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KWAKIUTL DANCING SOCIETIES

BY

PHILIP DRUCKER

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FOREWORD

The following data were obtained incidentally to an element-list survey of the Northwest Coast from Vancouver Island to southeast Alaska in the winter 1936-1937. The work was financed by the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of California.

The writer would like to express his thanks to the many people on the coast whose kindness and hospitality facilitated the gathering of data, in fact, made the stay in the field both possible and pleasant. Limited space forbids mention of all to whom the writer is thus indebted, but particular thanks are owing to Mr. W. A. Newcombe, of Victoria; Mr. and Mrs. V. Hardy, R.I.C.; Dr. H. D. Barner and staff, of the R. W. Large Memorial Hospital at Bella Bella; Mr. and Mrs. Jones, Klemtu; Rev. and Mrs. McConnell, Kitamat; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Cadwallader, of Fort Rupert; Mr. and Mrs. Ed. Evenson, Quatsino; Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Findlay, Hartley Bay; and Dr. Perry and staff, of Port Simpson Hospital.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present paper is to describe the "secret societies" or initiatory rituals of various divisions of the Kwakiutl (see map 1) not dealt with in Boas' detailed study.¹ For comparative purposes, sketches of comparable rituals of adjacent tribes (Bella Coola, Tsimshian, Haida) have been appended.

Native culture has been badly shattered in Northern Kwakiutl territory, where European influence, especially that of missionaries, has been strong for the last sixty or seventy years. As a result, the present accounts are incomplete in many respects. Furthermore, since the schedule of the trip did not allow for extended stays, most of the material was obtained from a single informant of each group visited. Even despite the poor state of preservation of the culture, a program of intensive research could undoubtedly salvage much more than I was able to as a side issue of a rapid survey. Nevertheless it seems worth while to present the accounts, since they, with all their gaps, suffice to outline the major ritual patterns and reveal some hitherto unsuspected features of Kwakiutl ceremonialism. It should be noted that although none of the individual sketches are complete, they supplement and corroborate each other on most points of importance. The chief effect of the lacunae is to make any detailed comparative analysis of the rites unsafe; such a study will be deferred, therefore, until more complete data have been obtained.

It will be necessary to define certain of the terms used in the following pages, and to account for the organization of the material. I apply the term "secret society" to the group of people who by virtue of a dance performance are admitted to witness any of the esoteric dances grouped together into a ritual system. The individual dances (which are the "societies" of Boas' terminology) I have termed "dances" or "orders." There were several secret societies among the Northern Kwakiutl, each comprising a series of dances. Natives phrase the situation by saying that each society "had a separate house" (referring to the designation of the house in which the rituals were held as taboo during the performances); only those who had performed dances "belonging to that house"

might enter it. Thus, the Dog Eating dancers (mū-lām) formed a distinct society among most of the groups. A person who had been initiated into this group only, could not enter the house in which a Shamans' Society ritual was going on. To the group of individual performances admitting one to membership in such a society I have applied the name "dance series," or "dance cycle," since the dances were arranged in ranked order.

The accounts will follow geographical order of the northern tribes from south to north—Wikeno, Bella Bella, Xaihais (China Hat), and Xaisla—for the Wikeno account is the fullest and most detailed in many respects, and sets the stage for the less perfect descriptions which follow. Résumés of the rituals of two Southern Kwakiutl groups, and sketches of the ceremonials of adjacent non-Kwakiutl tribes follow, mainly for comparison. Some of the more obvious aspects of the social integration of the secret societies will conclude the descriptive material.

In justice to my Indian friends, I must say that the use of the historical present tense in the descriptions is a purely literary device. None of these dances (which are prohibited by law in British Columbia, I am told) have been performed for many years.

Informants

The following were the informants from whom the present data were obtained: Wikeno: "Cap'n" Johnson (Dave Bernard, interpreter); Bella Bella: Moses Knight (Willie Gladstone, interpreter); Xaihais: Peter Starr (Arthur Neasloss, interpreter); Xaisla: Andrew Green (Heber Amos, interpreter); Fort Rupert Kwakiutl: Charley Nowell; Koskimo: Chief Sam (Walter Nelson, interpreter); Hartley Bay Tsimshian: Heber Clifton; Tsimshian proper: Ben Tate (Henry Pierce, interpreter), Mrs. Dudoward; Gitksan: John Brown (Kispiyox), Alfred Daines (Kitanamaks) (Louisa Daines, interpreter); Massett Haida: Andrew Brown; Skidegate Haida: Henry Moody.

Phonetic Key

In transcribing native terms the following symbols have been used:

ä, as in English fat
á, as in English idea
é, as in English let
e, as in English late
ə, obscure vowel

¹F. Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, USNM-R 1895:318-737, 1897; cited hereafter as: Boas, Sec. Soc. Boas describes the societies of only the Kwakiutl proper (the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl) in detail, with a few sketches of the rituals of other Southern Kwakiutl; the northern divisions—Wikeno, Bella Bella, Xaihais (China Hat), and Xaisla—are not treated.

o, as in English awe
 o, as in English stone
 u, as in English foot
 ū, as in English boot
 i, as in English pin
 ī, as in English lean
 c, as in English shoe
 tc, as in English chin
 x, as in German hoch
 ai, as in English pine
 ɬ, surd l
 L, lateral affricative
 H, strong unvoiced aspiration
 ', glottal stop
 Underlined letters are whispered sounds

WIKENO DANCE SOCIETIES

For purposes of orientation, it should be pointed out that the Wikenno dance pattern is fundamentally the same as that of all the Northern Kwakiutl divisions. There are among the Wikenno two distinct societies, that of the "Shamans" and the *dlūwulaxa*. Each society is composed of people who have performed certain initiatory dances. Each dance or order is ranked with respect to the others of its series and is the cherished hereditary possession of some family. The idea underlying the dance performances is that a family ancestor encountered and was possessed by a supernatural being who taught him a particular dance and gave him the right to display certain objects or the power to perform miraculous deeds. (See the dance origin legends of Southern Kwakiutl families, in Boas, Sec. Soc., passim.) His heirs, in order to display the dances and crests thus received, dramatize his experience. According to the fiction of the dances, they too are supposed to be inspired by the being. The ritual consists in this simulated supernatural experience, followed by frenzied unhuman behavior by the initiate, during which he acts the part of the spirit who is supposed to possess him. The climax comes when the initiate is captured by members of the society, and made to display his supernatural gifts before the awed populace. Finally the spirit is exorcised by songs and purificatory devices. After the performance the novice is subject to restrictions for some time. By removing the symbols of taboo—the ritual insignia—the society acknowledges him as a full-fledged member.

Shamans' Series

Initiates of the Shamans' series of dances are called "Shamans" (*tsitsiqa*).² The same term is used for the collective name of the dances themselves. Dancers of the higher orders are sometimes called *dlūḡwola* (sing., *dlōkwola*, "[one

² The uninitiated are called *pHkws* (pl., *pīpHkws*).

who has] encountered a supernatural treasure" [*dlugwī*]). The rank and nature of the dances is as follows, beginning with the highest:

1. Cannibal dancer (*hamatsa*, or *tanis*; the latter term is the ritual one, used within the dance house).
 2. Fire Throwing dancer (*nunltsistala*). This dancer is almost equal in rank to the Cannibal. The name contains the word "fool" (*nunltsu*). Certain but not all of the Fire Throwing dancers eat dogs; all play with fire, throwing burning brands about.
 3. Grizzly Bear dancer (*nan*).
 4. Rat Spirit dancer (*q'ya'pla*). The dancer goes about tearing off people's clothes.
 5. Chewing Spirit dancer (*q'āmkwila*). This dancer goes about destroying property.
 6. *q'ōminōāksla*. This represents a female spirit. The dancer appears to be scalped; his blood excites the Cannibals.
 7. *ala'qim*. The name is said to mean "taken back," that is, into the woods. There are two types of *ala'qim*: one who brings back a number of spirits (represented by masked dancers), and another who dances with a forehead "mask" only. There are various spirits which may inspire an *ala'qim*.
 8. Ghost dancer (*lūla*).
- All the foregoing comprise what may be referred to as the "higher dances" or "higher orders." They are distinguished from the lower dances by the fact that all are men's dances (no woman may perform them); all "disappear" into the woods for some time following their initial inspiration; and all have attendants continuously during the ritual.
- The rank of the lower dances is not fixed so rigidly. Hosts of minor spirits may be represented. The following are in approximate order, but do not exhaust the list:
9. Beheaded dancer (*qaqiasū*).
 10. Disemboweled dancer (*kwoqasū*).
 11. War Spirit dancer (*winalakilis*).
 12. Salmon Spirit dancer (*mmiyala*).
 13. Flirting Spirit dancer (*Lusala*).
 14. Laughing Spirit dancer (*da'lāla*).
 15. Sleep-bringing Spirit dancer (*qaḡqalamos*).
 16. Surface-of-the-Water Spirit dancer (*wo'-woyakila*).
 17. Spirit-playing-at-the-tideline (*āmḡaxanūa*).
 18. Spirit-of-budding-plants (*qwo'qwo'xa'mealaka*).
 19. Southeast Wind Spirit (*malagixtūa*).
 20. Spirit-of-the-drying-rack-supports (*dax-damilana*).
 21. Spirit-making-well-throughout-the-village (*hailixtsaHsta*).
 22. Robbing Spirit dancer (*ḡilolāla*).
 23. Door Guarding Spirit (*u'wostuilana*).

There is no Hook Swinging dancer (*hawinala*) in the Wikenno series.

It is customary, though not essential, for an individual to perform one or more minor dances of the series before entering the higher order to which he has hereditary right.³

Certain functionaries of the higher dances, such as the female attendants, the person who calls out the taboo word, and others, also have to perform a minor dance each time by way of preparing for their office.

The procedure of these minor dances is in general as follows. A spirit whistle is heard outside the house, whereat the novice becomes inspired (usually giving his or her dance cry, fainting, etc.). He is confined to a room for four days, emerging nightly to dance. Attendants (*dlah-wimił*) accompany him only while he dances. He usually has some sleight-of-hand trick which he displays on the fourth night. To do this, the novice dances normally; then whistles are heard which cause him to become possessed by his spirit. He begins to trot around the fire, disregarding the drum beat. The musicians cease their song, and change the tempo of their drumming to match his pace. None of the spectators knows (theoretically, at least) what the dancer is going to do. An attendant asks him what material he wants, repeating the answer, for example a request for stones and water, to the people. After obtaining the requisite objects, the attendant asks and receives further instructions from the dancer. Typical tricks are: standing on red-hot stones, causing a stone to float, bringing a dead salmon to life, pushing an arrow through one's body, and so on. These tricks are called "shamans' magic" (*tsitsixedaiyū*). After performing his miracle, the novice sings his supernatural song, is taken to his room, and cleansed of his spirit by special female attendants.

Those who have performed one such minor dance are called *ū'walala* (sing., *ū'lala*) (as well as the ordinary term for initiate). Those who have danced twice are *nūnłām* (sing., *mūłām*). Persons with three dances to their credit are called *dām-xla*. Four dances entitle one to become an attendant of a high dancer; men who have attained this right are called *hailika* ("healers"), and women are *La'ākwilałāla* ("having power to heal by laying on of hands").⁴

The procedures of the higher dancers of the series (all who have permanent attendants) are

much alike. The detailed account refers specifically to the Cannibal dancer, but other routines vary only in minor respects.

When the time comes for the novice (*dlōkwola*) to become inspired, the spirit whistles (*nawalukw*)⁵ are heard. The novice becomes excited, and runs out of the house crying, "ham! ham! ham! ham!", his attendants in pursuit. While running he sings a song which he will use after his return. The attendants, unable to capture the novice, stop at the edge of the woods. Afterward, all the initiated people assemble for the giving-of-commissions (*La'uhwa*), at which the tasks of carving masks, tethering pole, and the like, are assigned. During the disappearance of the novice, which may last a month or more, preparations are made in secret for the dance, and minor dances are given by certain dance officials. The novice usually stays in a shelter or cave which has been prepared for him out in the woods. He is subject to no restrictions (one whom the interpreter knew passed his time hunting with a friend to obtain food for the coming feasts), but may be asked to eat sparingly, to make it easier for the attendants to boost him up to the roof during the dance (i.e., at times when he is supposed to leap in and out of the house via the smoke hole).

A variant procedure is for the novice to be present and normal at the giving-of-commissions, becoming inspired and disappearing subsequently.

When the proper time comes, the novice is heard giving his Cannibal cry near the village. His attendants rush out to capture him, making soothing sounds, then bring him into the dance house (*lupkw*). Two *baxbakwolanūsiwa* masks (a male and a female)⁶ representing the spirits (*dlugwi*) of the novice have been placed before his cubicle. These masks are not correctly made, and on seeing them, the novice faints. He is carried into his room: then the master of ceremonies (*alkw*)⁷ goes through the houses assembling the higher initiates to revive the dancer. In each house he announces, "It has not been made true. It does not conform to the features of the spirit of the inspired one, and he has fainted therefrom." (This noncommittal mode of announcing is to prevent the uninitiated and those who have as yet danced only the lower dances, i.e., those not admitted to see the Cannibal, from learning the truth: that the masks are only masks, not actual

³ The informant was very certain of this. It sometimes happened that, e.g., a Cannibal dancer died before completing his four years of dancing. A younger brother could take the dance up where the deceased left off, even though the younger had never danced at all previously. One such case occurred within my interpreter's time. It was considered better, however, to begin with a lower dance.

⁴ There is a special process, called "going from the door to the rear of the house" (*hikiwo-lilala*), whereby one may become an attendant to a higher dancer after a single dance. A few families only own the right to do this.

⁵ The word *nawalukw* means "spirit," but is applied to the dance whistle, which of course represents the voice of spirits.

⁶ See Boas, *Sec. Soc.*, pls. 30, 31, etc.

⁷ The personage I have termed "master of ceremonies" is an important functionary in the rituals. The office is hereditary. In potlatches following the rites he serves as speaker for the chief giving the affair, and is sometimes referred to as a kind of speaker, although he is not the chief's speaker on secular occasions. He is called "*alkw*" by all Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, and Tsimshian.

spirits.) The master of ceremonies invites only initiates advanced enough to know the important secrets.

Within the house the Cannibal, still unconscious (or "dead"), is brought from his room. The Foremost Shaman (augwila) and four female attendants (La'álkwilalála) take their places about him. The Foremost Shaman blows a mouthful of water over the novice, shakes his rattle, and dances once (counterclockwise)^a around the fire, while the four women attendants chant, and the musicians beat the carved wooden drum. His circuit concluded, the Foremost Shaman motions four times over the recumbent form of the Cannibal. An official standing near by, announces that the patient is beginning to breathe once more. Three times more the Shaman performs his circuit and the motions with the rattle; each time the Cannibal displays more signs of life until on the fourth he is entirely revived. His attendants surround him and conduct him to his cubicle. A new cedar-bark mat is placed before the room on which the carver and an assistant place the two (incorrectly carved) masks, sprinkling them with eagle down. While one musician sings and drums a particular beat, the carver and his aide dance four times around the fire carrying the masks in their arms. The musician begins a staccato beat, the carver (carrying the male mask) approaches the fire, motions as though throwing three times, the fourth actually throwing the mask into the blaze. His aide does the same with the other one. When the masks have been consumed, the fact is announced to the audience, and a feast is given them.

During the time the Cannibal is in his room, he is supposed to be put in a sort of harness or straitjacket of withes, by which he is tied to the tethering pole (hwo'shwaim). The pole, whose top extends through the roof of the house, is set loosely, so it can be made to sway. Uninitiates are told that it is the struggles of the Cannibal that shake the pole.

That night the higher initiates again assemble. The Cannibal dances while they sing several of his songs, then suddenly becomes frenzied, and after dashing about wildly, disappears into the darkness.

Next morning the Cannibal's cry is heard again, and his attendants capture him as before. The procedure of the first day is duplicated.

On the third day when the Cannibal is brought in, the sound of clapping of beaks (of baxbakwolanūsiwa masks) is heard, and the dancer cries, "ham, ham, ham, ham!" The people know the spirits are in his room now. At night he dances for the higher initiates; on the next night all the people are to see him and his spirits.

The fourth day is begun with a potlatch given to the initiates. At its conclusion, the unini-

tiates are invited into the dance house for the first time during the rite. They are seated along the sides of the house, far from the musicians, seated at the rear, and the Cannibal's room close to the door. Previously initiated Cannibals with their attendants sit in a row in front of this room. Initiated women sit behind the uninitiated along the walls. The Cannibal emerges, dances four times around the fire, then reenters his room. The initiated women arise and dance in their places along the walls. (This makes it possible for someone to go behind them unobserved, between the Cannibal's room and the musicians, if necessary to give signals, etc.) Suddenly, as the musicians strike up a different song, a voice is heard singing within the cubicle. A cloud of eagle down is blown out from the room, and the baxbakwolanūsiwa spirits (dancers wearing the masks) emerge, first the male mask, then the female. The spirits circle the fire once and return to the cubicle. Simultaneously the Cannibal emerges. Sometimes he jumps out over the top of the room. He is very unruly. With his attendants in pursuit, he dashes about the room. He may bite people at this time.^a Finally a certain person suggests getting a corpse in hopes of appeasing him. When the corpse (which has been prepared beforehand) is brought in, the dancer snatches it from the bearer. Other Cannibals present become excited when they smell the body, and tear pieces from it which they devour.

After the corpse feast the Cannibal becomes quiet. He permits himself to be conducted to his room. His attendants give him a mouthful of rancid olachon grease. Then they take him down to the beach where, standing waist-deep in the icy water, they duck him four times. He has his "tethering harness" on at this time, for it was said the attendants drag him about by it quite roughly. Meanwhile, the tethering pole is broken up, and the pieces burned. The Cannibal is returned to his room to be dressed in a bearskin robe, a dance apron, and huge rings of dyed cedar bark on his head, neck, wrists, and ankles. A certain man is called forth to dance along before him with a large carved rattle. The Cannibal dances quietly, while one pacifying song is sung, after which his attendants take him to his room. Four women attendants (the La'álkwilalála) are requested by the master of ceremonies to drive the spirit from the dancer. Each sings her supernatural song and, entering the cubicle, blows on the Cannibal's hands, making a loud noise. "After this he may handle things." The Cannibal's whistles are no longer heard.

The final act is the name giving. The dancer is led to his seat among the other Cannibals in front of the room. A mock naming takes place

^a All ceremonial circuits among the Kwakiutl are counterclockwise; this will be understood hereafter.

^a He bites only high-rank initiates, who have been chosen—and notified so—beforehand. His attendants must see to it that he makes no mistakes, and the people bitten are paid for their wounds. This applies to all the Cannibal accounts hereafter described.

first, the purpose being to make known the dancer's particular taboo word. The master of ceremonies goes to each person of importance, in turn, asking him to mention some ancestral name that might be acceptable to the Cannibal. Each one called on whispers a name to the master of ceremonies, who makes a little speech to the effect that this will probably be acceptable, then whispers it (loudly) in the dancer's ear. The latter sits stolidly, indicating the name is not suitable. Finally a person (with whom it has been arranged previously) gives the taboo word; when the master of ceremonies whispers it to the dancer, the latter cries, "ham! ham!" and "faints." The master of ceremonies feigns astonishment. "This must be the taboo word! I'll shout it out, to test it!" He shouts the word, and the dancer stirs, giving his cry in weak tones. Attendants carry the dancer back into his room. Now two officials speak, announcing that henceforth everyone must take pains to avoid speaking the word in the dancer's presence.¹⁰

The women attendants again enter the cubicle to drive the spirit from the dancer. Then he is brought out once more, seated, his hereditary Cannibal name is announced, and the account of its origin given. This concludes the ritual.¹¹

The Cannibal must dance three more winters (preferably in succession), using the same pair of masks. The performances are identical with the first one, except that the dancer does not disappear for so long a time. At the conclusion of the fourth dance, the masks should be burned, a requirement which has not been observed strictly in recent times.

After completing the four winters of hamatsa, the dancer can begin a second Cannibal order, becoming a *tū'gwilīs* (the name is said to refer to "walking"). The performances of this kind of Cannibal are the same as those of an ordinary hamatsa. This also takes four years. The highest order is attained by completing a third four-year period of dancing. One who passes through this stage is known as "One-making-a-healing-sound" (*haiyaligilakwa*). Only few men ever had the wealth necessary to achieve this title.

Of the other high-rank dancers, only the Fire Throwing dancer may have twelve years of dancing. He has the same degrees as the Cannibal, *tū'gwilīs*, and *haiyaligilakwa*. The Grizzly Bear dancer, the Rat Spirit dancer, and the Chewing Spirit dancer "go through" in four years. There

is no special title for one who has completed these particular dances. The *q'ōminoākslāl* is for one year only. The type of *ala'qīm* who brings back a number of masks dances for four years, but the last three years' performances may be only one day each. An *ala'qīm* who wears a forehead mask dances one winter only.

During the performances, the following acts are taboo: eating before the Cannibals are fed, spilling food or water, talking (among the spectators), laughing, covering one's face, chewing gum. A violation of these rules sends the dancers into a frenzy, and a special performance must be given to calm them. If an uninitiate chances to see a Cannibal acting in a normal manner, he must be initiated immediately. In ancient times he would be slain, it is said.

dlūwulaxa Series

The Wikenos have a second dance series, called *dlūwulaxa*, a term said to mean "Once more (come) down (from heaven)." The name refers to the fact that most of these dancers are borne to the heavens by their spirits, and afterward descend to earth. These dances are given in springtime, whereas the Shamans' series is restricted to late fall.

As regards relative rank, the two series are very nearly equal. Certain of the *dlūwulaxa* dances are quite expensive, requiring an even greater outlay of wealth than does the Cannibal dance. A noteworthy feature is the use of a dance of the *dlūwulaxa* series to indicate the intention of becoming a hamatsa. The dances of the series, beginning with the highest, are:

1. War dancer (*wawīnalāl*).¹²
2. Healing dancer (*hailikila*).
3. Making a Supernatural Sound (*hīlakwiyūs*).
4. Grizzly Bear Spirit dancer (*nanalāl*).
5. Wolf Spirit dancer (*gīlalāl*, lit., "crawling").
6. Hearing the Heavenly Spirits (*mīlalasū*).

In addition, there are numerous minor spirits represented.

The War dancer and the Healing dancer do not disappear ("fly away" is the phrase used in connection with this series); the four other high dancers do. The performances will be recounted briefly.

War dancer: The *dlūwulaxa* "horns"¹³ sound, and the novice becomes possessed by the War Spirit. He cries, "huwuhu!" He strikes things with his fists, breaking everything he can lay

¹⁰ The dancer becomes excited and must be pacified by a night of dancing when he hears the word. The person speaking it must give a minor dance and feast to the society members. Sometimes people break the taboo deliberately to provide an occasion if they want to give a feast. The person who first speaks the word in the ceremony gives a minor dance beforehand (during the dancer's disappearance).

¹¹ The dancer's activity is considerably restricted for some time after the dance, but I failed to obtain a detailed account of the methods of removing the taboos.

¹² There is another kind of "War dancer," from Bella Bella, which a Wikenos claims, but he really does not have the right to it. People say, grinning, that he just "borrowed" it.

¹³ The whistles used in the *dlūwulaxa* differ in form from those of the Shamans' series; from descriptions they seem to have been long trumpet-like affairs. Natives refer to them in English as "horns" to distinguish them.

hands on. Attendants immediately surround him, attempting to restrain him, but cannot.¹⁴ That evening the dlūwulaxa people assemble. In the midst of his dance the novice rushes out to go through all the houses in the village, breaking up everything he can. He still uses his bare hands only. On the second night he dances with his club on his shoulder. His "dance" consists of little jerky hops, with feet together and knees stiff. From this time on he never lays his club down. Every now and then he breaks away, to run through the village, smashing everything in his path.¹⁵ The third night is like the second. On the fourth night all the people come in to see his spirits. The club which he carries represents some crest belonging to him, for example, a Sea Lion, Blackfish, or Whale. He dances, then the club is transformed into the thing it represents (apparently a large image or masked dancer appears). The War dancer may have other spirits (masked dancers, etc.) to show. Now he is ready to be returned to normalcy. A Healing Spirit (hailikila) mask, carved to represent desirable human features, is put on his face. He dances with this. (As I understood it, the idea is that he is thus made to become a Healer himself, to aid in the "curing," i.e., driving out the War Spirit, which is too powerful for the ordinary attendants to remove unaided.) His attendants take him into his cubicle for the "cleansing" (qálhwa, lit.; to insert finger or feather in the throat to cause to vomit). All the spirit horns sound a long blast, then cease. Everyone listens. The horns are heard again, this time outside near the edge of the woods. Twice more they are heard, farther away each time, as the spirits depart.¹⁶ An attendant calls out from the cubicle, "To prove he is again a human being [i.e., no longer an incarnated spirit], call him by name!" A certain person in the audience shouts the secular name of the dancer; the latter replies, "Hello!" ("yau!"). Then the dancer is brought out of his room, to be placed in his seat before it. He wears rings of twisted dyed cedar bark. A potlatch is given, in which the makers of the clubs, masks, and other things, are paid, and all the things the dancer has destroyed are paid for or replaced. The dancer is put back into his room. Next morning

¹⁴ The War dancer has attendants constantly during the ritual; he is the only dlūwulaxa to do so. He is the only dangerous dancer in the series.

¹⁵ Everything that the dancer breaks is paid for in the potlatch at the end of the rite. The giver of the dance usually tells friends to put old boxes, canoes, etc., in the dancer's path, and replaces these with good new things in the potlatch. A rival will sometimes put out the most valuable things he has for the dancer to destroy, knowing that the giver must replace them. "This is why the dance is so expensive."

¹⁶ The men who blow the horns are stationed in groups varying distances from the house to simulate departure of the spirits.

early, all the dlūwulaxa people assemble to watch the final act of taming the dancer. Attendants drag him from his room to the fireside. A certain person, taking a piece of burning cedar bark in a pair of tongs, "smokes" the dancer (motions over him with the smoldering bark) four times. This concludes the rite.

Healing dancer: This is a simple performance, but very high in rank. The novice becomes inspired when the voices of the dance spirits are heard. He does not disappear, but is put into his room. He dances for four nights, on the last one wearing a special kind of forehead mask. He is cleansed and tamed in the same manner as the War dancer. A great potlatch is given in his honor. His Healing Spirit enables him to set right anything that goes amiss in the dlūwulaxa meetings hereafter.

The following dancers all "fly away"; that is, at the sound of the spirit horns the novice becomes possessed, his attendants hasten to surround him and, in the excitement, smuggle him off unseen to his room. According to the fiction of the dance, the novice has been carried off to the heavens by his spirit. On the fourth day, the novice "descends from heaven" (glaxaxim), appearing suddenly across the river from the village. Certain people are selected to go over in canoes to capture him.

Making a Supernatural Sound: This dance is a kind of preliminary step in becoming a Cannibal.¹⁷ The novice disappears for four days, descends from heaven, and is caught and brought back to the village. Unlike the other dancers, he can speak the language of human beings at the time of his capture. With his attendants he marches through the village from house to house. At intervals he calls out that he is looking for his q'wonas (q'wonas is a term used in the dance house of the Shamans' series to refer to the dance spirits, ordinarily called dlugwī, or nawalukw. The word is not used in the dlūwulaxa, except by this dancer, and therefore indicates that he is something besides a dlūwulaxa). The attendants reply that they do not know where it is. He goes through the village four days, and dances nightly. On the fourth night the master of ceremonies (alkw) announces that the q'wonas of the dancer has been found, whereupon the dancer comes out of his room wearing a mask carved to represent a handsome human face. The beat of all the dancer's songs is that of the Cannibal songs. After dancing with the mask, the novice is cleansed, a potlatch is given, and next morning he is purified with smoke. A year or so later, in fall time, he becomes possessed by the Cannibal spirit.

Grizzly Bear Spirit dancer: When the spirit horns blow, the novice growls like a bear, and flies away. On the fourth day a grizzly is seen on the opposite shore, and certain men prepare to attack it with lances. They cross by canoe.

¹⁷ It was not absolutely necessary to perform this dance before becoming a Cannibal, but those who owned the right to it usually used it.

Just as they are about to set upon the beast,¹⁸ the spirit horns are heard. Their leader tells them to desist. "Perhaps this belongs to the one who recently flew away." The horns blow once more, and the novice appears. With their spears, the "hunters" drive both the novice and the grizzly bear into a canoe. As they return to the village they sing, and the bear dances. Just as the canoe beaches, the bear jumps out and runs up and down the beach chasing people. Sometimes he runs up the steps of a house. (Unlike the grizzly bear of the Shamans' dance series, this bear does no harm. The people only pretend to be frightened, for they know the "pursuit" is all in fun.) Meanwhile the novice is taken to his room. The attendants round up the bear, prodding him with their spears, and drive him into the dancer's cubicle. Now all the women of the village assemble before the house to sing in honor of the novice. This takes place in the morning. When evening comes, the dance people assemble in the house to sing while the novice dances. The grizzly remains hidden. After singing the people are given a feast.

Fun and horseplay are permitted in the dlūwulaxa. For instance, during the feast the grizzly may become aroused, growl and roar, and try to get out of the room. The people scramble back to their seats along the walls, while attendants rush over to restrain the beast. After a terrific struggle, despite their efforts a board will be torn loose and they will all be sent sprawling, but instead of a grizzly bear the figure of a decrepit old man will totter forth. At other times it will be the bear who emerges. He chases anyone who is not seated in the proper part of the house (back along the wall), upsets dishes of food,¹⁹ and the like. Finally people start up his song, and the bear dances, becomes tame, and may be put back in the cubicle. This continues for four nights. "They have a lot of fun with the grizzly bear"; sometimes he breaks out and runs all through the village. On the fourth night when the spirits are sent away, the bear vanishes.²⁰ A potlatch is given, and next morning the dancer is purified with smoke.

Wolf Spirit dancer: The novice is inspired and flies away like the preceding dancer. When the time comes for his return, a wolf is seen on opposite shore. Great preparations are made for the fetching-by-canoe (mōa). Two canoes are

lashed together with planks to make a "raft"; someone who has been a Wolf Spirit dancer previously is requested to be the chief dancer on the raft. Singers are taken, to chant for the chief dancer on the way over. When they land they capture the child. The wolf vanishes. All the captors shout, "yai!" (an exclamation used when one loses something). The novice is brought back, put in his room, and for four nights he dances. On the last night the wolf emerges from the cubicle to dance. Subsequently the novice is purified like the preceding dancers, and a potlatch is given for him.

Hearing the Heavenly Spirits: The novice is inspired by any of the various heavenly spirits (mīl'agīla). He flies away for four days, descends again, is caught and dances four nights like the rest. On the fourth night, the master of ceremonies (alkw) is bade to call the dancer's spirit down from the sky. He stands under the smoke hole, shouting his request that the "honored one from heaven" descend to show himself to the people. He tries very hard. Suddenly there is a tremendous thud on the roof, a blare of spirit horns, and a commotion at the door. The master of ceremonies sends the attendants to see if the spirit he has been calling has arrived. They report that there is something strange and terrifying without. They assemble at the door, holding their blankets out to form a screen, then back in. All at once they break away, revealing the spirit—a naked dancer, painted black, wearing a hominoid mask. The spirit dances, enters the cubicle, and is sent away when the novice is purified.

Minor dances: One example will serve to illustrate the nature of the dances below the rank of Hearing the Heavenly Spirits. The novices do not fly away, but are put into a room when inspired, to dance for four nights. One such dance comes from a sea being called kūmōgwā.²¹ On the fourth night the dancer becomes frenzied in the midst of his dance. He dashes out the door before his attendants can intercept him. After a fruitless pursuit, they report to the master of ceremonies that the novice escaped—they saw him dive into the water. Spirit horns are heard four times. Each time the master of ceremonies sends the attendants to see what is happening. The first time they report that they can see nothing. The second time they say that everything looks strange, describing in detail miraculous phenomena. The third time they report that the water is rising far above high-tide line; and by the fourth time it has come nearly to the door of the house. The attendants pretend to be terrified. Now the master of ceremonies himself goes to the door. He cries, "Let your countenance be seen,

¹⁸The "grizzly bear" of course is a man dressed in a bearskin.

¹⁹This is permissible because no active Cannibals are present; they are not permitted to enter the dlūwulaxa dance house.

²⁰Sometimes later on, when nothing is happening, the owner (dancer) calls his grizzly bear back, just to provide some amusement. The owner is not possessed. The bear appears, chases people, etc., dances, then goes into the room and vanishes.

²¹Boas (Sec. Soc., 374) gives a legend concerning this being from the Newetsee LaLasi-goala, characterizing him as "the protector of seals, who kills hunters."

O honorable chief!" The horns blow out over the water. The master of ceremonies repeats his call, and the horns sound near by. Then he shouts, "Come up on the beach, O honorable chief!" Now the spirit is close to the house (but the attendants have not seen it yet). The final call is, "Be kind enough to enter, O honorable kŭmōgwā!" One of the attendants turns to the people to announce, "You see, we were right! It is the kŭmōgwā." The chief musician strikes up a kŭmōgwā song; the attendants back in, screening the spirit with their robes, then step back revealing him. He is a dancer with a robe covered with mollusks, starfish, and such. He wears a hominoid mask, painted blue, and long loose hair. The spirit begins to dance. In the midst of his dance the attendants interrupt, setting on him with cries of "hūpūpū!" and chase him into the cubicle. The master of ceremonies makes a speech, saying to the people, "This being you have just seen is the kŭmōgwā, who was first seen by So-and-so, the ancestor of So-and-so [the present novice] at Such-and-such a place [etc.]." Then the purification and potlatch take place.

The potlatch given on the occasion of the dlūwulaxa is usually the greatest of a man's career. As a rule he gathers all his relatives' children so there will be a number of novices in addition to his own child. An initiate is called dlūwulaxa, or mīsmīlālā. An uninitiate (pHkws) is not allowed in the dance house, except on the last night; active dancers of the Shamans' dance series (higher dancers who have not "gone through," and others who have danced the preceding fall) are not permitted to enter at all.

These two dance series, the Shamans' and the dlūwulaxa, were said to be the only ones properly "belonging to" the Wikenō (i.e., traditionally of local origin). There is another set of dances used in midwinter, between the seasons of the local dances, which was obtained from the Bella Coola in marriage long ago. Unfortunately time was not available for getting an account of it.

BELLA BELLA DANCE SOCIETIES

Shamans' Series

The complex of dances comprising the Shamans' series is called tsitsaiqa ("shamans"), or sometimes ūwalāla (pl. of ūlala). It has been so many years since any dances were performed at Bella Bella that many details have been forgotten or confused. The informant was unable, among other things, to give a list of the dances in their ranked order. I have undertaken to rank

²² This is a typical bit of dlūwulaxa buffoonery. The attendants have been pretending great terror, because they could not learn what the spirit is. As soon as the master of ceremonies reveals the spirit's name, they become assured, and assume a pompous I-told-you-so attitude.

the dances he described in what seems a likely order, but it must be understood the ranking is a reconstructed one:

1. Cannibal (tanis).
2. Fire Thrower (nunl̄sīsta).
3. qinkulat̄la. (The rank of nos. 2 and 3 may be reversed.)
4. Ghost dancer (lūl̄al).
5. al'aqīm.
6. qōaminōāks (or qōaminōākla). (This dancer may outrank no. 4).
7. ūlala.

There may have been more dances in the series; these were the only ones mentioned.

Anciently, the informant averred, there were but two men in each of the Bella Bella tribes, the two chiefs of highest rank, who had the right to become Cannibal dancers. Such a one, he believed, could start in as a Cannibal without going through any lower dances, apparently because he felt that if the chief owned the dance he ought to be able to use it whenever he pleased. This may have been so; however, in speaking of the qinkulat̄la order, the informant referred to it as a sort of prefatory dance in which the novice used the songs he would use later on as a Cannibal.

Cannibal dance: The dance was begun in the same way as a major potlatch (dl̄lala; given in connection with a mīl'a dance)—by arranging a marriage. The bride brought with her a "box of dances" (tukwānutcāl̄i, "goes at her side"). A box of Shamans' dance regalia was bound with cedar withes, instead of the red cedar bark used for a mīl'a dance box. When fall comes, the novice becomes excited suddenly. His attendants take him into a secular house (as though conducting him through the village). In the midst of his dance the baxbakwola-musiwa whistles sound. The dancer runs from the house, to be seen no more for a month or so. If other tribes are to be invited, they are sent for at this time. When the end of the novice's disappearance arrives, he shows himself. Two chiefs who have themselves been Cannibals have power to capture him; they take aides who carry lighted torches, and shoot arrows wrapped with burning bark over the dancer to drive away the spirits. Certain men sing an "eating song" to lure the dancer. When they catch him, they bring him to the house to his room. A tethering pole (ham-spīx, "eating pole"; see fig. 1) is erected.

That night all the uninitiates (pipHkws) are told to go into a certain secular house (nūl̄ims), concealing themselves in the rooms to watch. First some young women dance. Then the Cannibal is heard singing in a room at the rear of the house. He comes out, giving his hoarse cry, "hwap! hwap! hwap! hwap!" Six men shake rattles for him; two hold him by his neck ring. He holds a child's skull in one hand. After dancing once around the house, he breaks loose, bites several people, and disappears out the door. The young women dance the remainder of the song.

Next day he is caught again, and repeats the

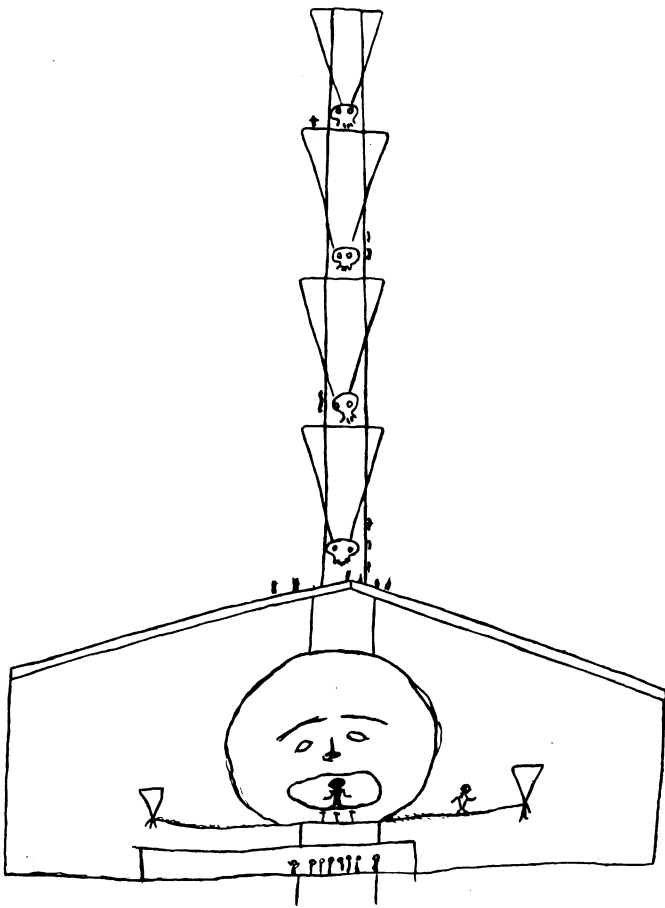


Fig. 1. Tethering pole and room of the Cannibal (Istetx Bella Bella). Pole is decorated with four human skulls, four triangular plaques of dyed cedar bark. A Cannibal is seen at several stages of climbing the pole, while his attendants stand on house roof. Below: Cannibal's room, with a painting of a spirit called kwuxLa'it, whose mouth serves as a doorway. Painting should be on screen—small rectangle in foreground, in front of which society members standing—but was enlarged to bring out detail. (Drawn by Istetx informant, Moses Knight.)

same procedure. The third day is the same. If guests are to arrive, he stays away for several days, to give the guest Cannibals time to dance.

On the morning of his fourth day of dancing the Cannibal comes back of his own accord. He is heard running across the roof of the dance house, then he jumps down and runs through the house to the door. When he returns, he carries the corpses for the feast.²³ There is a corpse for each Cannibal present, and they all eat. After the feast, the musicians sing quieting songs. The dancer allows himself to be put in his cubi-

²³ The corpses have been soaked in running water to remove the stench, dried over the fire, and smeared with goat tallow. If there is a Cannibal present who is disliked, a fresh corpse is obtained for him.

cle. Suddenly he breaks out, dances, and bites certain people. This time they tie him to the eating pole when they get him back to his room. An announcement is made that it is safe for the uninitiates to come out of hiding now, for the Cannibal is securely picketed.

Next day (?) each guest Cannibal dances briefly (in the secular house?). When they finish, the novice comes out alone to dance with his baxbakwolansuwa mask. All the low people (i.e., the uninitiates) are sent out of the house. Then he is taken down to the beach to be ducked four times. When he returns, he is dressed in a bearskin robe, and huge head and neck rings of dyed cedar bark. The head ring has little wooden replicas of skulls dangling from it. The eating pole is taken down and burned while his attendants march him through the village to show the people he has been tamed (L'akwkw). On the following day a potlatch is given the Shamans, which concludes the ritual.

The dancer is confined to his room for some time afterward. He becomes excited if he is not fed before everyone else, or if food or water is upset on the floor. His people sing to quiet him on these occasions. In late winter the society members assemble to take the boards from the dancer's room. This is called *lámkamalił*. From time to time feasts are given to the Shamans; at each one the head and neck rings of the dancer are exchanged for smaller ones, until he has only small rings.

A Cannibal dances four times in all, once every four winters. When he completes the four dances, he assumes a special name. The name taken by the chief of the Istetx tribe at this time is "Having-carried-a-skull" (*xauqwánumwála*); that of the

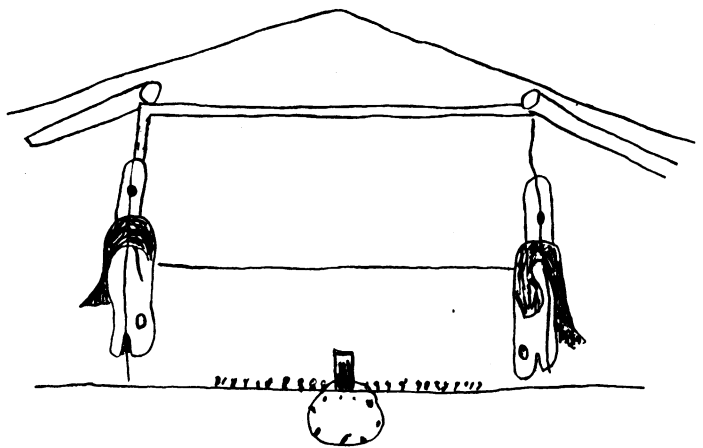


Fig. 2. Posts and screen of a potlatch house (Istetx Bella Bella). These Killer Whale posts are used for the potlatch following a performance of the *dlūwulaxa* society. The screen behind which the novices and masks are kept is shown extending between the posts. Society members are seated before it, and dance officials in the circle before the door through which dancers pass. Paintings on screen omitted.

ōwilitx chief is "Little-finder-of-supernatural-treasure" (dlōkwola'ō).

Fire Thrower: A novice of this order becomes inspired about the time a Cannibal disappears. After he is captured, he runs through the houses at intervals, scattering the fires about. He usually joins the Cannibal whenever the latter is frenzied. The Fire Thrower dances squatting, holding his arms slanting downward. He is tamed like the Cannibal, and puts on a large head ring of dyed cedar bark, which is exchanged for smaller ones in a series of feasts.

qinkulatla: This dancer disappears, and on his return dances for four nights. His dance routine is like that of a ūlala: back and forth across one end of the house, arms flexed to bring the hands to shoulder height, palms forward. The informant did not specify what sort of a supernatural display a qinkulatla used. The songs were those he would sing when he became a Cannibal.

Ghost dancer: When his whistles blow, the Ghost novice dances four times around the house, then sinks down into the ground (i.e., into a pit prepared in the floor of the house). He is gone four days. His reappearance takes place across the bay; certain people go on rafts to catch him. Two chiefs shoot arrows wrapped with smoldering cedar bark over him. For four nights after his capture he dances in a secular house, where the uninitiated can see him (and again in the dance house before the Shamans?). He wears a dance apron, long bones tied to his arms and legs, and has a human skull bound to the top of his head. He dances bent over at the waist, with arms outstretched, palms downward. On the fourth night he sinks down into the ground. A certain woman has the right to call him up from the Underworld. She calls; his Spirit (ghost) appears, dances, then disappears. There are four kinds of ghosts which can be displayed: Chief (of ghosts) (qōmisila), Always-first (i.e., highest rank) (xyaxyimsīyalsana), Blackened-face (tsōnisqimix), Ancestor (?)—of-ghosts (liluwolīnuh). Then the dancer is called up. After his dance he is confined, to be released from the restrictions gradually.

al'aqim: The spirit of the al'aqim takes him away to the cave inhabited by spirits, where the novice remains four days. On his return, he dances four nights, then displays "whatever the spirits gave him"—a mask, the ability to perform a miracle, and so forth.

qōaminōāks: The qōaminōāks becomes possessed and disappears when the Cannibal novice does, reappearing just before the latter. No further data were obtained on this dance.

ūlala: On the first night, the spirit whistles are heard blowing. On the second, no one may go about. The whistles are heard again, then sound within the novice's house. He becomes excited, beginning to dance once. He does not disappear. A male ūlala wears a head ring with one end projecting forward; a female ūlala wears a two-ply ring. The novice dances four nights, on the last

of which he displays his spirits. Then the Healers (hailikila) blow on his hands so he can use them again (i.e., the Healers drive the supernatural power from his hands). A potlatch is given to the Shamans in the dancer's honor.

True shamans: Some persons seek shamanistic power, others simply encounter it. A seeker bathes, remains continent, drinks salt water and infusions of devils-club bark for perhaps a year. Then he goes into the woods seeking power (from this point on the sought power and encounter power proceed alike). He meets a spirit wearing a head ring and a bearskin robe, who renders him unconscious, then takes him to a cave in the heart of a mountain in which the spirits—those of shamanism and of ceremonials—dwell.²⁴ The spirits offer him various "powers," ceremonial as well as truly shamanistic. He is supposed to refuse ceremonial spirits (e.g., the baxbakwolanusiwa) unless he has the hereditary right to them. Finally he is offered a curing spirit, such as Giver-of-long-life (gīgildūkwiła). The Fire Thrower spirit, however, is a curing as well as a ceremonial spirit; several shamans recalled by the informants were Fire Thrower dancers. The spirits then teach him songs, dances, crying, and magic (sleight-of-hand). On his return from the house of the spirits, the shamanistic novice makes his acquisition of power known to the chiefs and other high-rank dancers. They assemble the initiates, and for four nights he dances before them, the last night demonstrating his powers to the uninitiates as well. After the performance he is confined like an ordinary dance novice.

dlūwulaxa (or mīla) Series

The following list of dances in the dlūwulaxa series was given by the informant; I am not sure that it is complete or exactly correct in ranking.

1. Finding a Supernatural Treasure (dlūgwolā).
2. Inspired by Heavenly Spirits (mīl'a).
3. War dancer (wīnalat).
4. hīlakwīyus.
5. q'axuk.

Finding a Supernatural Treasure: The performance of this dance is an announcement of one's intention to become a Cannibal later on. Only high-rank youths may use it. The being inspiring the novice is ("One-making-) war-all-around-the-world" (wīnigaganum). When the whistles of this spirit are heard inspiring the novice, all the dlūwulaxa initiates are called to sing for him. This assemblage is called yexa (from "ye:!" an exclamation used when something is lost or vanishes). In the midst of his dance, the voice of the spirit is heard again, and as the dancer disappears the people shout "ye:!" For four days the dancer re-

²⁴ One informant gave the location of a number of these caves; each Bella Bella tribe (i.e., local group) apparently had its own.

mains hidden, cared for by some one who has had the same dance. By the fiction of the rite, he is supposed to be transported around the world by his spirit during this time. On the fourth day the whistles sound, signaling the return of the dancer. He shows himself on the beach across from the village. The master of ceremonies (alkw) and a Healer (hailikila) are sent to see who this being (the novice) may be. (If several dancers have disappeared, they all "come down" at once.) When the master of ceremonies returns to announce the identity of the dancer, a raft is constructed, and certain men go to capture him. He dances on the raft as they return. For four nights the novice performs. He dances holding his arms extended forward, fists clenched, and thumbs sticking up, instead of using the split-stick rattles of other dancers of the series. On the fourth night he displays the lance from "One-making-war-all-around-the-world." He is brought in standing in a canoe, holding his lance, from which a row of carved heads are suspended. He may also have masks to show. Afterward he is purified by the "Healers" (hailikila).

Inspired by Heavenly Spirits: The procedure of a dance of this order is the same as that of the preceding type, except that instead of having a war lance to show, the Heavenly Spirits of the dancer are called to earth by the master of ceremonies. The official stands under the smoke hole, making the proper conciliatory speeches to the supernaturals, whose arrival is heralded by blowing of horns and a heavy thump on the roof. Then the image or mask representing the spirit is shown.

War dancer: The War dancer flies away on inspiration, and on his return goes about destroying property. Further details concerning his ritual were not obtained.

hīlakwiyus: An account of this dancer's activities was not obtained, except that he is included in the list of those who disappear.

q'axuk: This is considered a child's dance, introductory to the higher orders. He gets his spirit "by accident" (in theory, at least). A man may bring his small son into the dance house; when the spirits approach, the child makes a whistling sound.

Healers: The informant believed that being a Healer (hailikila) was an hereditary right, not an office gained by dancing a certain number of times as among all the neighboring groups. I suspect the informant was in error on this point, but the Bella Bella may have departed from the usage of their congeners. A Healer has the power to enter the room of any dancer, and can cause the inspiration ("put power on") or drive out the spirit of anyone. His insignia is a two-ply headband of cedar bark mounted with curved, upward-projecting spikes of copper (apparently similar in style to the bear-claw or goat-horn coronets of more northerly shamans).

Dog Eating Dance (nūlām)

The Bella Bella have a dance or group of dances inspired by spirits which caused members to seize and devour live dogs. The Dog Eating dance constitutes a series distinct from both the Shamans' cycle and the dlūwulaxa. But few details are known of it nowadays.

XAIHAIS DANCE SOCIETIES

Shamans' Series

According to the Xaihai informant, orders of the Shamans' series (tsitsaia, lit., "shamans") constitute a graduated scale through which one has to pass successively to attain the highest degrees. One must begin with the lowest; no one can start in, for example, with the Cannibal dance.²⁵ Of course not everyone could go through the entire series. Some people own the right to perform the lower dances only, and can go no farther.

The rank of dances is as follows (the order of performance is from bottom to top in the list):

1. Cannibal (tanis).
2. qinqalatla.
3. Fire Thrower (nunlāsista).
4. Ghost dancer (lulala).
5. qōminōaks.
6. ūlala.

ūlala: If a chief's child is starting to become a Cannibal, he must begin as an ūlala. In fall time, the spirit whistles are heard, whereat the novice becomes possessed, giving his cry. (Apparently he does not disappear.) Once a day for four days his attendants take him through the village, to dance in the various houses so the uninitiated (pīpHkws; sing., pHkws)²⁶ may see him. Nightly he dances for the members of the Shamans' society.²⁷ An ūlala dances back and forth across the end of the house (he does not circle the fire). On the fourth night a potlatch is given the Shamans in his honor. High-rank women are requested to perform certain tasks: one to make a head ring of dyed cedar bark (l'akwut), another to make a neck ring (l'a'kōhawā), and so on. The novice is put into his room, which has three planks across the front, where he is con-

²⁵ It is possible that the account is over-systematized, that the sequence is not so rigidly adhered to. There are some exceptions to the rule which will be mentioned later on, and there may have been more in practice.

²⁶ Also called "Those sent out of the house" (papahwa), because those living in the dance house are sent out during the ritual.

²⁷ While the Shamans are assembled, no uninitiated person may pass the house above the high-tide line, on pain of death.

fined for a number of days. Initiates go in, taking him food, and tell stories to amuse him. Finally the master of ceremonies (alkw) goes through the village inviting the Shamans to a feast. He stands at the door of each house and calls, "Shamans, we call you, we call you. We are going to remove the uppermost plank from the room of the dancer." All the Shamans assemble. They sing the novice's songs while he dances, wearing his head and neck rings, then are given a feast. Afterward they take down the upper board. When the society members leave the house, a chief (or master of ceremonies ?) shouts from the doorway, "Uninitiated people, you may return to your places now."

The novice stays in the house most of the time till late winter. He wears his rings of dyed cedar bark continually. He converses only with Shamans of the higher orders. Finally the master of ceremonies is sent around again to assemble the initiates for another feast. The procedure of the first feast is repeated, and the second board removed. It is announced that the novice may talk with any initiated person now, and may enter a canoe.

Soon afterward, a third feast is given, to remove the last plank from the dancer's room. At the feast the chief announces, "My son may sit with the people now, and go where he likes, and do what he likes." The novice still wears his cedar-bark rings.

In springtime a fourth feast is given, at which the cedar-bark rings are removed (or replaced by smaller ones?). The ūlala may hunt and fish now. Still another feast removes the last of the restrictions to which the novice is subjected.

qōminōāks: Next year the dancer is to become a qōminōāks.²⁸ In the fall as the people are sitting in the house, two-tone spirit whistles are heard, and the one who passed through the ūlala grade becomes possessed by the qōminōāks spirit. He cries, "hoi! hoi! hoi! hoi!" Before his attendants can seize him he dashes out of the house to disappear in the woods. Dance officials go through the village announcing that So-and-so has been carried off by a spirit. The novice remains away a month or so, during which he is supposed to eat but little, so that on his return he will be lean and gaunt. Meanwhile the musicians practice his songs in secret. When the night comes for his return, whistles are blown, flashes of light (made by waving a torch of dry cedar splints) are seen on a mountainside, and the figure of the dancer appears momentarily. Almost instantly the dancer appears amid flashes of light on another hill some distance away, and

²⁸ The informant stated that the dance, and those that follow, need not be made on successive years, but he preferred telling it that way for simplicity's sake. Actually, he said, from one to four or five years might intervene between a person's performances.

then on a third. The fourth time the dancer appears out on the surface of the water (a float is prepared for him to stand on). The villagers can hear his harsh cry. The chiefs prepare a raft with house planks and two canoes. They request someone who has previously danced qōminōāks to assist them. This person dances in the house. Then he leads the party down to the raft, and they set off to capture the dancer. Two chiefs shoot arrows wrapped with smoldering cedar bark on either side of the novice to drive the spirit away. He dances on the raft as they return to the beach. When he is brought into the house the people can see he looks different—he is gaunt from his fasting. The chief tells the dancer's attendants, "You had better take him, through the houses to show him to the people." All the other qōminōāks join the party, each dancing his own way to the songs of the chief novice. They enter each house in the village. A pile of dried kindling has been laid ready. When the dancers enter, it is lighted. The novice gives his cry, and dances around the fire. The dancing in the secular houses (nūlyims) for the benefit of the uninitiated is called nūlyims-nūkis. Then the dancer is taken to the dance house to dance for the Shamans. After his dance he is put into his room, which has a carving representing a huge bird's beak projecting from it. The Shamans are feasted. This procedure, dancing through the secular houses, then in the ritual house, is repeated daily for three days more (four altogether). On the fourth night a potlatch is given to the assembled Shamans. The dancer is confined thereafter. His restrictions are removed by means of a series of feasts, just as were those of the ūlala.

Ghost dancer: Apparently this dance was not part of the regular procedure of becoming a Cannibal, that is, a future Cannibal dancer did not have to perform it. Some people can use it at the beginning of their dance career; others had to dance ūlala and qōminōāks first. A detailed account of the performance was not obtained. The feature of the dance is that the Ghost dancer causes a skeleton to rise up out of the ground; then makes it vanish (the Cannibals become excited when they see the skeleton and while they are distracting attention, the skeleton is unobtrusively removed).

Fire Thrower: In the fall something happens again to the one who is becoming a Cannibal. All of a sudden he begins to cry, "xūxūxū!" There are no whistles to inspire him for this. (?) The people around him make the pacifying sound of "qō! qō!" for they know he is possessed by the Fire Throwing spirit. His attendants surround him, conducting him to the fire. Still shouting his cry, he seizes blazing sticks which he throws in all directions. Two attendants grasp his arms, but he breaks away, dashing out the door. One man calls to the villagers, "Be careful! Protect yourselves!" The Fire Thrower

runs through all the houses, scattering the fires and wildly hurling about brands, sticks, stones, and anything else he can. People hold up blankets and mats to shield themselves. They chant, "hō:hōhōhōhō," trying to calm him a little. While he terrorizes the village, the Shamans assemble. His attendants finally round him up, driving him back to the dance house. Quieted by the songs of the Shamans, the Fire Thrower begins to dance. His dance consists in hopping along in a squatting posture, with arms outstretched, slanting downward. For three days more the dancer runs through the village, dancing nightly for the Shamans. On the fourth night, a potlatch is given. After this he is confined to his room, to be released from restrictions by feasts, removal of planks, as in preceding dances. Now and then he becomes frenzied, breaking out and running through the houses, particularly whenever a Cannibal becomes excited. A special night of singing is necessary to calm him after these outbursts.

qinqalatla: Next fall, he is sitting quietly among his relatives, when he cries out, "hīiī! hīiī!" and begins a qinqalatla song. No one hears any whistles. On hearing his song, the people know that the qinqalatla spirit has taken possession of him. The master of ceremonies goes about to call an assemblage of the Shamans. They are feasted, then go out. The master of ceremonies goes around again, this time calling together the people of highest rank only. When the honored ones assemble, they make the novice sit among them. The chiefs bring out a box containing all the spirit whistles, which he has never seen before. They show these things to him one by one, because he is close to becoming a Cannibal. One tells him, "Now you are seeing all the things the chiefs use. You must remember to take care not to reveal the secrets of the Shamans. You must abide by the rules of the work of the chiefs. These things you see before you will kill you if you break the rules of the dance. If you make a mistake your parents will die, all your relatives will die. Take care to keep the laws of the dances." When he has seen all the things used in the dances, they say to him, "Now you have seen them all. They are yours to use whenever you wish." This means that he is to become a Cannibal.

After the revelation of the secrets of the dance, his attendants take him through the houses. In each house he gives his cry, then begins his song. The musicians pick up the song, then he dances around the fire. His attendants conduct him back to his own house, where he dances for the assembled Shamans, who are feasted afterward. On the fourth night of his dancing, all the people assemble in one of the secular houses to see what the dancer can do. He gives his cry, sings, then dances. The master of ceremonies announces, "Now this great Shaman is going to perform a miracle. He is going to (for example) cause a stone to float." Men are sent to get sea water,

which they pour into a box. Another is sent to procure a stone. He drops the stone four times when he brings it in; it makes a loud noise, so everyone knows it is a real stone. The dancer takes the stone and sings his song. (Then he substitutes for it, unobserved, a wooden block carved to the identical shape, probably when a Cannibal momentarily distracts attention by crying out.) Then the dancer performs his miraculous act. After this he dances for the Shamans in the dance house, a potlatch is given them, and he is confined in his room. With successive feasts, the boards are removed and he is made free.

Cannibal dance: After a time the young man's family accumulate enough property so that he can become a Cannibal. In the fall, the spirits are heard flying about. People recognize the voice of the baxbakwolanusiwa, and remark that he is looking for someone to carry off. Next night the whistles are heard again; then they sound in the house where the young man lives. He begins to cry, "hap! hap! hap! hap!" and runs out of the house. Some Cannibals disappear for a time; some do not. One who does not, runs through all the houses of the village, biting various individuals of high rank. If he disappears, he does this after being captured. His attendants pursue him, making soothing sounds, and finally get him into his room. A huge wooden beak, representing the baxbakwolanusiwa, protrudes from the wall of his cubicle. A certain woman dancer of high rank stands by, motioning with her hands to keep people's souls from getting caught in the beak. That night the Cannibal dances before the Shamans. He must dance four nights, but apparently need not do so on successive nights. If his dancing period is extended over a long interval, he is confined to his room between times. Now and then he breaks out, running through the village biting people. Active Fire Throwers become excited and join him, adding to the confusion. The fourth time he dances, the mummy feast is held. A corpse (or sometimes more than one) has been prepared in advance—eviscerated, washed, and dried. Certain men are sent to fetch it.²⁹ When they return, they stand up in the canoes, holding the corpse(s) and singing. When the Cannibal hears their song, he runs down to the beach to snatch away the corpse(s), which he brings to the house. He dances with his grisly fare, then begins to eat. Sometimes there are other Cannibals present to be fed. Female attendants of the dancer take pieces of dried skin and flesh which he tears off, hiding them under their robes. When the body is stripped clean, the bones are put in a basket. The dancer, calm now that his hunger is sated, is put into his

²⁹ All the duties of the corpse-preparing party were privately owned, even to the task of paddling the canoe.

room. A feast is given the spectators,⁵⁰ and afterward there is a potlatch to the Shamans. After the potlatch, the dancer is taken down to the salt water where he is ducked four times. This weakens his spirit but does not drive it away entirely—he may become excited at any time, for example, if he is not the first to be fed, or if food is spilled. Subsequently, the feasts for removing the boards from his room are held.

The Cannibal must dance for four winters, though not necessarily successively. There are no special titles or advanced degrees for one who has passed through his four winters of dancing; he simply becomes a Shaman again. He ceases to be a Cannibal because he is growing old, and can no longer climb up on the roof, jump down, and so on.

True shamans: There was another way of entering the ranks of the Shamans' society: by really becoming a shaman. When a person, either by deliberate quest or chance encounter acquires a spirit, he stays out in the woods away from the people for some time. He must avoid human contacts, odors, and smoke, lest he lose the spirit. During this time the spirit teaches him songs. When he finally returns, he says nothing about his experience, but his parents observe by his behavior that something has happened. After questioning he admits that he has obtained a spirit. His father calls the Shamans (i.e., dance people) to come sing for his son. They drum, the true shaman's spirit possesses him and begins to sing, and the musicians pick up his songs. Apparently he dances four nights. His spirit tells him what to show the people—he performs some miracle, such as standing on red-hot stones, making a rattle dance by itself, and the like (i.e., he dances as a qinqalatla). Afterward, he is confined to a room, to be released by a series of feasts.

mīla Series

According to the informant, the term mīla is used to refer to the whole series of dances of which the dlūwulaxa is a part. There are two types of whistles used, which may be distinguished by their tones. Dancers of the highest degrees may use both mīla and dlūwulaxa whistles ("horns") at once. The order of dances is as follows:

1. Making heavy (kwokwiyūkwatckw). The dancer is inspired by many horns, both mīla and dlūwulaxa types. He (or she) is "weighted down with property" to keep him from flying away.

2. War dancer (wīnalal). There are a number of kinds of War dancers. Some go about destroying property. One is called "Spearing the Heavens"; another, "Spearing in a Canoe."

3. Inspired by Heavenly Spirits (mīlagīla).

⁵⁰ I am not sure whether uninitiates are admitted to watch the mummy feast or not; it may have been held in a secular house, as were the fourth-night exhibitions of other dancers.

Dancers of this type are those inspired by any of a variety of heavenly beings.

4. dlūwulaxa. This kind of dancer does not fly away. He is simply inspired and begins to dance right away.

5. qahauqw. This is only a low dance, "just getting a spirit."

When a chief makes up his mind to give a great potlatch (dlīala) he begins his preparations a year or so ahead, calling his people together to tell them and distribute property to them.⁵¹ When the time comes, he dispatches canoes to invite the other tribes. He speaks in secret with the other chiefs, making plans for the mīla performance. The spirit horns sound all about the village. If the chief's child is to have a high-rank dance, both mīla and dlūwulaxa horns are heard. People watch to see who the dancer will be. They say, "It must be chief So-and-so's child who is going to be inspired." With a great thud, the spirits land on the roof of the chief's house, and immediately the horns sound within the house. The chief's child becomes possessed.

Making heavy: If the child is to be "made heavy," he (or she) is put in his room right away. Men are sent out to announce an assembly of the entire tribe. When the people are seated in the chief's house, the child is brought out and made to dance. While he dances, a chief comes forward, saying to his father, "Chief, your child looks strange. He does not seem normal; he looks as though he might fly away at any moment. You had better bring out something to weight him down." So the father of the child (or sometimes the child's grandfather) brings out many boxes of blankets which he distributes to make the child heavy (i.e., the weight of the blankets given away in his honor is supposed to weight the child down). Nonetheless, after the distribution the child flies away. (The procedure was not specified. Probably the spirit horns are again heard, and the child disappears.) The novice is hidden out in the woods for a number of days, usually for four. When the time comes for his return, the spirit horns are heard, and the novice appears on the beach across the cove. He vanishes (into the brush), and reappears almost instantly in another place, while spirit whistles blow. This happens several times. (Doubles are stationed at the different places to show themselves at a signal, representing the miraculous powers of travel of the inspired novice.) Preparations are made for the capture of the child. Canoes are bound together with cross planks. The

⁵¹ In describing the mīla dances, the informant had in mind the association of the rites with the potlatch, so his account differs from most of the others, for instance in the reported duration of the dances, etc. In this respect his description is probably more accurate than those which related an idealized pattern, and the form will therefore be retained.

child's parents request the chief who owns the right to get the novice to aid them. He begins to dance in the house, then dances on the beach before the raft. High-rank women accompany him. They all dance on the raft on the way over. When they approach the beach, two men shoot arrows wrapped with smoldering cedar bark on either side of the novice to drive the spirits off so he will be easy to catch. When captured, the novice dances on the raft. They take him to the dance house and put him in his room (this "room" is a screen of boards across the far end of the house, behind which none but initiates may go).

As I understood, there is one night of formal dancing following the capture of the novice, and the remaining nights are devoted to practicing the songs and dances to be used during the potlatch. Sometimes a chief will hire a good dancer to dance with the novice to instruct him. If there are to be other dancers, they may fly away and be captured also, and some nights are devoted to learning their songs. There is plenty of time for all this, for each chief of the guest tribe must give a feast and dance to the inviting party before the guests set out.

On the appointed day the guests arrive. As they draw up in line before the beach, the villagers clap hands and sing while the host chief dances in honor of his guests. Then the chief stops suddenly and produces a "spirit doll" (a wooden figurine representing a *nawalukw*) from beneath his robe. He whirls it about his head four times, then pretends to throw it to the head chief of the guests. The latter "catches" it (really displaying one of his own). If he intends to dance himself, he keeps the spirit; if not, he returns it. If several tribes are invited, a spirit is "thrown" to the head chief of each. This transforms the guests from the secular to the ritual state, so they may enter the dance house.

The second night of the potlatch is the time for the novice to dance. He dances, then returns to his room. Now the master of ceremonies (*alkw*) is requested to call down the spirit of the dancer. He asks what he is to say, and the chief tells him. So he shouts (for example), "Come down, come down, you great Moon of Heaven!" There is a roaring noise, and something lands with a crash on the roof. Spirit horns are blown in the house and from the novice's room. Then a mask representing the Moon appears above the screen. The chief says to the master of ceremonies, "Blow the sacred eagle down on it, and ask if this is really the Moon." So he blows down toward the mask, and asks, "Is this really you, great Moon of Heaven whom we called?" The mask replies, "hm, hm, hm, hm," and waggles from side to side. The master of ceremonies announces, "Yes, this is the one." Now the musicians shout "wai!" and the spirit vanishes. They strike up a song. The novice comes out of his room to dance. After the dance, he reenters the room. The chief follows him in, emerging to report, "He is not speaking very plainly as yet. You had better call down (for example) the great

Swan of Heaven." So the master of ceremonies calls on the great Swan in the same fashion as he did the Moon. The novice comes out to dance again. The chief requests one of the guest chiefs who is a Healer (*hailikila*) to "heal" the dancer. The guest chief rises, and puts on his dance headdress and other regalia. Then he dances around and around the novice. He has a clapper (carved split-stick rattle) in each hand for keeping time. At the proper time he hands his clappers to an attendant, and takes a spirit (a wooden figurine, apparently) from the child's mouth. (The "spirit" is really handed to him by the attendant.) The healer displays the spirit three times, and on the fourth, throws it (or pretends to) out the smoke hole, as all the people shout "wo:!" The spirit horns blow as the spirit departs.

If there are several novices, each dances and displays his spirit in the same fashion. Of course the other novices do not have as long or elaborate displays as the chief's child. If there are more than four novices, there must be two nights of display and healing.

War dancer: A War dancer simply disappeared immediately on inspiration. He was captured in a manner identical with that already described. On the night he was captured, the dancer called "Spearing the Heavens" danced carrying a heavy lance, with a number of carvings representing heads suspended from it. These are the heads of beings whom the novice is supposed to have slain in his flight around the world with his spirits.

The dancer called "Spearing in a Canoe" is carried in standing in a canoe borne by a number of strong young men. He also carries a great lance. These lances are supposed to be the weapons used in capturing the spirits displayed in the potlatch. They are not shown in the dance during the potlatch itself; only the spirits are displayed.

Inspired by Heavenly Spirits: A dancer of this order does not fly away. He is inspired by the sound of spirit horns in the house, and begins to dance immediately. The inspiration occurs before the potlatch guests arrive, so the novice will be ready to display his dance and spirits (masks) on the second day of the potlatch after the chief's child has danced.

dlūwulaxa: The *dlūwulaxa* dances are performed in just the same manner as those inspired by Heavenly spirits. There are many kinds of *dlūwulaxa* spirits. A minor one is a Stick Indian spirit (*alasiml*) who dances with feathers, bows, and so on. A spirit introduced now and again for amusement is one named *wi'q'wisimala*, who comes in to interrupt more serious proceedings by scattering the fire about. The dance attendants kick him in the posterior and chase him out.

gahauqw: An uninitiated child is sometimes brought into the dance house during the potlatch. He becomes inspired by the spirits as they are displayed amid sound of whistles by the other dancers, faints, is revived and gives a brief dance. His father or uncle distributes a small quantity of property in his honor.

Dog Eating Dance (nulām)

The Xaihais formerly had the Dog Eating dance, but it has not been performed for many a year. The informant was not certain of its position in the ritual system, whether it constituted a separate dance series or was part of the mīla cycle.

XAISLA DANCE SOCIETIES

Shamans' Series

The series (and the members of the society) are called Shamans (tsitsiqā) or Finders-of-supernatural-treasure (dlūdlūgwola).⁸² The dances were ranked as follows:

1. Cannibal (tanis)
2. Fire Thrower (nunātsīsta)
3. qinqulatla
4. tō'yāqō
5. aLaqīm
6. ōlala

Only the chiefs of highest rank have the right to use the Cannibal dance (apparently just the clan chiefs).⁸³ A chief's nephew begins as an ōlala. He dances four of the dances; then when he is grown he becomes a Cannibal. The sequence in which one dances is in general from low to high, but it need not include intermediate orders. The informant, for example, danced twice, first as an ōlala, then as Fire Thrower. Anyone who dances four times becomes a Healer (haiīlīkila) and may go into the room of any dancer. My notes are not clear whether one must pass through four different orders, or may repeat the same dance.⁸⁴

Cannibal dance: Four groups of Healers are stationed at varying distances from the house with whistles. They blow the whistles in succession, the farthest group first, to simulate the approach of the spirits. As the last set sounds, the novice becomes frenzied. He dashes wildly around the house, giving his cry, then goes through another house or two. He bites several people and he runs into the woods. A group of initiates are waiting there to conduct him to the hiding place in which he remains a month or two. During this period he is reputed to be dwelling among the spirits, not eating, but being

⁸² Olson recorded the name haiīlīkila ("Healers") for this series among the Haisla (R. L. Olson, *The Social Organization of the Haisla of British Columbia*, UC-AR, 2:169-200, 1940.

⁸³ Olson reports that five men, three Eagle clan chiefs, one Beaver, and one Blackfish chief, were the only ones to have the right to this dance. (Olson, op. cit.)

⁸⁴ Probably the same dances may be used. There seem to have been a considerable number of Healers (both male and female), and it seems improbable that so many people owned the right to all the dances. Besides, the list of dances is probably incomplete.

nourished by the pieces he bit from people's arms before his departure. Actually, of course, society members smuggle food up to him. While he is there, the Healers make him repeat his cry until they get the pitch, then make tests among themselves until three are found who can duplicate exactly the novice's cry. Other men are carving the tethering pole (hamspix) at the same time. This is a tall spar wrapped with red cedar bark, with two cross arms. A box is set into the ground to receive the butt of the pole, holding it securely enough so that its top-heavy weight will not uproot it, yet allow it to be rocked back and forth. Before the real time for his return, the Cannibal makes four preliminary appearances. The three men who can imitate his cry are posted some distance apart; they show themselves in close succession, cry out, then disappear in the brush, thus giving the illusion that the Cannibal travels from one place to another with miraculous speed. Then the novice leaps on the roof of a house, uttering his cry, and throws some roof boards aside and glares in. He repeats this at another house, then disappears. To the frightened uninitiates this means he is becoming hungry (i.e., for human flesh). Four days later he appears again, this time going on the roofs of all the houses. Twice more he appears, at four-day intervals. The last time, when he comes to the dance house (hailikadzī, lit., "healing house") he jumps down from the roof (his attendants catch him, or at least break his fall). He bites a man and a woman of high rank, then runs out. Next morning he appears at a certain point across from the village. He cries out, then sings. Four Healers cross in a canoe with lighted torches, with which they motion over him. The Healers return after planting the torches in the ground before him. Now his attendants cross to fetch the Cannibal. They put him in his room, tethering him to his eating pole. He is dressed in a bearskin robe, a dance apron, and a mask, and conducted through four houses by his attendants. At the conclusion of his dance he becomes violent. Once more he disappears, reappearing next morning only long enough to leave his robe, apron, and mask on the dance-house roof. Next day his whistles are heard again. The Healers and attendants capture him. At this time his spirit gives him some miraculous gift (dlugwemuh) to display: one seen by the informant was an armload of salmonberry branches with leaves and berries on them (the dance, of course, was in winter); another was the ability to carry a huge boulder, weighing nearly half a ton.⁸⁵ His attendants escort him through four houses. Sometimes he hands the supernatural

⁸⁵ The rock lies on the beach today, in proof. Actually, a replica of the boulder was made of brush and canvas, and placed on the beach by the dancer. That night a dozen or so young huskies carried the real boulder there. I was not told how the first miracle was managed.

gift to other people (high-rank society members, of course) for a moment; they become excited, are surrounded by their own attendants and put into cubicles in the dance house.⁵⁶

At some stage of the proceedings (my notes are not clear just when it occurs), a mummy feast is given. The Cannibal runs from the house in a frenzied state, returning after a short time with one or more corpses (depending on whether there are guest Cannibals present or not). He dances with a body, pretending to eat it (the pieces of flesh which he strips off are taken and concealed by his attendants). After the feast the dancer is taken down to the beach, where he is ducked four times. This serves to quiet him. Then he is taken to the house to put oil on his hair.

All the uninitiates are invited into the dance house to witness the last performance. The Cannibal dances with a series of masks, many of which are manipulated by strings to change their form, make small figures appear, and so forth. Certain men have the right to dance ahead of him with rattles. When he finished, all the uninitiates are sent from the house. The eating pole is taken down and broken up; all the society members rush for the red cedar bark on it. Then the pole is burned. A potlatch is given to the Shamans. For some time afterward, the Cannibal is obliged to remain in his room. In order to complete the dance, one must give it four times in all; the last great chief of the Xaisla, Sanaxet, gave the rite nine times, it is said.

Fire Thrower: When everything is prepared, the Healers come secretly to take the novice out into the bush. Next day his mysterious absence is announced, and shortly afterward the whistles are blown. Older Fire Throwers become excited on hearing them. Then (not after four days?) the voice of the novice is heard singing in the woods. Four Healers go to tame him, taking a torch which they wave over him four times. His attendants and the active Fire Throwers go to get him. The party brings him to the village, and starts to take him through the houses to show the people that the youth has been recovered. He begins to dance, but almost immediately becomes excited, performing his characteristic act of running about scattering the house fires. At length he is recaptured by his attendants, who put him in his room. This performance is repeated three more times. On the fourth day preparations are made to tame the dancer. He is led out before the assembled Shamans and put under a large box. Two men sit on a plank laid across the box to hold it down. A chief and a high-rank woman go on the roof with baskets of sand and gravel, which they throw down onto the box four times. This quiets the

novice. When let out of the box he allows himself to be put in his room without difficulty. Next day he dances before all the people, Shamans and uninitiates. First he wears a mask, then dances unmasked, wearing rings of dyed cedar bark. He still has his ability to handle heated objects with impunity, as he demonstrates by putting hot stones in his mouth, or on his head. The uninitiates are sent out and a potlatch is given the Shamans. Subsequently, the novice remains in his room. In spring, he gives a feast to the Shamans to remove his rings.

qinqulatia: When the novice is inspired by the sound of the spirit whistles, he is conducted to the dance house and put in a cubicle. He does not disappear, nor is he conducted through the secular houses. Nightly for four nights he dances before the Shamans. His dance resembles that of an ōlala: he dances back and forth across the end of the house, rather than around the fire. On the fourth night nonmembers are admitted to see him perform miracles. A potlatch is given the society members, after which the new initiate is confined for a time.

tō'yāqō: Those belonging to this order are not ordinary dancers, but "those really having dealings with supernatural beings," i.e., the true shamans. A complicating factor is that there is also a hereditary principle involved in the transmission of the dance. Some people own the right to it. Such an individual would have to be made to become a shaman by magic.⁵⁷ It apparently makes no difference what sort of spirit the person gets. The last great shaman, Līsla, obtained a Fire Thrower spirit. He was hunting mountain goat, when he lost a handkerchief near the entrance to the Cave of Spirits (some people say he lied: he must have placed the handkerchief there

⁵⁶ They are possessed by hereditary spirits of their own—not Cannibal spirits.

⁵⁷ There are various ways of doing this. One is to make a little figure of the person's clothes or hair, which is put in a miniature canoe and tied to a small root or shoot that jerks back and forth in the river current. The subject is kept in the house and carefully tended. The vibration of his effigy drives him out of his right mind, so that he begins to dream, sing, and talk with spirits. He is kept in this condition four days, after which the Healers take the effigy from the river, unwrap it (and dispose of it in some ritual manner). Often the subject faints the instant that human hands touch the little figure. After this the person becomes normal. They question him to learn what he has "seen" or dreamed; if he has a spirit they prepare for the dance. Almost any kind of spirit may be obtained thus. There was a woman in fairly recent times who obtained power over olachon by this process. She could, after singing and dreaming, predict to the day when the run would begin; if anything went amiss (if the olachon became angry over some infraction of taboos), she had songs and rites to placate them. She had very strong curing power also. When she was being made to dream, the hair by which the figurine was attached to the branch broke: she nearly died but luckily searchers found the effigy lodged between some rocks a short distance downstream.

on purpose, recovering it later, for had he really lost it he would have died). On arriving home he collapsed, and for four days was delirious, at times even violent, running about scattering fires. When he recovered, a tō'yāqō dance was arranged—he danced as a tō'yāqō, but when he became frenzied threw fire about. His miraculous achievements during his shamanistic career furnish themes for many a story.³⁸

Since the tō'yāqō novice already has been inspired, no whistles are used to begin the dance. He is taken to the dance house where he performs four nights. There is a good deal of variation in the dancing, depending on the particular spirit the novice has. Most tō'yāqō use two rattles, dancing around the fire. They wear coronets of upward-projecting grizzly-bear claws, neck rings with carved bone pendants, and dance aprons. They wear no paint, nor do they wash their faces, and their hair must not be combed.³⁹ On the fourth night a display of magic is made, which uninitiates are permitted to see. Afterward the new shaman is confined for a time, but not for so long a period as an ordinary dancer. The informant believed the shaman would not have to feast or potlatch the society members immediately, but could wait until he accumulated sufficient wealth from curing fees.

alaqīm: The alaqīm resembles the Fire Thrower in a number of ways. A Healer takes the prospective novice's robe secretly, and hides it in the brush. Another Healer "finds" it, then goes through the houses asking to whom it belongs. The youth claims it. That night he is spirited away to the woods. Next day he is heard giving his cry, "hoi! hoi! hoi! hoi! wīwīwī!" He is caught and brought down in the same fashion as the Fire Thrower. One of his attendants makes his own nose bleed, painting the dancer's face with the blood. A dyed cedar-bark leash is put on the dancer, by which he is led through the houses. His dance is like that of the Fire Thrower (squatting, with outspread arms). Next day he goes through the houses again, afterward being tamed with a torch, as he was in the woods. On the third day, he "faints" at the beginning of the circuit through the houses. Songs of the Shamans revive him. He becomes excited and escapes to the woods, to be captured and brought down next morning, wearing a robe and dyed cedar-bark rings. That night he dances, and his mother's brother potlatches to the Shamans. He is confined for some time. After certain feasts have been given to ameliorate the restrictions, he is allowed to go outside and sit quietly on the beach with his attendants each day.

³⁸ Līsla was the only Xaisla shaman to have the power to "throw" death-dealing objects (pebbles, etc.) into people, though it is well known that many Bella Bella (real) shamans had (or claimed) this power.

³⁹ The regalia is a typical curing shaman's outfit in this part of the area.

ōlala: The ōlala does not disappear, but is taken to the dance house as soon as his whistles blow. He wears a robe, and head, neck, and ankle rings of dyed cedar bark. He dances through all the houses, and then before the Shamans daily for four days. In dancing, he stands erect, with arms extended forward, palms up. He dances back and forth across the end of the house. Then his mother's brother potlatches to the Shamans in the dancer's honor.

mīla Series

There are a great many spirits which may possess a mīla dancer, but the ritual pattern is the same for all. At the sound of the spirit horns, the novice flies away, remaining hidden for two or four days. He reappears out on the water, on a raft. Officials of the dance go out in canoes to capture him. He dances four nights; on the fourth his spirits (masks, etc.) are called down from the heavens by the master of ceremonies (aluh). This display of masks, and so forth, is called alakwā. If the mīla is given in connection with a major potlatch to which other tribes are invited, several days may intervene between the first three days of dancing and the final display. Visiting chiefs are requested to dance and remove the spirits (wooden figurines) from the novices afterward. The potlatch gifts are considered pay for this service. Split-stick clappers are the dance instrument of the mīla. There is no War dancer or destroyer of property among the Xaisla.

Dog Eating Dance (nūlām)

The nūlām is quite distinct from both the Shamans' and mīla series. An active dancer of this order is not permitted to enter the dance house of either society, nor may active Shamans or mīlagīla attend the nūlām. Although an old established dance, the nūlām is not regarded as of particularly high rank.

When the nūlām whistles blow, the novice rushes into the woods, where he hides four days. Reputedly he does not eat during this time; whether he actually fasts I do not know. When he is captured, he is attired in a bearskin robe, a head ring with pendant dog skulls, and a neck ring. His face is painted black. His attendants sing as they return from the woods, to make him dance. He dances back and forth on the beach before the village, now and then becoming frenzied at the sight of a dog, which he catches and eats. Some people tie dyed cedar bark on their pets to protect them, but "the nūlām is wild, and doesn't care—he eats them anyhow." Then he is taken through all the houses, dancing. The sound of stones thrown against the roof or walls of the house infuriates him, so that he runs out and devours another dog or two. He is taken through the houses for four

days. He dances at the end of this time in the house of the head *nūlām* dancer (and presumably potlatches to his society). For some time after, he may converse with no one but fellow members.⁴⁰

KOSKIMO DANCE SOCIETIES

Shamans' Series

Only a brief account of the Koskimo Shamans' series of dances was obtained. No significant points of difference were noted between the outline secured and the description given by Boas.⁴¹ The informant stated specifically that it is not essential to go through any introductory dances before beginning the Cannibal dance; one who had the right to use it can use it when he wishes. The right to use the dances, masks, names, and so forth, came from the Wikeno in a marriage five or six generations before the informant's time.

nūlām Series

The Koskimo *nūlām* has nothing whatsoever to do with dog eating (as in the north), but is in its broad outlines the same as the Wolf dance of the Nootkans. The natives themselves recognize this similarity (though of course members of each tribe maintain theirs is the original and authentic version). Even the myth of origin of the rite, recounting how a man was carried off to the home of the Wolves to return after four years with the ritual and all the paraphernalia, is similar to that of the Nootkan Wolf-dance origin legends.

The *nūlām* may be given at any season. The beating of a wooden drum and "a whirring noise" (probably the bull-roarer) signal the presence of supernatural beings. All the people put on the insignia of the dance—a headband of undyed cedar bark. They assemble in the chief's house to begin a ceremonial procession from house to house through the village. Those who are to become novices dance while the rest march chanting. From the last house of the village the group proceeds to a certain place in the woods where they make the ceremonial sound "wū:" four times, whereupon the dancers disappear, "going to the house of the Wolves." The people return to the village, where they sing. In the evening a feast is given in the chief's house. After the feast, the people sing songs of the first Wolf dancer

⁴⁰Olson has recorded two *nūlām* origin myths, one from the Xaisla of Kitimat (from whom the present account derives), and the other from the Gaamano Arm (Kitlope) division, which, although differing in detail, coincide in deriving the performance from the wolves. The dancer eats dogs by way of enacting behavior of the Wolf spirit (Olson, op. cit.). The considerable significance of this *nūlām*-wolf association will be brought out later on.

⁴¹Boas, Sec. Soc.

to bring the novices back. It is a very solemn affair; the buffoonery of the *dlūwulaxa* series of northerly tribes or of the Nootkan Wolf dance is entirely absent. For the next two days this singing continues. On the morning of the fourth day the novices emerge from the bush, singing. They are dressed in branches. By acts or some object carried, each indicates the kind of dance privilege given him by the Wolves, which he will subsequently display. The people go down, surrounding them. For a time the novices dance on the beach, then are conducted to the house to be put behind the screen (*mawilatsā*). That night⁴² the people assemble in the house. They drum on boards and make a supernatural sound four times. Each novice in turn stands forth and sings his song, after which a dancer comes out wearing the mask belonging to the novice. For those who have a dance representing some kind of Wolf spirit, a more elaborate demonstration is made. Men wearing small wolf headdresses file in, beating sticks together. They dance around the fire counterclockwise. Each dances to his own song and own time, disregarding the beat of the rest. He must sing without pausing for breath during each half circuit (from front to rear side of the fire, and vice versa). Four circuits are made. Then a tremendous pounding noise is heard behind the house, indicating that the dancer's Wolf mask has been brought into the earthly realm. With the dancer among them, they go into the woods, returning with the mask. At the conclusion of the privilege displays, a potlatch is given, at which the new names of the novices are announced. Next day the dancers are bathed in the house, to the accompaniment of rapid drumming, then the clothes of branches which they have been wearing are burned in a ritual manner.

The dance privileges displayed are not precisely ranked. Some are considered higher than others, but there is no such rigid scale as is found, for example, in the Shamans' series. The following dances (which by no means exhaust the list) were described:

1. A dancer named *mū:n*, who carries a figure of a Feathered Serpent (*sisiutl*) named *ha:yū*.

2. A dancer named *wikōnakwā*, who carries a spear named *sigaiyū*, carved to represent a Feathered Serpent, with one hundred small heads suspended from it.⁴³

3. Two Wolf masks, one white and one black, "with copper faces" (copper plaques on the sides of their faces), named *nimqilēqilis*, and *amahwī-ta*.

4. A Wolf mask named *qāmōtūyolē*. The novice is carried from the woods, on his reappearance,

⁴²Several days may intervene between the capture and the display of privileges; my notes are not clear on this point.

⁴³This is, of course, the lance of the Bella Bella War dancer (see p. 211).

on the back of a huge wolf image, carried by four men.

5. Grizzly Bear dancer (nanalal).
6. Eagle dancer.
7. Thunderbird dancer.
8. hūmūtal. The dancer carries an image of a land otter manipulated by strings.
9. Laughing Spirit dancer (dadałal).
10. Sleep (bringing) Spirit dancer (paq'wulal).
11. Scratching Spirit dancer (q'āq'īlal). This is a Mosquito spirit.
12. Playing (scuffling) Spirit dancer (amlal).

In these last four performances (9 to 12), the "spirit" (i.e., dancer) pantomimes the action he is supposed to control. Then he makes a supernatural sound, and "throws it" (the action) to four hereditary dance officials seated by the fire. These four immediately fall to performing the act (laughing, sleeping, scratching, or scuffling), then repeat the dancer's cry, and throw it to the spectators, all of whom begin to do it. The act is returned to the spirit via the four intermediaries.

FORT RUPERT KWAKIUTL DANCES

No data were obtained from the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl that differed markedly from the detailed accounts of the rituals which Boas has published.⁴⁴ In connection with the present material the following points may be brought out. Instead of several dance cycles, all the dances were included in the Shamans' series (tsitsiqa)⁴⁵. My informant stated that only the Koskimo, Neeweetee, and Blunden Harbor divisions of the Southern Kwakiutl had two distinct dance series (a nūlām as

⁴⁴ Boas, Sec. Soc.

⁴⁵ This word is translated by Boas as "the secrets" (Boas, Sec. Soc., 418); by my informant as "false, untrue." Actually it is the Heiltsuk word for "shaman"; in Kwagiutl "shaman" is paxhala.

The heterogeneous inclusion of dances in the Shamans' series is evinced by the inclusion of the northern War dancer (winalal) under the name of miLa (Sec. Soc., 484), even retaining the red-and-white cedar-bark ornaments of the miLa, (ibid., 498); a Grizzly Bear dancer with red-and-white cedar bark (ibid., 498; cf. the Wikenō dlūwulaxa). An interesting feature is the occurrence of buffoonery and horseplay, associated with the miLa among Northern Kwakiutl, in the Kwagiutl Shamans' ritual.

⁴⁶ Boas' information adds the Naqoaqtoq of Seymour Inlet and the Goasila of Smith Sound to the list of southern tribes having a nūlām (or nonlēm) dance cycle (Sec. Soc., 500). He states also that there were a few of these nūlām dances among the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, who call them Laōlaxa and consider them recent borrowings from the Heiltsuk. His account of the performance (Sec. Soc., 621-632), while principally descriptive of speech making by the chiefs, seems to follow the general outlines of the more northern miLa.

well as the Shamans' cycle).⁴⁶ As with the Koskimo and the Nootkan groups, there were a number of divisions of low-rank people, based on sex and age, with special ritual functions. Curtis notes that the chief's speaker, on formal occasions, is called the "alq."⁴⁷

BELLA COOLA DANCES

A brief account of the Bella Coola dance cycles was obtained from a Kimsquit informant.⁴⁸ The Shamans' series is known as kūsiūt (cf. siūt, spirit). The highest dancer is the Cannibal (ālhūtla); next to him in rank is the ālmōtcamk, whose performance represents an ancestral crest; after this come the Property Destroyer (?) (ōlxu), the Fire Throwing dancer (nōltsistal), various kinds of Self Destroying dancers, who perform tricks by which they appear to kill themselves and then revive (ts'iqtimōt, who cuts off his own head; ī:qtimōt, who throws himself into the fire, etc.), a dancer called kełiqw, who asks for undyed cedar bark (iqw), a Double-headed Serpent dancer (sisiyūl), and many others.⁴⁹

There is a type of dancer whose initiation seems to be associated with possession of true shamanistic power. I did not understand whether or not these real shamans constituted a special order. There is no Dog Eating dancer, either in the Shamans' series or as a separate cycle; some Cannibals perform this act.

According to my informant, only a Cannibal novice disappears. Other dancers become inspired and are conducted through the houses for four days, being confined in between times. The purification of all dancers is performed by a certain officer called the "Shaman" (Lōkwālā), under the direction of the master of ceremonies (alkw). At the end of the dancing moon all the society members (except the newly inducted initiates who are confined for a considerable length of time) assemble for a feast at which they wash off their face paint and remove the dyed cedar-bark rings they have been wearing.

The second dance cycle, the sisauk, is the same as the dlūwulaxa or miLa of the Kwakiutl. It is given in connection with major (intergroup) potlatches, and usually precedes a performance of the Shamans' cycle which outsiders are not permitted to see (active dancers of the latter cycle may not enter the sisauk house). As in the miLa, the arrival of the spirits, who come from the heavens, is signaled by the sound of horns and

⁴⁷ E. S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 10:154.

⁴⁸ Boas has given sketches of these dances in The Bilqula, BAAS 1891:408-449, 1892.

⁴⁹ Certain persons, called nūlikūtcai, carry clubs and appear to serve as dance police on some occasions, but I neglected to ask if these constitute dance order corresponding to the Kwakiutl Warrior-Fools, or are dance officials.

a great thud of a heavy object falling on the roof. On inspiration the novices are confined; by the fiction of the ritual they are carried off to the sky. In the potlatch they appear to dance, and afterward are restored to normalcy by exorcism by "blowing" and by being fumigated with old cedar-bark blankets. There are a great variety of sisauk dances, most of which represent hereditary crests, for example, Eagle, Thunderbird, Grizzly Bear, Raven, sninix (the equivalent of the Kwakiutl tsōnōqwa), and so on. These dances are not precisely ranked.

TSIMSHIAN DANCES

Descriptions of initiatory dances used by three Tsimshian groups were obtained, and will be given here for comparative purposes to supplement the published data.⁵⁰ The present material comes from a southern Coast Tsimshian group (Hartley Bay, or Kitqata); Tsimshian proper; and a Gitksan division, the Gitanamaks.

Hartley Bay Tsimshian (Kitqata).—There are four kinds of dances used by the Kitqata: kaxko-xumhalait (or sēmhalait), nūlām, mīla, and wulala. The first of these is not a dance series, but rather a performance to display the one's clan crests at a potlatch. The child in whose honor the display is made is inspired by the head chief,⁵¹ the crest is shown by a dancer, then the chief removes the spirit. The child wears a dyed cedar-bark headband a few days, taking it off without any formalities. There are no assemblages of those who have been inspired thus—they do not form any sort of an exclusive group. The performance seems to be a rather obvious transfer of the secret society pattern to another institution—the display of clan crests.

The nūlām was the ritual of the Dog Eating dancers. Those who had this dance formed a separate society, from which uninitiates and members of the mīla and wulala series were excluded. This dance has not been used for a long time at Hartley Bay; the informant's knowledge of it was based on the performances he had witnessed (as an uninitiate) at Kitkahtla and what he had been told by his elders. It was his opinion that the nūlām began to go into disuse among his people when the more sensational wulala series was introduced. The nūlām was said to be of alien (Heiltsuk) origin, but the Hartley Bay people had had it for a long time.

When a chief decides to initiate his sister's son or daughter into the mīla he calls a meeting

⁵⁰ The only sources on the Tsimshian societies are: Boas, in *Tsimshian Mythology*, BAE-R 31, 1916; G. M. Dawson, *Queen Charlotte Island*, Geol. Surv. of Canada, Rept. 1878-79:103B-189B, 1880.

⁵¹ Only the head (tribal) chief has the right to perform this function. He is "paid for his work" in the potlatch which follows.

of the society members (qamīla). The novice is brought into the meeting, whistles are blown and he falls down as though dead.⁵² Officials march through the village announcing that So-and-so has gone up to the sky.⁵³ Some days later (usually four, though for a novice of very high rank it may be ten or twelve), he "descends," appearing on the beach or on a raft on the water. He is accompanied by a representation of one of his crests. Often the novice is carried on the back of the image; for instance, a float might be made in the form of a Killer Whale.⁵⁴ The society members go down to get him, and the image disappears. The novice is conducted, singing and dancing, through all the houses, then kept in the dance house a "few" days (probably dancing for the society members). Then he dances before all the people. He wears head and neck rings afterward.

The wulala dances⁵⁵ are those of the Kwakiutl Shamans' series. They were introduced in relatively recent times. The following orders are used: 1, Cannibal (xəkət, lit., "eats"); 2, nūtsista, who throws fire; 3, tlōkwolā; 4, kōmin-wāks; 5, hālīnonx; 6, wulala. Most of the names are obviously Kwakiutl. The performance started in about the same manner as a mīla rite. The important chiefs have certain ritual acts to perform in inspiring and effecting the disappearance of the novice, for which they must be paid subsequently. "This is why they have these dances." The wulala dances are evil; many people have died because of them.⁵⁶ After a month or two, during which the novice hides in a hut or cave in the bush surrounded by corpses (!), whistles are heard, signaling his reappearance. The society members capture him, make him dance, then he escapes again. This is repeated a number of times. Finally he is caught and tied up, and corpses are brought to feed him. Certain men own the right to procure the bodies; the party of ghouls always consists of four men. As many corpses are brought as there are Cannibals present, in case guests

⁵² There is singing and dancing in connection with this performance. The head chief also must dance to "put power on the novice," but my notes are not clear as to whether this is done on a previous occasion or during the "sending away."

⁵³ The informant believed that the petroglyphs found here and there in the neighborhood were made by the nūlām and mīla novices during their disappearance.

⁵⁴ These floating images are made to move back and forth in the water by means of riggings ingeniously laid so they cannot be seen from the village.

⁵⁵ It was not made clear whether the term "wulala" referred to the entire series, but apparently so.

⁵⁶ A person who breaks the "laws" of the dance is garrotted by laying him on his back with his neck between two poles which are squeezed together.

have been invited.⁵⁷ After the mummy feast the Cannibal dances with his pakpakwolā masks (Kwa-kiutl: baxbakwolanusiwa). Uninitiates are permitted to see only a few parts of the ceremony. At the conclusion, a potlatch is given the society members. The dancer is kept in his room for some time, while his cedar-bark rings are exchanged for a series of smaller ones. Even when the last ring has been removed he is not through, however, for he always carries his whistle with him, and if he hears a tabooed word, such as "death," or sees food spilled, and so forth, he becomes excited immediately. Then he runs about biting people, and has to be tamed.

Tsimshian proper.—Besides the crest-display dances (səmhalait, or koxumhalait, "head-shaking dance"), the Tsimshian have the Dog Eating dance (nūlām) and the mīla. The initiates of each form a separate society. All the chiefs have the right to be initiated into these. Either the nūlām or the mīla (but not both simultaneously) may be given in connection with the fourth year of potlatching by which a chief validates his right of succession to office. The procedure of both rituals is about the same. Guest chiefs are called on to dance individually, after which each "puts his supernatural power into the novice" while whistles are blown. Attendants conduct the novice through the village. In each house he dances around the fire in a clockwise direction.⁵⁸ The society members, at the conclusion of his tour, assemble to give a great shout "to blow him up to Heaven." A high-rank child disappears for ten days, one of lower status for four or five. When the time arrives, whistles are heard. The novice reappears after his sojourn in celestial regions. A mīla novice is brought back by some great image representing a supernatural being (the particular kind, of course, depends on hereditary right).⁵⁹ I do not know whether a nūlām dancer has one of these monstrous escorts or not. The dance people go to capture him, after which they take him through the houses. A nūlām dancer becomes excited at this time, performing his characteristic act of running about catching and eating dogs. Finally the novice is put in his room in the dance house, where for several days rites are performed to which no

⁵⁷ It was the informant's belief that cremation, although occasionally practiced in ancient days by his people, did not become common until the introduction of the Cannibal dance; people preferred burning their kin to having them eaten. While this is likely a rationalization, it reflects an interesting attitude. It should be added that cremation was never universally practiced by the Tsimshian, though it was the usual mode of disposal of the dead.

⁵⁸ The Tsimshian ceremonial circuit is clockwise.

⁵⁹ The members surround the mīla novice and his image, concealing them from profane view so that the image can be broken up and concealed. Uninitiates are told the being has vanished into thin air.

uninitiates are admitted. The only part which outsiders may see is a dance performed in another chief's house at the end of the ceremonial. Following the potlatch to society members, the novice is secluded. Once in a while his attendants take him outside, if the day is fine, to sit quietly on the beach. Feasts are given to the society now and again to remove the cedar-bark rings, substituting smaller ones for them, until the novice is freed.

The Cannibal series is owned by one chief only of all the Tsimshian—the head chief of the Gitändō.⁶⁰ No one else may use the dance. The following dances were recalled as included in the series: Cannibal (xək yet), mūnsista (who throws fire about), and gilhawāks (who plays with human skulls). There may have been more formerly.

Gitksan.—Two accounts of Gitksan dances were obtained, one from the village of Kitanamaks (modern Hazelton), the other from Kicpaiyakws (Kispiyox). The rites appear to differ but little; the sketch will be based chiefly on the Kitanamaks account which is somewhat fuller.

There are two dance series on the Upper Skeena, the Dog Eating dance (qalūlim) and the gamīla.⁶¹ Both were obtained by a Coast Tsimshian man named Cagaitlābin, who was taken to the cave in the heart of a mountain in which dance spirits dwell.⁶² They were introduced among the Gitksan "not very long ago"—in late protohistoric times the informants opined. Previous to this time, the Gitksan had only the amalait or "chief's dances," in which the chief danced wearing a forehead mask filled with down, and displayed his clan crests.

The routines of both dance series are much alike; in fact the Kitanamaks informant stated they can be performed concurrently, if a very large potlatch is planned. In such event, however, two houses are used, one for qalūlim per-

⁶⁰ The Gitändō are one of the nine "tribes" (really, local groups) of the Tsimshian proper (i.e., the groups who held in severalty the fishing grounds on the mouth of the Skeena below the canyon, and who wintered on Metlakatla Pass, off present-day Prince Rupert). Tsimshian and Hartley Bay informants agreed that of the Coast Tsimshian, the Kititsu, Hartley Bay, Kitkahtla, and Gitändō had the Cannibal dance.

⁶¹ There is no Cannibal dance among the uppermost villages, apparently, though a chief at Kitsiyukla, one at Kitwankul, and perhaps one at Kitwanga are said to own the right to this performance. The Kitanamaks informant thought the chief of the Frog clan at Kispiyox had a right to the dance, but the Kispiyox informant denied this emphatically.

⁶² The relation of Cagaitlābin's supernatural experience states that he was given power to eat human flesh, but the ritual he brought back was the Dog Eating dance. This inconsistency does not disturb informants in the least. It is obvious that we have here a fusion of the nūlām ritual and the legend belonging to the Cannibal dance series.

formances and the other for *gamila*, and the novices are secluded in one or the other house, according to their dance.

When time comes to start the Dog Eating dance, all the initiated people assemble. Those who are to dance sit by the door. Suddenly spirit whistles (*laxnox*) are heard outside, accompanied by a tremendous din as men beat the wall and roof with sticks. The prospective novices fall unconscious. All the initiates make a supernatural sound (a sort of grunting exhalation). The principal novice is picked up, denuded, and carried around the fire in a clockwise direction.⁸⁸ After this he is carried through all the other houses. The itinerary completed, the society members stand outside in a group, singing, and then all make the supernatural noise, "blowing the novice away." He is supposed to be sent to the cave of the spirits where the dance was first obtained. Actually he is concealed in the dance house. Other novices are treated in the same fashion.

After the novice has been away for three days, six men, dressed in bearskin robes, dance aprons, and head and neck rings of cedar bark, go through the village. At each house they shout, "We are going to call back the one whom the spirits carried away." All the high-rank people assemble. There is a master of ceremonies, wearing a robe and a forehead mask, who calls on the chiefs in turn to sing and dance, then blow a handful of white eagle down into the air. This down is said to be borne away to the cave of the supernaturals. When all the chiefs have performed this act, novices of low rank appear, one by one, to dance. Now they have an especially potent rite to bring back the principal dancer. The head chief is given a ladle of *olachon* grease, which he holds up toward the heavens, praying to Chief Dancer (*menhalait*), the supernatural being who controls the ritual. Then he walks around the fire, stopping in four places (apparently corresponding to the corners of the house) to give a supernatural cry. At the fourth pause the chief throws the oil into the fire, saying, "Honored chief, return to us that which you have taken." Everyone listens in silence. All at once the whistles of the spirits sound, and a thud, as of some heavy object falling on the roof. The society members rush out of the house to capture the novice. There is a great commotion (for the benefit of the uninitiates indoors); people run about shouting, "Hold him! Hold him! Don't let him get away!" They sing to calm the novice, but suddenly he breaks away. A great shout signals the novice's re-disappearance. "This time, however, he flies only a short distance away." The initiates return to the house singing mournful airs, sad because they lost the dancer. The assemblage disperses, except for high-rank initiates who stay up to watch for the return of the novice (actually, to complete preparations for his return).

⁸⁸ Ceremonial circuits among the Gitksan are always clockwise.

Just before daylight, whistles are heard blowing. A crier goes through the village calling the populace to watch the return of the dancer. Giving his cry of "hap! hap! hap!" the novice appears. Attendants run down to capture him; he tears himself free, and runs wildly through the village, making two circuits. His attendants then surround him, and give him the carcass of a dog, with which he makes two more circuits of the houses, tearing off mouthfuls of flesh as he runs. Finally he is captured. His attendants conduct him to the house. That night he dances, wearing a bearskin robe, a dance apron, and head and neck rings of mixed red and white cedar bark. The songs restore him to normalcy. After his dance he gives a potlatch to the society members and dances before them. His cedar-bark rings are removed and burned to set him free.

As has been stated, the performance of the *gamila* is about the same. Some points of difference are that the cedar-bark rings of the *gamila* are all red, the eagle down is red dyed, and the novices on their reappearance wear red paint. In "calling back" the principal novice, a "doll" of red cedar bark is carried around the fire and burned as an offering to Chief Dancer, as well as the *olachon* grease. When the novice finally reappears, he is accompanied by his crest animal (a dancer costumed to represent the crest). Sometimes the crest spirit "kills" the novice, who is revived by the members of the society. Besides the crest display, some dancers had a *wīnanał* (i.e., *wīnalał*, War dancer) performance on the last night in which the novice danced carrying a long pike or a knife.

To conclude the *gamila* (but not the *galūlim*) the dance spirit (*laxnox*) must be sent away. The head chief dances before the entire populace, then "catches" the spirit from the air (he makes a grasping motion, at which a whistle is blown; no visible object is used). After dancing around the fire with the spirit, he "throws" it to the dancer of next highest rank, who passes it to the third, and so on, until all the society members have had it. The last man throws the spirit back to the chief, who dances around the fire four times, then throws it out the smoke hole. The whistling sound can be heard going away to the cave of the spirits.

HAIDA DANCES

Southern Haida (Skidegate dialect).—A few notes were obtained which supplement Swanton's account of the dances of the Haida groups now resident at Skidegate. The Cannibal dance series is called *sxaga* (cf. *sxaga*, shaman; *sxana*, supernatural being, shaman's familiar); initiates collectively are *sxadāga*. The following dances are included: 1, Cannibal (*ūlala*); 2, Fire Thrower; (*nōitcīsta*); 3, Grizzly Bear (*xuwodze*); 4, a

woman's order, called *sxala*; 5, Dog Eater (*xagatai*);⁶⁴ 6, Property Destroyer (*xauxau*); 7, a "wild man" (*qagixit*). Many of the Southern Haida chiefs own the right to perform the Cannibal and Dog Eater dances; the Fire Thrower is owned solely by the Skedans chief; the Property Destroyer belongs to a Skidegate village chief (i.e., one of the chiefs of the group originally occupying Skidegate), the "wild man" to the chief of Xaina. The informant believed that only chiefs who had the Grizzly Bear as a hereditary crest may possess the Grizzly Bear dance. The various orders are not sharply ranked, though the first two or three mentioned are considered higher than the rest. That initiates of the several dances collectively constitute an exclusive group is indicated by the fact that they assemble for feasts from which nonmembers are barred. The society members wear red cedar-bark head rings at these affairs.

The initiations were given as "indispensable accompaniments" (Swanton) of house-building potlatches. The head chief of the host's village dances, then inspires the principal novices (host's sisters' children) by throwing a handful of eagle down on each one. Whistles sound simultaneously. The novice gives his cry and falls unconscious. Attendants surround him to conduct him through the village; he breaks away, dashing wildly about the village. Sometimes he seizes a lower rank kinsman (according to prearranged plan), thereby inspiring him. After this he disappears for four or ten days. He appears on the beach where his attendants capture him with rings of cedar bark. Cannibal novices bite the arms of attendants or run about with figures made to look like corpses. Others are accompanied by images (or masked dancers) representing crest animals. All the novices except a Dog Eating dancer appear together. The next two nights are devoted to the dances of the novices, until they become tame, when robes and cedar-bark rings are put on them. Each novice dances thus attired, and then is fed. The head and neck rings were worn for a short period—not for a long time as on the mainland.

There was only the one society (or two, if the Dog Eaters really were distinct) among the Skidegate Haida; they did not have a *mila* dance. Some chiefs owned *mila* horns which they used in connection with dances of the Shamans' series.

Northern Haida (Masset dialect).—A number of dances are owned by chiefs of the northern

villages, although they seem to be of still less importance than among the Southern Haida.⁶⁵ I was unable to obtain much information about the performances. It has been many years since any of them were used. Murdock states that "there are no secret societies" among these groups,⁶⁶ but it may be that he was thinking of societies as corresponding to the various orders or dances. Since the Skidegate groups definitely have a society—a group consisting of those who have been initiated, who met for feasts and rituals from which nonmembers are excluded—one would expect a similar arrangement among the Massett divisions. It may be, of course, that the dances are simply individually owned performances which create no exclusive alignments, as is so among the Southern Tlingit.

TLINGIT DANCES

According to a Sanyaqwan informant, no one of his group used any of the secret society dances. Two chiefs of the near-by village of Tongass own the right to use a Cannibal and a Dog Eating dance respectively; both obtained these performances from the Tsimshian in historic times. The informant had never seen these dances, knowing of them only from hearsay. The most certain fact is that the dances were simply individual privileges, and of but little importance to the people.

The Chilkat (northern) Tlingit have none of these dances. The informants stated Sitka and Klawak (?) people use them, having purchased the right to do so from the Kaigani (Hydaburg) Haida.⁶⁷ By report, these Haida have a considerable number of the performances. One or two Chilkat shamans, however, are known to have acquired a *łokwoná* spirit as a familiar, but did not dance as was done by secret society members to the south.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Swanton (op. cit., 180 ff.) lists the following dances among the Massett Haida: *Ulala* (owned by Lateł, Raven, of Skidaoqao), *Winana* (Fire Thrower; danced by Ravens), *Grizzly Bear* (owned by XAna, Raven, of Skidaoqao), *Wolf* (owned by Qols, Raven), *Nūlam* (or *Wīlam*; danced by Eagles), *Gāgīd* (owned by SLakīñāñ, Eagle, of Yan), *Athabaskan Spirit*, *Wrestling Spirit*, and *Canoe People* (all danced by Eagles).

⁶⁶ G. P. Murdock, Rank and Potlatch among the Haida, YU-PA 13: 6, 1936. Murdock mentions a Cannibal dancer (*wilala*), a Dog Eating dancer (*wīlam*), and a *gāgit* dancer among the Northern Haida.

⁶⁷ Olson informs me, however, that only the Wrangell people made much use of the dances.

⁶⁸ This may be the explanation of Swanton's account of a *łokwoná* initiation. (J. R. Swanton, Social Customs, etc. BAE-R 26.)

⁶⁴ The Dog Eater was said to be included in the Shamans' series, though later the informant said the dancer could not perform in company with the others (par. 2, above, this p.). Swanton gives the name *nūlam* for this dancer. In addition to the performances listed above, Swanton gives *Wolf*, *Dress Spirit*, *Athabaskan Spirit*. The dances came from the Kitkatla Tsimshian and the Bella Bella. (Ethnology of the Haida, AMNH-M 8:156.)

NOOTKAN DANCES⁶⁹

Detailed accounts of Nootkan dances are to be presented elsewhere; only a résumé will be given here. The major ritual of Nootkan tribes is an initiatory performance called the Lōqwanā, or "Shamans" (the word probably comes from an old Wakashan stem; cf. Kwakiutl *dlugwī*, "supernatural treasure" or "spirit," *dlōkwala*, "to encounter a supernatural treasure, or being"). Novices are kidnaped by men disguised as supernatural wolves (hence the colloquial English name "Wolf dance"), kept for four days, then brought back by the wolves as the result of magical songs sung by the people. Each novice on his return performs an hereditary dance, supposedly taught him by the wolves, then is purified. Although basically (and in many arbitrary details, some of which will be listed below) the performance is similar to Kwakiutl ceremonials, the following significant points of difference may be noted: the "society" is not exclusive—all the members of the tribe are initiated; the disappearance of the novices is treated in different fashion and the supernatural beings—the wolves—have a more potent rôle; the novices are not possessed on their return; and the dances performed are not ranked. Quite obviously the Nootkan and Kwakiutl rituals differ a good deal in their present form. Yet a list of arbitrary parallels indicates a close kinship: designation of the ceremonial (and initiates) as "shamans"; use of whistles (representing voices of supernaturals) and quartz crystals to inspire novices prior to their disappearance; taboos during the ritual on certain secular usages—for example, formal seating arrangements, use of certain words or names—and on specific acts—laughing (during some parts of the rite), chewing gum, wearing a hat, quarreling with a spouse; punishment of infraction of these rules by mauling and/or destruction of property by ceremonial police; use of a "raft" in capturing the novices; red cedar-bark society insignia; and many more.⁷⁰ Nootkan ceremonial age groups, and self-torture by skewering found parallels among Southern Kwakiutl only. In fine, we might say that the two types of ceremonials appear, from their general form and many specific resemblances, to have had a common origin, but have diverged considerably from that ancient pattern.

In addition there is among the central Nootkans and the Makah an imperfectly integrated organization called the "tsaiyeq," which recruits its members partly on the basis of dreaming and has minor curing functions.

⁶⁹Sapir gives an account of a fairly typical Lōqwanā. (E. Sapir, *Some Aspects of Nootkan Language and Culture*, AA 13:15-28, 1911.) The ritual of each local group, however, differed considerably from the rest in details of routine.

⁷⁰There is a dance called *nūlām* among some Nootkan tribes, which, however, has nothing to do with dog eating; nor is it a distinct ceremonial, but is performed during the Lōqwanā by one of the age groups.

DANCE CYCLES AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The time has passed for obtaining a complete picture of the interrelationships of the dance series with other phases of culture. The Northern Kwakiutl divisions have been influenced too deeply by European civilization, and too many years have gone by since the dances were last performed. Some functional aspects of the complex, however, are outstanding enough in the accounts to be salvaged, with the reservation that the analysis makes no pretense of being complete.

It readily becomes obvious that the ritual organizations must be counted among the schismatic rather than the integrative factors within the social units. First of all, they serve to accent the gradation of society according to rank.⁷¹ Ownership of privileges is in itself one of the major factors contributing to social status, and since almost every individual act from the performance of the Cannibal dance to the right to sprinkle a handful of eagle down on a performer is individually owned, it is clear that the rituals emphasize the gradation of status. Far from realigning the social structure, the ritual organization almost precisely duplicates the ranking of the secular season. The chiefs of highest rank own both the highest dances and the greatest number of ceremonial prerogatives. In fact, the rank of the dance orders owned by each chief of a group correlates with his secular status. At the other end of the social scale, uninitiates (except of course high-rank children too young to be inducted) comprise low-rank people who own no rights at all. The difference between those of high and low degree is brought out nowhere more clearly than in the dichotomy of those within the secret society and those without.⁷² Uninitiates as a group are prohibited from attending all but one night of dancing, they must avoid the dance house during the entire ritual, and, most significant of all, they are barred from the potlatch following the performance. The importance of this latter point can scarcely be overemphasized. As the writer understands it, the potlatch normally operates as a formal device for social consolidation. The affiliation of people of low as well as those of

⁷¹The bases of the rank concept on the Northwest Coast are too involved to be discussed here in detail; the writer plans to take up this problem in the near future.

⁷²Northwest Coast society is not made up of sharply differentiated castes, but of a consecutive gradation from high to low that might be represented diagrammatically by an isosceles triangle whose apex represents the head chief of the group and whose base represents the "commoners." Class differences ordinarily come to expression in variant degrees of participation in social activity rather than different kinds of activity. Secret society membership is one of the few institutions that cuts cleanly across the social group.

high rank to the group is formally expressed in the presentation of gifts (even though the "commoners" receive smaller gifts than the nobles); and the former share in the preparations, dancing, and so forth, and vicariously enjoy the expression of prestige of their group. But the potlatches following the secret society rituals are attended by members only, and they alone receive gifts.

Even more striking are the accounts by Northern Kwakiutl (and Tsimshian) informants of the functioning of the secret societies (particularly that of the Shamans) as terroristic organizations, which by violence or black magic dominated society. I am not sure that these descriptions should be accepted at their face value; they may be modern interpretations stimulated by missionaries' condemnation of native dances and shamanistic practices.⁷³ Yet even if this be true, it is extremely suggestive that such a concept could arise and be generally accepted by natives themselves. According to these informants, anyone who violated the "laws of the dance"—an uninitiate who by accident or design witnessed some esoteric part of the ritual, or a society member who revealed the secrets—would be murdered at the behest of the chiefs (who were of course the highest dancers and dance officials). The unfortunate offender was either garroted with two poles, or bewitched (Bella Bella shamans could kill by "shooting" pebbles, etc., into a victim; elsewhere contagious magic was used). In fact so common was this nefarious practice in former years that it was axiomatic that someone would die every time a Shamans' society ritual was performed. "When they heard a dance was to be given," said one informant, "the low-rank people all began to weep, for they knew someone would be murdered."

When the Xaisla chief, Sanaxet, gave his last Shamans' society dance, he announced to the members that this time no one was to die; he would not permit any murders (because of the influence of missionaries, apparently). During the preparations, the singers had difficulty in composing a series of new songs for the Cannibal dancer. Someone suggested that a certain uninitiated man of low rank had considerable talent along musical lines, and often made up pleasing airs. The chiefs decided to force him to assist them. Men were sent to bring him to the secret meeting of the society out in the woods. The commoner, when he learned of the purpose of the meeting, was badly frightened. He believed that as soon as he had taught the new songs to the singers he would be killed (since it had been revealed to him—an uninitiate—that the songs did not come from supernatural inspiration but were composed by ordinary human beings). Sanaxet himself re-

assured the musician, saying he had resolved that no one was to lose his life during this ritual. At last he prevailed upon him to improvise four airs, which the singers learned. Afterward, some of the chiefs and real shamans grumbled over the exposure of an important secret of the dance. They wanted to kill the songmaker. The great chief stood firm. He vowed that should any harm befall the commoner, he, Sanaxet, would with his own hand kill the person responsible. Only because of the chief's determination was the commoner's life spared.

Even men of high rank were not exempt from danger. Qaid, chief of the Qôqwaiât (a Bella Bella local group) and Hântzid, chief of the Owilitx, quarreled violently. The following winter Hântzid announced a Shamans' ritual. Qaid refused to attend, which was a violation of the rules, for he himself was an active Cannibal dancer. The society members performed some magic which caused Qaid to capsize and drown while crossing the channel the following summer.⁷⁴

Nor were these evil customs confined to the ritual season. By contagious magic society members caused sickness among the people, so that the shamans in the society would be hired to cure the victims.⁷⁵ The proceeds of such unethical doctoring were distributed among the members in potlatches given by the shamans (presumably given to pay for their initiation).

A second-hand but explicit account of the experience of a Kitlope (Caamano Arm Xaisla) shaman was related by a Hartley Bay Tsimshian informant.⁷⁶

"M. F. used to be a shaman. He pretended to cure people by sucking things out of them; I saw him do this twice long ago. Finally he gave it up when he became a Christian. I asked him how he had come to be a shaman. At first he tried to tell me about meeting a spirit in the mountains, but I said, 'No, that's just a story. I want to know the truth!' I insisted till he told me the real truth. When M. F. was a young man he had a dream. I don't remember it, though he told me, but it was just an ordinary kind of a dream. He happened to mention it to the chief at Kitlope. The chief said, 'That's a good dream. It means you are going to be a doctor. You must dance now!' M. didn't want to dance. He was afraid of the dance people (i.e., society members) and the things they do, but he was more afraid of what would happen to him if he refused. So he

⁷⁴ Cf. Boas, *Sec. Soc.*, 650-651, for a description of similar control of behavior among the Bella Coola.

⁷⁵ The cure was usually a simulated one. When the sick person's family had been mulcted of most of their wealth, the spell was lifted to permit recovery.

⁷⁶ The informant was related to the Kitlope shaman by marriage. It should be noted that the informant did not believe in shamanism at all, though he was convinced of the efficacy of contagious magic. The tenor of this relation, although given by a Tsimshian, exactly parallels the views of Northern Kwakiutl informants.

⁷³ The distribution of the concept among the Kwakiutl (Bella Bella, Xaiha, Xaisla), it will be noted, corresponds to that of induction of real shamans into the society on the basis of their possession of supernatural power.

pretended the dance spirits carried him off, came back, and danced before the people. The society members made up songs for him, and taught him how to dance, and how to pretend to cure people. They did things to people (i.e., worked magic) to make them sick, then he pretended to cure them. He had to give feasts and potlatches to the society with the money he made by doctoring. That was why they made him dance in the first place—to make money for them. I know this is true, for he told me so himself."

Even though these descriptions of terrorism and extortion with their macabre tinge so reminiscent of Melanesia may be overdrawn, they bring out the sharp cleavage between society members and the uninitiated. All in all, there can be little doubt that the dance cycles tended to be socially disintegrative. There is no indication of trends toward better social adjustment of the complex, perhaps because its continuance reacted favorably to the dominant elements of aboriginal society.

SUMMARY: KWAKIUTL DANCING SOCIETIES

The Kwakiutl dancing society complex as depicted in the foregoing accounts may be summarized as follows. Instead of the single "winter ceremonial" of the Southern Kwakiutl which Boas describes, the northern tribes had two or three distinct ceremonial systems, the members of each of which constituted an exclusive society: two among the Wikenos (unless the "Bella Coola dances" really formed a third); three each among the Bella Bella, Xaihais, and Xaisla. The general pattern of all the rituals was the same. The societies' principal function was that of initiating new members; the ceremonial was a dramatic reenactment of the legendary encounter of the novice's ancestor with a spirit, and a display of the gifts (names, songs, dances, masks, carvings, and other "privileges") bestowed by the supernatural benefactor. Members of one society were distinguished from those of another by minor differences of rites, of paraphernalia, and the like. Clearly all the Kwakiutl societies were cut of the same cloth.

Table 1 (page 228) brings out significant points in the distributions of the societies, their component orders, and related ritual elements among the tribes of Kwakiutl lineage and their neighbors.

The many blanks in our distribution chart are unfortunate, but even despite them the greater elaboration of the dancing society complex among the Northern Kwakiutl is patent. The break between Northern and Southern groups will seem less sharp when we consider that a great host of minor dances of both the Shamans' and dlūwulaxa series have been incorporated in the Shamans' society of the southerners. Nevertheless a hodgepodge of performances no matter how long can scarcely be considered as high a development as a systematic

arrangement of these dances into two or three coordinated series. Neighboring coastal groups obviously differed in the direction of decreased complexity of ceremonials (with the possible exception of the Bella Coola who were wedged in between the Northern Kwakiutl groups). Thus all the distributional material points to the northern divisions—Wikenos, Bella Bella, Xaihais, and Xaisla—as the center of the ritual complex.

HISTORICAL SUGGESTIONS

We are fortunate in possessing a quantity of traditional evidence bearing on the history of development of the dance cycles. An outstanding characteristic of the civilization of the northern portion of the Northwest Coast is the historical-mindedness, fostered, perhaps, by the claiming of hereditary right to privileges in establishing one's social position. So matter of fact and so consistent are these relations, particularly those referring to the upper time levels, that they deserve careful consideration.

Taken altogether, tradition points very definitely to the Northern Kwakiutl—Xaisla, Xaihais, Bella Bella, and Wikenos—as the center from which the elaborate cycles of ranked dances were diffused. Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian informants are unanimous in attributing such of these dances as their people have to relatively recent borrowings from their Kwakiutl neighbors. As Boas long ago pointed out, linguistic evidence bears out this contention; most of the names associated with the dances have been taken over bodily from the Kwakiutl.⁷⁷ Significant too is the decreased importance of the performances in the eyes of the northern natives. Whereas among the Kwakiutl a secret society performance was the *raison d'être* of a major potlatch, the dances were used by the tribes to the north as incidental adjuncts to potlatches of the memorial or house-building variety.

Among the Kwakiutl themselves the same center of dissemination is indicated. Southern Kwakiutl traditions are quite circumstantial in ascribing the origin of many of their individual dances to their northern kin. A bit of linguistic evidence may be brought to our aid: the name applied to the Southern Kwakiutl Shamans' society is a Heiltsuk, not a Kwagiutl, word (see footnote 45). Too, we find among the Northern Kwakiutl not only more distinct cycles of dances, but the most elaborate system of progression through the orders (cf. Wikenos dances, pp. 202-208; Xaihais dances, p. 211). This high degree of elaboration, coupled with linguistic evidence, certainly bears out the traditional view that the center of development of the ceremonials was among the Northern Kwakiutl.

However, while specific dances, such as that of the Cannibal, may be of late origin as traditions state, and the concept of coordinating the

⁷⁷ Boas, *Sec. Soc.*, 661.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Societies and Dances among the Kwakiutl and their Neighbors

(+, present; R, considered recent innovation; -, absent; blank, no data; (), not certain)

Societies and Dances	Nootka	Kwakiutl						Bella Coola (Salish)	Tsimshian			Haida	
		Koskimo	Fort Rupert	Wikeno	Bella Bella	Xaihais	Xaisla		S. Tsimshian	Tsimshian	Gitsan	Skidegate	Masset
Shamans' society	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	-	R	+
Cannibal dancer	R*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	-	R	R
Fire Thrower	-		+	+	+	+	+		R	R	-	R	R
Grizzly Bear dancer	-		+	+	+	+	+					R	R
qominoaks	-		+	+	+	+	+		R	R			
Ala'qim	-		+	+	+	+	+						
Ghost dancer	-	+	+	+	+	+	+						
qinkulatla	-		+	+	+	+	+						
ilala (as separate dance)	-		+	+	+	+	+		R				
War dancer (Hook Swinger)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+						
Fool dancer	-		+	+	+	+	+						
True shamans' order	-		§	+	+	+	+						
dluwulaxa (or mila) society	-	-	(-)*	+	+	+	+	+	+**	+**	+**	-	-
War dancer	-	-	-	+	+	+	-					-	-
Making a Supernatural Sound	-	-	-	+	+	+						-	-
Healing dancer	-	-	-	+	+	+						-	-
Hearing Heavenly Spirits	-	-	-	+	+	+						-	-
Grizzly Bear dancer	-	-	-	+	(-)	(-)						-	-
qahauqw	-	-	-		+	+						-	-
Dance to indicate intention of becoming a Cannibal	-	-	-	+	††							R††	R††
Dog Eating society (separate society)	-	-	-	-	+	(+)	+	-	+	+	+	R††	R††
Dog eating as act of other dancer	-			+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Cannibal	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fire Thrower	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"Society" of unranked dances	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nootkan Wolf dance type	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Term mīlām used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
For Dog Eating society (or dance)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
For grade in Shamans' society	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-
For "society" of Wolf-dance type	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-
For age-grade group performance	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-

* Nootkan "Hamatsas" used only songs, without the typical cannibalistic performances, frenzies, etc., of the Kwakiutl Cannibals.

† The dances of the Massett Haida may not have constituted a real society, but merely individually owned privileges.

† The name was used for the t'oX'uit dance of the LaLasigoala. Boas, Sec. Soc., 492.

§ The mamaqa ("Disease Thrower dancer") represented a malevolent shaman. Boas, Sec. Soc., 485.

|| Possibly present. See p. 220; also, Boas, Sec. Soc., 649.

* The Fort Rupert Kwakiutl had a mila dancer in the Shamans' society (Boas, Sec. Soc., 484). The LaLasiga dances are described as recent borrowings from the Heiltsuk (Boas, Sec. Soc., 621 ff.).

** The Tsimshian mila dancers displayed clan or lineage crests on their return, so the Kwakiutl mila orders (except perhaps the War dancer) were probably absent.

†† A lower Shamans' society dance was thus used.

†† The Dog Eaters may have been an order rather than a real society among the Haida.

dances in ranked series is perhaps to be numbered among the less ancient developments, there seems to be no reason for believing that the entire initiatory complex of the Kwakiutl is a recent innovation. First of all, by their very complexity the dance series suggest considerable age. Ritual systems as complicated as these could scarcely spring up overnight. Furthermore, there are various performances (incorporated in the Shamans' society) among the Southern Kwakiutl which according to traditional history are ancient among these people.⁷⁸ If origin accounts deriving certain dances from the north are worthy of credence, as they seem to be, those telling of local origins should be as acceptable, particularly when many of the dances to which they refer, such as the hamshamts'as, the Fool dancer, the Hook Swinging dancer, and so on, are of restricted distribution. It seems most likely that we have to do with an old type of ritual performance—dramatization of a supernatural experience—common to all Kwakiutl, which was systematized and elaborated among the northern divisions. This suggestion is borne out by the fact that among the linguistically related Nootkan tribes we find a different type of initiatory ritual which nonetheless shows so many points of similarity to Kwakiutl performances that a genetic relationship seems probable. If the Kwakiutl and Nootkan dance systems derive from a common ancestry, a fair amount of time must be allowed to account for their respective divergences from the ancient pattern.

Of all the modern dances, the Dog Eating dance (mulām) of the northern tribes probably comes the closest to representing the ancestral ritual on which the others were patterned. It is simple in content, lacking any elaborate system of orders, yet at the same time displays most of the routine elements of the ceremonial pattern (use of whistles, cedar bark, inspiration and disappearance of the novice, display of a supernatural trick, etc.). Furthermore, the distribution of a set of arbitrary conceptual associations confirms the suggestion of the antiquity of this ritual. The very fact that these associations occur in varying combinations among the Kwakiutl and Nootkans implies some age. These traits are: designation of a ceremonial as "mulām" (a term which refers to "fool"), eating of raw dog flesh as a ritual act, and the legendary derivation of the ritual from the wolves. The great importance of the last concept is that it makes the act of dog eating intelligible; the dancer enacts a type of behavior characteristic of the Wolf spirit who possesses him. The three occur together among the Xaisla, as we have seen; dog eating charac-

terizes the mulām ceremonial of the Xaihais and Bella Bella (whether or not there is an association with wolves is not known); among the Wikeno dog eating is associated with a variant type of Fool dancer, the muntisistala ("mulām," however, becomes the designation of a grade in the Shamans' society). In the ritual system of the Koskimo, the traditionally ancient mulām is a ceremony deriving from the wolves, a concept particularly emphasized by the Nootkan tribes, among whom the term mulām (Makah "Do-t'hlub"⁷⁹) refers to a minor performance within the Wolf ritual. Among these last-mentioned tribes dog eating does not occur at present so far as I know, but it does appear in some of the peripheral rites of Coast Salish which represent dilute imitations of the Nootkan type of ceremony.⁸⁰ While such an interpretation can never be conclusively proved, it seems reasonable enough to assume that this dog eating-mulām rite, or something very much like it, was the prototype from which the more complex dancing societies were developed.

There are many facts relating to the Kwakiutl ceremonials from which historical inferences may be drawn. The developmental process most often exemplified is that of pattern transfer—traits and concepts from many phases of culture have been incorporated wholesale into the rituals. Native mythology has been ransacked to provide supernatural sanction for individual performances.⁸¹ Warfare, as Boas⁸² has pointed out, has lent many symbols and motifs to the rites. I should like to point to another institution that has contributed most generously to the secret society complex. I refer to shamanism. Not only do the rituals, as Boas long since recognized, dramatically portray a supernatural experience of the same sort as that by which shamans ob-

⁷⁹J. G. Swan, *Indians of Cape Flattery*, SI-CK 16: 75, 1870.

⁸⁰Dog eating occurs as a ritual act among the Comox, Klahuse, Homalco (whose rituals may be Kwakiutl rather than Nootkan derivatives), Sechelt, Squamish, Cowichan, and Nanaimo, in the Gulf of Georgia (H. G. Barnett, *British Columbia Coast Salish*, ms.), Klallam (Erna Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, UW-PA 1:287, 1927), and Quinault (R. L. Olson, *The Quinault Indians*, UW-PA 6:122, 1937).

⁸¹See Boas, *Sec. Soc.*, 393-418, 662.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 664. On the basis of the numerous references to war, war spirits, etc., Boas concludes that "the origin of the societies has a close connection with warfare." (Loc. cit.) In another publication (*Summary of Work*, BAAS 1898: 674-679, 1899), Boas suggests another set of contributory institutions: "The development of the complex system of membership in the secret societies must be explained as due to the combined action of the social system [by which he means the mixed social structure in which northerly elements such as the concept of ownership of crests and traditions have been grafted on to a social complex of the simple southern coast type] and the method of acquiring guardian spirits."

⁷⁸Among these are the hamshamts'as, a cannibal of lower rank than the tanis (hamatsa); the Warrior-Fool (nulma); Double-headed Serpent dancer (sisiluk); tsōnōqwo dancer; Hook Swinging dancer (hawinala), etc.

tained their power, but the basic idea of possession, the dance to display the novice's power (including the sleight-of-hand tricks, invariable accompaniments of shamanistic performances in this region), the concept of "throwing" supernatural power (often in the form of quartz crystals), the curing techniques used to "heal" the novice and the many references to "healing" in the rites, and the designation of one of the cycles as that of the Shamans,⁸⁸ all stem from the shamanistic complex of the area. Even the dyed cedar bark used as society insignia is really part of a shaman's regalia. Plainly, sha-

⁸⁸The induction of real shamans into the Shamans' society among the northern tribes is of interest but may not be significant in this connection, for it is impossible to determine whether the concept is an old survival or a secondary development carrying out the suggestion offered by the name of the society. A primary connection of true shamanism and the society is suggested by the presence among central Nootkan tribes, Makah (Swan, *Indians of Cape Flattery*, op. cit., 73), Quileute (?) (Frachtenberg, *Ceremonial Societies of the Quileute*, AA, n.s., 23:320-352, 1921), and Quinault (Olson, *The Quinault Indians*, op. cit., 122) of a group called by the Kwakiutl name "tsaiyeq" who had minor curing functions.

manism has contributed more heavily to the form of the rites than has any other aspect of native culture.

It would be bootless to seek for ultimate origins of the Northwest Coast secret society complex in the light of present knowledge. Loeb has pointed out a number of parallels running through secret societies and tribal initiations the world over;⁸⁹ hypotheses of genetic relationships of this type can neither be proved nor disproved. Whether secret societies were independently invented by the Kwakiutl or whether the concept was introduced from outside the area, their present form may be accounted for satisfactorily in terms of transfer of patterns within the culture. Shamanism provided the plot of the drama, mythology the lay figures, the concept of hereditary prerogatives selected the actors and provided the incentive for their participation. Warfare, the concept of graduated social rank, potlatching, and the carver's art all were drawn upon to enrich the ceremonials. Of no single cultural phenomenon, but of the interaction of many were the dancing societies of the Kwakiutl constructed.

⁸⁹E. M. Loeb, *Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies*, UC-PAAE 25:249-288, 1929.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

AA	American Anthropologist.	UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
AMNH-M	American Museum of Natural History, Memoirs.	UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science.	USNM-R	United States National Museum, Report.
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Report.	UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.
SI-CK	Smithsonian Institution, Contributions to Knowledge.	YU-PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology.