothers. It so happened that at this time an old woman and a young girl were in this cavern, which was also a secret hiding place for the chief's valuables, such as copper shields, seal robes, sea-otter robes, woven blankets, and all other secret and valuable objects. In another cavern alongside was a storage place for food used by the tribes. This was full of food. When the old woman came out of the cavern, she saw that the whole village had been destroyed. She and the girl were the only survivors. So she sat down and wept her dirge.

She went into the cave where the food was stored and took some out. Then she went to the cavern where the girl was, and they fed on the supply of food that was stored.

The old woman and the girl now prepared to travel. They had no canoe, as all had been destroyed by the fire. The young girl was very strong, but the aged woman was very weak, and the two had not travelled very far before the old woman died, and the young woman was left alone. She was dressed in her uncle's much worn dancing robes, and now these were becoming ragged. She managed to climb over the high mountains, and on the other side she saw smoke. She must be near a village. So she kept going in the direction of the smoke. She arrived at the head of what she thought was a lake. It seemed as if the people had come there very recently. She sat up and rested on a log. It looked like a burial ground, as there were some burnt-out pyres. One must have been used quite recently. She rested and slept.

While she was asleep, a canoe with a chief and his wife landed just below where she was resting. She saw that the couple were in mourning and went straight to the burnt-out pyre that had quite recently been used. They were mourning for a daughter. As they wept, they kept on calling for their daughter to return to them. The young girl stood up and walked towards them. As soon as the chief's wife saw her, she called to her husband, "See, our weeping has been answered. Here is our daughter returned to us. Come my dear! I knew you would pity us." The chief saw the young girl and went to her, saying, "Yes, you are our daughter returned to us. Where have you come from?" The young girl answered, "I have travelled a long distance from my uncle's village. A ball of fire destroyed the village and all the people. My grandmother and I were the only ones to survive. We began travelling as my grandmother knew that people lived on the other side of the mountain. On the way she fell sick and died. I kept on travelling in the direction that she told me, until now I have met with you. My name is Deeks."

The great chief was happy and said to the girl, "You are our daughter, and you have been sent back to us. Our daughter had the same name as yours. She looked as you do. So you have been sent to us!" The chief and his wife

were very happy now that their daughter was alive again. The chief appointed as companions for her a number of his tribesmen's daughters, who followed her wherever she went.

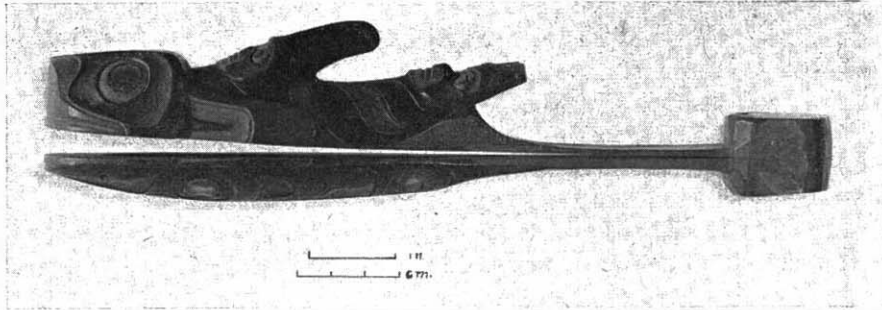
One day, the young people set out to go across to the other side of the channel to get strawberries. When they arrived at the grounds, fearing that harm might come to the princess Deeks, they made her stay in the canoe while they went to gather the berries. In their absence the princess became curious as to whether there were any berries on the other side of the point. So she took the canoe and paddled to the point. A strong current caught the canoe and swept it into midstream. She was not able to manage the canoe. Then a high wind arose, and this and the tide bore the canoe away. The girl did not know where she was, and the canoe kept on drifting. She gathered up the garments in the canoe to keep herself warm. A small quantity of provisions had been placed in it. She lay down to sleep in the bottom. After she had drifted about in the storm for a number of days, she looked over the side and found that she had drifted below a village. The waters were now calm.

Neeslaws, a great chief, seeing the strange canoe and recognizing it as of a Haida make, approached it and beheld in it a young woman. She was very beautiful. He took her into his house. Many of the Tsimshyan could speak Haida as well. The Haida could also understand the Tsimshyan, because they always met each other when seal and sea-otter hunting. They were always trading with each other, especially the Gitwilgyawt who had the trading privilege with the Haida people. It was a Gitwilgyawt chief who now took Deeks, not only as his guest but as one of his many wives.

She was his youngest wife and the most beautiful. This made the other wives jealous of her. She had now established an Eagle (Larhskeek) group among the Gitwilgyawt, of which her first son, Iyu'ens, became the head chief; the second was Gamrhægwen. Their sisters were Lurhsmawks and 'Alulæhl. The jealous wives of the Gitwilgyawt chief now tried to ridicule the Haida wife by giving her a nickname, Sa'magul,¹ because she had been cast adrift while picking strawberries.

The Eagle group of the Gitwilgyawts was headed by 'Luqawl. There were a great many adopted members of this group. The young wife of the Gitwilgyawt chief, Neeslaws, became their royal leader. And they adopted the nickname Na'sa'magul to be a royal name for her. They recognized Iyu'ens, her son, for their Eagle chief. So was established this royal household among the Tsimshyan. Many children from this group went to Gitsemrælem and became members of the Gitrhawn group. It was while they were at Gitsemrælem that a party from Git'amat came over on a war-raiding affair during the absence of the men. Only women and children and

¹Sa=gathering, *magul*=strawberries; or strawberry pickers.



8. Clapper: Whale carrying husband and wife on its back.

old men were left there. So the raiders took many women captives, among them Deeks, a daughter of the Deeks who had come into the Gitwilgyawt. She was a young woman now and had become the wife of the Gitsemrælem chief. She was recognized as a woman of high rank among the Git'amat, and as soon as Sen'arhæt knew who she was, he redeemed her from the chief who had taken her as a captive. She became a member of his house, and he gave a feast and proclaimed her as his niece. Soon after, a young prince of the Git'amat married her. He also had other wives, but he regarded her as his chief wife. This caused the jealousy of her husband's other wives, who began to taunt her as of obscure origin. She resented these taunts. Soon she was with child, and a son was born to her, and later, another. To these she gave names that her mother had brought from the Haida. She knew that she was of Haida origin, and that the Cormorant Hat was once one of their important individual crests. The other wives, knowing of her Haida origin, taunted her whenever they could, recounting that her mother had come to them adrift and had been picked up by the Gitwilgyawt who brought them up. But still her origin, according to them, was clouded.

The woman's children grew up, and the father was very proud of them. He elevated them to the highest rank, and they were clever in everything they did. They were truly outstanding. This caused more jealousy not only among the wives but among the other children of the chief. So they taunted their half brothers because they were of doubtful origin, yet so proud.

Then one day the older son, to whom the mother had given the name of Iyu'ens, went to her and asked, "Why do our other brothers always say that we are of unknown origin?"

The mother answered, "Your uncles are great chiefs in Haida land, where we originally came from. A great storm arose in which your grandmother drifted away and finally landed in the Gitwilgyawt tribe. After you have grown up, you should try to go back to the country of your grandfather, as you will always be taunted here as being of obscure origin. The people

are jealous of you, because you are too clever. So you all must plan to return to your uncles' country. You can do it when the people go fur-seal hunting. Then you shall be secure among your own people." She then went to her husband and told him, "Your sons are much concerned at the taunts that are being directed at them by the children of your other wives. They are branding them as of obscure origin, and their feelings are hurt. Before some rash act happens between them, it would be better that my children should return to their grandfather's country where they will be welcome. Provide them, I pray, with a large canoe so that they may safely travel to their true homeland."

The chief was very sad, as he loved his children. But he knew that they would have to endure many insults, so he answered his wife, "I will do as you wish, and give them two canoes. These will be loaded with many coppers, robes, and slaves, which they will distribute to their uncles. When all is ready I will give them captives we have held as slaves. Among them there is a Haida who will guide them to their destination."

All preparations were made, and Sen'arhæt, the Git'amat Eagle chief, gave a feast to all the people, at which he told them that his niece's children were about to return to their own country. "But their mother is staying on, and my household now has the privilege of using the Cormorant Head-dress, an exclusive crest that these people brought with them from the country of their uncle. Now that I have adopted Deeks, the mother of my grandchildren, as a member of my house, I will make my grandchildren my successors. But I will add wealth to whatever the father has done for my grandchildren, so that the Haida shall not call us poor."

When everything was ready, the mother Deeks told the oldest son, Iyu'ens, "You will find your grandfather's village by travelling towards the setting sun. When you get to the great Sand Bar (Rose Spit), go then towards the South West Wind (*hæi'wæs*: rain wind), and follow along in the same direction until you see a great village. That is the village of your grandfather. Ask the people if they remember, a long time ago, a woman whose name was Deeks who drifted away during a big storm. You tell them that she was your grandmother and that you have come back now to your own country, because you were lonesome for your own tribe."

The young people then set out in two canoes, and the Haida slave guided them. In a few days they came to the large Sand Bar which their mother had spoken of. They followed the shore until they beheld a great village. There they landed and went into a huge house. The oldest brother, through conversation with his mother, understood and could speak Haida. So he spoke, "We are looking for our grandfather. Many years ago our grandmother Deeks drifted away from here in a canoe. She and her companions had been gathering wild strawberries, and she had been left in the canoe. A storm blew it away, until it landed in the country of the Gitwilgyawt,

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who took her in. She became a member of the 'Luqawl group of Eagles. They adopted her, and she married the chief of the Gitwilgyawt and had children. Many of these have gone to other Tsimshyan tribes. Our mother joined the Gitsemralem when she married the chief Tem'nu'enlh (Gispewudwade), whose children we are. She gave me the name of Iyu'ens. We grew eager to know you and to return to our own people."

The Haida chief listened. Then he spoke, "Yes! I remember when your grandmother went adrift, and we all searched for her many days. But we thought that she had perished. Now we are happy that her grandchildren have come back." The Haida chief gave a great feast to present these young people and to tell who they were: "These are my nephews and nieces, who have returned to their own country and house."



9. Sea-otter hunter on Whale's back.

They became firmly established among the Haida, their own relatives. They had children, and these children were very much like the islanders. But, as they were outstanding and clever, this again caused jealousy among

the other Haida children, who were being outdone by these newcomers. Once more they were taunted because of their strange origin. The eldest son grew incensed, one day, when the oldest brother, Iyu'ens sister's son, outdid the son of their uncle in stone throwing (putting). Although of smaller stature, he was able to put the stone weight farther and embarrassed the other boy, who, in anger, said, "Why are these fellows of uncertain origin so clever?" This made the young man go to his mother, Deeks, and ask, "Why do the other boys always refer to us as being of obscure origin?" Deeks answered, "That was why we left your grandmother among the Tsimsyan. The Tsimsyan also were continually taunting us about our obscure origin. So now our own people, the Haida, are doing likewise. You must endeavour to go back to your grandmother's new country where your brothers have now established themselves. There you shall be well received and respected."

So again the grandchildren of Deeks decided to move, this time to return to where the former grandchildren of Deeks now formed a large group and in some places had adopted the most important name of the group. This name of Gitrhawn already was established on the Nass River and in the Tsimsyan village of Git'salas and other places.

They made full preparations. As they were good seal hunters, they had many seal-skin robes and sea-otter robes and much food. They set out. As they had learned the direction from their elders, they were sure of themselves. Early in the morning they started, and soon all land was lost sight of. They grew alarmed as to what direction to take, for the wind had changed and there were no landmarks to guide them. Suddenly a large Eagle came upon them. It had on its back and wings ten small eagles. It flew ahead of them, and they followed as they knew the Eagle was guiding them. They were aware that they belonged to the Eagle Larhskeek clan, so now they were being guided by their crest, the Eagle. Yet this was a special Eagle, so they gave it a name and planned to adopt it as their own exclusive crest when they would reach their relatives. The elder of the brothers, who was known as Iyu'ens, now stood up in the canoe when he saw what seemed to be a rock. Towards this they were heading, and the flying Eagle was leading them in this direction. Soon they realized this was a big island, afterwards named 'Kwærhl (Beaver Tail or Dundas island). Here they camped.

The next day they saw smoke in the distance. So they headed there. The huge Eagle had now gone back to sea, but the brothers had already taken it as a crest and called it "Marhlekepeel,"¹ because across its back stood ten small eagles.

They landed at the Gitwilgyawt village of their grandfather, Neestawirh. They were all taken into the house of Iyu'ens, who at once gave a feast at

¹Across on top of *rhpeel*, ten.

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which he presented his nephews and nieces and also adopted the Marhlek-peel crest. This crest was used as a house-front painting and on the dancing garments. That is why the Gitwilgyawt have Haida connections, even to this day, and frequently intermarry among them.

THE BEAVER HAT

(Narrative collected by William Beynon, in 1954, from John Tate, Sælaben, of the leading Eagle clan of the Gisparhlots tribe of the Tsimshyan, Port Simpson.)

While the people were living at Na'a (now Loring), Alaska, a long way from here (Port Simpson), there were two villages. Onë belonged to the Raven (Kanhade) group, and the other, opposite, to the Eagle group. These two groups intermarried and lived peacefully together. One of the Raven clan (Kanhade) princesses married an Eagle clan chief, who was a jealous man. He used to beat her, accusing her of infidelity. One day, the woman was chatting with one of the chief's young nephews when her husband unexpectedly appeared. In a fit of jealousy he stabbed her. She ran out bleeding and made good her escape to her own village, where she dropped dead in front of her uncle's house. Her uncle at once planned to be avenged for his niece's death. He secretly hid her corpse away, so that those in the opposite village would not know anything of it.

Now this dead princess had a sister who was her exact double, and the chief meant to use her as a decoy. Every day, this sister would go down to the water-hole, where everybody addressed her as if she were the married princess. The Raven clan chief made it known discreetly that his niece had recovered after being stabbed by her Eagle husband but would not return to him.

Hearing these reports, the Eagle chief was anxious to be reunited with his estranged wife. He sent various women over to intercede for him. "Tell her I will not do her any harm if she will come back to me." To these entreaties, the young woman, who was impersonating her dead sister, replied, "Why does he not come himself, then I might listen to him." This would have been far beneath the pride of so great a chief. He would not come and intercede for himself. Even for his marriage, in the first place, he had sent people to intercede for him; he had not personally made overtures to her. Now she insisted that he himself should come and promise personally not to injure her. It is true that she was a clever woman and a beautiful one as well. That is why the chief did not want to lose her. So one day, very secretly, as he did not want his people to see him going in person to beg his wife's return to his house, he went out for an ordinary stroll. It was about dusk. As he drew near the water-hole, where both villages drew water, he saw her who he thought