

## *On certain songs and dances of the Kwakiutl of British Columbia*

by Franz Boas (1858-1942)

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ON CERTAIN SONGS AND DANCES OF THE KWA-  
KIUTL OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.<sup>1</sup>

In the winter of 1886-87, the writer visited the coast tribes of British Columbia, in order to study their languages and customs. Particular attention was paid to the dances and the use of masks, which is so widely spread on the northwest coast of North America. The study revealed the fact that most of the dances are closely connected with the mythology of these tribes, while others are merely a kind of social entertainment. In the following pages I shall set forth some of the results of my researches.

We distinguish two classes of dances: social and religious. The former are celebrated at great festivals; the latter are performed exclusively in winter. I witnessed a dance of the first class in Nauette, a village near the north point of Vancouver Island, where two important tribes of the Kwakiutl nation have located. I was told that the dance had been invented when the daughter of the chief of the Klayoquaht (a tribe of the west coast of Vancouver Island) married a young chief of Nauette. When it was announced that the bride, with her friends, approached the village, three boats were connected by heavy planks, and thus an extensive platform was made. The Tlatlasikoala (the tribe of Nauette) went on this raft to meet the bride, and welcomed her dancing the new dance, *Yatiati*. Since that day they continue to dance it at feasts and festivals. The following is the way in which I saw it danced: —

The large house of the chief, which measured about fifty feet square, was swept, and the partitions for the various families, living each in a corner of the house, were removed. Then a large fire was started in the centre of the house, and the chief's wife took her seat near it. She kept a number of kelp tubes filled with fish oil, ready for pouring it into the fire, which then blazes up and lightens the whole house. The dancers assembled outside the house. With sticks and fists they beat the time on the walls of the houses, and slowly approached singing the dancing song. Suddenly the door of the house was torn open and the dancers appeared, one of the chiefs first. The walls of the house shook under the heavy fists and sticks of the dancers, who entered one by one. The chief was followed by two dancers, who had each a blanket tied round his loins, the upper

<sup>1</sup> The system of the Bureau of Ethnology has been adopted for spelling Indian words. X and x are a very guttural k, similar to kr. N and n are pronounced similar to dn, the sound being between the sounds of d and n. Ç and ç are the English th in thick. â has the sound of aw in law; q that of ch in Bach (German).

part of the body being naked. A carved wooden snake with two heads—the fabulous Sisiutl—was tied to the waist, and about their necks they wore rings of hemlock branches. In the right hand they carried two sticks ornamented with gay ribbons; in the left they flourished bows and arrows. Their faces were painted black, and their hair was kept back by a tie of seal-skins with a bunch of red feathers attached to it.

The next to enter were two men wrapped in white blankets and wearing stuffed mink-skins and head-dresses. The next dancer carried a rattle in his hands, which he hid under his dancing-apron. Then the rest of the dancers rushed into the house, and formed a wide circle around the two men carrying the snake-carvings. Now began the following song:<sup>1</sup>—

*Allegretto.*  
**SOLO.** **CHORUS.**

Le - hal le - hal le - hal - - la ha. Le - hal le - hal a

*Drums.* *etc.*

he..... le..... ha - le - le ha - le - le

ha - le - le... Le - hal - le - hal a he ..... le..

*Fine. D.C.*

..... ha - le - le ha - le - le ha - le - le.....

As soon as the chorus fell in, the minks and the man carrying the rattle rushed into the centre of the circle, and jumped about in the wildest fashion.

After the first round was finished, a new cry was heard outside, the door opened, and in came twelve boys, all naked, their little bodies whitened with lime, and various kinds of figures painted on them in red and black. Their hair was rubbed with a mixture of oil and lime, and looked like the bristles of a brush. The leader of the boys was an elderly man, who remained standing in the entrance of the house with uplifted hands, and directing the boys by rhythmical motions of his arms and his body. The figures of the dance were really artistic and symmetrical.

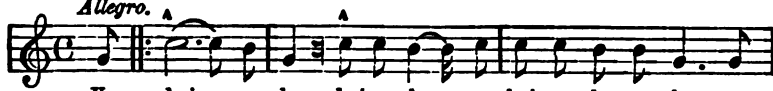
<sup>1</sup> The mark 0 designates that the tone is sung a little lower.

The songs which are sung during these dances are in part very old, but a considerable number are new, and native poets and composers are continually adding to their stock of songs. As chorus singing is practised at all festivals by these Indians, and as the rhythms of the songs are very complicated, a good deal of practice is necessary before an artistic effect can be reached. The Kwakiutl are very particular in this respect, and any mistake made by a singer or dancer is considered opprobrious. At certain occasions the dancer who makes a mistake is killed; this custom reminds us of the ancient Mexicans. Every village has its singing-master, who instructs young and old, and holds regular rehearsals before each festival. Even songs accompanying games are taught in this way. As the music of primitive people is of special interest to the student of folk-lore, I add here a number of songs, although they are not dancing songs. The first and second are always used in playing the game Lehal.

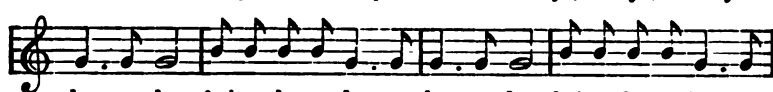
The players sit in two opposite rows, a long log of cedar being placed in front of each row. While the one party beats the time on one log with sticks, the members of the other party hide a carved piece of bone in their hands, which they move in opposite directions from the right to the left, and *vice versa*, close to the breast, so that one hand passes above the other, and they can easily drop the piece of bone from one hand into the other. The opposite party has to guess in which hand they hold the piece of bone. The second of these songs is remarkable as being sung in a five-part bar, which frequently occurs in the music of these tribes.

I.

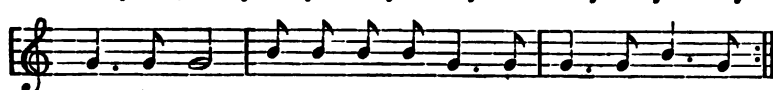
*Allegro.*



Ya - hai - ya - ha, hai-ya-ha..... hai-ya, ha-ya, he - ya



he - ya - he, hai-ya ha-ya he - ya he - ya - he hai-ya ha-ya he - ya



he - ya - he, hai - ya, ha - ya, he - ya he - ya, he - ya.

II.

*Allegro.*



Ya - hai ya - ha ya - hai ya - hai ya -



Sticks.



## III.

## MOURNING SONG SUNG AT THE DEATH OF KYALXEMKYASO.



The last of these songs is a mourning song, which I obtained from a woman of the Wik'ēnox tribe whom I met in Nauette.

As the main object of my visit was the study of the religious ideas and customs of the natives, I did not attempt to collect a great number of songs, as work of this kind requires thorough and continued attention. Some songs of the Bilqula, a tribe inhabiting the adjoining parts of the coast, were collected by Prof. C. Stumpf and myself, and published by Professor Stumpf in the "Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft," 1886.

For the student of folk-lore and myths the religious winter dances are by far the most interesting. The Kwakiutl tribes call these dances the Tsā'ēxa, or Tsētsā'ēxa, and say that the custom was established by Xanikilak, the son of the deity, who descended in the shape of an eagle from heaven, wandered all over the world, and made friend with many a mighty chief, while he transformed those who were his enemies into animals.

A number of authors refer to these winter dances, and more particularly to the cannibal ceremonies which play an important part in them. The origin of this custom, according to the folk-lore of the

Kwakiutl, is derived from a number of spirits living in the woods. Among these one called Baqbakuālanusi'uaē is the most important. The following legend is one of the great many referring to him. It was told to me by a Wik'ēnoḡ.

Once upon a time there lived a man who had four sons. His name was Noḡḡaua. One day the sons were going to hunt mountain goat. Before they started Noḡḡaua said: "When you will reach a house from which a reddish smoke is rising, do not enter it, for it is the home of Baqbakuālanusi'uaē, the cannibal." The sons promised to obey, and started on their expedition.

After a while they saw a house from the roof of which black smoke was rising. It was the abode of the black bear. They proceeded, and after a short while they found another house, from which white smoke was rising. They entered, and saw that it was the home of the mountain goat. Having rested, they proceeded, and at last they saw a house from which reddish smoke was rising. They stopped and spoke unto each other: "Shall we pass by this house? Let us enter and see who lives in it!" This they did, and found a woman who was rocking her baby. Opposite her sat a boy with an enormously large head. The four brothers stepped up to the fire, and sat down on a box. In doing so the eldest one hurt his leg, and blood dripped from it. The boy with the large head nudged his mother and whispered: "Oh, mother, how I should like to lick that blood!" When his mother told him not to do it he scratched his head, and soon began, notwithstanding her command, to wipe off the blood and to lick it from his finger. Then the eldest brother nudged the youngest one and said: "Oh, I think father was right. I wish we had followed his advice." Meanwhile the boy licked up the blood more and more eagerly.

The eldest of the brothers mustered courage. He took an arrow from his quiver and shot it through the door of the house. Then he told his youngest brother to go and fetch the arrow. He obeyed, but as soon as he had left the house he ran away towards his home. After a little while the eldest of the brothers took another arrow from his quiver and shot it through the door of the house. He told the next brother to fetch it, and he also made his escape. When he had shot a third arrow, the third brother escaped. Then the boy with the large head began to cry, for he was afraid of the eldest of the brothers. The woman asked: "Where have your brothers gone? I hope they will be back soon." "Oh, yes," answered the young man; "they have only gone to fetch my arrows." Saying so, he took another arrow from his quiver and shot it through the door of the house. Then he went himself to fetch it. As soon as he had left the house he followed his brothers. After a short while,

when nobody returned, the old hag knew that her guests had escaped. She stepped to the door and cried: "Baqbakuālanusi'uaē, come, oh come! I have allowed our good dinner to run away." Baqbakuālanusi'uaē, although he was far away, heard her, and quickly approached, crying: "Ham, ham, ham!" (that is, to eat, to eat, to eat). The four brothers heard him approaching, and ran as fast as their legs would carry them. The eldest happened to carry a whetstone, a comb, and some fish grease, which he used as an unction for his hair. When Baqbakuālanusi'uaē had almost reached them, he threw the whetstone behind him, and lo! it was transformed into a steep mountain, which compelled the pursuer to go round about it. But soon he came again near the fugitives. Now the young man poured out behind him the hair-oil, which was transformed into a large lake. While the pursuer had to go around it the young men gained a good start on him. When he had almost reached them for the third time, the eldest of the brothers threw behind him his comb, which was transformed into a thicket of young trees, which Baqbakuālanusi'uaē was unable to penetrate. Before he could pass around it the young men had reached their father's house. They knocked at the door, and asked their father to let them enter at once, as Baqbakuālanusi'uaē was again heard approaching. Hardly had they entered and the door was again bolted, when their pursuer arrived and knocked at the door, demanding entrance.

Noaḡana killed a dog, carved it, and collected its blood in a dish. Then he called Baqbakuālanusi'uaē to come to a small hole in the wall of the house, gave him the dish, and said: "This is the blood of my sons. Take it and carry it home to your wife. I invite you to a feast to-night, and be sure to come with your wife and your children. You may feast upon my sons." Baqbakuālanusi'uaē was delighted, and promised to come.

As soon as he had gone, Tsō'ēna, Noaḡaua's wife, dug a deep pit near the fire, and made the latter blaze up. She put stones into it, which she threw into the pit as soon as they were red-hot. They concealed the pit by spanning a skin in front of it. These preparations were hardly finished when Baqbakuālanusi'uaē arrived in his boat, accompanied by his wife and his three children. One of these he left at the boat as a watchman, while the others went into the house.

Then Tsō'ēna made them sit down close by the fire, their backs turned toward the skin which concealed the pit. When Baqbakuālanusi'uaē had settled down comfortably, and the meat was boiling in the large wooden kettle, he said: "Noaḡaua, you know how everything happened in the beginning of the world. Tell me what you know." Noaḡaua replied: "I shall tell you this;" and beating the time with his dancing-stick he sang:—



Mas tliqān'us, mas tliqan'us xsnuyamtl' qan/tsō ts'ōqtlēma ?  
 What of olden times, what of olden times shall I tell you of olden times my grandchildren ?  
 Hēim tliqān'us, hēim tliqān'us aai'yuxpels utl a q'o'oqusuq.  
 You of olden times, you of olden times cloud lay on the mountain.

When he had sung this spell twice, Baqbakuālanusi'uaē and his family began to slumber, and when he had sung it four times they slept sound and fast. Now Nāoaxaua and Tsō'ēna removed the skin and plunged them headlong into the pit. Twice Baqbakuālanusi'uaē cried : " Ham, ham ! " then he was dead. When all were dead, Nāoaxaua tied a rope round their bodies, and pulled them out of the pit. The old cannibal's body he cut into pieces, which he threw in all directions, singing : —

Leslā'tlela Baqbakuālanusi'uaē s'atlats bequā'num.  
 In course of time, Baqbakuālanusi'uaē, you will pursue the men.

They were transformed into mosquitoes. The boy who had remained in the boat made his escape, and lives since that time in the woods.

The same legend is told by the Kwakiutl of Fort Rupert, in the following form : —

Nāoaxaua went into the woods to hunt mountain goat. All of a sudden he descried a house which he had never seen before, although he had frequently passed this place. A woman by the name of Xomi-na'xa stood in the door and called him to come in. She was the daughter of the mountain spirit, Kōmō'xoē, and her husband was Baqbakuālanusi'uaē, the cannibal. Nāoaxaua was afraid, and did not dare to enter the house. But she said : " Come here ! I will louse you." When he stepped up to her and allowed her to take his head between her hands, she cried : " Baqbakuālanusi'uaē ! come and eat him ! " In vain he tried to free himself from her grasp, but when he heard the cannibal's roaring voice he made a desperate effort, and tore himself from the woman's grasp, but only after the loss of his hair. He ran away as fast as his feet could carry him. Baqbakuālanusi'uaē pursued him, now running swiftly over the ground, now digging his way under the roots of the trees. When he had almost reached him, Nāoaxaua spoke a magic spell, and a dense forest arose behind him, which obstructed the pursuer's path. Thus he succeeded in reaching his home. He had hardly closed the door when Baqbakuālanusi'uaē arrived. Nāoaxaua said to him : " Go home, and bring your wife with you. I have four children which you may eat." The cannibal did as he was requested. Meanwhile Nāoaxaua dug a deep pit, in which he kindled a large fire, which he covered with stones. Then he killed one of his slaves and cut him up. He ordered his children to hide themselves outside the house. The pit he covered with boards, that were to be pulled away by the children from outside the house. When Baqbakuālanusi'uaē

and X̄m̄ina'xa arrived, they were offered a seat on these boards, and Naṇoaṇaua served them the meat of the slave he had killed. Before the meal the cannibal performed a dance, while his wife beat the time with a stick. He danced in a squatting position; his hands trembled, he stretched his arms alternately to the right and to the left. Then he and his wife began devouring the meat.

On a given sign, the children, who stood outside the house, pulled away the boards, and both the cannibal and his wife fell into the pit, where they were burned to death. The fire in the pit blazed up when they fell into it, for both were extremely fat. When they were burnt to ashes, Naṇoaṇaua blew into the pit, and the ashes were transformed into mosquitoes.

A second spirit of the ~~cannibals~~ lives in the lakes. His name is Baqbakuā'latlē, and the Kwakiutl have the following tradition referring to him:—

Once upon a time there was a woman who had married the spirit Baqbakuā'latlē, with whom she lived at the bottom of a lake. They had a son, whom they gave the name of his father. When he came to be grown up, he killed all people whom he met, tore out their eyes and fried them in the ashes of his fire. He enjoyed it to see them burst, and cried: "Ha! ha! Look, how my eyes burst!" Then he threw them into a basket. Besides, he cut the fingers, toes, and ears from the slain, and gathered them in separate baskets. Thus he killed all people except his uncle and the latter's son. But after a while he longed for their eyes and fingers. One night he seized a spear and flung it at his uncle, who happened to stand in a dark corner of the house. Therefore he missed him, and the uncle in defence pierced Baqbakuā'latlē's left side with a lance. The young man escaped, although severely hurt. The uncle said unto his wife: "Now stay here; I will pursue my nephew, and kill him." He followed the track of blood left by the young man, and found him on the shore of a lake. There he lay dying, and the diver (a bird) stood by him and tried to cure him. The uncle stepped up to Baqbakuā'latlē and said: "You wanted to kill me, but now you must die yourself." When he raised the lance to kill him, Baqbakuā'latlē asked him a few moments' grace. He said: "Do not kill me at once. First I will give you all my treasures." He told him where his baskets were concealed, and then the uncle killed him and burnt his corpse. When he blew upon the ashes, they were transformed into mosquitoes. From the finest ashes originated the sunflies. Then he went to search for his nephew's treasures, and when he found the baskets, filled with the ears, fingers, toes, and with the fried eyes, he became a cannibal himself.

Besides these spirits there is the crane, who can become the genius

of a cannibal. Here is a tradition of the Wik'enoḡ which treats of the initiation of a young cannibal by this being, the Hāoḡhāoḡ:—

ᖶ'ōm'kiliky went into the woods to collect cedar bark. He had not been gone long when the spirit Hāoḡhāoḡ scented him. He smelled that the youth was clean and good, and rushed down upon him to carry him away. When ᖶ'ōm'kiliky heard the flapping of the wings of the spirit, who had the shape of a crane, he almost fainted with fear. He hoped to recover his spirits by smoking a pipe of tobacco, but in vain. He fell down, and lay there like dead. The Hāoḡhāoḡ alighted upon him, and while the youth lay unconscious he infused him his spirit.

ᖶ'ōm'kiliky's friends waited in vain for his return, and at last they went into the woods to look for him. They found him still unconscious. They sprinkled his face with cold water, but he did not awake. Then they carried him to the village, and took him into his father's hut. When he saw the men carrying his son into his house he thought that he was dead, and cried for grief. Soon, however, he perceived that ᖶ'ōm'kiliky still breathed. He called the medicine-man, and entreated him to restore his son to health. The medicine-man ordered him to sweep the house, and to strew the floor with sand, so that the feet should not touch the former floor. He carried the youth into the woods, and stayed there for four days. Then he returned. After four days more had elapsed, ᖶ'ōm'kiliky returned also. The medicine-man had given him the name ᖶoāt-ḡoā'oi.

And now he sang of the Hāoḡhāoḡ. All of a sudden he made a jump and attacked his father, who sat on the opposite side of the fire. He wanted to devour him. ᖶoātḡoā'oi wore a ring of red cedar bark on his head, which fell down when he jumped up, and covered his mouth when he was just about to bite his father. Thus he bit a piece out of the ring. The people who were assembled in the house to hear his song did not know what to do in order to quiet him. His grandfather took a large black blanket which he wrapped around ᖶoātḡoā'oi's head. In vain; he bit right through it. Then all the men escaped, for they feared to be attacked by the youth. When they stood on the street they heard him singing, and on peeping through the chinks of the walls they saw him climbing up the posts which carried the roof, and trying to crawl through the roof. Then they placed two watchmen by the side of the door, to prevent him from leaving the house, while the others climbed up on the roof and prevented him from removing the boards. When he quieted down, they picked up courage and entered the house. They threw a bear-skin over him, under which he crawled about on the floor. When the men tried to hold him, they found that he was as slippery as

a fish. Late in the evening he lay quiet, and the men did not know whether he was asleep or not. They made a jacket of cedar bark, and tried to put it on him, but he escaped. On the island Nalkuit-qoi'as (Mac Kjol Island) a number of women were curing salmon. He scented them, and rushed into the sea to devour them, but they escaped in a boat.

At last Xoätlqoā'oi recovered. He spoke to his father: "If I should try again to attack you, do not resist me. Then I shall do you no harm." After a little while he fell into another trance. He lay flat on the floor, his face turned downward. The men threw a net made of cedar bark over him, and tried to catch him. Sometimes a man succeeded in putting his foot upon his neck, or to grasp his long black hair, but he succeeded in making his escape. He raced through the village, and bit whomsoever he saw.

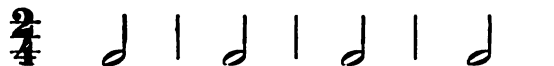
When he recovered, he asked his father to give him boiled fish oil when he should fall into a new trance. In a trance he was able to scent men on long distances. One day he scented a boat which was still far distant, and smelled that they had a heavy load of clams on board.

By encountering these spirits, or the *Hām'aa*, another being of the class, men obtain the quality of being *Hām'ats'a*, that is, cannibal (derived from the root *ham*, to eat). Not every man can become a *Hām'ats'a*; this being a privilege of certain gentes. Not every member of this gens, however, is a *Hām'ats'a*, but the dignity must be obtained by an initiation, the particulars of which I shall presently describe. The initiation can take place in winter only during the Tsetā'ēṣa season.

At this time of the year the inhabitants of the village assemble every night and sing four songs, accompanying the dance of the novice, who is surrounded by ten companions, called *Sā'latlila*, who carry rattles. When the dance is at an end, they leave the house where the festival is celebrated, always surrounding the novice; they go all around the village, visiting every house. All of a sudden the novice disappears, and his companions say that he has flown away. Then his voice is heard in the woods, and everybody knows that he is now with the spirits. There he stays from one to five months, and the people believe that during this time he wanders all over the world. At the end of this term his voice is again heard in the woods. Birds are heard whistling on all sides of the village, and then the Indians prepare to meet the new *Hām'ats'a*. The sound of the birds' voices is produced by means of whistles, which are blown by the new *Hām'ats'a* and by those who were initiated at former occasions; but they are kept a profound secret from all those who are not initiated.

The father of the young Hām'ats'a invites the inhabitants of the village to a feast. The guests sit down in the rear of the house, every one carrying a stick for beating time. Two watchmen, carrying a rattle in shape of a skull, stand on each side of the door, and are occasionally relieved. A chief stands in the centre of the house, two messengers attending him. These he dispatches to the women of the gens of which the new Hām'ats'a is a member, and they are ordered to dance. The interval until the women are dressed up and make their appearance is filled with railleries between the messengers. The one will say: "She will not come; when I brought her the message she was fighting with her husband." The other one will answer: "Oh, you are lying! She is dressing herself up, and you will see how nice she looks!" As soon as the watchmen see her coming they begin swinging their rattles and then the guests begin singing and beating time with their sticks. The woman enters the house, and turning to the right goes around the fire until she arrives in the rear part of the house. Then the guests stop singing and beating time until the dance begins. In dancing, the woman first faces the singers; then she turns to the left, to the fire, and to the right, and finally faces the singers again. She leaves the house by going along the left side of the fire. When the feast is almost at an end, a terrible noise is heard on the roof of the house, where the new Hām'ats'a is dancing and whistling. Sometimes he throws the boards forming the roof aside, and thrusts his arms into the house. Then he disappears again, and his whistles are heard in the woods.

His father requests the men to assemble early in the morning, and they set out to meet the young Hām'ats'a in the woods. They take a long rope made of cedar bark, and, having arrived at an open place in the forest, lay it on the ground in form of a square. They then sit down inside the square, all along the rope, and sing four new songs, composed for the purpose. The two first ones are in a quick, binary measure, the third one in a five-part measure, and the last in a slow movement. One man dances in the centre



of the square. Meanwhile, the mother of the new Hām'ats'a

invites the women and the old men to a feast, which is celebrated in the house. ~~All the men are painted~~ black; the women, red. The latter wear button-blankets, head-rings of cedar bark which is dyed red, and their hair are strewn with eagle-down. The men who are in the forest wear head-rings and necklets of hemlock branches. While they are singing and dancing the new Hām'ats'a makes his appearance. He looks pale and thin, and his hair falls out readily. He wears three neck-rings, a head-ring, and arm-rings made of hemlock branches, but no shirt and no blanket. He is immediately surrounded by his companions, and the men return to the village, singing the new songs. When the women hear them approaching, they come out of the house, and expect them on the street, dancing. They wish to please the new Hām'ats'a, for whosoever excites his anger is at once attacked by him. He seizes his arm and bites a small piece of flesh out of it. It is said that in fact this is done with a sharp, bent knife, but I do not know whether this is true or not. At the end of the Tsā'exa season the Hām'ats'a must recompense every single person whom he has bitten by a blanket or two. In the evening the people assemble in the house of the Hām'ats'a's father for singing and dancing. If anything should displease the Hām'ats'a, he rushes out of the house, and soon returns, carrying a corpse. His companions continue to surround him in all his movements. He enters the house and, turning to the right, goes around the fire until he arrives in the rear of the house. As soon as the old Hām'ats'a see the corpse they make a rush at it, and fight with each other for the flesh. They break the skull and devour the brains, and break the bones to get at the marrow. The companions cut large pieces from the body, and put them into the mouth of the young Hām'ats'a, who bolts them. At the end of this ceremony the father of the young Hām'ats'a presents every one with bracelets of copper.

The new Hām'ats'a dances four nights; twice with rings of hemlock branches, twice with rings of dyed cedar bark. Strips of cedar bark are tied into his hair, which is covered with eagle-down. His face is painted black; he wears three neck-rings of cedar bark, arranged in a peculiar way, and each of a separate design. Strips of cedar bark are tied around his wrists and ankles. He dances in a squatting position, his arms extended to one side, as though he were carrying a corpse. His hands are trembling continually. First he extends his arms to the left, then he jumps to the right, at the same time moving his arms to the right. His eyes are staring, and his lips protruding voluptuously.

The Indians are said to prepare the corpses by laying them into the sea, and covering them with stones. The Çatlo'ltq, who also practise the Hām'ats'a dances, make artificial corpses by sewing

dried halibut to the bones of a skeleton, and covering its skull with a scalp.

The new Hām'ats'a is not allowed to have intercourse with anybody but must stay for a whole year in his rooms. He must not work until the end of the following dancing season. The Hām'ats'a must use a kettle, dish, and spoon of their own for four months after the dancing season is at an end; then these are thrown away, and they are allowed to eat with the other people. During the time of the winter dance, a pole called *hams'piq* is erected in the house where the Hām'ats'a lives. It is wound with red cedar bark, and made so that it can turn round. In winter, a dish of every meal that is cooked in the village must be sent to the Hām'ats'a. A number of boys must watch that this law is obeyed. He has the privilege to take whatever he likes.

I said before that, according to the mythology of the Kwakiutl, the laws and regulations of all the winter dances, as well as the institution of the Hām'ats'a, were given to them by Xanikila, the son of the deity. Several other traditions say that the ancestors of various gentes brought these ceremonies from heaven, when they descended to the earth in the shape of birds. In these traditions the custom of the winter dance is embodied in the rings of red cedar bark. I shall give here a few characteristic traditions of this kind. The first and the second were obtained from Xalai'te, the chief of the Naḡomkilis, a tribe of the Kwakiutl nation.

Two eagles and their young descended from heaven, and alighted in Qūm'gate (near Cape Scott). There they took off their bird-skins, and became men. The name of the father was Nā'laqōtau; that of the mother, Anḡā'layuxoa; and that of the young, Lē'laqa. They built a house, and continued to live in Qūm'gate. One day Lē'laqa went sealing in his boat. When he saw a number of seals on a cliff he cautiously approached, and when he had come near enough he thrust his harpoon into one of the sleeping animals. It dived at once, and pulled the boat far out into the ocean. There it was transformed into an immense squid, which dragged the boat down into the sea, and killed Lē'laqa. He, however, after a short while, awoke to new life. He rose from the bottom of the sea, and flew as an eagle up to heaven.

His parents believed that he was drowned, and mourned over him. They killed two slaves, and painted the posts of their house with their blood. Two others they tied up in front of the house. Then, all of a sudden, they saw an eagle soaring high in the air, and descending from the sun to their house. Soon they recognized their son, who carried a small box in his talons. He shook it, and they heard the rattling sound produced by the many things that were in

it. He wore a neck-ring made of red cedar bark. When he had alighted, he was transformed into the shape of a man, and the hearts of his parents rejoiced. They made a blazing fire, and he began to dance. Out of the box he took many whistles, with which he imitated the voice of the eagle, and he wore the large double mask Naqnakyakumtl (the inner face of which represents a man, while the outer represents an eagle). When the dance was finished, he invited all the neighboring tribes to a feast. He had a large dish, formed like a squid, which was constantly full of fish-oil, no matter how much was taken from it. Lē'laqa became the ancestor of the gens which bears his name.

The following story refers, also, to the ancestor of a gens of the Naḡomkilis:—

(2) Hē'likilikila descended from heaven, wearing a neck-ring of red cedar bark. He built a house and lighted a large fire. When the house was completed, a woman called Lōtlemā'ḡa rose from under the ground. He spoke to her: "You shall be my sister, and live with me in my house." Henceforth they lived in two opposite corners of the house. One day Hē'likilikila asked his sister to follow him to a place in front of the house, where he wanted to show his strength. They sat down on two large stones, and he ordered his slave to bring a large boulder. He seized it, and flung it far into the sea. After a little while the boulder rose again, and swam on the water.

At night he invited many people, and he and Lōtlemā'ḡa performed a dance. He was the first to dance, while Lōtlemā'ḡa beat the time. He carried a short stick, which he flung upon his guests while dancing. It struck and killed ten people.

The Kwats'ē'noḡ (a tribe on the west coast of Vancouver Island, of Kwakiutl lineage) had heard of Hē'likilikila's neck-ring, and wished to have it. They launched their boats, and proceeded to Hē'likilikila's house. They hoped to take him by surprise, and arranged so as to arrive in the dark. They listened at the wall of the house, and found him asleep. Then a young man tried to enter the house and to steal the neck-ring; but scarcely had he opened the door when he fell down, and a magic spell compelled him to cry aloud and to run around the house. Hē'likilikila rose from his bed, stepped up to the door, and said: "Why do you come to steal my neck-ring? Ask me for it, and I shall give it you." Then the Kwats'ē'noḡ asked him: "Oh, have mercy on that young man. Do not kill him. We sent him out to steal your ring." Hē'likilikila went back, fetched the ring, and gave it to the young man, who was at once sound and well. The Kwats'ē'noḡ carried the ring home, and since that day they dance the winter dance, Tsētsā'ēḡa.



Another day Lōtlema'qa began to dance, while Hē'likilikila beat the time. She wore the head of a mink as a head ornament. While dancing she suddenly exclaimed: "Mama, mama, mā!" and Hē'likilikila fell down dead. Lōtlema'qa had killed him by her cry. Soon, however, she restored him to life, and Hē'likilikila began a dance in his turn, while Lōtlema'qa beat the time. He flung his stick upon her, and at once blood flew from her mouth and she died. After a short while, however, he restored her to life. Then he threw his stick so high into the air that it never returned.

In concluding this brief review of ~~the lore of the Kwakiutl connected with their~~ dances, we have to compare their customs and traditions with those of the neighboring tribes. The custom of the winter dances prevails, though in a modified form, among the Salish tribes of the Sound of Georgia. The ceremony of cannibalism is not practised by them, the Čatloltq (Comox) alone having adopted it from their neighbors, the Lekwiltōx, a tribe of Kwakiutl lineage, with whom they have intermarried. They call the cannibal even by its Kwakiutl name, Hām'ats'a. It is only among the tribes of Kwakiutl lineage, the Bilqula and Tsimpcian, that this cannibalism is practised to any great extent. Linguistic researches show that the Bilqula are of Salish lineage, and that they have separated from the tribes of the Sound of Georgia. As the latter do not practise this custom, it may safely be assumed that the Bilqula adopted it from the Kwakiutl. They call the Hām'ats'a *Elaqō'tla*, and the winter dance *Tsā'ēqa Sisauky'*. I have not found the tradition of Baqbaquālanusi'uaē among them, but it is their custom to perform at the initiation of the young *Elaqō'tla* a very remarkable dance, which presents the legend of the Hām'aa, — or, as they call it, the S'ātlpst'a (from *atlp*, to eat), — a spirit with an enormous mouth and dilated nostrils, coming at the call of the *Elaqō'tla* out of the woods, and becoming his genius. The Tsimpcian, the northern neighbors of the Kwakiutl, have similar customs. They have the following legend regarding the origin of cannibalism: —

Once upon a time a man went mountain-goat hunting. On the mountains he met a white bear, and pursued it. After a long time he got near enough to fly his arrow and hit him in the side. The bear continued to run away from the hunter and at last he came to a steep rock, which opened and let him enter. After a short while a man came out of the rock and invited the hunter to follow him. In the mountain he found a large house, and he was led to a seat at the right hand of the entrance. He saw four groups of people in the house. In one corner were the Mē'itla; in the second the Nō'otlam, who devoured dogs; in the third the Wihalait', the cannibals; and in the fourth the Cimhalai'det. The Mē'itla and the Cimhalai'det were in

great fear of the other two groups. Three days the hunter stayed in the mountain, the three days were, however, three years for those living on earth. Then the man sent him back, and told him to do in his village as he had seen the people doing in the mountain. He was conveyed home, and on awaking found himself on the top of a tree. He saw the people of the village, and slid down from the tree on his back. He made a rush upon a man and devoured him; then he killed another one and tore him to pieces. At last, however, the people succeeded in taking hold of him, and they restored him to health by means of magic herbs. When he had recovered, he taught them the dances of the four groups of people whom he had seen in the mountain, and since that time the dances *Mē'itla*, *Nō'otlam*, *Wihalait'*, and *Cimhalai'det* are performed every winter by the Tsimpcian.

It is difficult to decide whether the Tsimpcian or the Kwakiutl were the first to practise this custom. To answer this question it would be necessary to study the folk-lore of the Tsimpcian of the interior. The custom is not practised by the Tlingit and Haida, but seems to obtain, to a certain extent, among the tribes of the west coast of Vancouver Island. Its origin and development are still obscure, but it is to be hoped that a further study of the folk-lore and language will clear up many doubtful points.

*Franz Boas.*