

“Playing the hand you’re dealt”:
An analysis of Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw traditional governance
and its resurgence

by

Gwi'molas Ryan Silas Douglas Nicolson

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We acknowledge with respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional
territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ
peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

The Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw have lived since time immemorial in what is now known as central British Columbia. This thesis identifies who the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw are, their form of self-government and their political organization before a "Band and Council" system was imposed by the government of Canada. This thesis also presents how literacy was appropriated by the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw and the broader community of the Kwakwaka'wakw in the late 19th Century through to the 20th Century to document and sustain their own form of governance and political organization. It describes how the traditional governance was deeply engaged in processes which upheld deep connectivity between community and the land. In conclusion it argues that a return to traditional self-government would strengthen and be beneficial to current Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw and Kwakwaka'wakw people by addressing some of the current issues faced by communities struggling to maintain their ways of life while facing pressure to assimilate to colonial structures. The thesis in a similar fashion uses the process of writing to document and record our traditional governance as a way to sustain it. As traditional oral transmission has broken down due to oppressive colonial practices it seeks to use colonial writing systems such as an academic thesis as a form of communication even though it is within the imposed system. Therefore, the thesis is written as a hybrid between a written and oral delivery of information which is intended for both an academic but more importantly, Kwakwaka'wakw audience.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my beautiful wife Deanna Nicolson. You give me strength and inspiration. I could not imagine how any of this would be possible without your love and support.

Introduction

For time immemorial, the ancestors of the Kwakwaka'wakw¹ people have lived side by side and developed ways to sustain our society. One phenomenon that developed is the “potlatch” which is a chinook² word that means, “to give,” and refers to Kwakwaka'wakw gatherings where gifts are distributed. The functions of these gatherings are often referred to as the “potlatch system” whereby, groups of Kwakwaka'wakw people interacted with each other in a social, political, and legal context. To put it simply, potlatch was our way of life, everything we did revolved around these potlatch gatherings where gifts were given away. I will go into more detail later to provide a better understanding of potlatch. However, it is important to understand that potlatch was our form of government. It was more than just redistribution of wealth. It was a place where laws were created and modified, where disputes were resolved, and decisions were made. It was also a place where history was documented and relationships were built, reinforced, and strengthened.

The potlatch system remains active today but mainly in a ceremonial way. Unfortunately, the potlatch as a governing body was subverted by the *Indian Act* and the Potlatch Ban (1884-1951) and no longer serves as a platform for community governance. By the early-twentieth century, the government of Canada had forcefully implemented the “band and council” system upon the Kwakwaka'wakw people. This imposition has created new political factions in our communities and generated new challenges, such as issues surrounding identity and membership. For instance, in order to more accurately reflect the traditional political organization, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw of the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples should have been created as

¹ Also known as Kwakiutl

² Was a trade language developed on Pacific Northwest Coast

one single band, however, when the Canadian government created the Kwakwaka'wakw bands, they divided the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw into four separate bands. This is problematic today because it creates a framework whereby the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw are now in competition with each other over land and resources.

In addition, the Canadian government created new laws regarding membership to these Kwakwaka'wakw bands, which did not incorporate traditional Kwakwaka'wakw laws regarding membership. Consequently, this has reshaped the identity of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw as younger generations have internalized the Canadian government band system and have little understanding of the traditional means of identification. This is why the four confederated nations of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw are still separated and divided today because they have been disconnected and displaced by processes imposed by the government of Canada. So not only did the government of Canada completely change the way the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples governed themselves, they completely changed their identity as well.

Despite these challenges created by the Canadian government, my thesis will discuss how the ancestors of the Kwakwaka'wakw people astutely discovered a way to preserve the traditional governance system by incorporating literacy into cultural knowledge systems. Thus, enabling the current generation of Kwakwaka'wakw peoples an opportunity to reconnect and relearn our traditional government system and how our ancestors identified themselves. Essentially, as the Kwakwaka'wakw became literate during the 1870's, record keepers were incorporated into the potlatch system to document activities and events in potlatch books. These books were hidden and obscured from younger generations of Kwakwaka'wakw until recently. However, these potlatch books documented the traditional government and provide insight into how the Kwakwaka'wakw were politically organized. In addition, the potlatch books also provide insight into how Kwakwaka'wakw

laws were generated, maintained, and modified where public recognition was performed as an integral aspect of the entire potlatch system.

Before I continue, it is important to recognize that traditional knowledge has been obscured and fragmented and is no longer common knowledge amongst the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples because of the oppressive policies of government who created the residential school system and anti-potlatch laws with the intention of destroying the Indian "way of life." Therefore, many generations of Kwakwaka'wakw peoples were disconnected from their own culture and language and never learned their culture in its entirety. However, this does not mean the Kwakwaka'wakw people lost their culture, it just means it has become more difficult to pass down from generation to generation. Therefore, I write this paper not only for an academic audience, but I also write this paper for my people, the Kwakwaka'wakw. I have written this thesis so that it can be comprehensible to the Kwakwaka'wakw people and it is my hope this information can be a beginning for some of my people to reconnect to our history and culture that has been displaced for some time. And I feel that if more Kwakwaka'wakw people reconnect to our history, it will help us unite as a people and give us strength so we can create a better future.

Since I am from the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw of the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples, my thesis will be primarily focused on my own people. Therefore, I would like to discuss how the identity and self-government of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw has been reshaped and redefined by the government of Canada. If you look at the First Nation bands listed in British Columbia, you will not find the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw because when the Canadian government created bands, they divided the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw into four separate bands. Therefore, I want to describe who the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw were before the government of Canada reshaped their identity.

It is also important to point out this work is more than your typical graduate research for a thesis. This is my life's work. I was born in 1982 and I

grew up in the era where potlatch was being heavily revitalized because Kwakwaka'wakw people were working hard to bring back the traditions and old way of life. So I attended a lot of potlatches growing up and I heard the elders speaking and did my best to listen and understand what they were saying. Then in 1995, the elders of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw had a gathering in Kingcome Inlet where they discussed our culture, history, and language. It was at this moment, I became determined to learn as much as I can. So I visited and recorded many of our elders and learned from them. I also listened to recordings that our ancestors had made and looked at pictures they took. Eventually I decided to go to university to study anthropology because I wanted to understand the work of Franz Boas who researched the Kwakwaka'wakw people extensively. Around 2008, I came across my first potlatch book that belonged to my great-great grandfather Toby Seaweed Willie. I was fascinated with what was written in it and soon discovered there were more books from other families and from there, I began my journey that has led me to this point. In 2016, I hosted my own potlatch in Alert Bay and took up the name Gwi'molas, which was my great grandfather Frank Joseph's name, and loosely translated means "one who brings people together." Consequently, my work incorporates my academic training with community knowledge, my personal experiences, and external sources of information collected by anthropologists, government, museums, and archival history. Most importantly, I have written from my perspective as a Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw person and tried to focus my writing on what my traditional leaders and community believes is important. This thesis informal style and references in the first person is an attempt to deliver knowledge more in line with traditional oral transmission while acknowledging that it is still a written thesis prepared under University academic requirements.

Chapter 1: Traditional Governance Structure

How did the Musg_{am}akw Dzawada_’enu_xw conduct self-government? The governmental duties were divided amongst the Musg_{am}akw Dzawada_’enu_xw na_ł’na_mima (clans). For instance, each ‘na_mima (clan) had the responsibility of taking care of certain lands, rivers, and resources. In addition, each ‘na_mima also had certain roles in the community. For instance, one ‘na_mima was in charge of marriages and another was in charge of deaths etc. Ultimately, the Musg_{am}akw Dzawada_’enu_xw na_ł’na_mima worked together to take care of the day-to-day activities and provide our people with everything we needed – food, timber, clothes, tools, canoes, etc³.

Subsequently, I will outline our traditional governance structure below to provide context on how self-governance operated. There are four essential components – gukwa_łut (tribe), ‘na_mima (clan), d_łaxwa’yi (standing), and confederacy that I will discuss next.

Confederacy⁴

Some gukwa_łut (tribes) who occupied adjoining tracts of territories or shared a common history united and formed a larger group that can be referred to as a confederacy. Here, multiple gukwa_łut would live together during wintertime but live separately during the spring and summer seasons. Furthermore, these larger entities created distinct names to designate their unity. For example, there was the Musg_{am}akw Kwakwa_gu_ł⁵, who assembled

³ It is important to understand that land and resources and most privileges were owned collectively by the ‘na_mima. No one person owned land or resources. Even in potlatch, it was the ‘na_mima that potlatched and it was not until recently that potlatching became individualized.

⁴ A confederation (or confederacy) is a permanent union of political units for common action in relation to other units.

⁵ The Musg_{am}akw Kwakwa_gu_ł or “four tribes of the Kwag_uł” are – Gwita_ła, K_umuyo’i, ‘Wala_s Kwag_uł, and K_umku_łas

at Fort Rupert, and the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw⁶ who assembled at Gilford Island. These groups achieved their formal structure because of their geographic proximity and strong historical kinship ties to one another. These groups used the term Musgamakw, which loosely translated means “four groups living together.” The Musgamakw Kwakwagul, were comprised of four groups – Gwitala, Kumuyawe, 'Walas Kwagul, and Kumkutas and the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw was comprised of the following groups – Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis. According to the late Tatandzidi (Glen Johnson), the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw have been together since the great flood. In addition, there was another group who united into a confederacy and they were comprised of the following groups – Wiwake, Wiwakam, Walatsama, and Kwixa and called themselves the Ligwilda'xw. My understanding is the term Ligwilda'xw refers to how these four groups came together and moved down south into the Campbell River area. Historically, these Kwakwaka'wakw confederacies considered themselves one with each other. These confederacies existed within what is now considered the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples.

⁶ The Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw or “four tribes of Dzawada'enuxw” are – Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis.

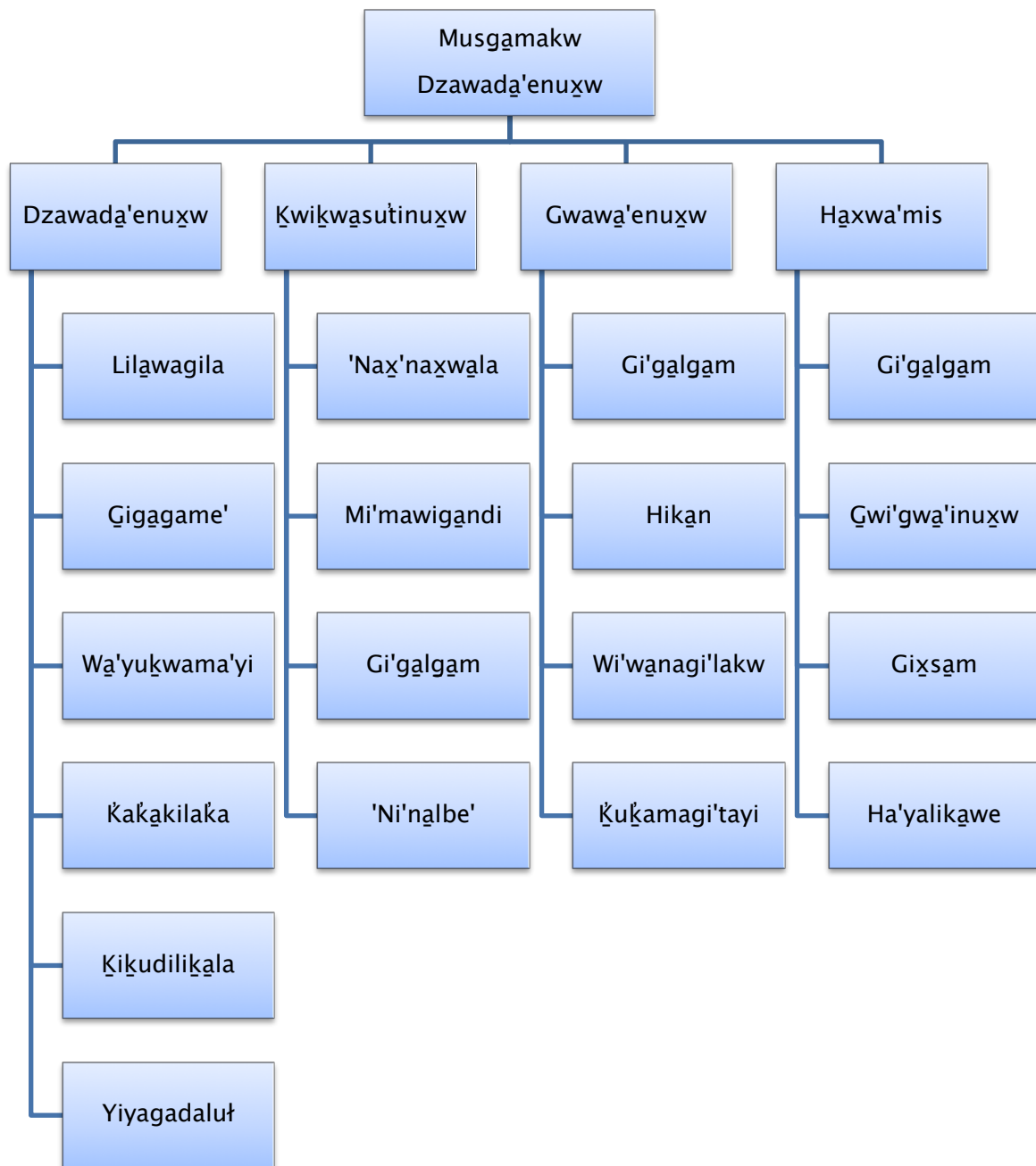


Figure 1: Traditional governance structure of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw.

Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw Totem Pole

The totem pole represents the confederacy of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw and was raised in 1936. During that time, it was illegal to raise totem poles. Because of this, our old people decided to dedicate the pole to King George V who died in 1935 in order to circumvent the potlatch law. According to Chief Glen Johnson, the pole was raised to forever solidify the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw as a nation. It is a symbolic representation of our political relationship to one another as it has four crests, each representing one tribe, all on a single pole.

During that time, there was a lot of pressure to divide the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw. The government wanted to divide our people because we were the largest group in the area and most difficult to subvert and subjugate. In addition, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw completely disregarded the potlatch law and had little respect for the colonial law. After the royal commission, the Canadian government forcefully divided our people into four separate bands. Our people met in 1938 and decided to try and rectify the situation by agreeing to amalgamate but the government curtailed our efforts. The totem pole was made by a group of artists - Willie Seaweed,



Figure 2: The Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw pole raised in 1936 (Anglican Archives, Amy Wakefield Album, Victoria, BC)

Herbert Johnson, and others. It was the first pole in our area that had four galgalis (first ancestor) crests on it. Up to that point, poles could only depict one galgalis ancestor on them. Our totem pole has the thunderbird that represents the Gwawa'enuxw ancestor Gayaxala. Below is the wolf that represents Kwālii, first ancestor of the Haxwa'mis. Next is Raven, an ancestor of the Dzawada'enuxw and his name is Luwagila. They used the Raven because the pole would have looked awkward with two wolves on it. On the bottom is Tsekama'yi, first ancestor of the Kwikwasutinuxw. These crests connect to the origin stories which I will address later in the thesis as symbols of ancient jurisdiction over lands.

Gukwalut/Lalkwalat'e' (tribes)

The term gukwalut is used by the Kwakwaka'wakw to refer to what are usually called "tribes". The members of a gukwalut assembled at a common winter village site; and were further sub-divided into constituent groups called 'namima (clans). Each gukwalut consisted roughly of one to seven 'namima (clans) which were ordered relative to each other in a fixed series of precedence which was determined by the history of the group (Drucker and Heizer 1967).

Gukwalut also refers to one's own tribe or the fellow people an individual lives with. On the other hand, lalkwalat'e' can have both singular and plural meanings and refers to "tribe". In its singular form, it refers to another "tribe" and in its plural form it refers to several other "tribes" or all of the "tribes" inclusively.

'Namima (clan)

As mentioned previously, each gukwalut was further sub-divided into 'namima (clans) that each had its own territory, main village, and numerous resource sites that were occupied seasonally. It was also an important

corporate group who organized, controlled and managed the economic activities as well as the social relations of the group. In addition, each had its own origin stories, privileges and crests. Fundamentally, the members of the 'nāmima were the caretakers or owners of this property and it was their job to manage it. Furthermore, each 'nāmima was comprised of seats/positions which were organized by kinship and ordered relative to each other – that is, in a fixed series of precedence which was determined by genealogy. Its leader held the title called xa'magame' gīgame' and amongst the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw, there were 18 'nāmima (clans) that collectively equated to roughly 250 seats/positions. Each 'nāmima acted as a council that governed the activities of its group and were made up of both males and females.

'Nāmima are also considered ambilineal descent groups. Membership is acquired through either or both parents and is traced back through successive generations ambilaterally to the original ancestor of the 'nāmima. An individual may also share membership in more than one 'nāmima, but usually tends to be affiliated more closely to one 'nāmima.⁷ In addition, people who belong to the same 'nāmima refer to each other as 'nāmimut.

To give a better understanding of the structure of the 'nāmima, Franz Boas offers this description:

The structure of the 'nāmima is best understood if we disregard the living individuals and rather consider the 'nāmima as consisting of a certain number of positions to each of which belongs to a name, a “seat” or “standing place,” that means rank, and privileges. Their number is limited, and they form a ranked nobility. I am told that among the thirteen tribes of the region extending from Fort Rupert to

⁷ Ibid., 74.

Nimpkish River and Knight Inlet, there are 658 seats (Boas, 1925a, 83). These names and seats are the skeleton of the ‘nāmima, and individuals, in the course of their lives, may occupy various positions and with these take the names belonging to them.⁸

Kinship

Since our traditional governance structure was designed by primarily by kinship, genealogy is very important. There are many resources to which we can utilize – census records⁹, vital events¹⁰, church records¹¹, and oral history. The census records are important as each ‘nāmima had their own houses and lived together. Therefore, the census records also reflect the social organization of our people and can be used to supplement the potlatch ledgers.

The Kwakwaka’wakw tribes

Below is a listing of the Kwakwaka’wakw tribes and their ‘nāmima and their order.

Tribe	‘Nāmima
1. Gwitaḷa (Fort Rupert)	1. Ma’amtāgila
	2. Dło’yalaḷawa
	3. Giḡsām
	4. Kwākwakwām
	5. Sintḷām
	6. La’alaxsādayu

⁸ Boas, Franz. *Kwakiutl Ethnography*. Edited by Helen Codere. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966, 50.

⁹ 1879 Census, 1881 Census, 1891 Census, 1901 Census, 1911 Census, 1921 Census.

¹⁰ BC Vital Events.

¹¹ Anglican Archives in Vancouver and Victoria.

	7. <u>Algwaṇwi'</u>
2. <u>Ḳumuyo'l</u> (Fort Rupert)	1. <u>Kwaḱwaḱwam</u>
	2. <u>Ha'andłano</u>
	3. <u>Ya'ixagami'</u>
	4. <u>Ha'ayalikawe'</u>
	5. <u>Loxse</u>
	6. <u>Gigalgam</u>
3. 'Walas Kwaguł (Fort Rupert)	1. <u>Dzandzanxḱayu</u>
	2. <u>Wawaḷibo'yi</u> and <u>Haṁaxsdu</u>
	3. <u>Gigalgam</u>
	4. <u>Gixsam</u>
5. <u>Ḳumḱuṭas</u> (Fort Rupert)	1. <u>Dłakam</u>
	2. <u>Dłidłagid</u>
6. <u>Mamalilikāla</u> (Village Island)	1. <u>Tamłtamłals</u>
	2. <u>Wiwumasgam</u>
	3. 'Walas
	4. <u>Mamalilikam</u>
	5. <u>Ḳwikwasutinuxw</u>
7. 'Namgis (Alert Bay)	1. <u>Ṭsitsiłwalagami'</u>
	2. <u>Ṭatłalamín</u>
	3. <u>Gigalgam</u>
	4. <u>Sisantłi'</u>
	5. 'Ni'nalkinuxw
8. Ławitsis (Turnour Island)	1. <u>Sisantłi</u>
	2. <u>Nunamasa'kolis</u>
	3. <u>Dłidłagid</u>
	4. <u>Gigalgam</u>
9. <u>Da'naxda'xw</u> (New Vancouver)	1. <u>Ḳamḱamtalał</u>
	2. <u>Gixsam</u>

	3. K̓wíkw̓a'inux̓w
	4. Ya'ixag̓ami'
	5. P̓ip̓at̓inux̓w
10. Madiłbe	1. Ma'amtagila
	2. Gix̓sam
	3. Ha'ayalikawi'
	4. Wi'wumasg̓am
11. A'wa'it̓ł̓ala (Knight Inlet)	1. Gig̓alg̓am or Awa'wa
	2. Tsuts̓ana
	3. K̓aka'inux̓w
12. Dzawada'inux̓w (Kingcome Inlet)	1. Lil̓awagila
	2. Gig̓ag̓ama'yi
	3. Wa'yuk̓ama'yi
	4. K̓aka'k̓ili̓ka
	5. K̓ik̓udilik̓ala
	6. Yiyagadalał
13. K̓wíkw̓asut̓inux̓w (Gilford Island)	1. Nax̓nax̓w̓ala
	2. Mi'm̓awig̓andi
	3. Gig̓alg̓am
	4. 'Ni'n̓albe'
14. Gwawa'enux̓w (Drury Inlet)	1. Gig̓alg̓am
	2. Hik̓an
	3. Wiw̓anagi'lakw
	4. K̓uk̓amagexto'yi
15. Hax̓wa'mis (Wakeman Sound)	1. Gig̓alg̓am
	2. Gwigwo'inux̓w
	3. Gix̓sam
	4. Hayalikawe'

16. 'Naḱwaxda'xw (Seymour Inlet)	1. Gixs̱am
	2. Sisanṯi'
	3. Tsits̱amiliḵala
	4. 'Walas
	5. Tawiṯamḻats
	6. Kwakwaguḷ'
17. Ṯaṯasiḵwala (Hope Island)	1. Gigalg̱am
	2. Lala'wiṯala
	3. Gixs̱am
18. Naḱamgalisala (Cape Scott)	1. Gixs̱am
	2. Na'anxsa
19. Gwa's̱ala (Smith Sound)	1. Gigalg̱am
	2. Sisanṯi'
	3. Ḳumḱuṯas
20. G̱usgimuxw (Koskimo)	1. Gixs̱am
	2. Na'asxa
	3. Gixs̱ams'anaḷ
	4. Tsitsa'ya
	5. W̱axwa'mis
	6. Giḱuḻaḵwa
	7. Kwakwag̱amal'inux̱w
21. Gop̱inuxw (Quatsino Sound)	1. Gop̱inuxw
	2. Ḳuṯ̱inuxw
22. Gwats̱inuxw (Quatsino Sound)	1. X̱omano'
	2. Gwats̱inuxw
23. Ṯasḵ́inuxw (Klaskino Inlet)	1. Pipawiṯ̱inux̱w
	2. Ṯ̱itaniṯ̱inux̱w
	3. U'manits̱inux̱w
24. Wiwiki'	1. Gigalg̱am

	2. Gixs̱am
	3. ʔ ¹²
	25. Wiwiḵam
25. 'Walits̱am	1. ʔ
26. Kwix̱a	1. Wiwiḵam
	2. ƛ̱umuy̱awī'
	3. Kwix̱a

Dłaxwa'yi (Standings)

As stated previously, each 'namima were comprised of a number of standings/seats. These positions are referred to as dłaxwa'yi (standing) or ḵwe (seat) and are used to describe membership in a 'namima. Having a standing/seat in a 'namima provides, or includes, a person in the decision-making process of the group. Furthermore, the standings/seats are the foundation or root of the 'namima and create the framework for the organization of the group.

The xamagame ggame' (head chief) acts as a figurehead for the family heritage, and the gigagame' (chiefs) junior to him are his advisors.¹³ The 'namima not only manages their activities in the "potlatch" system but they also managed the resources in their territory. It is important to note, the various properties, economic and ceremonial, for the most part, collectively belong to the 'namima.

Role and Responsibilities

¹² Some names of 'namima are not known. They may be identified as new potlatch books are discovered.

¹³ Drucker and Heizer, *To Make my Name Good*, 11.

In historic times, it was the 'namima who collectively held potlatches. Glen Johnson (b.1918-d.2002) stated that the 'namima would meet and decided who would be their figurehead or face of the 'namima during the winter ceremonies. Their decision on who would represent the group often relied on who "needed to conduct business." It wasn't until recently that potlatches became more individualized. Consequently, anyone who hold seats, it is their responsibility to represent their immediate family in the 'namima when decisions are made. It is also important to recognize that the 'nuyamił (house story) and the Kisu (prerogatives) belong to the 'namima collectively. And when potlatches occur, everyone in the 'namima are to be included and expected to work together.

It was also said by the old people that people who have seats must be kind, respectful, and generous. They are not to be stingy or greedy. They must be willing to help the 'namima and their family members when needed. Everything they do, is expected to benefit not just themselves, but everyone in their respective 'namima and gukwālut. They must also be good listeners and be understanding of others. The term mayaxāla is what's supposed to guide this person throughout their life so that they can be kind, respectful of others, and helpful to their people.

Kwikwikw (The Eagles)

The Kwikwikw (eagles) are positions within the potlatch system whereby one receives their gift first before the 'nał'namima (clans) in the potlatch. The Kwaguł originally created this privilege and have an origin story that explains it. However, the Kwikw in the other tribes were obtained primarily through marriage and ancestry connections to the Kwaguł.

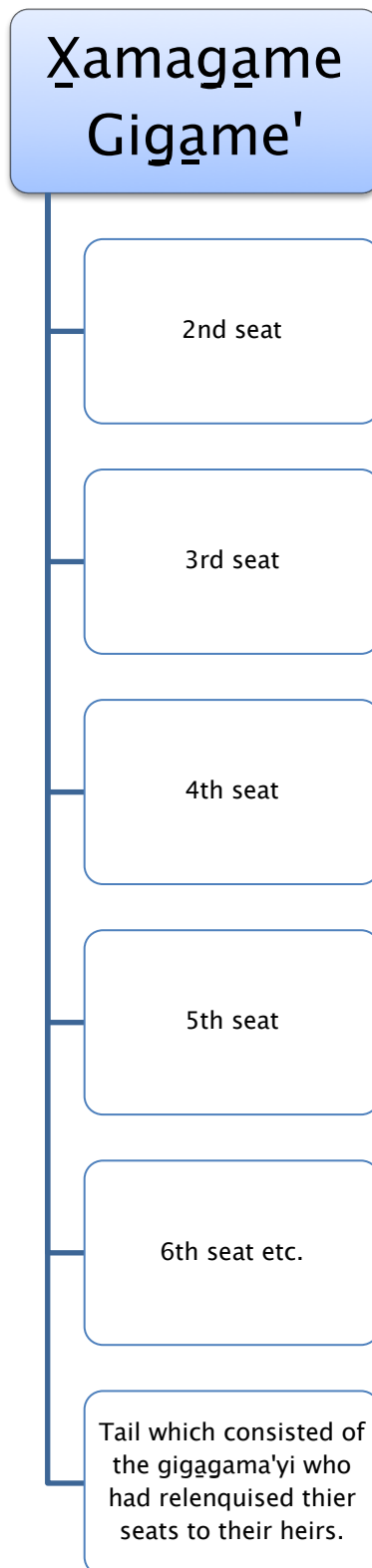


Figure 3: Organization of the 'namima seats/standings.

Chapter 2: Potlatch Books and Ledgers

Order of seats

After Kwakwaka'wakw factions were assembled and performed their role of witnessing and validating at potlatches, gifts were given away. However, these gifts were not given away randomly, rather they were given away in a certain order. This was an integral aspect of traditional Kwakwaka'wakw self-government because it was the process that maintained the organization of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government. In other words, since Kwakwaka'wakw people had no form of literacy, a system needed to be developed so people could know who held standings/seats in the various gukwalut (tribes) and 'namima (clans) of the Kwakwaka'wakw people. Therefore, when gifts were given away, they were ordered by Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut and 'namima. Over time, as the Kwakwaka'wakw people became literate, they incorporated literacy into cultural knowledge systems and began to write down names of guests at potlatches, in doing so, they enumerated Kwakwaka'wakw traditional self-government.

Yakwa (Gift-distribution at potlatches)

The order of precedence for Kwakwaka'wakw self-government was mirrored in the distribution of gifts at the end of a potlatch. Therefore, one would receive their gift in the order that reflected their standings/seats amongst the collective gukwalut (tribes) and 'namima (clans) of the Kwakwaka'wakw people. Consequently, each gukwalut and 'namima were organized into order of seats, which were primarily determined by kinship and temporal priority. As a general rule, the older the gukwalut (tribes) had higher precedence in the order of seats. The same principle was applied within the 'namima as the older lineages or descendants of the galga'lis (first ancestor) would determine the order of seats.

ḲiḲaḱastu (Names Keepers)

Each 'ḡamima had its own Ḳaḱastu (name's keeper) who was in charge of remembering the order of the positions for the give away sequence. In other words, the Ḳaḱastu (name-keeper) is the one who knows all the names of the positions within the tribes and 'ḡamima. It is the name-keeper's duty to make sure all the gifts are distributed in the correct order to guests of a potlatch. The name-keeper's responsibility is hereditary, that is, being passed on from parent to child.

As previously stated, each gukwālut (tribe) had a Ḳaḱatsu (name-keeper). Historically, they used little rocks in bags as a memory aid. For instance, if one 'ḡamima had 25 positions they would have a little bag with 25 rocks to reflect how many positions there were. Essentially, the Ḳaḱatsu were genealogists and they were trained from a very young age to remember the names and order of the seats. The following are identified namekeepers amongst the Kwakwaka'wakw people - Charlie James, Billy McDuff, Tom Shirt, Percy Frank, and Lucy Nelson nee Johnson. The last trained names-keeper George Henry died in 1969 in Kingcome Inlet.

ḲiḲaḱastu (Names Keepers)

Charlie James (1871-1938)

Charlie James, known as Yaḱudḱas, was the name-keeper for the Ḳumuyo'i, a sub-division of the Kwakiutl. He was the first known person to become literate and write in potlatch books¹⁴. He was also a renowned artist in the Kwakiutl Style. James was called 'an innovator', a 'trend-setter', and even 'without doubt the best carver in this whole area.' His work is known

¹⁴ These are books that document the "give-away" portion of a potlatch. They also document loans, debts, and transactions.

from those pieces, which are displayed in the major public and private collections of the world. He was also a canoe builder and stepfather to Mungo Martin.¹⁵

Billy McDuff (1864-1944)

Billy McDuff was known as Gusdidzas and was the ḵaḵastu for the 'Walas Kwaguł of the Musgamakw Kwakwaguł.

George Henry (1891-1969)

George Henry was known as O'gwila and was the last known ḵaḵastu (names-keeper) alive. He was a names-keeper for the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw and in 1962 he worked with Henry Nelson (1912-1968) and documented the traditional governance structure of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw.



Figure 4: (L to R) George Henry, Jack Henry, and Henry Nelson (Campbell River Museum, BC.)

Lucy Nelson nee Johnson (1869-1950)

Lucy Nelson nee Johnson was known as Ṭḷaṭayi'galis and was the sister of Chief Herbert Johnson of the Haxwa'mis. She was also a names-keeper for the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw. She was originally married to Alex Morgan and later married Johnny Nelson.

¹⁵ Nuytten, Phil. *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*. Vancouver: Panorama Publications, 1982, 13.

Percy Frank (1888-1954)

Percy Frank was known as Yakuḏasama'yi and was another ǰaǰastu for the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw. He was born in 1888 in Ałaxo (Wakeman Sound). He had one sister named Elizabeth Frank (b.1886-d.1944) who married Toby Seaweed Willie (b.1884-d.1948). And he was married to Lily Sally Williams (b.1903-d.1949) of the Gwawa'enuxw.

Tom Shirt (1855-1935)

Tom Shirt was known as Taťantsidi and was the ǰaǰastu for the ǰumkutas of the Musgamakw Kwakwaguł. He had a brother name Jim Button (Lakosa) who was the father-in-law of Peter Scow (1877-1961).

Introduction of literacy

In 1878 Alfred Hall established a school in Fort Rupert and began to teach Kwakiutl children how to read and write which impacted how the ǰaǰatsu (name-keepers) conducted the yakwa (give-away) in the potlatch. With the introduction of literacy, the use of secretaries to record amounts of gifts was incorporated into the potlatch system. The literate young people with pencil and notebook were incorporated to assist the ǰaǰastu almost as rapidly as the Alert Bay Residential School produced graduates (Drucker and Heizer, To Make My Name Good: A Reexamination of the Southern Kwakiutl Potlatch 1967). Subsequently, every time someone potlatched, the literate recorder would enumerate all the gukwalut, 'namima, and potlatch positions during the yakwa (give-away) in potlatch ledger books. Consequently, these documents could be used to identify traditional standings/seats within the various gukwalut (tribes) and 'namima (clans).

Record Keepers

As the Kwakwaka'wakw became literate, record keepers were incorporated into the yaḵwa (give-away) to assist the ḵakāstu (name's keepers). The record keepers would write down the names as they distributed the gifts and record what was given to each person.

Charles Nowell (1873-1957)

Charles Nowell, a Kwakiutl Indian from the Kwix̱a, a subdivision of the Kwakiutl, became literate and wrote in books as early as the 1880's. He was often hired to translate between whites and natives. In addition, he worked closely with Dr. Charles Newcombe, a wealthy man who took interest in documenting the traditions and ways of the indigenous people on the Northwest Coast. Nowell also worked with Clellan Ford, an anthropologist from Yale University. Together they published a biography of Nowell's life titled *Smoke from Their Fires* (1940). Furthermore, Nowell was one of Philip Drucker's primary informants throughout his research of the Kwakiutl.

William Dawson (1893-1957)

William Dawson was known a Wābina and he wrote in numerous potlatch books and became a record keeper for the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuḵw.

Henry Nelson (1912-1968)

Henry Nelson was known as Gusdidzas, he wrote in potlatch books for the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuḵw. He also worked with George Henry in 1962 to document all the dḵaxwa'yi (positions/standings) of the Musgamakw

Dzawada'enuxw. This was the last known documentation of our traditional governance system.

William Scow (1902-1984)

William Scow was known as Dłaxwaya'galis and also wrote in potlatch books. He was the Chief of the Kwikwasutinuxw people.

The above mentioned were not the only people who wrote in potlatch books. Others such as Alfred Scow and Charles Willie also wrote and there were many people from various tribes that wrote in potlatch books too.

Ja wadaimuk				Makawap		Ja kina wazim	
1	Kumogwai	Kyodalaga his	+		\$25	00	
	Mopinkim			p	10		
	Gwama kassogwi lag		+	40 ⁰⁰	40		80 ⁰⁰
	Mul lidat	Gwajungahis		p	20		
	Abatsadai				15		10 ⁰⁰
	Kalus etamogwas	Hyitkial Noyaga Jon d'Arson	+	25 ⁰⁰	25	p	
	Kumtsidai	Konagilis	+	20 ⁰⁰	20	p	40 ⁰⁰
	Ja kalla nala	Ogwil			40		
	Makmaur sa ka mai	David			20	+	
	Gwama kallas	Puglema			15	+	
	<u>Li tawagiti</u>						
	Ka wikkawa litt	Noyala	+		25	00	
	Lakkyoza	Jwadi		25 ⁰⁰	25	p	
	Amahwa litt mai	St. Kunging			15	+	
	Yikaklala samai	Pot			10	+	
	Kaliga lis	Jakkyoza			10	p	+
	Dadintaidai	Lagabalas		5 ⁰⁰	5	p	
	Siuridai	Noyagiti		15 ⁰⁰	15	p	
	Makmaur sa ka mai	Adabio			5	+	
	Lakkyoza	Husakami		10 ⁰⁰	10	p	
	Kyo de u ku	Glak glahwil solagilag	+		15	+	
	Kawa sa	J. Sego Mother			5		
	Klakwa tsi	Mrs Wiwita	+		5		
	Klakglas	Oly	+		15		30 ⁰⁰
	Lika mai	Kusumdaas			10		
	Tsutsa i sa ka mai	Wami	+		10		
	etamogwas	Mrs Klagela		5 ⁰⁰	5	p	
	<u>Gostigas</u>				5		
	Kos ditas	Udagwaga		10.00	p		

Figure 5: Example of ledger from potlatch book (circa 1916) that belonged to George Scow.

Potlatch Books

Most potlatch books contain ledgers that document the *yakwa* (give-away) of the potlatch. These books can also contain copper transactions, debts and loans, and the historical background of the family. These are records of activities and transactions. Essentially, as stated earlier, anytime someone gave away they enumerated the *lalkwalatle'* (tribes) and *na'namima* (clans). Therefore, each family kept records of their achievements and accomplishments. Until recently, these books were kept secret within families. However, during these past few years, we have begun to bring these books together. These books have provided us the tools to revitalize our traditional governance structure and are considered powerful legal documents.

Why are potlatch books important?

Potlatch books are important because they provide a “blueprint” for traditional Kwakwaka'wakw self-government by enabling contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw people the ability to identify traditional Kwakwaka'wakw factions and the people who held standings/seats within each *gukwalut* (tribe) and *'namima* (clan). This is important because it provides opportunity for contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw people to return to a traditional Kwakwaka'wakw self-government structure. In addition, the potlatch books give insight into the role of witnesses in potlatch and the process of validation, which could be utilized by contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw people to create a greater form of accountability for its membership and system of Kwakwaka'wakw governance.

How many Potlatch Books?

Right now, potlatch books from the following have been discovered: Johnny Scow, George Scow, Dan Cranmer, Paul Pásalał, William Dawson, Frank Dawson, Toby Willie, Johnny Clark, Billy and Hemas Johnson¹⁶, Billy Matilpi, Mungo Martin, George Hunt and Henry Nelson. In total, there are over twenty books. The books range from late 19th century to mid 20th century and recorded various potlatches that occurred during that time period. It is also prudent to know that each book was kept separate and was covertly hidden in personal family collections. It was not until recently that these books have been brought together. Furthermore, there are additional books that exist, but they are currently being kept private amongst some of the families. One of the reasons why is that some families do not know what they represent. Now, one may ask “how do we know what is written in these potlatch books are legitimate?”

The potlatch books have a unique element that can be used as a mechanism to maintain validity of documents. Each family had their own books amongst the Kwakwaka'wakw people and anytime a potlatch was held, the host would keep a record of the yakwa (give-away). This essentially was an enumeration of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government standings/seats amongst the numerous gukwalt (tribes). Consequently, because numerous families from different gukwalt (tribes) had books, the same process can be applied that was utilized in potlatch through public recognition. What I mean by this is each book is a snapshot of traditional Kwakwaka'wakw self-government for that particular time and place. Therefore, if you compare the books with each other, you can validate the information that was recorded in the same fashion that was applied in potlatch through public ceremony. So, for instance, if one book from the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw records the standings/seats for a Kwakwaka'wakw 'namima and another book from a different Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalt records the same information, if the information is the same or similar, then you could draw a conclusion regarding the reliability of the

¹⁶ Billy and Hemas were brothers.

information. Furthermore, the more books you compare, the stronger the information recorded becomes because if all the books from the different Kwakwaka'wakw groups are recording the same information then it becomes more valid. This provides another layer of accountability because the potlatch books can provide both internal and external recognition for the standings/seats amongst the Kwakwaka'wakw na'namima. By this I mean that neighboring Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalt can validate a Kwakwaka'wakw 'namima standings/seats in another gukwalt (tribe).

List of Potlatch Books

Toby Seaweed Willie Book

This book belonged to my great-great grandfather Toby Seaweed Willie. This book was in my grandmother Gloria Nicolson's (nee Willie) possession and was the first potlatch book I read. At one of the Annual General Meetings of the Musgamagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council in mid 2000's, a relative William Wasden Jr presented information he had obtained from one of William Dawson's potlatch books. After the meeting, my cousin Mikael Willie came to visit my grandmother to look at our family's potlatch book. It was at this time, we noticed that both Toby Seaweed Willie's book and William Dawson's book had recorded the same information. This was the beginning of my work regarding the potlatch books and ledgers.

Johnny Scow Books

There are three books in this collection. Henry Scow (b.1944), a grandson of Johnny Scow (b.1875-d.1934) has these in his collection. When he found out I was doing work with the potlatch books, he invited me to visit with him. At this meeting he allowed me to examine the books. Henry Scow is a close relative of mine. Johnny Scow was from the Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, and 'Namgis.

George Scow Books

There are four books in this collection. Pauline Alfred (b.1938), the granddaughter of George Scow (b.1886-d.1971), has these books in her collection. She is a close relative of mine. When she found out I was working on the potlatch books, I visited her, and she allowed me to examine the books. George Scow is also the younger brother of Johnny Scow.

William Dawson Book

There is one book in this collection. Pauline Alfred (b.1938), the granddaughter of William Dawson (b.1893-d.1957) has this book in her collection. William Dawson was from the Musg̃amakw Dzawad̃a'enux̃w and Nak̃waxda'x̃w.

Frank Whale Dawson Book

There is one book in this collection. Frank Whale Dawson (b.1900-d.1958) is my wife's great-grandfather. He is also the younger brother of William Dawson. I was able to view a copy of this book, which was provided by Dusty Dawson (b.1979), who is a great-grandson of Frank Whale Dawson. Frank Dawson was from the Musg̃amakw Dzawad̃a'enux̃w and Nak̃waxda'x̃w.

Daniel Cranmer Book

There is one book in this collection. Helen Codere, an anthropologist who worked with Daniel Edgar Cranmer (b.1885-d.1969), made a copy of his potlatch book. In this copy are annotated notes she obtained from Daniel Cranmer explaining the different sections. This copy is in Helen Codere Fieldnotes held at U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, British Columbia, Canada. Daniel Cranmer was 'Ñamgis and K̃wik̃wasutinux̃w.

Paul P̃as̃alał Books

There are two books in this collection. Paul P̃as̃alał was a relative of Mungo Martin who had these in his possession. When Wilson Duff worked with Mungo Martin, he was able to review the books. These books are now held in British Columbia Archives in Victoria, BC, Canada. These are the oldest

books that I have come across and were written in the late 19th century. Paul Pasałat was from the Musgamakw Kwakwaguł.

Billy and Hemas Johnson Book

There is one book in this collection. Billy Johnson (b.1868-d.1941) and Hemas Johnson (b.1876-d.1949) were brothers. Kelly Leigh Cook (b.1962) had this in her collection. She was the great-granddaughter of Hemas Johnson. Both Billy and Hemas Johnson came from the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw.

Johnny Clark Book

A copy of this book is at U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, BC, Canada. Johnny Clark is from the Ławitsis and Kwikwasutinuwx people.

George Hunt (Order of Seats) List

George Hunt (b.1854-d.1933) wrote a detailed list of "order of seats" for the Musgamakw Kwakwaguł. This was written for Franz Boas and his research into the Kwakwaka'wakw people. The original documents are held at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Henry Nelson Book

This book was written by Henry Nelson (b.1912-d.1968) who worked with George Henry (b.1891-d.1969), the last ŁaŁatsu (names-keeper) alive. The late Frank Nelson (b.1945-d.2014) had this book in his collection. He is the son of Henry Nelson. Both Henry Nelson and George Henry are from the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw.

Dick Potlatch Book

This book belonged to Elizabeth Peters nee Dick (b.1900-d.1973). Major Dick was the recorder. This book is in June Johnson nee Peters (b.1946) collection. The Dick family is from the Ligwiłda'xw.

Unidentified

There is an unidentified potlatch book at British Columbia Archives listed under the name KWA-W-3. It is not known whose book this belongs to, but it could belong to Mungo Martin or Paul Pásalał.

Additional Potlatch Books

It is important to note there are many books that remain to be discovered. Many are still in Kwakwaka'wakw communities and some may still be in museum and archives waiting to be discovered.

Chapter 3: Potlatch (Mechanism for self-government)

What role did potlatch have in Kwakwaka'wakw self-government?

Potlatch is a very complex subject. It has many forms and the term “potlatch” itself is relatively new. It is not a native Kwakwaka'wakw word, it is a Chinook Jargon word, which was a trade language used by the Indigenous people on the Pacific Northwest Coast. The term in Chinook Jargon means, “to give.” So anytime a person gives, they are considered to “potlatch” and this term has a wide range of meanings. It could refer to someone giving a piece of gum to a friend or it could refer to someone hosting a large gathering and giving thousands of gifts away. Essentially, the government did not know what to call our large gatherings nor did they have the desire to learn the intricacies of our complex way of life, so everything was described as “potlatch.” Over time, this has become internalized by Kwakwaka'wakw people and continues to be used when referring to ceremonies conducted today in our traditional houses. For the purpose of this thesis, I will use the term “potlatch” in its new form, which refers to large gatherings in traditional Kwakwaka'wakw community houses where performances are held, and gifts given away.

Potlatch as Platform for Kwakwaka'wakw Self-Government

Historically, there are numerous reasons why Kwakwaka'wakw people would host a potlatch. For example, it was a process that legalized agreements, transfers, and arrangements. In addition, it provided the framework to resolve disputes and conflicts. It also was used to document our history. We had no written language therefore we utilized story telling, and this evolved into the dramatization of stories, which in turn created performance. These performances served many purposes. Some dances re-enact history while others serve to educate or perpetuate the morals and values of Kwakwaka'wakw culture. Some dances integrate all of the above. For

these reasons, Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch became an integral component of traditional self-government.

Role of Witnesses

Potlatch provided the framework for Kwakwaka'wakw self-government because of the role witnesses performed. For instance, in order for marriage between two people to be considered legal, it needed to follow a certain process and be conducted in a potlatch gathering. First, the two families of the couple would meet and discuss the arrangements. Afterwards, when the details of the arrangement were agreed upon, the groom would invite guests to witness the marriage. The guests would be the other 'namima in their gukwaltut and if the marriage was to someone in another gukwaltut, the other gukwaltut would be invited. In addition, other Kwakwaka'wakw gukwaltut would be invited if deemed necessary. The role of the witnesses was premised on providing more validation to the marriage. Therefore, the more people involved meant the marriage would be more legally valid. Consequently, in the context of validation, the guests had three primary roles. First, they would act as witnesses to the event. Second, they would be asked to validate the process. Lastly, they would act as a third party in case there was breach or conflict during the process and would be involved in resolving the conflict. If the terms and conditions of the agreement were sufficient, the Kwakwaka'wakw factions would publicly recognize the marriage by making speeches and the groom would give away gifts to the invited guests as a way of showing gratitude to the witnesses for their role in the proceedings. Now, in saying that, potlatch was not just a business-like transaction. The people invited were also there to celebrate and provide support to the new couple as well. Fundamentally, the whole process was multi-layered, and I have only outlined the process in the context of witness validation.

Accordingly, the above process could be applied to every aspect of Kwakwaka'wakw life. For instance, every time a Kwakwaka'wakw person wanted to legally validate a certain act such as a birth, marriage, death, transfer, or agreement, etc., it needed to be done in a potlatch so that the role of witnesses could perform checks and balances before legally validating the act. Therefore, legal processes were public processes conducted through ceremony and performance. With the introduction of literacy, the documentation of these legal processes through witness were translated through pen onto paper.

Chapter 4: Origin Stories - Nuyamit̓ (House history)

Each 'namima has a 'nawit̓ (origin story) which is an historical account of the group that begins with their galga'lis (first ancestor). Every galga'lis is connected to the land and has a place of origin, which establishes a framework to determine land and resource privileges. In addition, these stories also establish a framework for the traditional laws, protocols, and values of the group. To demonstrate, every 'nawit̓ begins with the galga'lis coming to life at a certain location. Next, they generally move and settle at another location by building a house. Afterwards, they search for food and learn how to procure food, and this usually is learned from a supernatural encounter. For example, the Dzawada'enuxw learned how to procure eulachon oil from a boy who had come from the moon. It was his gift to the Dzawada'enuxw. In addition, as the galga'lis are traversing the territory searching for food, they usually encounter a neighboring ancestor from another tribe, and this frequently leads to a marriage. From this marriage, rights and privileges are given in dowry, then the galga'lis and his new wife start a family and these children sometime move away to another location and create a new 'namima. Essentially, every generation after the galga'lis repeats the cycle of marrying into neighboring tribes and obtaining additional privileges which adds to the prestige of the 'namima. One example of a privilege given in dowry is the right to procure fish from a certain river; another example may be the rights to certain names, dances, or crests. It is also important to mention that every 'nawit̓ is unique in its own way but generally the types of activities that occur are focused on land, resource, and individual rights. Another important element to recognize is that every 'nawit̓ is designed as an open-ended story. This gives each generation of 'namima members responsibility to contribute another chapter to the story and build off of their predecessors accomplishments.

For the Dzawada'enuxw, their origin story begins with Kawadilik̓ala and Kw̓alili who originally are wolves that transform themselves into humans.

Subsequently they become the founders of the Dzawaḏʼenuḵw (Kingcome) and Haxwaʼmis (Wakeman). Evidently, these stories are important, as they become the root or foundation of the group. I will provide versions told by Lagiyus, Billy Sunday Willie, James Charles King, Charles Eaton Willie, and Mungo Martin. In addition, versions collected by George Hunt will be provided. In addition, I will provide origin stories that belong to the Gwawaʼenuḵw.

Dzawaḏʼenuḵw Stories

The following manuscripts were recorded through anthropological processes but were actually used by the narrators as a way of recording and passing down traditional histories. I am including them to show how oral history, in this instance, was transformed into literary transcripts. Keep in mind that I have adapted the stories for clarity (by dividing them into subheadings) but have tried to maintain the original transcript as much as possible. Furthermore, I have converted the native names and terms into the Uʼmista orthography because it is the most commonly used orthography utilized by the Kwakwakaʼwakw people. In addition, I am including these stories in their entirety rather than in snippets so the current generation of Kwakwakaʼwakw people can access them more easily. A lot of these older publications are not easily accessible to community members nor are the materials from museums and archives. Consequently, I believe it is important to present this information together, in this format,¹⁷ so it can act as a form of knowledge transmission to the community members of the Musgamakw Dzawaḏʼenuḵw.

Edward Curtis Manuscript from Seaver Centre (LA)¹⁸

¹⁷ In a way that more accurately reflects the oral tradition from which they emerge.

¹⁸ The Seaver Centre in Los Angeles, California, USA, has Edward Curtis's unedited manuscript for *The North American Indian, volume 10, 1915*. For this section, I have used the unedited version which has more information than the published version.

The following story was documented by Jane Constance Cook (nee Gilbert) (b.1870-d.1951) for Edward Curtis. She worked with a man named Lagiyus from Kingcome Inlet. In the 1881 census return, Lagiyus is listed as being approximately 55 years old which would date his birth around 1826. Lagiyus died in the early 1920's because he is listed in the Tsawataineuk 1921 pay list and in the 1925 pay list he is listed as being deceased. So Lagiyus would have died somewhere between 1921 and 1925. Lagiyus was the paternal uncle of Toby

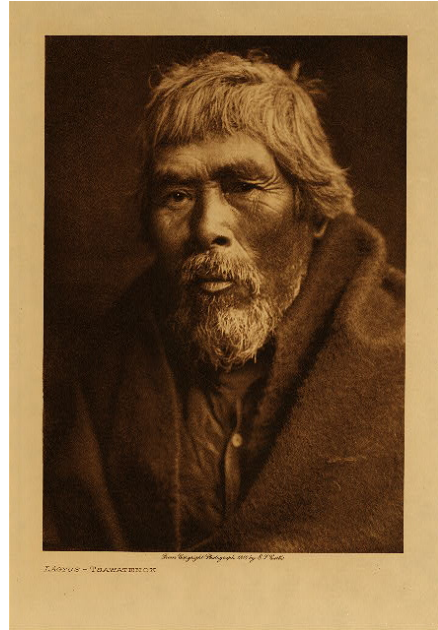


Figure 6: Picture of Lagiyus taken by Edward Curtis

Seaweed Willie and Billy Sunday Willie. Toby Seaweed Willie was my great-great grandfather. Therefore, Lagiyus would be my great-great-great uncle.

Origin Story of the Dzawada'enuxw (told by Lagiyus)

The first man of the Dzawada'enuxw was Kawadilikala, but before he was a man, he was a wolf, and his wife was a wolf. One day there was a heavy rain falling. He said, "I do not see why we should remain animals. We had better leave off these skins and turn into human beings and use these skins only when dancing. Why should we wander about and have no home? If we had a house to live in when it rains, it would be well. I think we would be better off as human beings." His wife was willing to do what he wished. So he took off his skin and laid it away, and the woman did likewise.

Kawadilikala Builds a House¹⁹

¹⁹ These are my subheadings that I have created so that community members can find parts of the story that interest them more quickly.

The first thing to be done was to build a house, which he did without help. He was very strong and very wise, much more so than the men of today. The four posts which supported the ridge timbers were made in the form of men and were endowed by Kawadilikāla with power to speak certain words. Whenever a visitor entered the house, the image at the right of the door (right, to one looking out) would say to the two in the rear, "Welcome him!" And the one at the left of the door would say, "Feed him!" The two at the rear would say, "Prepare meat," and, "Prepare a back-rest!" So, the visitor was welcomed. The ridge timbers extended out in the front beyond the wall, and they ended in the head of sisiyuł, with tongues projecting far. The ends at the back of the house were similar, and on the middle of the ridge-timbers above the fireplace were the heads of a man, carved, being a part of the sisiyuł.

In doing this work Kawadilikāla did not use tools but molded the faces and forms by a touch of the fingers. (The successor to this mythical house now stands at Gwayasdams, on Gilford Island).

Kwālili Finds His Own River

Kawadilikāla had a dog. He had no fire at the first, but in some manner, he secured fire, and he had it at the time his son Dławadzo was born. His next son was named Kwālili, and the third was Nanolakw. (Hayałilagās, "benefactress," the mother of Kawadilikāla, had also turned herself into a human being, and it was she that gave him power to do these things). Dławadzo said to his younger brother, Kwālili: "We had better not live together. This river is not large enough for both. I think you had better go and look for a river for yourself." So, the younger went forth and found Ałaxo, a river on the north side of Kingcome Inlet. He remained there for a long time, washing and purifying himself, to see what kind of salmon went there, and learning that all the different kinds went up that stream at different

seasons, he decided to live there. First however he went back home to see his elder brother, to whom he said, "I have found a river, a good one." "What do the birds on your river say?" queried the other. "They make the sound hawa, hawa." "Well," said the older brother, you had then better call yourself Haxwa'mis." So that is why these people are called Haxwa'mis. The elder brother was somewhat piqued because his younger brother had found a good river, and he applied this name to him sarcastically. The Kwɔlili asked, "What sound do the birds of your river make?" "Dzawadzɔli, dzawadzɔli, dzawadzɔli, is what they say." "Well, then, you had better call yourself Dzawadɔ'enuxw," said Kwɔlili. (-nuxw is the usual termination of the tribal names, and means "pertaining to," or "clever at." The latter meaning appears in nouns denoting the actor).

Wayukama'yi (formerly Ninalkinuxw) Join Kawadilikala

Kwɔlili returned at his new home, and he became the founder of the Haxwa'mis. Dɔlawadzo and his father felt sad because they had no tribesmen, and they sat outside the house talking about it, discussing what they might do. They heard crying in a large rock near by. They arose hurriedly, went to the rock, and broke it open. Inside was a boy. The old man said, "Welcome! I am glad to see you. We want some one to come and live with us." The boy spoke: "That is why I have come. I heard your wish, and thought I would come and be a man, also. Now that I have come, you may have all my names. My name is Stone, my name is Mountain, my name is Big Mountain, my name is Increasing Mountain." He repeated many other names of this kind, and said, "All these you may have and use when you need them." This man had been a stone, just as Kawadilikala had been a wolf. The descendants of Stone formed the clan which was formerly called Ninalkinuxw (people of the head of the river), but which now is called Wayukama'yi (unattemptable).

Lilawagila Join Kawadilikala

Again, Kawadilikala saw a raven, which alighted on the beach and strutted along. All he could think of was how to get tribesmen. He said to the raven: "I wish you were a man, so that you could come and be my tribesman." The raven removed his feather dress and said, "What am I, anyway? You see I am a man when I wish to be." So, he put the feathers on his head and wore them so. Said Kawadilikala, "Well, you had better put that away, and come and be a man, and use this feather dress only when we dance. That is what I have done." So, Raven did this. The other man said, "Tell me your name." Raven replied: "My name is Luwagila, and my name is Kakamudłalasu (folded up)." "Well, then," said Kawadilikala, "you shall be the rival clan to that of my son Dławadzo (the Kikudilikala). So, Raven founded the clan Lilawagila.

Gigagama'yi Join Kawadilikala

On another day Kawadilikala and the others heard thunder. He said, "It is a strange time of the year for thunder. Maybe he too wants to come and be a man with us." This noise was not caused by the thunderbird, but by Sun, who had borrowed the wings of Kulus, a great bird. Leaving his dress in the mountains he came down in the form of a man, and Kawadilikala was glad to have another tribesman. "I thank you for coming to be my tribesman," he said. Said Sun, "You may have my names. I have brought many with me. My names are Kixtłala (much wood in the fire), Kixtłaladzi (much wood in the big fire), and he named many others, all having to do with fire. Sun built a house, and above the smoke-hole he built a wooden chimney so that when a great fire was burning the flames shot up to the sky. This house he called kalupstala. (The addition to the house is still built when the Gigagama'yi clan of the Dzawadā'enuxw give a feast or a potlatch). This clan should be called

ḲiḲaxtłala, instead of Gigagama'yi. The clan founded by Ḳawadilikala himself is the Ḳikudilikala (plural of his name).

Haḷxabo'yi Joins Ḳawadilikala

All these things happened on the upper waters of Kingcome river. One day all the people embarked in a canoe and came down the river to see what was at the mouth. There they found a man living alone with his mother. His name was Haḷxabo'yi (looking out from under a shadow – such as a hat might cast). He had much news. He related that he had made a trap for the salmon, and as soon as he would set it a bear would come and break it down. He was feeling very angry toward the bear, and he told his mother that he was going to try to kill it that night. So there he sat beside his trap with a spear. In the darkness he saw a light approaching. It was bear, with a torch. Bear came to the trap, put his torch on the ground, and removed his bear skin, got into the water, and began to destroy the trap. The man went to where the bear's coat was, took it, and ran away with it. The bear came out and pursued, and caught him, and with the salmon he had taken from the trap he carried the man home. When he reached his house, he threw the man up on the scaffold among the drying salmon and began to cook fresh fish. After awhile he called in his tribesman to the feast. The man was hidden among the drying fish. All the bear people came in, but the chief did not appear. So they sent some young persons to call him, and persuade him to come. Then he came with a cane, and his fur seemed to be covered with dentalium shells. He stood at the door, and said, "We are men, too!" He seemed to know there was a man about. The first dish of food was given to him and when all had been served, the man was called down from the scaffold to partake with them. He was made know to the others as a slave. The feast came to an end, and the bear people went out to their homes. The man remained, his captor said to him the next day, "Let us go and bathe,

wis.” (Wis is a familiar term for boys, used for example by a man or woman to a young son or to a younger brother, or by a man to his slave).

When they reached the water, the bear told the man to break off some “kitsus,” And the man broke off some kismis (ground juniper). The bear said, “That is not what I want.” The man went and got various kinds of brush, but the bear said each time that he had made a mistake. Then Bear himself procured a young hemlock of the kind that grows on the mountainside and worked it into a withe. Next he removed his bear skin and bathed in a very deep hole in the river. He said to his slave, “No say mali, mali, mali as long as I am under water, and we will see who can hold his breath the longer.” As soon as the bear’s head was under water, the man began to say mali, but when the bear went lower and hence could not hear, he stopped, and then when the bear reappeared, he went on with mali, mali, mali. He said, “Well, your breath is not very long, for mine is still good.” “Oh,” said the bear, “I can stay under longer than that.” So again, he dived, but this time as soon as he disappeared, the man seized the bear skin and ran. He reached his house in safety. The bear came running after him, but because he had lost his skin and had to go on two feet instead of on four, he could not run swiftly, and also, he had to keep watch lest other animals should see him. The man quickly got all the rope he could find and wound it around his house, binding it against the efforts of the bear. The skin he hung in the smoke of the fire, thinking this might kill the bear. His mother was in the house.

Somebody came knocking on the door, and saying, “Open for me, Halxabo’yi.” But the man would make no sound. Again, the voice came, “Give me my food-provider, Halxabo’yi.” Still no reply. Then the voice said, “Give me my food-provider, or I will get Tsuskān.” Then the bear went away. The house was in the midst of a great flat stretch of sand about two miles wide. The man was watching through the holes in the house, and saw the bear at a distance, walking away like a man. He disappeared, but soon there appeared in the distance something dazzling white in the sunlight. This was the chief of

the wolves, and this sight warned Hālxabo'yi that he must be ready. He commanded everything in the house (boxes, baskets, weapons, etc). "As soon as I give the word, let all say waaa, and tap against the roof." He went to the roof and saw the whole enormous pack of the wolves in their animal skins, ranged behind their chief. They surrounded the house and began to dig and scratch. The man had the bear skin with him on the roof. He began to chant, "Wa-a-i," and danced, defying the wolves, and at the same time beating on the roof. Then everything in the house made the same sound, "Wa-a-i," and thumped the roof boards. The wolves leaped back in fright whenever the word was spoken, but each time they returned when the sound ceased. Finally, they drew off a little and sat down in council. They selected the swiftest of their number, those who could go faster than a man's glance, and sent them for the chief of a tribe of wolves with eight legs. This chief was Gālalaxlid (full of legs), and the chief of the four-legged wolves was Tsuskān. Gālalaxlid looked at the house and sent some to measure the width of it. Then he began to dig, while the other carried away the dirt. He was digging along the entire front of the house. Now Hālxabo'yi saw that something was going to happen, and he called down to his mother, "Do not be frightened. Even if they get me, I shall not die. When they come in, I will throw this bear skin down, and if that is all they wish, they will go away. But if they do not, I will jump down among them in the hole they are digging. I do not want them to break down our house, and if I leap down among them, they will be prevented from coming further. We will sing another song." So, he started the song once more, and everything in the house shouted, "Wa-a-i." Hālxabo'yi was now without hope, but still he kept on. He tied the bearskin to a pole, and at the end of the song threw it down like a spear among the wolves. They seized it and threw it from one to the other until it came to the bear, who was sitting on the edge of the woods, watching. He put it on, and the wolves resumed their digging.

H̄al̄xabo'yi sang his song again, and when the end was reached, he jumped down among the diggers, right on the back of the eight-legged chief and grasped his hair. The wolves, having accomplished their purpose, left off digging, and the eight legged one dashed off with the man on his back. All the wolves sat down on the riverbank to council over what should be done with the man. Some were sent for a slaughter board. It was very wide, like a mat. They were going to cut H̄al̄xabo'yi up, and the bear, his owner, was going to distribute his flesh among the others. In butchering his game bear always pulled off its head. So, he now pulled off the head of H̄al̄xabo'yi and broke it up into pieces. These he passed out among the wolves, one receiving a tooth, another a hair, and soon; for the wolves were very numerous. H̄al̄xabo'yo knew all that was going on, for his power was supernatural. Then the body was cut up, every sinew, bone, cartilage, and muscle were distributed separately. Each wolf received some part of H̄al̄xabo'yo and devoured it. Then the chief said, "Everybody note this: we will keep this food in our stomachs four days, and at the end of that time let all return to this place." When the spirit of H̄al̄xabo'yi heard this, it rejoiced. The wolves did not intend to keep this man in their stomachs, because man was nawalakw and might harm them.

On the fourth day they all assembled and vomited up the parts of H̄al̄xabo'yi's body on the same board on which he had been butchered. The K̄et̄inux̄w wolf (kyita, to plan some piece of artisan work; -nux̄w, skillful, or clever) put the bits together, and soon H̄al̄xabo'yi was lying on the board, exactly as before the feast, except that every part was now better than before. The legs and arms were stronger, the eyes keener, the ears more acute. A speaker stood there commanding each part, as it was taken up, to become better. The internal organs were all made smaller, so that they would work better and require less food, in order he might the better endure fasting. Then living water (k̄w̄alasta, from k̄w̄ala, life, and -sta, a word used in composition for water) was thrown on his face, and he sat up. During the

four days the wolves had eaten nothing. The speaker said, "Ask him if he wishes anything else. Does he want this ḥālayu?" Ḥālayu was a death-dealing power which the wolves had in their tails. When Ḥālxabo'yi heard this he said to himself, "I do not want that." The speaker said, "He says he does not want it." Yet Ḥālxabo'yi had not spoken aloud. So, they gave him small weapons with which to kill animals and conferred on him the name Pátłāgi'lakw (made winged), because they had made him so swift that he could overtake any animal. Then he was sent home, taking some living water which, they had sprinkled on some cedar bark for him. It dried there, and when he wished to use it later, he was to place the bark in water, when the living water would change the ordinary liquid. When he reached home, he related to his mother all that had happened, and expressed sorrow that he had not accepted Ḥālayu.

So far as they knew, Ḥālxabo'yi and his mother were the only people on the earth. They sat there in the house one day, when some men entered and seized them, and made off with them in their canoe. Because he was so taken by surprise, Ḥālxabo'yi had had no time to prepare for fighting. These marauders were from Seymour Inlet, and they were Kákāḱila (the killers). The principal weapon given Ḥālxabo'yi by the wolves was a spear, for he was so swift that he did not need missiles. His mother was taken first into the war canoe, and while the young man was being brought, they asked her, "What is his name?" She said, "Pátłāgi'lakw." "Can he fly?" they asked. "Oh, yes," she replied, "he flies." As soon as he was brought to the canoe they said, "Tie him to the thwarts, for he can fly." So, it was done. Then the war-party proceeded down the river and coming to a mountain which fell straight down to the water's edge, they untied him and said, "Now let us see you fly up that mountain." The old woman objected, "That is not the kind of place my son flies in." So, they went on, and coming to another mountain almost like the first they proposed a flying exhibition, but there was the same objection. Near the mouth of the river is another mountainous cliff with two faces meeting at

an angle. Here again they proposed that he fly, and without waiting to be untied he ran upward, dragging the thwart out of the canoe with him. He disappeared over the top of the mountain. It was all done so quickly that they had no time to catch or shoot him. Then the old woman said, "Now you had better prepare for war, for he will come and avenge himself on you." They waited in the canoe, looking upward. At the top of the mountain *Halxabo'yi* began shouting, "Where are you, flapping wind and chief of hail?" It was a fine, warm, sunny day, but soon hail came down from the mountain, and wind blew fiercely. The old woman kept moving her hands before her face, thus warding off the hail, which was killing her captors. They put her ashore, in hope that *Halxabo'yi* would relent. There she sat on the rock, waving the hail away. The men pushed off their canoe, and fled, but the hail pursued them, and in trying to get away they got into a blind passage. Their chief struck the opposing rocky wall with his war club, trying to cut through, but he failed, and in anger he threw the warclub ashore. This made a great cave in the side of the mountain and remained cleaving to the rock. So, he lost his great warclub which had made him feared far and wide. *Halxabo'yi* and his mother walked back to their home.

All this *Halxabo'yi* told to *Kawadilikala* and his tribesman, as they sat there by the river.

***Kixt'alaxalis* Comes Down to Earth²⁰**

[The founder of the *Gigagama'yi* (Chiefs) clan was Sun, who borrowed the wings of *Kulus*, a great bird, and with them flew down to the earth, where for a time he lived in the mountains. He went to the village in the form of a man. The rest of this clan is a hat surrounded by a serrated line

²⁰ This excerpt seems out of place; however, I have kept it here to keep the story in its original form.

representing the rays representing the rays of the sun. The mask used by the clan is of the same form].

Kawadilikāla and the others took Halxabo'yi and his mother and proceeded to the mouth of the river, where they remained and built houses. They caught salmon and dried them. They did not then know that olachon were good for food. But the children caught some of these small fish in their play. Then the next season when the oulachon came, some were roasted for the dog, and the people noticed the oil running out. Some of the fish were fed to the dog for a trail, and nothing happened to the animal. The next day the dog went to the shore and brought some of the oulachon lying on the sand to the house and laid them in a heap before the women. So the people then obtained some fresh ones, roasted them and ate them. Then they began to use oulachon oil instead of suet from the deer and mountain goat.

One fine summer day, Dławadzo went walking up the river to see what kind of place it was they were living in. He came to a small stream. He was wearing a bear skin robe and being hot he threw it on the bank and went into bathe. Happening to look up, he saw a black bear running away, and he noticed that his robe was gone. Then he knew that his robe was running away. When he caught up with it, the bear dropped down and was once more a robe lying on the ground. In order to fathom this mystery, he left it once more on the ground and went into bathe. Four times he tested it - for all things must be tried four times in order to make certain - and each time the robe ran away like a living bear. When he caught it the fourth time, he thought something would happen, for now the perfect number had been reached. But nothing occurred. He dried his body, shook out the robe, and sat down with his back to a rock to puzzle this thing out. "It seemed frightened," he thought. "I will stay here four days and see what happens." So he continued to sit there, and he was still pondering when he heard a sound above him on the small stream. There was the sound of falling, rushing water coming through a narrow place above him, and he knew the

cause of this, but above this sound he heard something else. He said, “That is what is going to happen. The bear heard that noise and was frightened.” So he waited to see what it would be. The sound was like low thunder. He covered himself, head and all, with his robe, and peering out saw a catamaran on which stood many people, each with a cedar staff with feathers on its tip. With these they beat on the boards and sang, “upper world life”. In the stern was an old man holding a stick with a hat on the tip of it. (Everything was just like the scene described in the notes on the Dzawadā’enuxw wedding). In the middle was a man with an enormous hat. Dławadzo watched them and listened to the songs, catching the air and the words. The canoe stopped in front of him. He waited, motionless. The chief began to speak, “Listen to our song.” They sang:

Yihahé! Kisanuqé, tálatlila, kyasle; kyasla alálatlila hoskiso
gumayakós, kisanuqe; luumhtuh aláh kyas yánum kyasa;
omisuh túhwatlila kyas hos-kiso-guma yakós kisonuqe.

Crest-owner, hold fast, do; do cleave your crest
on your face, crest-owner; it has by narrow escape very obtained very;
only it saw very your face, you crest-owner.

The song indicates that the bear had perceived the canoe coming down the stream and wishing to get the crest ran away in order to obtain it before the man Dławadzo had an opportunity to do so. The phrase “it has been by narrow escape obtained,” means “it has nearly been obtained by some one else, and so escaped from you.”

Dławadzo sat quietly without a movement or sound, for he wished to obtain all the spirits would give him. At the end of the song the man in the stern, holding the pole with the great hat, spoke, the others sat down: “You who own the upper world, you who own the life!” Dławadzo made no

answer. Again, the old man called, "I have come seeking life from your lives, you who possess life." Still there was no answer. Then he called, "Great Dławadzo, great Kawadilikāla!" Dławadzo crept through the slough grass toward the canoe, looking to see which man in the canoe had the nawalakw. He saw a man sitting amidships with a deformity of some kind, as if the flesh was raised in a straight-line up and down his face and body, and extending even above his head. When Dławadzo was near the canoe, he leaped up and ran, and tried to grasp this, but the man shrank back, saying, "Do not, friend, that is not what we have brought you. Do not touch me. I am not a treasure." This person was Rottenness. If Dławadzo had touched him he would have gotten something bad. He stood on the platform of the craft, waiting to see what they would do. The chief said, "Go slowly, and we will tell you what we have come to give you. You heard the song. You see this catamaran, as it is. You shall have it all. When there is a wedding, you shall do thus and bring your wife away in this." He collected the staffs and gave them to the young man. Then he took the great hat from his son in the middle of the canoe and gave it to him for his father, Kawadilikāla. The hat (consisting of many hats ranged one on top of the other) he gave to Dławadzo for himself, as well as the pole with the image on the top. This image also wore a storied hat. After taking these things ashore, the young man returned and reached for the basketry cylinder partially filled with stones, which had produced the sound he had heard above the rush of water, but just as he touched it, the whole craft and all its contents sank. The young man went ashore, and took home all that had been given him, and he told his father what he had seen and heard. Thus, were the secondary crests of the clan obtained. The principal crest of this clan was the house which the founder first made, the house with the speaking posts and the sisiyuł ridge timbers. (The house of the chief of this clan is now always made like this mythical structure, and at potlatches and feasts therein men stand beside the posts and speak through the posts from behind into the mouths of the figures

carved on the front of them. In addition to the carvings previously mentioned there is on the roof of the house a thunderbird grasping the head of the sisiyuł in his talons. It is not known why in the myth the founder had the sisiyuł and the thunderbird in his house. This clan founded by the eldest son of K̄awadilik̄alla is the K̄ikudilik̄ala, and it now occupies the anomalous position of the last of all the clans in the tribe.)

H̄al̄xabo'yi founded the clan Kyakyikyilakya (killers). They have no crest obtained through their founder, but all they now own was obtained by marriage.

After the oulachon season the people scattered to various places along the river for the summer, and the places chosen by them remained always the summer homes of their respective descendants.

Dab̄and and T̄awixi'lakw

The man who came from the Stone was called Dab̄and (helper). He had a son named T̄awixi'lakw (made form hunting mountain-goats), who when a young man was with his father at the summer house. One day his father was on the mountainside and saw mountain-goat. He went into the house and awoke his son, saying, "Go and get that goat." The young man took his dog and a pole with a rope attached to the end. At the end of the rope was a running noose. He reached the place his father had told of, but there was no goat there, and returning he reported that the goat had escaped. The father said, "I watched it while you were gone, and it did not go away, but only walked around the tree." "That is strange," said the son, "it was not there." The next day the father again saw the goat in the same place, and he told the young man to get his dog and pole and start out. This time he saw a goat above him on the ledge. So he crept to the end of the ledge, and

waited to see what the goat would do, for there was no way for it to escape without passing him. After awhile the goat smelled or heard the dog, and instantly a door slid back, right in the face of the rocky wall, and the animal bounded in. But the young man was too quick and got in immediately behind the goat before the door closes. However, his staff and his dog were left outside. Inside it was a pitch dark. He had to feel his way about. he wondered if he was going to find nawalakw in that place. He passed through a long tunnel and finally saw light ahead. He felt better. He went toward it, and it became stronger. He heard singing: "Let him come, Wawigyustalagyilitsu-gilaq" ("made to be always trying the unclimable mountain" - an epithet the goats applied to the young man).

He saw that the sound came from a great number of people down in a valley. All were lying about on white skins. These were the mountain-goats, who for the time had laid aside their skins. They were uncountable. The young man remained in concealment. They were singing and defying him, not knowing that he had got in, and he saw that they were preparing for a dance. They sang again, while the goat which he had been following - the son of the chief - danced about among the others, shaking his head arrogantly, so that the long white feather fastened to his horns waved defiantly. As he came before the young man's place of concealment, the latter reached forth and plucked off the feather. Now it was very bad luck for the animals to be caught by a human being with their skins off, and everyone in the vast crowd leaped for his skin and began to put it on. But before any had gotten back into his skin, the young man stood in plain sight, and they were unable to move. They stood there with bowed heads, greatly ashamed, some with one leg in the skin, some with an arm. As they waited to see what he intended, so did the young man await their action. Finally, a wrinkled aged goat cried in a fierce, hoarse voice, "Let somebody say something! We do not want this monster to remain here long." The chief

spoke, "La'ams długwala - Now you have found a treasure." He went on: "Whenever you use this power, do not use it roughly. When you wave it over the mountains, do not do it quickly or too violently, for then something bad would happen. Now you may go. When you come to the door, wave the feather at it and it will open." So the young man went back through the tunnel, opened the door with the feather, found his dog and snare and went homeward. He did not take the feather home to his father, for he thought, "I will hide it. If it is so powerful, it might be dangerous to have in the house." He found a great hollow cedar, but in placing the feather inside he moved it rather quickly, and the tree was split from top to bottom. Then more carefully he placed it under one of the fallen parts. He went home, and to bed.

In the morning his father said, "Do not sleep long, the mountain is white with goats, you had better rise and get some of them." So he got up and went to the mountain, taking his feather. He stood at the foot of the landslide and waved the feather slowly in a circle toward the mountain. He laid the feather down, and immediately the mountain-goats came rolling down the landslide. Piling the bodies together in a place where his friends would find them, he returned home, where he called his mother, his sister, and his brother, and sent them for the meat. The father had sat at home watching the mountain, and by the way the goats came tumbling down he knew that his son had acquired some great power.

When winter came, they called all the people of the different clans and gave a great potlatch with the mountain-goat meat, suet, and wool, and the son and the eldest daughter danced to a song which they sang. This song is still used in the potlatch of that clan. Three times, at the same season each year for three years, this was done, the potlatch being in favour of one of Daband's daughters, when she was given a name. The fourth season the young man's father again made him go to the mountain for goats. So he went with his feather, taking it from under the tree where he kept it. He had

become so familiar with its use that he was growing rather careless, and he now waved it too quickly over the mountain, forgetful of the advice of the goats. The whole mountain broke down in an enormous landslide. Stones, trees and earth came thundering down. He saw a cave before him, and leaped into it with his dog, but he was smothered by the dust. The dog however lived, and it barked all night. The old man back at the village could hear it, and said to himself, "There must be something wrong, or that dog would not bark all night." At daylight the dog came down to the village, having found a hold through which he crept out of the cave. Then the people knew something had happened to the young man, and the younger members of the family followed the dog back to the mountain. They found him dead. They took up his body and brought it to the village. The feather was lost. Only the father knew that it was a feather that gave his son the power over the goats. When he knew that his son was dead, he put white powder on his forehead and blackened the lower part of his face from the eyes downward. He told his children not to touch him until he was dead. Then he sat down on the riverbank. He prayed to the mountains, and to the spirits of the weather, asking that for four years snow might not come down as low as the cave where his son's body lay. So he sat there with the white on his forehead and the black below, for he had himself been a mountain and he had therefore painted himself the way he was asking the mountain to paint itself (with snow). (There is still performed a dance which dramatizes this myth. It is given by the members of the family in which it is hereditary.)

Kwālili Plays Catch

One day Kwālili thought he would visit his elder brother. So he came. He asked his brother Dławadzo to show what wonderful things he could do. "Oh," responded the older brother, "I have plenty of things I can do. But as you have started this subject, I think you had better begin." So Kwālili began.

He got up before all the family of his brother, clenched his hands, put them together, and shook them before his breast. There issued a scratching sound. He opened his hands to let this thing fly out to Dławadzo. Whatever it was, it was invisible. Said Dławadzo, "That is nothing. I will not take it." Then he stood up and turned to a younger brother named Ná'nuwalaq (miracles), seized by him by the shoulders, and facing around shook him, lifted him clear of the ground. Something inside of the youth began to scream. Dławadzo pushed him aside, and the boy without moving a muscle flew to Kwǎlili, who took him with both hands and drew him toward himself. Then he did the same thing with the boy, and sent him back to Dławadzo, who caught the youth, shook him until the screaming sound came forth, and then turning about pushed him away, and the youth flew away towards the mountain. Striking against the side, he remained cleaving there, and is still seen in the form of a great mass of white shining stone (probably quartz).

A sister of the boy cried constantly, mourning for him. They could not stop her weeping. Finally, her tears turned to blood, and then Kawadilikǎla said, "We must do something to stop this crying." Dławadzo said, "I will stop it." He brought another younger brother into the room and took him to pieces, and as he broke each joint and tossed the pieces aside, they turned to eagle down. In the end there was a large heap of it, and then Kawadilikǎla took some of it and wiped the eyes of the weeper, and tossed it off in the air, feather by feather, saying, "Go and be words heard in the air by the last generations." Then he wiped the other eye and wafted those feathers away with the same words. Nobody now knows what he meant. The girl ceased crying, and Kwǎlili, unable to do anything like this, went home. This wonder-working contest was the origin of the magic-making in the winter ceremony.

The Flood

Now, there was to be a flood, and the people by some means knew it. They knew also how high the water would rise, and they knew that whatever person it touched would turn into stone. Kwāḷili told his women to make a rope, as long and as strong as possible, for he said, "There is a flood coming." There were now a great many people in the tribe. Everybody in his clan as well as in the others began to make rope. The best artisans began to work on plans by which the flood might be survived. For many years the preparations continued. Every spring the women gathered bark, and the remainder of the year they spent in twisting and plaiting it. Kwāḷili went to see how his brother was going to save himself. He found that Dławadzo intended to use his wedding catamaran, and he was advised to make a similar craft. On the deck Dławadzo built a house, and the hold of the two canoes he filled with food. Kwāḷili returned home and began to make a catamaran. Every night they slept on this craft, lest the deluge came suddenly in the night. The rope was kept soiled on board, with the end tied to a big tree. One day the rain began. The people got into the little house on board, and the rain continued to fall. The water rose and covered the banks and the trees. All the people except the families of Dławadzo and Kwāḷili were in their canoes under small mat shelters, and the crafts were moored to the shore. When all the land was submerged, except Kahsitsi, a high mountain on Kingcome Inlet, Dławadzo said to his father, "Why did you not tell me the flood would rise so high? These ropes are useless without an anchor, for the trees are under water." The old man said, "That is nothing. Take my copper box." So the copper box which was very heavy with coppers, was tied to the rope and thrown over, and all the ropes in the canoes were tied together, and they were barely long enough. All the canoes then were made fast to the catamaran. The great danger was from the huge trees, which, uprooted by the water, came swiftly to the surface and threatened to strike the boats. The flood lasted a long time, so long that the people who died on board

dried up to mummies. These were not thrown overboard, for the touch of water would have turned them to stone.

When finally, the flood subsided, they pulled on the rope, taking up the slack so as to descend where the coppers were, but those they found a mass of stone. The rope did not turn to stone, because it was vegetal, nor did the water creatures become stone. Many of the animals found safety on great jams of logs and uprooted trees. The wife of Ḳawadilikāla had been destroyed by the water and did not get aboard. She said it was useless to go aboard before the flood came, so she sat on the shore even after it began to rain, looking out toward the mouth of the inlet, shading her eyes with her hands. But the rain fell, and the water rose. She thought the deluge was coming in the form of a high tide, but the rain was the cause, and before she knew it the water was up to her waist, and she was gradually petrified. She may still be seen at that place.

When the people in their crafts had descended on the surface of the sinking water about halfway down the mountain, they saw a lake in which were some sealions left by the flood high up on the mountain, and Ḳawadilikāla thoughtlessly leaped out to kill one. But the ground was still wet, and even that small amount of water had the power of turning men to stone. So he still stands there with his great hat on his head. (Informant insists that men in historical times have seen sealions in this lake!)

Origin of Red Cedar Bark Dance

Dławadzo rebuilt his village, making his house just like that constructed by his father. Now when this was done, he got red bark and held a dance, rejoicing over the escape from the deluge. This was the origin of the use of red bark in the winter dance, the idea coming from the mountain-goats which the son of Daband had seen in the mountain; for these goats wore red bark as ornaments. Dławadzo had the house cleared out, and then called in the

people and assigned each clan a place. Halfway between the fire and the place of honor he had posts in the ground side by side, each representing a family. This indicated the manner in which the tribes, clans and families were graduated in rank. Thus, Dławadzo was the one who instituted the idea of rank.

Kwālili Cures Himself

Before the flood Kwālili had a skin disease on his legs. His sisters were at Háda, and he went there to be cared for. As he sat facing the water - the tide was far out - he saw water spurt upward from the sand. It did not look like the spurt of a clam. He thought, "I wonder if there is anything wonderful in that." He crawled down, and in the hole from which the water had spurted, he saw red water. He removed the binding from his leg and washed in the red water. As fast as he washed the sores healed. He remained there washing, and by the time the tide was in his disease was cured. All around the edge of the hole of ridge of red powder, encrusted, which he gathered up and brought away. He covered the hole with seaweed, as he had found it. The powder grew stone-hard, but at the next low tide he returned for more, which he moulded into a flat plate, while it was still soft. This was the first copper plate. He gave it to his father, and later he made many more from the reddish powder.

Kwakiutl Texts – Second Series (1908)²¹

Kawadilikāla Story²²

*Traditions of the Dzawada'enuxw.*²³

The deluge had not come yet. At that time there were four wolves at Gwa'yi²⁴ (North-Side). Three of the wolves were males, and one was a female wolf. They all kept together while they were running about. Then the Deluge of our world came, and the wolves just climbed to the top of the large mountain called Bibanadi²⁵ (Having-Phosphorescence). Its' summit was not reached by the waters, therefore the four wolves were saved. As soon as the waters subsided, they came down from the large mountain. The four wolves were brothers and sister. Then the largest one among the wolves took off his wolf-mask, and said, "You also take off your wolf masks, for it is best not to have them on, because our blankets are the cause of our having a hard time." Thus he said.

Then they all took off their blankets, and the one who had first taken off his blanket spoke, and said, "Now we have finished being animals. From now on we will remain men. Now we will all take names. I shall have the

²¹ In *Kwakiutl texts – Second Series* (1908) Boas and Hunt published a version of the Kawadilikāla. Originally, it was written in Kwakwaka'waka and then translated collaboratively by George Hunt and Franz Boas. For this thesis, I have only provided the English version. In Hunt's draft manuscript for the story he notes the story was dictated by a 'Malidi. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly who 'Malidi is because Hunt did not provide any biographical information. However, George Hunt was very good friends with George Williams who had a sister named 'Malidi whose English name was Mariah Ford (nee Williams) and she may have told this story.

²² The following was published in *Kwakiutl texts – Second Series* (1908) and can be found on pages 28-36 in original publication.

²³ It is also important to note that I have converted the Boas orthography used in the ethnographic accounts into the U'mista orthography for clarity purposes.

²⁴ Is the name of the present day village in Kingcome Inlet, BC.

²⁵ Benjamin Dick (b. 1927-d.1992) had this name. He was named after this mountain in Kingcome.

name Kawadilikala (Listened-to). You will have the name Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman)" (for the next one was a woman). "And your name will be Na'nawalakw²⁶ (Supernatural-One). And your name will be Kwalili (Slow-in-House)." Thus, said Kawadilikala (Listened-to) to his younger brothers (and to his younger sister). Kawadilikala (Listened-to) was a great shaman. All of them were [in vain] shamans; but they could not attain to the shamanistic powers of Kawadilikala (Listened-to). Now they lived for a long time in the same way as we are now living here.

Then Kawadilikala (Listened-to) was down-hearted. He spoke, and said, "Oh, my dear Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman)! Let us play together, else we shall be very sorry for having become men." Thus he said. Then Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman) spoke, and said, "Let us go on, so that we may know each other's supernatural powers." Thus she said. "What do you wish [us] to play?" Thus she said. Kawadilikala (Listened-to) at once tried to vomit. He put his hand on his stomach, and it was not very long that he had his hand on his stomach before he vomited blood. Then a piece of quartz was in the blood that he had vomited. He took out the piece of quartz and washed it. After he had washed it, he spoke, and said, "Oh, my dear Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman)! Go a little ways off and let us try the strength of our supernatural powers." Thus he said. At once Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman) went, and Na'nawalakw (Supernatural-One) and Kwalili (Slow-in-House) just sat down a little ways off.

Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman) did not go far before she stood still. Then Kawadilikala (Listened-to) threw his piece of quartz at her. Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman) just caught Kawadilikala's (Listened-to) quartz and threw it at him. Then Kawadilikala (Listened-to) also just caught it, and he threw it at his sister. Then she caught it again. Then Kawadilikala (Listened-to) threw his quartz to the middle of a large mountain, therefore it has the name Xwi'la's

²⁶ In other versions the name Na'nolakw is used.

(Quartz). He began to fear his sister: therefore, he did so, and he just threw it at the mountain. Now Kawadilikala (Listened-to) and Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman) were afraid of each other, and they watched each other all the time. After some time, Kawadilikala (Listened-to) planned what to say, and he said, "O brothers! What do you think? Do you think we are the only men living all round our world?" Thus he said. "I wish now to try to call, and we will listen if anyone answers [me]." Thus he said. Then he took his wolf-mask and put it on. He turned to the south and howled. Then they listened, but there was never an answer. Then he turned his face towards the east and howled. Again they listened, and again never an answer came. Then he turned his face towards the north and howled again, and again never an answer came. Then he turned his face towards the far side of the Fort Rupert country. Then he was answered by Howling-about-in-the-World of the Gusgimuxw (Koskimo). Then they discovered that he was the only one who was not killed by the Deluge.

Now he took off his wolf-mask and his blanket, and he became a man again. It was not long before Kawadilikala (Listened-to) felt badly. He felt down hearted because he had no tribe. Then Kawadilikala (Listened-to) went out of his house and sat on his summer seat, and he considered what to do. He had not sat there long, before Ha'ya'ilagas (Healing-Woman) and Na'nawalakw (Supernatural-One) and also Kwalili (Slow-in-House) came out and also sat down on the summer seat of Kawadilikala (Listened-to). As soon as they had all sat down, Kawadilikala (Listened-to) arose and went to the place where Na'nawalakw (Supernatural-One) was sitting. He took hold of him, threw him over, and bit him in the throat. He killed his younger brother. His other younger brothers were just looking on while their eldest brother was doing so. As soon as Na'nawalakw (Supernatural-One) was dead, Kawadilikala (Listened-to) took a knife and cut his younger brother's body into pieces. Now (the body) that had been cut up by Kawadilikala (Listened-to) was really in small pieces. As soon as he had finished cutting up his younger brother, he

gathered his flesh and made it into a round ball. As soon as it was really round, he spoke to his other younger brothers, and said, “O brothers! You do not need to feel badly on account of what I have done to our younger brother. It is only because I have seen that we should never increase in numbers if I had not done so to our late younger brother. Now see (what will happen)!” Thus he said, while he threw the ball of flesh of his late younger brother upward. At the same time Kawadilikāla (Listened-to) said to it, “Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha!” As soon as it had gone high up, what had been flesh turned into eagle-down. Then he spoke, and said, “Ha ha! Now scatter all over our world, and future men will not understand each other all round our world.” Thus he said. Then the down was blown all round our world. So there were only two great men and the wife of one, who were the only ancestors of all the tribes of the whole extent of our world. Then Kawadilikāla (Listened-to) said to what had been the eagle-down, “You will be the future men, and you will become many all round our world.” Thus he said.

The People of Gilford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village (1967), Ronald Rohner²⁷

Ronald Rohner recorded the next version of the Kawadilikāla story on May 9, 1963 in Kingcome Inlet, BC, from my great-grandfather Charlie Eaton Willie (1906-1964) whose potlatch name was Ol Siwid. Charlie was Dzawadā’enuxw on his father’s side and Kwikwasutinuxw on his mother’s side.

²⁷ Ronald Rohner spent roughly 16 months living in Gilford Island, BC in 1962-63 and parts of 1964 conducting fieldwork. He also travelled to Kingcome Inlet on multiple occasions. He is an anthropologist and published *The People of Gilford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village* (1967). Rohner transcribed this version by hand during free speech and he acknowledges that some of the phraseology has been altered from its original form (Rohner 1967: 26). However, the content is sufficient for the purposes of this paper.

Kawadilikāla Story (told by Charles E. Willie)

Kawadilikāla with his four children and his younger brother Kwālili lived before there was light on the earth. They heard the voice of God who said that they were to go and find a place which they could claim. The voice promised them the cloak of a wolf for ease of transportation [i.e., transformed them into wolves]. The two brothers and four children came first to Kingcome. The older brother claimed laxlaxw²⁸, a site up Kingcome River as his own. This was before they came down the river to the present village site. Kwālili did not want to share the same site with his brother, so he moved on to look for his own place. He travelled to laxo²⁹, 'clear-water' and then to Wakeman River³⁰. He stayed there for three or four years at which time he returned to meet his brother. Kwālili asked Kawadilikāla what the sound of the bird was like that the latter heard at his location. Kawadilikāla said that it sounded like dzawadzali, so the younger brother said that from this time on Kawadilikāla would be known as Dzawadā'enuxw [Tsawatenok]. Kawadilikāla then asked Kwālili what the sound of the bird was like that the latter heard in his valley, and Kwālili answered ha'wala so Kawadilikāla said that from this time on you will be known as [Haxwa'mis]. The two brothers then separated again, each to his respective location.

Later the two brothers met again, and each wanted to try out his magical powers on the other to see which was greater. They had a magic rock which they threw back and forth to each other, catching it. The rock was called xwi'la'is. The two brothers, who wore hemlock cloaks, stood at quite a distance from each other while they threw and caught the rock. The older brother missed it on the third throw, and it landed on the right-hand

²⁸ This is an old village site and is still used as a fishing site.

²⁹ This site is used for fishing as well as a good swimming pool.

³⁰ The proper name is Ałaxo.

side of the river at *xwellek*, a little above Sadzala³¹. The mountain where the older brother missed the rock is now called *Ḳwi'la'is*. The older brother lost the game. He took one of his children and pulled him apart into many pieces and turned them into feathers which became birds to fly all over the earth. The younger brother went back to Wakeman. *Ḳawadilikāla* returned to his place and then started moving down the river to the present village site. When he arrived there, he saw what looked like worms but were really eulachons. He saw another man there who claimed to have come from the moon. The latter gave him instructions what to call the eulachons, *maṇmaṇtilagas*. *Ḳawadilikāla* had a dog which caught and ate a eulachon. The dog died. The man from the moon told *Ḳawadilikāla* to fear not; "The fish will mean a great deal when the time comes. They will do a great wealth." The two men separated, the man from the moon leaving, and *Ḳawadilikāla* believed him. He still had his wolf powers. He wondered if he was alone on the earth with his brother, so he howled like a wolf. On the third time he heard an answer from *Ḳoyalas* [*Hoyalas*, extinct group at Quatsino] so he found that someone else was on earth besides him. *Ḳoyalas* howled too and *haus it*, a people on the West Coast, answered him.

Kwakiutl – David Grubb (W139-143)³²

The following information was recorded by David Grubb while he was doing research for *A Practical Writing System and Short Dictionary of Kwakw'ala (Kwakiutl)* which he published in 1977. The stories he recorded were never published, however, his research materials are held at the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM).

³¹ This place is far upriver in the Kingcome Valley.

³² These are titles for audio recordings held at Royal British Columbia Museum.

Ḳawadiliḵala and Kw̱alili (told by Billy Sunday Willie & James Charles King)³³

The Beginnings

This will be the history of the Dzawada'inuxw; of Ḳawadiliḵala of the Haxwa'mis people. Many years ago, way up the Kingcome River valley, came two wolves, Ḳawadiliḵala and Kw̱alili. They came down the river looking for a decent place to establish their village. They found a place and Ḳawadiliḵala, the older brother, built a house. But Kw̱alili would not stay with his brother; he wanted to look for another place. So he kept on his journey, going over mountains and into valleys, until he came to the head of the Wakeman Valley where he decided to stay. Then he returned to Ḳawadiliḵala to let him know that he, Kw̱alili, had also found a place to build a home.

When they met, Ḳawadiliḵala asked his brother, Kw̱alili, "What kind of sounds do the birds make in your valley?". Kw̱alili said they make this sound: Ḳawadiliḵala said, "Your people in future generations shall be known as the Haxwa'mis, because that is what your bird sounds like to me."

³³ The following is a free translation of the Ḳawadiliḵala story produced by linguist David Grubb of the University of Victoria. In the 1970's he recorded Billy Sunday Willie (1891-1982) and James Charles King (1899-1986) telling stories and recording history. All these recordings were first told in the Kwakwaka. Then afterwards, Grubb had James Charles King free translate the recordings. James Charles King had worked as interpreter for the Musgamakw Dzawada'inuxw since he was 17 and spoke both English and Kwakwaka very well. James Charles King's potlatch name was Ṯakwagila and he was Haxwa'mis on his father's side and Dzawada'enuxw on his mother's. He is a descendant of Kw̱alili (younger brother of Ḳawadiliḵala). Billy Sunday Willie's potlatch name was Kwaxuḷ Nagedzi and he was Dzawada'enuxw on his father's side and Kw̱ikwasutinuxw on his mother's side.

Then Kw̱alili asked, “What kind of songs or sounds do the birds³⁴ in your valley make?” Ḵawadiliḵala said, “They make a sound like ‘dzawadẕali, dzawadẕali.” Kw̱alili said, “Your people in Kingcome, future generations will be called the Dzawaḏa’inux̱w from this day.”

How Ḵawadiliḵala Lost His Power, and How He Made the Birds³⁵

Now you must know that these two people were very spiritual people: quite different from us today. Now they had something like a white diamond which they played with, brothers Ḵawadiliḵala and Kw̱alili. Ḵawadiliḵala said to his family, “Don’t you ever look through the cracks in the boards of the house or knotholes when Kw̱alili and I are using our spiritual powers!” One of the girls, because she was in her menstrual period, could cause great damage to the two brothers if she looked on while they were using their spiritual power, and they were very concerned that this should not happen.

Ḵawadiliḵala started by gently throwing this power, in the shape of a stone and looking like a diamond, to his brother who caught it and returned it in a similar manner. This action had to happen such that Kw̱alili received it four times and Ḵawadiliḵala also received it four times. They passed the power between them three times, but then one of the girls, who was told to stay hidden, showed up, and Ḵawadiliḵala missed the power as it was thrown to him. That power flew up to the top of a mountain, shining like glass, or a diamond. You can still see that thing today shining on top of the mountain.

Later on, Ḵawadiliḵala took the girl and ripped her to pieces, making feathers out of her. Then he turned to the four corners of the earth, “Hay,

³⁴ These birds are robins and they appear in the Kingcome valley during springtime.

³⁵ These are David Grubb’s subheadings that make it easier to jump to different sections of the story.

Hay, Hay, Hay”, he said four times, “You feathers go and make noise in all four corners of the earth.” Thus it was from the daughter of Ḳawadilikāla that all the birds of the world were made, many, many years ago.

Ḳawadilikāla Builds a Home

After this, Ḳawadilikāla built a home made of cedar. The means were made like a double-headed sea monsters, the Sisiyuł, and so was the back of the seat. The sea monsters were alive: their eyes moved around, and their tongues stuck out. So, too, were the men on the house posts. It was truly a fearful house, and not too many people entered therein because of the fearful power of the Sisiyuł at that time. Once in a awhile a visitor would go in and sit on the seat, which was about, say 24 feet long and could take about five people. If the Sisiyuł didn’t like the person, he would use his power and start wiggling, thereby killing that person or persons.

Many times, have I, (Nagedzi) heard this history, which has been repeated from the beginning for many, many generations until now.

The Crests of Ḳawadilikāla

Ḳawadilikāla has four crests, namely these of the four dances which always were. The first is that of the Great Wolf. The next is of the Great Ghost. The third is of the Greatest Dog; not the ordinary dog we see today, but different. The fourth is the “Nułam” (I don’t know how to say it to you in English, J.K.) These are four very important dances for Ḳawadilikāla and Kwālii. There were other masks of wolves, ghosts, dogs, and nułam, but not like the great ones.

The Flood

Now, at that time, the people of old heard that there would come a flood to the world. So Kawadilikala made big cedar boxes. He put his set of wolf masks in one, the dog masks in another, the ghost masks in another and likewise the nułam masks. These boxes were placed on the highest mountain in the Kingcome Valley, a place called Ķaxsidzi. He also had a big canoe ready, in which he put all his masks, food and other gear in preparation for this flood-to-be. The flood came. Kawadilikala twisted the branches of a young cedar tree, and it became like rope. He tied the rope onto the mountain to receive all his mask boxes and canoe during the flood. When the flood receded, the boxes were left. They are still there, only they are stones now.

Gigagama'yi Story (By Eliza Dawson)³⁶

Ķixtłaxalis Story

This is the legend of Ķixtłala, he was a seagull who lived on the top of the mountain called Galuda. This is the highest mountain in Kingcome River. It's approximately about 6000 feet high. O'man axa Ķa gadusila gaxuxw xalxw gwayu gas Xaxałe. Ķixtłala came down and became the first man up the river. He already had a sacred cedar bark around his neck. The band around his head, wrist, and ankle. He was always the first in everything. He had lots of children who in turn created a lot of other tribes but still connected to each other. Nobody ever knew his wife's name. He was the first man to ever give a potlatch in the Kingcome River and was called Galdzakwālagalis and was therefore respected and treated first in everything. He had a daughter, he's eldest, he loved and favoured. Her name was He'maxudayugwa. The story goes that she died and caused him so much pain

³⁶ The following information was recorded by Eliza Dawson (b.1927-d.2003). She obtained this story from her father Thomas Phillip Dawson (b.1886-d.1963) who was a member of the Gigagama'yi 'namima of the Dzawada'enuxw. I have extracted the information from an audio recording of the Dawson family and this recording is kept/held by the family.

and grief so on the fourth day after her death he called all his people together in his great house to use his power to reincarnate her for a brief moment. She entered the great house and went around four times and then Galdzakwālagālis told her she must now carry on with her journey to the other world and must never return. He just wanted to see her one last time. This became the prerogative of our family. Galdzakwālagālis and this large family developed into many different tribes. That is still part of the seagull clan so everytime there was a death in our family your grandfather (Tom Dawson) used to put on this performance. It was a very sacred dew where all speakers are speaking in hush tones. I distinctly remember it cause it used to give me an eerie and scared feeling, everybody looked so sad and they would be calling out the dead and then the sound of the seagull's cry would be heard. They made mādzis (whistles) that sounded just like the seagull's cry. Then there would be a rumble on the roof of the bighouse and then he sends out the solatḡāla (attendants) to bring it in and they would be all around it that you can't see it, just the top of the seagull's mask head. As a very curious child I asked my mother how come we can't see it. The explanation was because it's a ghost and we're not supposed to see a ghost. It goes around the house four times and then it goes out and you can hear the seagulls cry go farther away. There were no songs during this performance, only the fast beating of the board. I don't remember who died that time, but it must have been a very important member of our family. After that the saḡa begins. There would be a few of the relatives invited to sit in mourning and only the relatives of the one who just died. Not going halfway around (the bighouse) as it was very unheard of in those days. Only four songs are sung.

Ancestors of the Dzawadā'enuxw (Told by Mungo Martin)

Luwagila was on his own. There was a wolf man upriver in Kingcome who took off his wolf's fur and turned into a man called Ḵawadiliḵala. There were two brothers Ḵawadiliḵala and Kw̱alili. Ḵawadiliḵala had a daughter named Heḵwalał̱amega. There was another Ḵulus man involved (part of Tom Dawson's history). Also, Daḇand, who lived upriver. His son was a skilled mountain goat hunter named Ṯawixi'lakw. His mountain name is wawigustolagalitsogi'lakw. His hunting name is Ṯawixi'lakw. The verb ṯawixi means "knowing how to climb up mountains etc."

How the Order of Seats Were Established

Ṯawixi'lakw went hunting mountain goat and wanted to take his catch (game) and bring it over to his father. He dried the meat of mountain goat and made fur hide and had plenty of both. Then Daḇand told his son to call the people to his house for a feast. He invited Luwagila and Ḵawadiliḵala to come. They came and sat down in the house of Daḇand. They put the cooking stones on the fire and began to prepare the meat to feed the guests. However, they did not know who to serve first so they asked everyone to stop, be still and quiet while they discussed who to serve first among the guests. All of the sudden Luwagila jumped up quickly and grabbed some mountain goat meat. Afterwards, they served the rest of the guests their mountain goat meat and also gave them mountain goat fur hides. At this

³⁷ In the 1950's Harry Hawthorn worked with Mungo Martin at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia (UBC). Harry was interested in getting background information on the museum's various totem poles. In one of the interviews, he extracted the following Dzawadā'wnuxw story from Mungo Martin who was part Dzawadā'enuxw on his father's side. The original material is held at the Musuem of Anthropology at UBC in Vancouver, BC, Canada.

feast they established the order of 'namima and because Luwagila served himself first, the Lilawagila, have always been served first Dzawada'enuxw since then.

Yiyagadalał (Sea-monster Dancers)

These are people who were from the Dłidłagid of Thompson Sound. Unfortunately, the Dłigagid were decimated by smallpox and the ones who had genealogical connections to the Dzawada'enuxw came and joined the Dzawada'enuxw. In doing so, they became the 6th 'namima of the Dzawada'enuxw and the Lagis totem pole in the village represents this connection.

Kwikwasutinuxw Stories

The Kwikwasutinuxw are the second gukwalt amongst the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw and I have included these stories because they are part of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw.

Kwikwasutinuxw Origin Story (Told by William Scow)³⁸

The first Kwikwasutinuxw man came from a cedar tree. His name was Hawilkwalał (from wilkw, 'Cedar tree.'), "one who comes from the cedar." Later in life Hawilkwalał changed his name to Tsekama'yi, "Supreme." He survived the flood and Kaniki'lakw (Transformer).

"Transformer," Kaniki'lakw, arrived at Islet Point where Tsekama'yi was residing. The former traveled by canoe. Transformer put Tsekama'yi through many trails. Tsekama'yi's son, Tisamgid, invited transformer for food. Transformer was going to roast his own salmon and saw that Tsekama'yi's

³⁸ Anthropologist Ronald Rohner recorded the following story from Chief William Scow (b.1902-d.1984) who was Kwikwasutinuxw and Dzawada'enuxw on his father's side and 'Namgis on his mother's side. The following was published in *The People of Gilford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village* in 1967 and the original can be found on pages 26 and 27.

children were roasting the same kind of salmon, *sisiyuł*, and was amazed that they could catch and eat the drippings from his salmon without harm.

Regarding some of the trials which *Ṭseḱama'yi* was put through, Transformer put a rock around the former's neck and attempted to drown him. *Ṭseḱama'yi* went under and Transformer started to walk away, satisfied that *Ṭseḱama'yi* was dead. He reached a certain distance and heard singing behind him. When he turned around, he was amazed to see that *Ṭseḱama'yi* was alive and singing. Later Transformer put *Ṭseḱama'yi* in the fire and when there was nothing but ashes remaining, he departed, satisfied that *Ṭseḱama'yi* was dead. He reached the same distance as before and again heard singing. When he turned around, he saw *Ṭseḱama'yi* was alive and singing. Transformer then made *Ṭseḱama'yi* a saw-billed duck, but the latter was able to escape back into his human form. After many such trials *Ṭseḱama'yi* and Transformer became friends as equals. Transformer could not vanquish *Ṭseḱama'yi*.

Ṭseḱama'yi had several daughters one of whom was *Ṭsigiḱi'lakw*. After his trials with Transformer, *Ṭseḱama'yi* returned to Mitap, Viner Sound. He had his daughters with him. *Ḳulus*, Thunderbird, was up on the mountain and, looking down, saw *Ṭseḱama'yi*'s daughters. He liked their looks, so he descended from the mountain and sang a song before *Ṭseḱama'yi*. He asked *Ṭseḱama'yi*'s permission to marry one of his daughters and was granted permission. It is from the union of *Ḳulus* and one of *Ṭseḱama'yi*'s daughters that the *Ḳwīḱwəsutinuḱw* descended.

***Ḳwīḱwəsutinuḱw* Origin Story (another version told by William Scow)³⁹**

I have gathered my people to set forth here why we are the sole owners of Mitap (Viner Sound) and adjacent lands. We will start from the time

³⁹ William Scow wrote the following in a letter to the government when the *Ḳwīḱwəsutinuḱw* were fighting for their lands. I do not know the year it was written. This letter is held in the Scow family collection.

people were first allotted to their lands. As legend would have it, in the beginning a man, whose name was *Ṭseḵama'yi*, he came out of a cedar (wilkwa) at Hada (Bond Sound). Therefore, the certain place is called Lilawayas meaning "where he came out at." He met a woman who became his wife and she disclosed that she was a wolf before they met, and her name was *Ṭḥimāḵola'galis*. Then they were blessed with children. Then they moved to Mitap which was one of his lands. They lived on Mitapdzi which was one of his residences, it is a Whi-si-la, meaning a Look-out Island.

Then as it was *Ṭseḵama'yi*'s habit to be up at break of day to look about, so one morning he saw which seemed as if it were lightning. At the top of the mountain up the river which is called *Kaxadākw* (meaning parted in centre like your hair). Then he called one of his sons to go forth and investigate the peculiar sight. Then the mother got a garment for her son which he donned and became a wolf, therefore he covered the distance quickly, and beheld a great bird; he came back and described it to his father. *Ṭseḵama'yi* "it is a *Ḷulus*, (meaning this bird was covered with down), go back and ask him to come." His son went and came back with the *Ḷulus*; when this *Ḷulus* arrived and saw *Ṭseḵama'yi*, it tilted back its head and lo he was a man. He asked *Ṭseḵama'yi*'s permission to marry one of his daughters. After he made known his mission *Ṭseḵama'yi* gave his consent. The man sang a song; when the song ended, he made known his name. I am Udzistalis and *A'udzilela'galis*; he had two names; his wife's name was *Ṭsigiḥi'lakw*. He took his bird gear off and told it "you may go back where you come from but remember you shall make noises only when my descendents have passed on to the great beyond." Then it went back into the heavens.

As time went along, they had children who were named *Pudḥidi* and *Ḷixṭḥaladzi* also *ḶikḶaxṭḥala*; these were the sons; his daughters were *Putḥalas* and *Ṭḥalidi*. These people increased and became a tribe, known as the *ḶwikḶwasutinuxw*.

Then Ṭseḱama'yi said to these people, “dear children, know this; you shall work in these places at different seasons in the year for your food and clothing. At Hada you shall get your berries and your herring eggs, and preserve for winter use, and this place Mitap you shall dry your salmon and also clover leaf roots. And remember where your fish traps are located, the one above dwelling is located across stream which you shall call Chakwa (meaning fish struggle up stream and into a box-like trap) and the one below is called Natla (meaning when a lath-laike material was laid under side up on rocks which was piled on rows half ways slanting across stream). These are the fish traps which was used by the people from generation to generation, right down to such known people as Naknagamḡama'yi and Lalakuṭsa. Then the people began to travel round about and discovered there were other tribes; they got acquainted, and different ones would get permission to come and get their dried salmon; being good people they did not refuse them to partake of their table.

Traditions of the Kwikwasutinuxw: Ṭseḱami' Story (Told by Ṭsuxtsa'is)⁴⁰

George Hunt collected the story of Ṭseḱami' which outlines the beginning of the Kwikwasutinuxw and how the 'nal'namima were created. Due to its length (82 pages), I will not provide text and will only reference it here so that community members can locate it.

Gwawa'enuxw⁴¹ Stories

The Gwawa'enuxw are the 3rd gukwalt of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw and the following stories were told by George Williams

⁴⁰ The story was published by Franz Boas in *Kwakiutl Texts, Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. V, 1905, p.165-247.*

⁴¹ Also spelled Gwawa'inuxw.

(b.1886-d.1963) to George Hunt who sent these stories to Franz Boas who published them.

Hi'manis (Told by Giḱalas, a Gwawa'enuxw)⁴²

K'we (Mount Stevens) was sent out of the canoe by those among whom he was sitting, the mountains. "Go, you will be Hi'ma'nis in your country. You will go and carry this your red cedar bark. Now you will go. Your Cedar bark will be the reason why they will not dare to go near you. The poles holding the front boards of your house will be told to go ahead on the ground, whenever you tell your red cedar bark to go out of the house and your rattle will shake (?)."

The child of Hi'ma'nis came out of the woods. He made a sparrow blanket. He shot sparrows. Was not the sparrow blanket which he made right? He tried to get enough for a bed blanket. Then the child went hunting again. He tried to get sparrows. He arose early in the morning. He went out of his house. He went straight down to the beach holding his bow. The child wiped his eyes. He did not recognize clearly what was seen by him. Then a large bird was seen by the child. Then he went back into the house. He called his father. "Do come, look at this large bird, father." Then his father went out and looked at it. What should it be? A bird with spread wings. The tips of the wings reached the middle of the mountain. Then Hi'ma'nis saw that the bird took off his blanket pin. A man came out of his bird dress and turned his face to his mask and spoke, "Now you will go up again. You will not keep on thundering. Only sometimes you will sound when my later generations will go (die). You will speak once at a time when those who will change places with me will go (die). You will not always blink your eyes. Go! Now you will go." The bird mas flew away.

⁴² The following story was published in *Kwakiutl Tales I, New Series, Volume 26*, in 1935 by Franz Boas and can be found on pages 65-66.

“Do not be this way in the house, Maḵwala’ugwa. Send your brother to go and call this wonderful thing because it acted thus, this one who came down. Go and invite him in. Then he invited the man. He came and entered his house. “Go on and cook for this one.” Then ‘Maḵwala’ugwa took her berry cakes and set before him a dish, and berry cakes were in it and she gave them to the man to eat. The one man named Gayudis was afraid of the ways of the man. The man had a hooked nose. But on his part the man did not eat the berry cakes. Then they tried to set before him also viburnum berried in water. They were given to him to eat. And so also this he did not eat. Then also crabapples in water were set before him. They were given to him to eat. And so also this he did not eat. Then ‘Maḵwala’ugwa asked her father, “What may be good for feeding him?” Then the man looked around the roof of the house. Then the man, the bird man, spoke. The man had a large hooked nose. “Peas,” said the man. “Go on, take it. This, oh wonder, is wanted by him for food.” Then a drying rack was put down. The man ate the boiled peas. Then Hi’ma’nis spoke, “We do not call it peas. It is named differently by us, for you came to be a man in this world.” Then the bird man spoke, “How do you call it?” – “We call it salmon spawn. Now listen that I name my names: I am Gayaxala (Coming-Down), I am Kwāḵwala (Thunder-Bird-Dancer). This is my name, Kwāḵwala’ugwa (Thunder-Woman), Kwāḵwala’su’gwi’lakw (Made-to-be-Thunderer).” These are my names, Ṭḷaḷba’yawis (Spouting-at-the-Point). This is my name Ṭḷaḷamdala’ugwa (Spouting-Woman). These will come to be the names when I come take my place in this world, when I come being a man in this world coming down here.”

Another Hi'manis Story told by Giḱalas (George Williams), a Gwawa'enuxw⁴³

And this lord was coming along. He almost arrived. Then Hi'ma'nis was told, "Take care," said he on his part, "Hi'ma'nis, of the poles of your housefront when our lord Ḳaniḱl'lakw arrives." And he came and he almost arrived. He came to Higams (Hopetown). There was a noise. It was heard by the lord. There was howling. Then he was afraid to go to the howling. Then he passed Higams. He went along to Ḳwe (Mt. Stevens). Then he arrived at Ḳwe (Mt. Stevens). "The lord is coming," said on his part Hi'ma'nis to his children. "Take care," said he on his part to his children, "do not move in the house." Then 'Maxwala'ugwa just did so, "Do not look through a hole." She was a mischievous girl. Then Hi'ma'nis went out and beat time outside for his walking cedar bark. Then he said, "Go ahead." And so he told all the poles of his house front to go ahead. Four times he said so. He said, "Go ahead," and his red cedar bark went out of the house walking. Then the red cedar bark started. The large rattle was made to move by itself. It had the name, Big Rattle. It was moving on the ground by itself and met dancing the lord Ḳaniḱl'lakw. It was just red cedar bark. Nobody looked after the red cedar bark. Its way was wonderful. Time was just beaten for it. Then the lord threw out of the canoe his stone maker. Then stood up Xalgwiḱ and looked through a hole when the lord threw his stone maker. What should it be? Now Xalgwiḱ just became a round stone in the house. Then Hi'ma'nis returned the stone maker of the lord. Then Hi'ma'nis said, "Go ahead." (?) Then he took his means of playing and threw it at him. And so, his canoe just did not capsize on account of the waves made by the means of playing of Hi'ma'nis. Then he tried to throw out of the canoe his bird maker. The lord threw it. And so Hi'ma'nis just caught it coming and threw it back again at him. What should it

⁴³ The following story was published in *Kwakiutl Tales I, New Series, Volume 26*, in 1935 by Franz Boas and can be found on pages 66-68.

be? They were just birds sitting in the canoe, sitting behind the lord. Then he took it back in the canoe and his steersman became a man again. Then Hi'ma'nis made waves in the sea of his place. The traveling canoe of the lord just did not capsize. Then the lord spoke forbidding him, "Don't do that, I am beaten. Now these olachen will go behind you. Now this water of life will go to you." – "You have spoken enough. I do not wish the olachen behind me. And so I take the water of life. Go on and run your canoe ashore and come out of the canoe." The fire of Hi'ma'nis was blazing. Then they were eating and so they almost finished. Then Hi'ma'nis went out. Then he saw young sawbill ducks. Then he said to the lord, "Very many young sawbill ducks are here." Then ǰaniki'lakw ran aboard his canoe to paddle after the young sawbill ducks. On their part they were made to turn to Gayuxw. The lord stepped out of the canoe. He walked up the little river. "Good will be this my little river. This river will be called Gayuxw." Then he was made to go out. Then he went to one flat place. Then the young sawbill ducks went up the beach. Then he went up the river. "Nice will be this my river. This my river will be called Daxda'mis (Jumping-Place)." Then he was taken upstream. Again, the young saw-bill ducks went upstream. "Nice will be this my little river. This my river will be called ǰsitala (Squirting-River)." Then the young sawbill ducks went up again. Again, they went up the river. Then ǰaniki'lakw said, "Nice will be this my river. This my river will be named Wakas (real river)." Then again was he taken across. The young sawbill ducks went up the river. Then ǰaniki'lakw stepped out of the canoe. And so he said again, "Really good is this my little river. ǰalwadi' (Buying Place) will be called this my little river." He came being taken down the stream. Then the young sawbill ducks went up the river. "Let us clean it up." Then they cleaned up the place. And so the young sawbill ducks gave it up. This will be called Sinkw (Cleaned).

Siwidi Stories (Gwawa'enuxw)

Siwidi Story (Recorded by Wilson Duff)⁴⁴

The Centennial Totem Pole, Wilson Duff Records, RBCM ⁴⁵

5. Sea Otter (Kasa)

Tribe: Gwawa'inuxw

Clan: Gagexala

This is not a “first-man” story, but an account of how a series of clan crests were obtained. Siwid, of the village Hegams on Watson Island, had lost a contest of strength with his friend, and he went into the forest early one morning to seek more power. He reached a small lake and bathed in it. The Loon appeared and spoke to him. “I know what you want. Climb on my back while I swim under water”. Again and again they dove and swam below the surface of the lake. On the fourth time, thy stayed down, and swam out under the ocean. They stayed down four days - - but in human time this was four years.

Siwid's father gave him up for last, and moved to Trivett Island, but Siwid followed, wanting to return. His experience had given him the power to take several different forms. First, he approached as Tsixw the Sea gull, then went down again. Next he came as Gwa'yam, the Whale; next as Kasa the sea otter (shown on the pole). Finally, he returned as Kwama, the tiny Bullhead. He approached the beach, where his younger brother was fishing with a small grass noose and was caught. He spoke to his brother, telling who he was and saying that he would return home that night. In the night he assumed human form and walked up the beach. With him he brought a complete house, with three carved posts, to live in.

⁴⁴ The following was recorded by Wilson Duff who worked with Mungo Martin. The information is in the Wilson Duff Records at Royal British Columbia Musuem (RBCM) in Victoria, BC, Canada.

⁴⁵ This is typed in similar fashion to original document.

Siwid's father celebrated his return by giving a great winter ceremonial. On the first day, Siwid once more challenged his friend to a test of strength, and this time easily pulled him to pieces. He was now satisfied and remained in the village. His crests, which he passed on to his descendants, were the Sea Otter, Whale, Sea gull and Bullhead.

Ṭsugwālis and Siwidi (Recorded by George Hunt)

Boas, Franz and Hunt, George, Tradition of the Gwawa'enuxw⁴⁶

Ṭsugwālis (First-Beaver)

The ancestors of the Gwawa'inuxw lived at a place named Higams. The name of one man was Ṭsugwālis (First-Beaver); and he had a younger brother, Siwidi (Paddled-to). Siwidi (Paddled-to) acted like a fool, but Ṭsugwālis (First-Beaver) always rubbed his body with hemlock-branches. He was very strong. He twisted thick yew-trees. Then the father of Ṭsugwālis (First-Beaver) felt badly because Siwidi (Paddled-to) just slept all the time, and because he was foolish. Then the man kicked Siwidi (Paddled-to), and said, "O Fool! Don't think too much [only] of sleeping. Look at your elder brother! He is all the time rubbing his body with hemlock-branches." Thus said the man to Siwidi (Paddled-to). The name of the father of Siwidi (Paddled-to) is not known, for he was not a chief. He had three sons. The eldest one was Ṭsugwālis (First-Beaver), and the foolish one was Siwidi (Paddled-to). The youngest one was Xwixwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief).

Siwidi Runs Away⁴⁷

Now Siwidi (Paddled-to) was kicked by his father. Siwidi (Paddled-to) at once lay down in his bed. Then he made up his mind to go and commit

⁴⁶ The following was published in *Kwakiutl texts – Second Series* (1908) and can be found on pages 60-79 in the original publication.

⁴⁷ These are my subheadings that I have created so that community members can find parts of the story that interest them more quickly.

suicide in the woods. As soon as night came, Siwidi (Paddled-to) arose, went out of the house, and started. Then he went into the woods. He kept on walking during the night. In the morning, when day came, he was still walking. Night came again. Then he went to sleep. In the morning, when day came, he went into a small river; and after he had been in the water of the river, he started again. Nighttime came again, and he again took a rest and went into a pond. As soon as he had finished, he went to sleep. In the morning, when day came, he started again, and it was not yet evening when he arrived at a large lake. He sat down on the shore. Then he took off his blanket and just sat on the ground.

Then he saw that the lake was rising; and he thought he would see what the rising of the waters meant. The water came to his feet and went back again. It went down as far as it had been before; and it was not long before it rose again. Then it came up to his knees, and now he saw a *ṭaḵwabidu* (little devilfish) going around on the right side from where he was sitting in the water. As soon as the *ṭaḵwabidu* (little devilfish) had gone around, it swam away. Then the water went down again, and the place where Siwidi (Paddled-to) was sitting again became dry ground. Then he strengthened his heart not to be afraid on account of what the water was doing.

He had not been sitting on the ground long when the lake began to rise again. Then it came up to his breast. Now he saw again the *ṭaḵwabidu* (small devilfish) coming and going around at his right side. As soon as it had gone around, the water went down again, and the *ṭaḵwabidu* (little devilfish) went out towards the middle of the lake. Now his heart was strong, (and he resolved) not to rise from the ground; and it was not long before the water came up again. It reached his neck. Then the *ṭaḵwabidu* (small devilfish) came again and went around at his right side. As soon as the *ṭaḵwabidu* (little devilfish) had gone behind his back, it became large and spread itself over Siwidi (Paddled-to), and Siwidi (Paddled-to) was taken into the water by the

ṭākwa (devil-fish), which was now large. Then Siwidi (Paddled-to) was taken into the house of the one who is called K̇umugwe (Wealthy). Then Siwidi (Paddled-to) saw the chief sitting down in the rear of a large house with snapping door. All the rafters of the house were sea-lions; and also the four posts, and the cross-beam on top of the posts, had sea-lions at each end; and the posts in the rear of the house were the same; and the two long beams of the house also had sea-lions at the ends; and the house had four platforms on its floor. Two speaking-posts stood one on each side of the door.

Siwidi Enters House of K̇umugwe

As soon as Siwidi (Paddled-to) entered, the one on the right-hand side of the door spoke, and said, “Attack this stranger who has come into your house, Ṭākwaḡila (Copper-Maker).” Thus he said. Then the one on the left-hand side of the door also spoke, and said, “Treat him well. He came to get a supernatural treasure from you, chief.” Then he stopped speaking, and the attendant spoke, and said, “O friend Siwidi (Paddled-to)! Take care! This is the house of chief Ṭākwaḡila (Copper-Maker), whom you call K̇umugwe (Wealthy) at the place where you come from.” Thus he said. “You shall stay only four days at this house, if (in this time) you learn all that refers to the supernatural treasure that you are to obtain; and this also is said by the chief, that you will go back only when you have seen all his servants all round the world.” Thus he said.

Then Siwidi (Paddled-to) was really treated well by the chief, and Siwidi (Paddled-to) made all our dancing-paraphernalia for him. Then the chief spoke and said to Aliḡwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooneer, the Max’inuḡw (Killer-Whale), “Go all round our world with Siwidi (Paddled-to), that he may go and watch my servants.” Thus he said. Then Aliḡwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooneer) started and told his people to get ready. Then he loaned to Siwidi (Paddled-to) a new small canoe, and Aliḡwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooneer) asked Siwidi to try to spout. Siwidi (Paddled-to) went aboard the

new little canoe. As soon as he went aboard, the small canoe became a max'inu_xw (killer-whale), and Siwidi (Paddled-to) did well with his spouting.

Then Ṭṭāk_wagila (Copper-Maker) said that they should not omit one of all the tribes under the sea. Then all the ma'amx'inu_xw (Killer-Whales) would visit those to whom Ṭṭāk_wagila (Copper-Maker) had referred. All the sea-monsters in the world under the sea were his servants.

Siwidi Travels the World

They had been out two days when Alix_wami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooner) said they would take a rest at the head of the inlet of Bella Coola. Then the Killer-Whales made a campfire at a pretty beach there. Then Siwidi (Paddled-to) started and went with Alix_wami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooner) to the village. They were not seen by the common people, for they had supernatural power. Then Siwidi (Paddled-to) said, "This man of this tribe here is handsome." Thus he said. Then Siwidi (Paddled-to) was questioned by the killer-whale, Alix_wami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooner). He said, "O friend Siwidi (Paddled-to)! Do you desire to have the handsome man to whom you refer?" Thus he said. Siwidi (Paddled-to) replied at once, and said, "Yes, I should like to have him." Thus he said. Then Alix_wami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooner) started with Siwidi (Paddled-to), and Siwidi (Paddled-to) caught sight of the man. Then Alix_wami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooner) went back at once to their campfire at the mouth of Bella Coola river.

Immediately they took the little canoe for the one who had just arrived. Then Siwidi (Paddled-to) and the Bella Coola were friends, and they went home. They at once got ready and started. They [the many people] launched their canoes and went back southward. Then they arrived at Ṭsigwa_tsi (Monster-Receptacle), for that is the house of K_umugwe' (Wealthy). When the Killer-Whales arrived at the beach of the house of chief Ṭṭāk_wagila (Copper-Maker), Ṭṭāk_wagila (Copper-Maker) called the Killer-Whales in. Then Alix_wami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooner) told him that Siwidi (Paddled-to)

desired one man from among the Bella Coola. He said, “He came with us.” Thus he said. Then *Ṭłakwagila* (Copper-Maker) was really glad on account of *Siwidi* (Paddled-to), because he was not reluctant to tell his mind to *Alixwami’gi’lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-Harpooneer).

Siwidi Obtains the Name ‘Nalanukwamgi’lakw

Then *Ṭłakwagila* (Copper-Maker) spoke again, and said, “O friend *Siwidi* (Paddled-to)! You have been to see all my servants all around our world. Now prepare to go home to your country. You shall go up with this house, and your parents shall come to live on the shore at the place where you are to appear.” Thus said *Ṭłakwagila* (Copper-Maker). “The name of your house is *Ṭłatłixułtsam* (Sea-Lions-all-over). Now this is the end of your having the name *Siwidi* (Paddled-to). Now you have the name ‘*Nalanukwamgi’lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World). You have been to *Yuwigandayusans* ‘*nalax* (Wind-at-Edge-of-our-World), and therefore your name will be *Li’stalis* (Going-around-the-World) and ‘*Wi’lalatłalidi laxa tsitseka* (Having-all-Dances) in the winter dance, and you shall be *tux’wid* (War-Dancer). Now go up with your house. Now you have great supernatural power.” The house came up and floated on the water at *Ṭsigwałsi* (Monster-Receptacle).

‘*Nalanukwami’gi’lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) was standing in the door of his house. His parents lived at *Gwamgwamliga*, on the other side of *Ṭsigwałsi* (Monster-receptacle). The younger brother of ‘*Nalanukwami’gi’lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World), *Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief), was playing on the beach outside of his house. Then he discovered the large house drifting down with the tide. Then ‘*Nalanukwami’gi’lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief) recognized his elder brother. He called his father and his mother. His father and his mother came at once; and they all recognized him.

As soon as ‘*Nalanukwami’gi’lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) knew that his parents had seen him, his house went down again. Then he disappeared again. His parents started at once to go to *Higams* to call the

tribe to come and stay at Gw̱amgw̱amliga. As soon as X̱wix'x̱wiḻamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) arrived at Higams, he reported to his father's tribe. The ancestors of the Gwawa'inux̱w at once got ready; and in the morning, when day came, they loaded their canoes and went to Gw̱amgw̱amliga.

They lived at Gw̱amgw̱amliga for a long time. Then they discovered again the large house. It appeared at the place where it had appeared before. The ancestors of the Gwawa'inux̱w all saw 'Nalanuḵwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) standing in the door of the large house. Then they launched four large canoes, and all the men paddled, going to the place where the large house was floating. When they came near, it went down. The tribe did not get the house. For a long time, it was not seen again.



Figure 7: American Museum of Natural History (16/8942) - Bullhead mask

Then [his] parents felt badly. X̱wix'x̱wiḻamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) started for the other side of the point at Gw̱amgw̱amliga. Then he saw a large ḵw̱a'ma (bullhead) with a man's face.⁴⁸ Then X̱wix'x̱wiḻamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) ran and saw it from near by. He recognized 'Nalanuḵwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World). Then he ran and tried to tell his parents. He was only struck by his father, for he did not believe him; and the father of 'Nalanuḵwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) said, "Go away! Why did you come and speak thus, like [imitating] those who deride my late son?"

⁴⁸ See figure 7.

Dirt was thrown on the roof of his house by his tribe, and he was just driven away by his tribe. Therefore, he lived in a small house at the foot of the hill (on which the village stood). When the tribe threw the refuse from their meals down the hill, it rolled right down and stopped at the side of his house; some of the people eased themselves on the side of the hill, and it went right down to the little house of the father of 'Nalanukwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World), for 'Nalanukwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) was really treated well by the tribe of his father.

Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) just went out of the house, and he ran again and saw the k'wa'ma (bullhead). Then he discovered that it was still there. The k'wa'ma (bullhead) that was 'Nalanukwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) spoke, and said, "O brother! Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief)! Go and call our parents to come quick, that I may see them." Thus he said. Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) ran again, and entered the house again; and he said, "Oh, you confounded ones! Come quick and see him whose dog I am (my master). He asks that you come quick and see him." Thus he said. Then the mother of Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) spoke, and said, "O slave! Let us go to that which our son refers to, and what he wants us to look at."

Then they started and went to the other side of the point of the Village of Gwamgwamliga. Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) was speaking with 'Nalanukwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) (when his parents arrived). Then his father



Figure 8: American Museum of Natural History (16/8390) - Whale mask with Eagle

saw that what Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chiefs) had said was true. His father just wanted to make sure that it was 'Nalanukwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World). As soon as he had made sure that it was really he, the old man sang his sacred song. Then his tribe heard that he was singing his yela'wala (sacred song). Then his tribe went to see, and they saw the k'wa'ma (bullhead), and they saw that it had a man's face, and they recognized that it was 'Nalanukwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World). Then he changed his form and became a gwa'yam (whale).

His tribe tried in vain to surround him. The people went again and launched their canoes and tried to catch the large gwa'yam. They were on the water a long time trying to catch it. Then they saw an eagle which came and sat on the fin of the gwa'yam (whale)⁴⁹; and then the tail of the k'wa'ma (bullhead) appeared over the tail of the whale. The father of Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) spoke, and said, "O son! Look at the way your elder brother acts, that we may have this for our crest." Thus he said to him. Then he changed himself again and became k'asa (sea-otter),

⁴⁹ See figure 8.

and many *tsikwa* (gulls) were flying around it.⁵⁰ Then they tried to catch him again, and they were on the water a long time trying to catch him, and they drove him into a long bay.

Then ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) saw that he would be caught by the tribe, and he became a man again. Then ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) was caught; and ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) spoke, and said, “O tribe! Go and bring gravel to close the gap between these shores. I wish this to be a village site.” Then many people, the ancestors of the Gwawa’inuxw, went to work. The ancestors of the Gwawa’inuxw finished what they were doing. Night



Figure 9: American Museum of Natural History (16/8530) - Sea Otter mask

came; and early in the morning, when day came, ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) arose [early], and he saw the large house which had come and had been put down on the place where his tribe had worked.

Siwidi’s House is Built

Immediately ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) went into his house, and he sang his *yelaḱwala* (sacred song), and *Ṭsugwalis* (First-Beaver) was sent by his father to go and see why ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) was singing his sacred song. As soon as *Ṭsugwalis* (First-Beaver) went out of his house, he saw the large painted board front of the house, and *Ṭsugwalis* (First-Beaver) just went back into the house to tell his father what he had seen. Immediately his father and his mother arose and

⁵⁰ See figure 9.

went to see it. Then they discovered that the door of the large house was the mouth of a *ṭḭix'an* (sea-lion). As soon as the parents came near the door, the mouth-door of the large house opened. Then his father and his mother jumped in (through) the door of the house. As soon as they went in, the Speaking-Post at the right-hand side of the door spoke, and said, "Attack this stranger who has come into you house, *ṭḭakwagila* (Copper-Maker)." Thus he said. Then the one on the left-hand side of the door also spoke, and said, "Treat them well. These are the parents of *ṭḭakwagila* (Copper-Maker) here." Thus he said.

One of the attendants was standing in front of the fire of the large house: his name was *'Wadzagaxsta* (Wide-Mouth). Another attendant stood in the rear of the house: his name was *Husagama'yi* (Counter). Then *'Nalanukwami'gi'lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) spoke to his father, and said, "O father! Look at my house! Come and look at the dancing-paraphernalia of my great supernatural house!" Then he looked about first in the right-hand side in the rear of the house.

Then his father saw many (kinds of) dancing-paraphernalia. His father saw the *gwikamṭ* (whale mask) combined with the *kwa'magamṭ* (bull-head mask), and the eagle sitting on top of the back. It had two tails, - above, the tail of the bull-head; and below [at the end], the tail of the whale. And he saw also the *kasagamṭ* (sea-otter mask), and four *tsikwa* (birds) sitting on the revolving top of the *kasagamṭ* (sea-otter mask); and under the *kasagamṭ* (sea-otter mask) was a man; and he saw the mask of the *na'nisamṭ* (grisly bear of the sea), and he saw the *gwawisamṭ hamsiwe*⁵¹ (mask of the raven of the sea).

⁵¹ See figure 10

Then the father of
 ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-
 Head-of-the-World) felt glad. Now
 he saw all the sea-lions at the ends
 of the rafters, and the two posts,
 and that the cross beam over the
 posts had a sea-lion at each end,
 and a large box full of coppers,
 and a large basket full of dressed
 hides, and a large basket full of



Figure 10: American Museum of Natural History (16/8529)
 Raven of the Sea

sea-otter blankets, and the halayuwi *ṭamyayu* (death-bringing baton). Then the
 father of ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) spoke and said,
 “O child! Invite our tribe in and give a winter dance.” Thus he said.
 ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) at once agreed to the
 wish of his father. The old man sent *Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw* (Born-to-be-always-
 Chief) to invite all the old people of the ancestors of the *Gwawa’inuxw* to
 come into the large house.

Then the mouth-door opened, and *Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw* (Born-to-be-
 always-Chief) jumped out. He was going to invite the old people. They at
 once accepted, for they had already suspected that he had found the magic
 treasure; and so *Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief) led the guests,
 for they felt a little afraid. As soon as they approached the door of the large
 house, the mouth-door opened, and *Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw* (Born-to-be-always-
 Chief) jumped in [into the mouth-door]. Then the old people did so too. Then
 one was hurt in the mouth-door, which bit his heel [of his foot].

Then the father of ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World)
 spoke, and said, “O chiefs! Listen!” Thus he said. Then the Speaking-Post spoke,
 and said, “Attack these strangers who came to die in your house, *ṭṭakwagila*
 (Copper-Maker).” Thus he said. Then the other on also spoke, and said, “Don’t
 be so furious towards them. They just came to obtain supernatural power in

your house, Ṭṭakwagila (Copper-Maker).” Thus he said. As soon as he stopped speaking, four wealth-sounding whistles sounded in the right-hand corner of the house.

Then Ṭsugwalis (First-Beaver) and Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) disappeared. Immediately one of the old men, whose name was Yaḱantami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World), “O old man! Take care! For Siwidi (Paddled-to) is now our chief, for he obtained this great house.” Thus he said, for he did not know that Siwidi (Paddled-to) had changed his name. Then spoke he who had been referred to as Siwidi (Paddled-to), and said, “O tribe, now stop naming me Siwidi (Paddled-to).” When he said so, the Speaking-Post spoke again, and said, “Attack these strangers who came into your house, ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World).” Thus he said. Then the other one spoke also, and said, “Treat them well, for they are your attendants, Ṭṭakwagila (Copper-Maker).” Thus he said.

Then ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) spoke, and said, “O tribe! Now you have heard my names. They were to you be the Speaking-Posts.” Thus he said. Then the father of ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) spoke, and said, “O chiefs! Now ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) will give a winter dance. Let all the tribes come!” Thus he said. Immediately Yaḱantami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) went out and stood outside of the large house. Then he shouted aloud, inviting the tribes in. He said, “Listen, O tribe! This house of ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) here has been entered by the supernatural powers. Now come in!” Thus he said.

They all went in at once, for they wished very much to see the inside of the large house. As soon as all the men, women, and children were in, the Speaking-Post spoke, and said, “Attack these strangers who came into your house here, ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World).” Thus he said. Then the other one spoke also, and said, “Cease being furious towards them. They just came to obtain supernatural power in your house, Ṭṭakwagila

(Copper-Maker).” Thus he said. Then Yaḱantame’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) said that all the men, and all the women, and all the children, should sit down. The tribes at once obeyed him and sat down around the fire in the middle of the large house.

‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw Gives Ṭsitseḱa (WINTER DANCE)

Then ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) spoke, and said, “O masters, tribe, listen! That I may tell you how I feel towards you. I shall give a winter dance. My elder brother, Ṭsugwalis (First-Beaver), has disappeared; and also my younger brother, Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief.” Thus he said. Then much ṭtagakw (red cedar-bark) appeared at the right-hand corner of the house. Then Yaḱantami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) arose and went to the place where the red cedar-bark was. He took some of it and sang his sacred song. Then he went around the fire of the house and distributed the red cedar-bark among all the men, the women, and the children. Now they were gwigwadza (winter dancers).

After they had performed the ṭsitseḱa (winter dance) for four days, Yaḱantami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) arose early in the morning. Then he saw a gwa’yam (whale) spouting and coming towards the beach in front of the large house. As soon as it came ashore, it turned into a ḱwa’ma (bullhead). Immediately Yaḱantami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) called his tribe to assemble in front of the large house. As soon as the gwa’yam (whale) came ashore, all the men went down to the beach towards it, and the ḱwa’ma (bullhead) at once became a man. Now they had caught Ṭsugwalis (First-Beaver).

The ancestors of the Gwawa’inuxw had just finished singing when Yaḱantami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) went out. He saw a large ḱasa (sea-otter) lying on its back on the water, and over it were flying four white ṭsikwa (gulls). Immediately he re-entered the large house and told ‘Nalanukwami’gi’lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World). He said, “Oh, my dear!

What may it be that was seen by me lying on its back on the water outside, just like a *ḵasa* (sea-otter)?" Thus he said. 'Nalanuḵwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) said at once, "That is *Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief)." Thus he said. "Go and call our tribe outside." Thus he said.

Yaḵantami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) at once said, "O tribe! Come and let us go look at the large *ḵasa* (sea-otter) lying on its back on the water, for it may be *Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief)." Thus he said. Then all the men, the women, and the children went out, and they caught sight of the large *ḵasa* (sea-otter) lying on its back on the water. Then the ancestors of the Gwawa'inuḵw launched their canoes and tried to get it. It was not long before the *ḵasa* (sea-otter) went ashore; and as soon as it came on shore, it became a man. Then he was caught by his tribe; and the ancestors of the Gwawa'inuḵw re-entered the large house, and they tamed him also. They sang again four songs, and afterwards they ate. As soon as they had eaten, they went out of the large house.

As soon as it was evening, Yaḵantami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) went to his tribe (to ask them) all to come into 'Nalanuḵwami'gi'lakw's (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) large house with the snapping door. He had not been gone long when the ancestors of the Gwawa'inuḵw all entered the large house. As soon as they were all in, Yaḵantami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker) spoke, and said, "Take care, friends, of this supernatural house!" Thus he said. Then the Speaking-Post on the right-hand side of the door spoke, and said, "Attack them, attack them! That some of the spectators in your house may be hurt, Le'stalis (Going-round-the-World)."

Thus he changed the name of 'Nalanuḵwami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World). Then the Speaking-Post on the left-hand side also spoke, and said, "Oh, my dear Le'stalis (Going-round-the-World)! Don't hurt your tribe, that they may restore and tame *tamalkwał* (All-Dancer), the *ḵaḵasalał* (sea-otter dance), and also *A'wi'lutḷalał* (He-who-has-Many-Kinds-of-Dances), the *gwagwikilał* (Whale-Dancer) *kuḵwa'malał* (Bull-Head Dancer), else you might

have trouble in this supernatural house.” Thus he said. At once the *ḱumḱala* (wealth-sounding) whistle of the *ḡwikilaḱi ḱuḱwa'malaḱ* (Whale-Dance Bull-Head-Dance) sounded, and the great whale mask came spouting in the rear of the house. It went as far as the door, and then it changed its shape and became a *ḱwa'ma* (bullhead), which went around the fire of the large house and then went back.

As soon as it had gone back, *Ṭsugwaḷis* (First-Beaver) came out, and the ancestors of the *Gwawa'inuxw* sang. *Ṭsugwaḷis* (First-Beaver) had hemlock-branches on his head, and he had a neck-ring of hemlock-branches, and arm-rings and leg-rings of hemlock-branches. After he had danced to the four songs, he went back to the rear into the sacred room. Then the *ḱumḱala* (wealth-sounding) whistle of the *ḱasagaḡḡ* (sea-otter mask) sounded, and it came out. It went around the fire of the house. As soon as it had gone back to the middle of the rear of the house, the bird whistle sounded, and four white *ṭsiḱwa* (gulls) came soaring just over the *ḱasa* (sea-otter). It was not long before the *ṭsiḱwa* (gulls) disappeared. Then the *ḱasa* (sea-otter) mask also disappeared, and *Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief) came out of the sacred room. He had a head-ring of hemlock-branches, and arm-rings and leg-rings of hemlock-branches, and he danced to the four songs.

As soon as the four songs were ended, he went back. Immediately *'Nalanuḱwami'gi'lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) distributed coppers among his tribe, and what was in the baskets. Then the ancestors of the *Gwawa'inuxw* felt happy on account of their chief, *'Nalanuḱwami'gi'lakw* (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World).

Now the *ṭsitseḱa* (winter dance) was ended, and *Ṭsugwaḷis* (First-Beaver) always went hunting mountain-goat at *Ḳwe* (Mt. Stephens), for that was the country of the ancestors of the *Gwawa'inuxw*; and *Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief) also went, and *Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief) staid away on top of the mountain. Then it was said that he had fallen down the mountain at *Ḳwe* (Mt. Stephens). The ancestors of the *Gwawa'inuxw*

searched for him in vain. He was not found at all. Then they gave up looking for him. Winter came again, and one man saw him sitting on a rocky place high up on the mountain. He recognized *X̱wix'x̱wiḻmgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief). Long pieces of quartz were on his head, and the quartz on his head was squeaking all the time.⁵²



Figure 11: American Museum of Natural History (16/8531) - Madam mask

The goat-hunter went home at once and told 'Nalanukw̱ami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) and his father about it. The attendant of 'Nalanukw̱ami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World), Yaḵ̱anṯami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-Speaker), at once called his tribe. As soon as they were all in the house, 'Nalanukw̱ami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) told his tribe that his younger brother, *X̱wix'x̱wiḻmgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief), was alive. (He continued,) "I wish that you might find a wat for us to catch my brother!" Thus he said. Then the old man spoke, and said, "O chief! Let us begin a *tsiṯseḵa* (winter dance), and let us continue all through the night, and try to bring him back, that he may come to it." Thus he said. Immediately they began to dance the winter dance, and they tried to bring him back. They tried until the morning, but *X̱wix'x̱wiḻmgi'lakw* (Born-to-be-always-Chief) never came. Four times they tried to bring him back, and he never came. Then they gave it up.

After a long time, the father of 'Nalanukw̱ami'gi'lakw (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World) saw a man entering his house. The man said, "O father! I have come back." Thus he said. Then the father of 'Nalanukw̱ami'gi'lakw (Born-to-

⁵² See figure 11.

be-Head-of-the-World) questioned him, and said, “O man! Who are you?” Thus he said. He replied once, and said, “I am Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief).” Thus he said. Then he turned his head to look at him, and the old man saw that he had no hair on his head, and he had no nose, and his eyes were all red. This frightened the old man, and he drove him away, for he was afraid of his looks. He did not believe that it was his son with whom he was speaking.

Then Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) spoke again, and said, “O father! Why don’t you believe that I am your son, on account of the state in which I am?” Thus he said. Then (his father) spoke, and said, “You are not the one; for my son, Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief), was a really handsome man.” Thus he said. “Go away!” Thus said the old man, and he kicked his child.

Immediately Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) arose and went out of the house. Then his father saw a scar on the thigh of his son, and he recognized that it was Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief). In vain he called to him to come back. Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) never even turned his head towards his father. In vain the old man ran after his child. Xwix’xwilamgi’lakw (Born-to-be-always-Chief) just stood on the embankment of the village; and when his father nearly touched him, his head squeaked and he began to fly, and he flew up into the upper world, and he staid there; and what could his father do? For he had no way of getting his child (back). That is the end.

Alex Morgan’s Siwidi Pole (Recorded by Mrs. Jane Cook)⁵³

⁵³ The following was recorded by Jane Constance Cook (b.1870-d.1951) and was used by Reverend John C. Goodfellow in a pamphlet titled *The Totem Poles in Stanley Park*. Alex Morgan (b.1875-d.1945) commissioned the famous carver Charlie James to carve a totem pole which represented the ancestor of Gwawa’enuxw “Siwidi” who was part of the historical background of Sisaxolas (Alex Morgan). The story is replicated in its original form.

SISA-KAULAS (Sisaxolas)⁵⁴

The story of this totem was supplied by Mrs. Jane Cook, of Alert Bay. It tells of the Chief's great ancestor, See-wid (Siwidi).

See-wid (Siwidi) was a delicate boy. His father was disappointed in him: he had hoped that the son would be the glory of the family. One night a young brave saved the tribe from destruction at the hands of their enemies. This only made the father more ill-disposed towards his son, See-wid (Siwidi). One day See-wid (Siwidi) walked off into the woods. He walked and walked, not caring what became of him. At length he sat down by a pool. Looking into the glassy waters, he pondered long. He brooded over his misfortunes. Presently the waters became troubled and began to rise. See-wid (Siwidi) did not move. A great frog appeared in the water. "Do you want to come with me?" the frog inquired. See-wid (Siwidi) answered that he was willing to go and placed himself on the back of the frog. The frog went down, down, down, till it touched bottom. The unhappy boy forgot his miseries, for, at the bottom of the sea, the Spirit of the deep (Kumugwe) gave him permission to use for crests the animals he had seen at the bottom of the sea; hence the sea-bear, sea-otter, whale. When, after a long time, See-wid (Siwidi) appeared on the earth again, he had strange trials to pass through before he could resume the life of an ordinary mortal. But when these trials were over, the father rejoiced in the son, who became great and powerful.

- (i) Sisa-kaulas' (Sisaxolas) totem stands in front (and a little to the right) of Wakius' (Wakas). It is a fine specimen of native work, thought less imposing than Wakius' (Wakas). The crest at the top is a bird closely related to the bird at the top of Wakius' (Wakas) totem. The bird, with folded wings, is Kolus (Kulus), the sister to the Thunderbird.
- (ii) The man represents one of the ancestors of Sisaxolas. The child in the man's embrace indicates that the Chief had a son, who also (in his turn) became a Chief.

⁵⁴ English name was Alex Morgan (b.1869-d.1945).

- (iii) The feet of the man are resting on the turned-back tail of the killer whale. The “flippers” are painted on the sides. On the back of the whale is painted a small human face.
- (iv) The sea-otter is shown devouring a sea-urchin, or sea-egg. Note the holes for the spikes of the sea-egg. These spikes will afterwards be inserted and correspond with those shown in the photograph of the totem in its original setting. Note also the tail of the sea-otter: it is turned up between the hind legs and appears in front of the lower part of the body.
- (v) The sea-bear is a mythological animal. (Note the ears on the sides.) It was supposed to be able to live in the sea, and to penetrate the interior of the earth.
- (vi) The carved head at the bottom is a mark of defiance, or triumph. That figure tells of one who spoke evil of the Chief. But the Chief got the best of the argument. The rival is crushed. (Note wide-open mouth.)

Siwidi Story (Told by George Williams)⁵⁵

Siwid

Told by Gik̓alas (George Williams), a Gwawa'inuḡw

All the K̓w̓ik̓w̓as̓utinuḡw and the Gwawa'inuḡw were together at a place named Gw̓amgw̓amliga. Then the children were playing. They were shooting upward with their bird arrows to a tree trying to beat one another, trying to get from one another their bird arrows. They were using bows. Then Siwid was beaten by his friend Ṭsugw̓alis. Ṭsugw̓alis obtained all the bird arrows of Siwid. Then Siwid became angry and broke his bow and gave it to his friend. Then Ṭsugw̓alis also broke his bow on account of his friend. And so Siwid

⁵⁵ The following story was published in *Kwakiutl Tales I, New Series, Volume 26*, in 1935 by Franz Boas and can be found on pages 175-182.

was just beaten again by Ṭsugwā'lis. Then he took kelp and broke it in pieces. And so again they tried their strength. Then they threw spears at the kelp. And so Siwid was beaten again. Then they changed what they were doing. Siwid grasped the top of a cedar to twist it. And so he went to the top (but) he hardly twisted it. And so Ṭsugwā'lis was just playing on the ground and quickly just twisted the cedar. Then again he twisted a cedar. And so he went to the top again as he twisted the cedar. Then Siwid was beaten again. Then he gave up and he was beaten by his friend. Siwid was the cause of shame of his father. He started by canoe and built a house outside at Higams. Then the child just lay down. He would not eat for his was sick at heart being beaten by his friend. A bear skin was his bed cover. Then his mother asked her husband 'Maxwālagalis, "Wake up our child, else he will stay too much in the house, that he may go and try and search a place to sprinkle his body." – "Why should he not be ashamed of being beaten by his friend?" Then he awakened his son. And so the child only fixed himself in the way in which he was lying down. He pulled up his bed cover. Then he was again awakened by his father to go and search for a place that would do him good. And so the child again never moved. Then he was scolded by his father. "Get up and just go away. I am too much ashamed of the reports about you." – "Do not just speak too badly to our son or it might not be well, what you do." Then his father rushed at his son to uncover him. What should it be? Nobody was lying there. "Slave at the head of the house, there is nothing where our child lay. He must have gone out early."

Siwidi Goes Undersea⁵⁶

Then the child started. He arrived at a pond. He sat down by the water of the pond. On his part he had not been long sitting on the ground by the

⁵⁶ These are my subheadings that I have created so that community members can find parts of the story that interest them more quickly.

pond when a loon emerged and sat on the water. Surprisingly sounded the loon on the water. Then the loon dived. Then, a little porpoise came and emerged. Then the porpoise went down. Then a whale came and emerged. Then it went down again. Then the lake began to rise. And so the child just went towards the water. On his part he had not been sitting near the water for a long time before he felt something on his back. It came up moving through under his arms on both sides of his neck. What should it be? A devilfish. Then the devilfish lay on his head. Then he did not even move. He just tried to say to his manhood that he might as well die on account of what they might do to him. That was being looked for by him, that he might really die on account of the shame of being beaten, because he had no strength against his friend. He was taken under water, sucked under by the devilfish. On his part he had not been taken down long by the devilfish, before he was made to breathe by the devilfish. He was made to arrive at a house below. He was made to enter by the devilfish into the house. Then he was invited in and went and they talked together. Siwid only thought that he would try to get a supernatural treasure because he was too much defeated by his friend. Then he wished in his mind to be given a large knife that he might really kill his friend. "Behold, it will be so," it is said. Then he was taught the ways of the knife. With it was killed what was tried in the corners of the house. "Strike with it a seal. You will do that way. Now you will go striking along with it." Then he went out. He started going northward. He went downward. Then he arrived at the place called Numas (Old-Man). Then he saw the one called 'nāmxaligiḡy. He saw the men on its edge. Then he killed it. He killed with his knife the men on the edges of the 'nāmxaligiḡy. Then the men on the edges of the 'nāmxiligiḡy were all dead. He turned over the middle part and struck the 'nāmxaligiḡy. However, he did not kill it. The 'nāmxaligiḡy was alive when he left it. He went southward and arrived at the place named K'wit. He saw the place called Xwalagām (Logs-Piled-up). They were the foundation of a large house. Behold! This was the one named K'umugwa. Then he chopped off

some of what are said to be many hands. On his part he had not been chopping long when he was dead. Then he left him. He turned towards Hada. He arrived at the place called K̓wax̓wām when he saw large fish. Then he struck them with his knife. He killed them. Then he left them. Then he arrived at the mouth of the place named X̓awagi'. Then he saw a snag. He struck it with his knife. Then he saw something sitting in the mouth of a cracked rock. Then he said, "Yah." Then he said again "Yah." On its part it never turned its head. Then he spoke again, "Why may it not turn its head. So it is of a different kind. You are of a different kind," said he on his part. He rushed to the beach and stabbed it. He stabbed it with his knife. What should it be? It lay flat on the beach. Then the waters rose. Behold! It was just blood. It was only blood. Now he had made bad all the shellfish of the country of the K̓wik̓was̓utin̓ux̓w. For four months he did not allow them to eat the shellfish on the other side. Then he left them. He entered the place Hada (Bond Sound). Then he saw on named sea monster (Hana̓k̓ats̓a). Then he killed a whale to feed it to the one called sea monster. Then it ate it. And so he did not (eat) it all when Siwid turned to it and cut its windpipe, so that the one called sea monster was dead. Then it was dead. Then he left it. Then he arrived at a place named K̓ik̓als̓ala. Then he saw what was only hands. There was no owner of the hands. Siwid went to it and struck it with his knife. Then he killed it. Then he left it. He arrived at 'Yax'yak̓ali̓. He saw many dolphins jumping about. It is said Siwid went towards them and killed them. Siwid had hard work. It took him a long time striking them with his knife. Then he left them when he had killed all the dolphins. He came back out of the inlet to the place Hada (Bond Sound). He gathered all the fish and gathered them at the place T̓sigwa̓tsi (Deep Sea Bluff). Then he left them. Then he entered the place Gwa'y̓i (Kingcome). He saw different kinds of wonderful things. It was their way to bury themselves from time to time and he became afraid. Then he went back. His heart was angry, and he arrived there. He killed them. However, there was no way in which he could cut off the wonderful ones in

their way. Their bodies were seal flippers. They only lay on the beach buried. Behold! That was the way of the place Tālgwis(a'la). Then Siwid gave up striking them. Then they only dug in their other ends. Then he just left them. Then he tried to enter Gwa'yi (Kingcome). It is said he did not dare to walk there for the soft ground was very muddy at Gwa'yi (Kingcome). Then he just went out and went towards where he had come from to go and see his parents. Then he arrived at Ekāgamala. It is said he was not walking on the ground. Then he went back to go to the place where he formerly had been fighting with his friend Ṭsugwā'lis. Then he sat down and looked up. Then he saw his father. He moved on the ground. Then his younger brother talked to his mother. He wanted to imitate snares for bullheads. Then the child was crying. He wanted to pull out a hair of his mother. Then his father spoke, "Do take some of your hair for your dear." Then this was the reason why his mother spun the hair. The child felt good when it had a snare (made) of the hair of his mother. Then he went down the beach among other children. He tried to snare bullheads. A bullhead came painted prettily. Then Tuxwtławigi'lakw tried to snare it. Then he was pushed down on the rock by the other children. He was maltreated by the other children. Then again the bullhead got into the snare. And so he was just pushed down again on the rock. He was maltreated by the other children. Then he snared again the bullhead. Then the bullhead was taken away from him. It is said the bullhead just went through the snare of the others except that of his younger brother. Behold! That was Siwid. Then Tuxwtławigi'lakw again snared the bullhead. Then the snare of Tuxwtławigi'lakw took good hold. Then it was as though he did not begin to pull. And so Siwid just left on the rock his bullhead mask. Then he sat down on the rock and he transformed into birds the many children. Then, "is it you?" said on his part Siwid. "Are you my younger brother?" – "I am Tuxwtławigi'lakw," "Come to me that I may try to ask you about our parents. Are they alive?" – "Indeed, although we are no longer men, we are only thus treated by them. Only dirt is thrown upon us by our tribe.

We are not men now. Nothing, we are the poorest. We have for our firewood toilet sticks that were thrown away.” – “Go and call our father to come that I may talk with our father. Come here quickly!” Then the child called his father. “Come and go to the one who has (you for) a dog, Siwid. Behold, it is he who came below there. He has come and is sitting on the rock where I am.” Then he was told by his father, “Don’t. Do not obey the one who sent you to come and make fun. That is the reason why we are just poor now.” The child was struck. He was hardly alive. Then it was so, the child cried while he was walking going back to his elder brother. “I was only struck by our father. He said I only first made fun of him. I am hardly alive.” – “Never mind if you are dead. Go and call our father. ‘You shall come quickly to Siwid.’” And so the child was only struck again by his father. “Will you be dead now obeying those who make a fool of you that you come to make fun of what happened to us?” Then the child just rolled out of the house. He was hardly alive now. He just crawled, “I have hardly strength enough to move on account of being beaten.” Then his elder brother blew on the body of the younger brother and his body became alive again. Then Siwid spoke again to his younger brother, “Go and call our father. You are to come, come at once quickly to the one who has (you for) a dog, Siwid. He says that if you do not come, he will at once just go back again below, where Siwid came from, into the sea.” Then this mother spoke, “Do try to see what this Wawanāṃgilaga (Short-Life-Maker) refers to that what he may have found, whether it is really so.” Then his father arose to look. What should it be? Siwid was sitting on the rock. Different was his head. And it was that the old man in vain rushed down to his child. As soon as he appeared at the door Siwid just measured that he should not rightly touch his father. Siwid turned around and rushed again into the sea and he became different. A sea otter was lying on the back on the water, the mask of Siwid. On his stomach on the water crawled about young sea otters; they were little sea otters. Then he went down again and when he came and emerged, he was a large whale. There rolled about little whales

around the large whale. Then he went down. Then the Gwawa'inuxw talked about his ways. Then Siwid came up again in different ways. He was a dolphin. Foam of breaking waves was just on the beach on account of the dolphins. Very many went down. A big hand came up again, emerged and showed itself. Then it went down again. He came up again and showed himself. Then Siwid was standing in the doorway in the wide door of what is called K̓umugwa. There were four doors. Then Siwid moved back and forth on the side of the wide door which was snapping. Then Siwid went down again. He was standing on the water when he came again, and he emerged a man. Now Siwid was just standing on the sea. Then the tribes launched their canoes. They took their bow and their arrows. Siwid went down. He came and emerged, and he was different. Then he was a young seal. There were four little seals. Then he was shot with arrows. He was not hit when they tried to shoot him. "Let us try to snare him." Then they tried to snare him. And so again he was not to be gotten. Then he changed his face when he went down. When he emerged he was a little loon. The feet of the loon were up on the water. It was he, Siwid who went down as a loon. When he came again the house came up of the one named K̓umugwa. On his part he was not long on the water when he went down and Siwid just stood on the sea and walked on the surface of the water and now they tried to snare him. They did not get him. Everytime he just went through the snare. There was nothing that they did not do to him. They tried to shoot him with arrows. He was not hit. Then the chief of the Gwawa'inuxw spoke that they should go ahead to drive him in. Then they drove him into the inside of D̓ad̓uda'las. Then he stood on the rock. Then Siwid was sitting on the rock; he was a bird. Then he just flew up from the rock. Then the song leaders were ready.

Siwidi Becomes Mad̓am

Now he was Mad̓am. They sang the Mad̓am song. They sang for him. Then the rack was taken, and they went to take it to Siwid. Siwid was made to sit

on the rack. Then the song leaders sang for him. Then Siwid turned around on the rack and the Madam song was sung for him and he was Madam. And so the tribes just in vain spread out the Madam rack, as Siwid just flew away and went aboard canoes tied together and he was just taken. Then his father just made a winter ceremonial. Then the Gwawa'inuxw were singing when they went towards the shore. They were singing for Siwid. Then the tribes were too few and too small was the ground. Then those who went to take Siwid stayed in the same way on the water when the ground was dug across. The Gwawa'inuxw made the country, but the house of a menstruating girl was just dug across at each end. Kwakwisbala'ugwa was menstruating. And so the land was just a rounded point, the place where Kwakwisbala'ugwa was living. Then the former soil of Kwaxwalawad (Echo Bay) was carried across on canoes. Then they unloaded the soil at a place named Gwamgwamliga. Then Siwid put on the ground his house, which he obtained as a supernatural treasure for the winter dance house of his father. Ten platforms were the dugout floor of the house. Now the house was finished on the ground and time was beaten for 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw in the canoe. Then he was made to stand on the rack. Then the tribe said, "Go ahead!" They said four times, "Go ahead in the canoe!" Then 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw sang the Madam song. Then he went up on the roof of his house. That kind of squeaking noise made his head. Then the chief was asked to hold the line tied to the Madam. Then he 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw spoke and requested his younger brother that he should hold the Madam line. He answered the speech of the chief who asked him to hold the Madam line. Then 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw blew water on his younger brother, on Tuxwtlawigi'lakw. It was Siwid himself that stood on the Madam rack and rapid time was beaten for him.⁵⁷

Wowi! Yow are getting poor on account of the supernatural power. That is really your way, your head is squeaking.

⁵⁷ The following is his madam song.

It is said it was as though it was just the way of the movement of the younger brother Tuxwtławigi'lakw. It is said it was as though Tuxwtławigi'lakw really performed the winter ceremonial of his elder brother Siwid. They sang at times. The songs were sung for Siwid. The songs were sung. Four times time was beaten for him. Then he was purified. Then he was placed in the center of the rear of his house, and it was done the right number of times (four times). Then arose the friend of 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw. Then Tsugwalis spoke. Don't continue too much to sing for your supernatural one who was coming down the river, Gwawa'inuxw. Let us know the supernatural treasure of the supernatural one who was coming down the river, Gwawa'inuxw, said he. He tucked up his sleeves to pull down 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw. "Do not act roughly, friend," said on his part 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw to his friend Tsugwalis. And so he just disobeyed and pulled his hair. The quartz of his head was squeaking. He forbade him to treat him roughly. Then 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw arose being pulled by his friend Tsugwalis. Then 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw became angry. He put his arms through to pull both sides of his hair and tore it open. It is said steam just came out of it when it was torn apart by 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw. Then he tore to pieces Tsugwalis. Then the tribe of Siwid tried to rush out. Then they became afraid of what he was doing when he tore to pieces his friend. Then snapped the door, it was a snapping door. The double-headed serpents on both sides of the door of the house were putting out their tongues and he barred the door and locked in his tribe. There was no wife that was not offered to 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw (to induce him) to open the door. But he did not open. And so his tribe tried every way. And so 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw sold to the Kwikwasutinuxw. He asked for fire tongs. He asked for baskets from some of the Kwikwasutinuxw.

The sister of 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw had a husband among the Nimpkish. She was Kwisgalidzamga. Then 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw gave as a marriage present boxes in which the Kwikwasutinuxw were and he gave them as a

marriage present to Lalaḱānx'id. He was the husband of Kwisgalidzāmgā. The Kwikwasutinūw were talking inside when they were given as a marriage present. Then they were standing under the Madām rack. They were alive under it when the one named 'Maxwmawidzāmgā was dead. Then spoke Ṭsandagāmgilakw, "Do not please kill Ṭasutiwalis." Then Ṭasutiwalis was left alive among his tribe.

SIWIDI STORY (ANOTHER VERSION BY GEORGE WILLIAMS)⁵⁸

The first of the Gwawa'inūw lived at Higams (Hopetown). Then they had for their chief Hekwiławi' who had for his wife Tsinaga. Then they had a son Siwid, a foolish boy. Then he had for his sister Kwakwisbala'ugwa. Then the youngest one of the three children of Hekwiławi' and his wife was Tuxwtławigi'lakw (Made-to-be-Raindrop-on-Tree). And Siwid was a young man who was very lazy, for he was just always sleeping. Now one man who came from the tribe of Hekwiławi' came who had gone to Gwa'yasdams (Gilford Island). He came home to Higams (Hopetown). Then the man who had the name Kaxi'lelagalis (Gliding-to-and-fro-in-the-World) reported about Ṭsugwālis who had found a treasure and who, therefore, was the only strong man, for Ṭsugwālis would just pull off the head of a person whom he wanted to be killed. And so as soon as the man finished his report Hekwiławi' arose, took up the fire tongs and carried them as he went into the room where Siwid was lying down. Then he said as he struck Siwid with the tongs, "Take care! You who are asleep, sleepy head, you ought to go every night into the woods to purify yourself in the ponds to try to obtain a treasure, you man who are (like) a woman making me ashamed. Look at the treasure of Ṭsugwālis. It is said, he just pulls off the head of whomever he wishes to be dead among his

⁵⁸ The following story was recorded by George Hunt and was published in *Kwakiutl Tales I, New Series, Volume 26*, in 1935 by Franz Boas and can be found on pages 182-190.

tribe,” said Hekwiławi’ to his child Siwid as he went out of the room. And Siwid thought of the words of his father, for it was true that he was just always asleep. He never thought of helping his father, for he just always was working, trying to get food; and it occurred to him to go to the pond inland when [all] his parents went to sleep at night, said his mind. And so as soon as night came [all] his parents lay down on the floor with his younger brother and so, as soon as Siwid heard that they were all snoring he was quiet when he arose from his bed and went secretly out of the door of the house of his father. And so as soon as he had gone out of the door of the house he started and went to the place where a pond was inland from the house; and so as soon as he arrived at the pond, he at once broke off hemlock branches. Then he took the hemlock branches, when he sat down in the water of the pond and washed his body so that all the dirt of the body was off. And so as soon as all the dirt was off the body, he rubbed his body with hemlock branches; and so as soon as he had finished, he went home to his house and lay don on his bed; and his parents never knew that Siwid had gone inland. And so as soon as day came in the morning [all] his parents and his two younger brothers arose, and so as soon as the cooking of Tsinaga, the mother of Siwid was done, Hekwiławi’, the father of Siwid arose and took the fire tongs and struck Siwid with the tongs. Now Hekwiławi’ just repeated his former words to Siwid. And so Siwid only said that he was not hungry, and his father gave up (calling) him and Hekwiławi’ went out of the bedroom of Siwid and began to eat. Now Siwid was not thinking about food, for he had made up his mind to purify himself so as to have a treasure, and he never came out of the bedroom. And so as soon as night came again and łal’ his parents and their children had gone to sleep, and so as soon as Siwid heard that all were snoring, he arose and went out of the door of the house. And he started and went again to the pond. And so as soon as he arrived there he sat down in the water and washed his body, so as soon as he had finished washing his body he rubbed his body with hemlock branches; and so as soon

as he had finished he went home to his house to lie down in his bedroom when it was nearly daylight. And so as soon as day came in the morning Siwid heard his father arise and build up the fire, and now his wife began to cook and so, as soon as the food was done the father of Siwid took the fire tongs and went into the bedroom of Siwid and he again struck his child with the tongs and again he called Siwid to come to eat; and again Siwid just said that he was not hungry. Now his father gave it up and he began to eat with his wife and his two children. And Siwid again never came out of his bedroom all day. And so, as soon as night came and [all] his parents and his two younger brothers had gone to sleep, and so as soon as he heard them all snoring, Siwid arose and went out of the door of the house. Then he started and went to the pond. And so as soon as he arrived there he sat down in the water and washed his body, and as soon as he had finished washing his body, he rubbed his body with hemlock branches. And so as soon as he had finished, he went home to his house and lay down in his bedroom when day nearly came. And Siwid never went to sleep for he heard his father get up and make a fire when daylight first came. Then he heard his mother when she began to cook. And so as soon as the cooking was done his mother called her husband to go and call Siwid to come to eat with them. And so immediately Hekwiławi' took with him the tongs. Then he said to his wife, "Now I will truly strike this bad man, that he may die," said he as he went into the bedroom of Siwid. And so as soon as Hekwiławi' came into the bedroom of Siwid he struck him with the tongs, and so he only finished striking him when the tongs were broken to pieces. Now Hekwiławi' never called Siwid, for he thought he was dead. It is said Hekwiławi' came out of the bedroom of Siwid and sat down to eat with his wife and his two children. Now the mind of Siwid was really strong and he was not going to go home to his house when he would go out of the house again, said his mind. Now night came, and so as soon as his parents with his two younger brothers had gone to sleep, and so as soon as Siwid heard them all snoring he arose and

took two cedar sticks and put them upright under his quilt so that they looked like his knees so that his father should think that he was still lying down when day would come. And so as soon as his work was finished it was this way, for what he made looked as though he was lying on his back; and Siwid went out of the door and went to the pond; and so as soon as he arrived there he at once broke off hemlock branches and he carried them and sat down in the water. Then he washed his body, and so as soon as he had finished washing his body, he rubbed his body with hemlock branches. And so as soon as he had finished, the pond began to rise on the ground; so as soon as it covered the knees of Siwid the pond went down again. Then the pond rose again and so as soon as it reached his navel the water went down again. Then the pond rose again and so as soon as the water reached his chest the water went down; and the pond rose again and so as soon as it reached the chin of Siwid he felt something coming and winding its body around him. And he was covered by a large devilfish; and he was dragged into the pond and was taken into the great house of K̕umugwa. And now Siwid was asked by the speaker of the house of K̕umugwa to sit down on the floor on the right-hand side of the door inside of it. And Siwid saw K̕umugwa sitting on the floor in the middle of the rear of the carved house, and so it was that many seals and sea otters and sealions were creeping about the floor of the house, and so it was that two grizzly bears were seen by him. Then the speaker of the house spoke. Then he said, "Welcome, friend Siwid. I know why you came, and so you will take care and do not stay here long. For four days you will stay in the house of this my chief," said he. Then when night came, the speaker of the house went and sat on the floor next to Siwid and whispered to him and said, "Do take care, friend Siwid. Don't feel uneasy about going back to your home, for you are getting a treasure from this chief," said he. Now Siwid felt happy, for now he knew that he would get a treasure, as he had entered the house of K̕umugwa.

And now I will talk about his father Hekwiławi'. It is said, as soon as day came in the morning, at the time when Siwid stayed away, then Hekwiławi' arose and built a fire in his house. And so as soon as the fire he made was blazing up his wife began to cook; and so as soon as her cooking was done Hekwiławi' arose and went into the bedroom of Siwid carrying the clam digging stick; and so as soon as he came in he saw Siwid lying on his back. Then he struck him with the digging stick. Then the cedar sticks broke through the bed cover, those that imitated the knees. Then Hekwiławi' lifted the bed cover and saw that no Siwid was lying there. Then in vain Hekwiławi' searched around the bedroom of Siwid. Then he went out of the bedroom to tell his wife that Siwid was not lying on the floor in his bedroom. And the wife of Hekwiławi' in vain was angry and she blamed her husband because he would always strike Siwid with the tongs in the morning. And the first of the numaym Gigalgam of the Gwawa'inuḡw came and listened to the conversation of Hekwiławi' and his wife Tsinaga. Then the hearts of the first of the Gwawa'inuḡw were really sore when they found out how Hekwiławi' had treated his son Siwid, and that was the reason why they all drove away Hekwiławi' who had to leave Higams (Which is called by the White people, Nimmo Bay on Mackenzie Sound). Then Hekwiławi' and his wife became scared, for they were threatened with death by the Gwawa'inuḡw and that was the reason why Hekwiławi' at once loaded his canoe with his belongings; so as soon as they had loaded the canoe with all his belongings he went aboard with his wife and his two children to go to a place near Gwa'yi (Kingcome), a country which has the name K'waxwālawad and he built a house there (at a place called Hayle Point by White people). It was now the living place of Hekwiławi', that K'waxwālawad. And so as soon as the following year came the other Gwawa'inuḡw also built houses at K'waxwālawad. And there were many tribe-fellows of Hekwiławi' after this. On his part it was now four years that Hekwiławi' had lived at K'waxwālawad. And he forgot about Siwid, for he thought that he was dead. Therefore

Hekwiławi' and his wife never thought of Siwid. Then it was a fine day in the morning when Tuxwtławigi'lakw, the youngest son of Hekwiławi' came into the house. Then he asked his mother to make a fish line for him to go fishing for kelp fish on the other side of the point of the village site of K'waxwālawad. And so immediately his mother plucked out some of her hair for the fish line; and so as soon as she finished the fish line, Tsinaga gave it to her son. And so immediately the boy ran out of the house carrying the fish line and went to the other side of the point of K'waxwālawad. And so as soon as Tuxwtławigi'lakw arrived where he was going to fish, he stood at the shore of the sea. Then he saw a great bullhead on the rock under water turning landward, and so the boy was just standing there on the rock looking at it, for it seemed strange that the large bullhead should not swim away. Then it opened its mouth and Siwid came out of its mouth. And so Tuxwtławigi'lakw recognized at once his eldest brother. It is said, Siwid came out of the water and sat down alongside of his younger brother. And so that was when Siwid spoke for the first time. Then he said, "Are our parents well?" said he; and Tuxwtławigi'lakw said that they were all well. Then Siwid asked his younger brother to call his father, "for I came to talk with him," said he. And so immediately Tuxwtławigi'lakw ran and went into his house. Then he sat down on the floor by the side of his father, as he was sitting on the floor. Then Tuxwtławigi'lakw said to him, "Father! I am sent by Siwid to come and call you that you may talk to him on the other side of the point," said he. Then his father was very angry. Then Hekwiławi' said, "That is the only thing that you do not make fun of, my dead child," said he as he struck him with the tongs. Then Tuxwtławigi'lakw cried as he was going to tell Siwid. Then Siwid asked his younger to go and call his mother. Then Tuxwtławigi'lakw ran again and went into the house. And so Tuxwtławigi'lakw was just standing on the floor. Then he said, "Mother, I am sent by Siwid to come and call you that you talk to him on the other side of the point," said he. Then his mother asked her husband to follow their child, "for it might be true what he is

saying,” said she. And so immediately Hekwiławi’ arose from the floor and followed his child. And so as soon as he arrived Tuxwtławigi’lakw did not see Siwid sitting on the rock where he had been sitting. Then Tuxwtławigi’lakw saw the great bullhead where it was still lying where he had first seen it. Then Tuxwtławigi’lakw said to his father, “that is where Siwid came out of its mouth,” said he. Then a sea otter came and raised its head. Then Tuxwtławigi’lakw said to his father, “that is Siwid.” Then the sea otter went down and a sea grizzly bear raised its head, then the sea grizzly bear went down. Then a seal raised its head. Then the seal went down. Then a sealion raised its head. Then the sealion went down. Then a killerwhale came and spouted. Then the killerwhale went down. Then Siwid came out of the water. Then it was he, Siwid who first spoke. Then he said, “This is the reason why I wished you to come. Now you will dig out a house in the ground with four platforms, which is my treasure house. And this, that you will surround me, as I am a Madam (dancer). After four times I may come,” said he as he disappeared. Then Hekwiławi’ was just standing on the rock. A large house came up out of the sea water seaward, and the front was painted with a killerwhale (design) and two whales stood on each side of the door of the house. Then five birds were sitting on top of the board-holding poles of the house and the large house of K’umugwa went down again. And so at last Hekwiławi’ went home with his son Tuxwtławigi’lakw. And so as soon as he had entered his house, he reported to his wife. Then he said to his wife, “O slave, the word of Tuxwtławigi’lakw is really true, for I have talked with my son Siwid, and I have seen all his treasures and the large house which came out of the water. For four days we are not going to surround him, for he is the great Madam (dancer),” said he. Then he at once called in his tribe so that all should go into his house at K’waxwālawad. And so as soon as the first of the Gwawa’inuḡw had all gone in, Hekwiławi’ engaged them to dig out (the ground) for a house with four platforms. And so immediately his tribe-fellows and their women dug out the soil. Then he sent the cedar splitters to

go and split boards from a cedar tree for the upholding boards of the house and Hekwiławi' never told his tribe the reason why he had this done to the ground. Then his tribe never asked the reason why it was down. And so as soon as they had worked for four days they finished in the morning. And so as soon as it was noon Siwid showed himself at the lower end of the village, at K'waḡwālawad and he sang the sacred song. And so as soon as his sacred song was ended his head was heard to squeak and his hair was just shining on account of the quartz crystals which were among his hair. And the first of the Gwawa'inuḡw [fell down] lost their minds, for they were much afraid of what was being seen by them. Then Hekwiławi' spoke. Then he said, "Now take care, tribe and let us surround Siwid," said he; and the Gwawa'inuḡw found out that it was Siwid whom they had thought to be dead. Then the first of the Gwawa'inuḡw surrounded Siwid, and so as soon as they came near him he disappeared and he emerged seaward from the village site. And Siwid walked on the water. And so the first of the Gwawa'inuḡw launched their canoes when Siwid came shoreward. And so as soon as all the men came near again to Siwid he disappeared. Then he showed himself at the lower end of the village site at K'waḡwālawad. And K'waḡwisbala'ugwa, the sister of Siwid was menstruating and so K'waḡwisbala'ugwa ran around her brother Siwid. And Siwid was taken after that. And for a while Siwid became secular on account of his sister K'waḡwisbala'ugwa as she was menstruating; and so as soon as Siwid was caught on the beach on the lower end of the village site, the large house came to be on the ground with a painting on the front of a killerwhale and two whales on each side of the door of the house; and also the five birds sitting on top of the board-holding poles of the great house. And Hekwiławi' asked his tribe all to go in, for the fire had built itself in the large house with four platforms. And so as soon as the first of the Gwawa'inuḡw and Siwid had gone in, Siwid taught his one song to the leaders of the tribe of his father Hekwiławi'. And so as soon as all the song leaders knew the song, the song leaders really sang it. And Siwid danced. And so as soon as he finished

dancing he lay down on his back in the rear of the carved posts of the house which were all sealions, carved on each of the four posts. Then there were two sealions on the ends of the beams of the house. And so as soon as the ancestors of the Gwawa'inuḡw were all inside Siwid went in, and he sang his sacred song. And so as soon as his sacred song was ended, the song leaders of the Gwawa'inuḡw sang the sacred song of Siwid, for now they knew it. And this is the song of Siwid:

Wonderful, very wonderful is the way of this your wonderful head; now your wonderful head has a screeching mask, now the face of your head is steaming. Wonderful, very wonderful.

And so as soon as the song of Siwid was finished he started and lay down on his back in the rear of the large house, his treasure, as I said before, and so it was not long before the first of the Gwawa'inuḡw went out and all the men shouted, for a canoe was seen paddling in. It came to the beach of the village. Then it came from Gwa'yasdams, which is called by the White people, Camp Bay, for there was the village of the first of the Kwikwasutinūḡw, for that was the tribe of Tsugwālis, praised (as) the only strong man among all the tribes. And so Tsugwālis came ashore. Then the young men of the Gwawa'inuḡw went to the beach to meet Tsugwālis. And so at once Tsugwālis spoke. Then he said, "Is it true, Siwid has come home?" said he. Then the young men said that it was true. "Look at this great house and he is a great Madam (dancer). Now you will witness it tonight when he will dance," said the young men to Tsugwālis. And Tsugwālis and the three men of his crew were invited to eat on their arrival in the house of Hekwiławi' which was another one than the house which Siwid had obtained as a treasure. And so as soon as Tsugwālis sat down with the three (men of) his crew he was given to eat at once. And so it was evening when they finished eating on their arrival. And four men went (to call) for the dance of Siwid, Siwid who after this changed his name and the four men, the (walkers) inviters said, "We came to invite that all may go in to pacify 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw in the great winter

ceremonial house. “Shamans go quickly!” he said. “We are told that the visitors shall witness him,” said one of the inviters. Then all the tribes with the women went in. And so as soon as they had gone in Ṭsugwālis and the three (men of) his crew went in and sat down on the right-hand side inside the door. And so as soon as they were sitting, the one who had now the name ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw sang his sacred song and the quartz crystals screeched on his head; and he arose from the floor and went around the fire in the middle of the winter ceremonial house. And so as soon as his sacred song was at an end the song leaders sang and ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw began to dance. And so as soon as he had danced, he stood (still) on the floor in the middle of the house. Then Ṭsugwālis arose. Then he spoke. Then he said, “Now, listen, Gwawa’inuḡw, I wish to test the strength of my friend here. We’ll strive to outdo each other [with him],” said Ṭsugwālis, as he went to where ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw was standing on the floor. Then they wrestled. Then ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw took hold of the head of Ṭsugwālis and pulled it off. And so as soon as Ṭsugwālis fell down on the floor, for indeed he was dead, then ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw broke his head in two and threw one half to the right-hand side of the house. Then he threw the other half to the left-hand side of the house. Then he asked his younger brother Tuḡwtławigi’lakw, for now he had changed the name of his younger brother Tuḡwtławigi’lakw, and he had the name Ḳwix’Ḳwilāmgi’lakw after this; and ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw asked Ḳwix’Ḳwilāmgi’lakw to take the three men, the crew of Ṭsugwālis for his slaves and this the Ḳwiḡwāsutinūḡw were disgraced by the Gwawa’inuḡw. And the first of the Gwawa’inuḡw rushed out, for they were afraid of what had been done by ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw to Ṭsugwālis. And that is the end after this.

This was told by Giḡalas⁵⁹ of the numaym Giḡalgam of the Gwawa’inuḡw.

Then Giḡalas the story teller said, “I forgot this, that ‘Nalanukwāmgi’lakw said when all the Gwawa’inuḡw went out of the house, “You cannot continue

⁵⁹ George Williams.

to see me if you don't wash off my supernatural power in the morning, For I have this song for washing off from me (the supernatural power) which I teach you," said he to his father. And so immediately 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw sang the song for washing off (the supernatural power). It said,

1. Ah, it is said not entirely came out, not came out your supernatural power that came off and went away.
2. Ah, your supernatural power will not make poor; woai, woai, woai.
3. Ah, it is said not entirely came out what I was told by the great helper, ai howa a.

And so as soon Hekwiławi' and his youngest son Tuxwtławigi'lakw who had now the name Xwix'xwilamgi'lakw had learned the three songs for washing off (the supernatural power) Hekwiławi' secretly called eight respected men to go to his house when midnight was finished. And so as soon as it was past midnight the eight men went and sat down in the rear of the house of 'Nalanukwamgi'lakw and now they just followed the ways of the Kwakiutl when they purify those who have disappeared and who first come out of the woods. Only the purification song was different. Now at last this is the end.

Kumugaxto'yi and Siwidi (Recorded by Edward Curtis)⁶⁰

Siwidi

Kumugaxto'yi had a son, who was one day playing along the beach with a goat-catcher of grass. He saw some bullheads in the water and caught a number of them. Soon a very small bullhead came along. It was very beautiful, with many colors. The boy tried for a long time to catch it, and

⁶⁰ The following is extracted from Edward Curtis's unedited manuscript for *The North American Indian*, volume 10, which was published in 1915. The Seaver Centre located in Los Angeles, California, USA, have Edward Curtis's unedited manuscripts.

after a time the fish put his head through the noose. When the boy pulled, the bullhead grew to an enormous size, jumped up, and swallowed him.

On entering the fish's stomach, he found himself in a strange country, where he saw grass and trees, and all kinds of fish in human form. He went along and was told about things and places he saw. When they came to a giant, who appeared to be of clotted blood, they told the boy, "Do not look at him. Do not look at him too much. He is the father of intoxicants." This monster was supposed to poison clams and mussels at a certain season of the year, when the water would have a reddish color (Spawning season?). He was called *kla-an* (awful).

When the boy had seen everything, he was set ashore. His people asked him if he had seen the King of the Sea. He answered, "I do not know. I saw so many, and they all looked wealthy and great." The bullhead skin, which he had worn while in the water, he took off and returned, when he reached ashore.

The boy told his father to call the people together for a red bark dance. *Ḳumugax̣to'yí* invited all the tribes he knew. When the time came for the boy to take part, he approached on the water as though walking on it. The bullhead was carrying him. This was the beginning of the bullhead dance as a part of the red bark ceremony. The young man was named 'Nalanukẉamgi'lakw (From the Deepest).

Hiḳan Story (By George Williams)⁶¹

Hiḳan

Told by Giḱalas (George Williams), a Gwawa'inuḱw

⁶¹ The following story was published in *Kwakiutl Tales I, New Series, Volume 26*, in 1935 by Franz Boas and can be found on pages 71-72. Hiḳan is a gal'galis (first-ancestor) of one of the 'namima of the Gwawa'enuḱw.

Hikaṇ was always ill. Sores were on his body while he was sitting on his mountain. It is named Wa'ugwad (Having-Toads). He went and searched for a place to kill himself, being ashamed of the way he was. He went inland going to his mountain. Then he heard a sound, the noise of a large toad. Then he walked and went and reached it. Then he saw a large toad. Behold, it had young ones. Then it stepped out of its nest. It put out its young ones. Then it talked with Hikaṇ and they became men with him. Then the toad advised the poor one, that Hikaṇ, what to do. Then he asked that he should take the soft layer inside (from the nest) of his child. "Do not take it roughly! You will put it into this pond. This is the water of life. You will wipe your body with it after you finish sprinkling your body. You will be well after your trouble. You will go and hold this copper and you will become a chief. You will put together the cover and your box. This will be its name. You will put together the cover and your box. This will be its name. You will have the name Ṭḷakwagilagame' (Head-Copper-Maker). You will have a treasure. This will be your name, Ṭḷakwagila (Copper-Maker)." And so he went seaward. And so he became well. Well had become his body. He was cured by the toad. He was made to bathe in what is the good cause of keeping alive of the toad. That is called the water of life. On his part he was told, "You went to the place of sprinkling your body," he was told by his sister. 'Naxnagam was the name of the woman. "Thanks for they way in which you are now alive, being now well. I am grateful because you are now alive." – "Now you will carry this copper on your back to your future husband." And that is the end.

Ḳumagaxto'yi Story (Recorded by Edward Curtis)⁶²

Ḳumagaxto'yi's House

Gayaxala, Thunder Bird, lived upon mount Stephen. One day he came down the mountainside, took off his thunder dress, and decided to be a man. He told the thunder dress to stay up in the sky, where he had always used it, and instructed it to make a loud noise whenever any of his family died, but at no other time.

He came to a river in which were many salmon, and he thought it would be a good place to live. Accordingly, he gathered many people about him, and in time they formed a large tribe. He married, and he had many children.

When his sons were grown up, they were expected to go out and find other rivers for their homes. So they started, two in a canoe. Two of them came upon a river, at which they saw a number of people. They gathered about the boys, and asked, "What do you eat?" One of the brothers replied, "I eat xuli – wild rice," but he was really referring to salmon roe. The people did not understand, and so asked, "Is there any around here?" He pointed to some salmon roe.

When they knew there was a tribe living on the river above them, they were anxious to know more, and the boys told them about their people. The people here at the mouth of the stream lived on clams, mussels, etc., and some dog salmon, but had never caught any salmon in the river.

The boys returned home, where they were asked by their father, "Did you find your rivers?" They answered, "Yes. And we have found some people who have a most wonderful house. Everything in it makes

⁶² The following is extracted from Edward Curtis's unedited manuscript for *The North American Indian*, volume 10, which was published in 1915. The Seaver Centre located in Los Angeles, California, USA, have Edward Curtis's unedited manuscripts. Ḳumagaxto'yi is a gal'galis (first-ancestor) of one of the 'ḡamima of Gwawa'enuxw.

a screeching noise all the time. The posts in it speak.” Of these posts, those at the front represented men, and those at the back, wolves. The old man suggested, “Can we not kill these people? If we can, the house is ours” “No, it cannot be done,” they replied. “They are not human. They are different. Their house is very strange. The posts at the front and rear give the alarm when anyone approaches. We do not think we can get the house.” The owner of the house also has a large war canoe, which, as well as the house, was made by a very good workman.”

They now heard of the Restorer (Hiłatusāla) coming to change things, but K̄umagexto’yi, the owner of the wonderful house and canoe, had no fear of him, as he had power to make people insane. Gayaxāla said to his sons: “It would be a good thing for us to hire this workman. If they have such a man, I would like to have him make something for us. I am afraid of the Restorer (Hiłatusāla). He may do us some mischief.” Accordingly, they arranged for the workman to come to them, and at the same time heard that the Restorer (Hiłatusāla) was already on his way up the river. Gayaxāla sat all day long watching for him, while the workman was busy making a figure of a man, which would vanish and reappear at the will of the operator.

At length the Restorer (Hiłatusāla) approached. The chief shut his eyes, so the stranger would have no power over him. The workman did likewise. If anyone looked at the Restorer, he would be lost. The chief’s daughter was at this time in a house apart from the others, and she was curious to see the newcomer. She looked out, saw him, and immediately turned to stone. The image, which had now been completed, alternately appeared and disappeared. It had a feather on its head. The Restorer watched a while and thought the owner of it must be a wonderful man, with strong power. Gayaxāla now opened his eyes, looked across the bay at some timber, which immediately burned having been Thunder Bird gave him this power. The Restorer (Hiłatusāla) saw

this, and thought, “It is about time I was getting away from here if that man can look fire. I had better let him alone.”

He went from here to the home of *Ķumagexto’yi*, where all the people of that village had gathered. He waited outside for a long time, but no one appeared. He then pushed back the door and entered, and found the people sitting in the middle, around the fire, and pretending they did not see him. (The door was opened by raising the arm as if to strike it.) The door closed after him with a loud noise. He thought, (“I wonder if I am a prisoner.” He sat down, and the posts began to speak. The wolf-posts turned their heads and looked at each other. At this a partition at the back of the house disappeared, showing many wolves, who watched the *Hiġatusġala* (Restorer). He had seen enough, and said, “I think you had better open the door for me. I want to leave. I cannot do the things you have done since I have been here.” They did as he asked, and he went on his way without trying to molest them.

Winagi’lakw Story (Recorded by George Hunt)⁶³

Winagi’lakw and Gamalagi’lakw

Told by *Maṇmaṇliġalas*, a *Naġwaxda’xw* woman⁶⁴

Recorded by George Hunt.

It is said, Winagi’lakw was living at *Higams*, the first chief of the *numaym Kwikwa’inuṡw* of the *Gwawa’inuṡw*, and Winagi’lakw wished to use the name Winagi’lakw for his name. That was the reason that he was always

⁶³ The following histories are different from the earlier ones in that they are not origin stories. However, I have included them because they pertain to the *na’ṇamima* of the *Gwawa’enuṡw*. Winagi’lakw is a *gaġ’galis* (first-ancestor) for one of the *ṇamima* of the *Gwawa’enuṡw*. This story was published in *Kwakiutl Tales I, New Series, Volume 26*, in 1935 by Franz Boas and can be found on pages 58-61.

⁶⁴ Father *Naġwaxda’xw*, mother *Gwawa’inuṡw*. See p.61.

going to war where the warriors of all the tribes were known to be. And so Winagi'lakw knew about a supernatural man who had the name Gamalagi'lakw, the root of the numaym of the Gixsəm of the Nak'waxda'xw, the one whose village site was the place Tłakuma at the lower end of Awi's. And so right away Winagi'lakw told his son who had the name Waxu'nakwālas. Then he said to him, "Let us start paddling and try to meet Uncle Gamalagi'lakw," said he. Then at once Waxu'nakwālas got ready and he saw that his father Winagi'lakw was holding his fire bringer which is this way, as he went aboard his paddle-side canoe which was not a large canoe. And so as soon as Winagi'lakw and his son had gone aboard, the paddle-side canoe started paddling on each side of the canoe. On their part they arrived early at Kidagwis. Then they saw a canoe paddling along in the mouth of the river Xu'kwā'is. And so immediately Winagi'lakw went up to it. Then he saw it was an old man, very feeble, as the man was paddling sitting in the stern of his canoe. Then Winagi'lakw spoke to him. He said, "What is my friend Gamalagi'lakw doing," said he. Then the old man replied to him. Then he said, "What do you think he should be doing? He is just sitting in his house," said he to him. Then the old man started paddling strongly and the bow of the canoe of the old man struck the cheek (the sides of the bow) of the canoe of Winagi'lakw. And so the paddle-side canoe of Winagi'lakw almost capsized. And so the old man took off the old man mask of the slave. Then behold! It was Gamalagi'lakw who took up his paddle that went right to the end and put it into the sea. Then once he started paddling and he almost arrived at Awi's. "Ah too bad, behold! That was Gamalagi'lakw," said Winagi'lakw and he paddled after him. And so Winagi'lakw saw Gamalagi'lakw when he arrived at the foot of the steep rock Tłakuma. Then a long cedar tree rested on the rock at the foot of Tłakuma and went to the rock shelf. Then the butt end of the cedar was on the rock shelf outside of the cave on the face of the bare rock above. That was the house of Gamalagi'lakw, and that was run up on by Gamalagi'lakw, the cedar; and, he pulled up his canoe there. And so as soon

as he had entered his cave house, he asked his mother *K̇ayutaga* to dress herself and so as soon as his mother was dressed *Gamalagi'lakw* took eagle down and put the down on his mother. And *K̇ayutaga* was just entirely covered with (eagle) down, her head and her whole blanket. And so as soon as he had finished, he warned his mother to take care when she was going to run along the cedar tree which was reaching down. When he had dressed his mother *K̇ayutaga*, he put on his war neck ring. Then he asked his younger brother *Ṗatłagi'lakw*. "Do listen to me! When I stand on the rock at the foot of the cedar tree, as soon as I say, 'Go ahead!' then come out of our house and beat fast time saying meanwhile, 'Go ahead! That is when our mother will show herself and will run down the cedar tree," said he. And *Winagi'lakw* came, his canoe lay on the water seaward from the lower end of the cedar tree. It is said *Gamalagi'lakw* came out of his house. He came and ran down the cedar tree and stood on the rock shelf. And so as soon as he stood there *Winagi'lakw* arose in his canoe; and he carried his wolf fire bringer. Then he said, as he was swinging it towards the place where *Gamalagi'lakw* was standing on the rock, "Now take care, friend, and let us play. It is said that you are a supernatural man," said he for as soon as *Winagi'lakw* swung his carved wolf the whole place where *Gamalagi'lakw* was standing caught fire and he was just standing in the midst of the flames. And *Gamalagi'lakw* was just standing still on the rock. Then *Winagi'lakw* took back the fire and so *Gamalagi'lakw* was just standing still on the rock. He did not say a word. Then *Winagi'lakw* again swung his fire bringer at the place where *Gamalagi'lakw* was standing. But now, indeed, *Gamalagi'lakw* did not show himself. And so as soon as it had been burning quite a while *Gamalagi'lakw* took hold with both hands of each side of his war neck ring and shook it. And so its rattling put out the fire. And so immediately *Gamalagi'lakw* looked up towards his house and said aloud, "Go ahead." And so immediately his younger brother *Ṗatłagi'lakw* came out of the cave house and he also said, "Go ahead," as he was beating fast time on the stone front of the cave house. It is said, the

mother *K̑ayuṭaga* came out of her house. It is said, she came down running along the cedar tree and came and stood at the place where *Gamalagi'lakw* was standing on the rock. And so as soon as *K̑ayuṭaga* was standing on the rock, she said aloud, "Go on *K̑awitsiwa*, show yourself on account of the one who came to hurt me, that he may discover that I am also a supernatural one, friend *K̑awitsiwa*," said she. And so immediately the sea began to whirl about and the tide ran strong, and the tide carried about the paddle-side canoe of *Winagi'lakw*, and *Winagi'lakw* saw that the water was shallow where his canoe lay; and *Gamalagi'lakw* saw that *Winagi'lakw* was really frightened. And so, that was the reason why *Gamalagi'lakw* said to him, "Now take care, friend *Winagi'lakw*, don't be afraid too soon, that we may keep on playing," said he. Then the tide became quiet and the shallow place went down. Then *K̑ayuṭaga* looked up and said, "Hail! Hail! Hail on the beach!" Then this our world became dark. Then there was lighting which almost burned the paddle-side canoe of *Winagi'lakw*. Now great hail stones were falling, the hail stones were of the size of sea gull eggs, and *Winagi'lakw* was very much frightened and he began to pray *Gamalagi'lakw* to stop, "for I am beaten by you, Supernatural One," said he. And so immediately the hail stopped. *Gamalagi'lakw* and *K̑ayuṭaga* were still standing on the rock at the foot of the cedar tree; and *Winagi'lakw* and his son *Waxunakw̑alas* paddle-side canoe was hardly above water; and they threw that hail stones into the sea. And so as soon as all the hail stones were out of the canoe *Gamalagi'lakw* spoke. He said "O friend *Winagi'lakw* why are you very downcast? I suppose we have now finished playing," said he to him. Then *Winagi'lakw* answered. Then he said, "Let us stop, for I will go home," said he. Then *Gamalagi'lakw* told him to wait. Then he ran up the cedar tree. Then he went into his cave house. But it was not long before he came carrying a yew wood clam digging stick. Then he spoke. Then he said, "Oh friend *Winagi'lakw*, now you got as your treasure this yew wood digging stick, for that your only food are clams," said he. And so *Winagi'lakw* came carrying his digging stick. Then *Winagi'lakw*

thanked him and he went home to Higams. Then Gamalagi'lakw and his mother Kayuḷaga went up to their cave house. And that is the end.

Hopetown War (Letter from George Hunt)⁶⁵

Beaver Harbour

Nov 1927

w.a Newcombe

P.O. Port Hardy

Dear Sir

In this mail I send you 1 old bone sword and 1 copper ball with a long story to be told about it. If you could find out what year the Nootka Indians took a ship and killed all the men on board of her and there was another ship which the same tribe took but they (? ?) and thought they killed all the men on her late in one evening. The Indians did not know that there was two men hiding in the ship and as soon as these two men came on deck late in the night and all the Indian sleep then they set the sails they get go their anchor line and they sail out to seaward. And that night the wind blow so strong that they had to run before it until they run into shelter near the Balla Balla tribe Village. And (more) Indians came long side the ship. [in one of the stories I was told that these Indians who came off first killed this two men](and another story teller said they did not kill them but treated them well.). And the first thing these Indians done was they took the guns and powder and bullet and afterwards they took some of the other things and they went home and this is far as I will tell this story for I got to tell the story of the native copper bullet.

This story I will tell now is supposed to be done 11 or 12 years before any white man came to Fort Rupert. (1837-38).

⁶⁵ The following information was recorded in a letter written by George Hunt for Charles Newcombe. The original is held at British Columbia Archives in Victoria. It is typed in similar format as original.

Now there was a chief of the Kwakwaka'wakw clan whose name was Udzistalis and this chief had a son his name was Hamdzid and the Gwawa'inuxw tribe warrior came and killed Hamdzid the head chief son secretly and it took the Kwakwaka'wakw clan long while to find out who killed the chiefs son and while they trying to find this out. Some Bella Bella tribe men came to Tłixsi'we for that is the place the Kwakwaka'wakw clan lived and these Bella Bella men told to the Kwakwaka'wakw clan people about the gun which the owner of it could shot a man long ways off with it and kills him and as soon a Udzistalis found out he send some of his people and his daughter whose name is Kwānxwālayugwa and two men slaves and as soon as they arrived at the Bella Bella village. Then Kwānxwālayugwa and his crew was invited by Woyala who is the head chief of the Oyala'idox tribe and owner of the gun and ammunition to go and stay in his house and to eat food there. And after she and her crew finished eating then the women spoke and said to Woyala. Thank you chief for inviting me and my crew to come into your great house of yours great chief. I am th daughter of Udzistalis who is head chief of the Kwakwaka'wakw clan. Who seat me to come and take you for my husband the reason he done this for that some body has killed my brother Hamdzid. Therefore my father send my crew to come and borrow your gun and they will bring it back to you after they shoot and kill a chief to die with my brother Hamdzid and one of these slaves I will give you for one bullet and the other slave I will give you for one charge of powder said she and then answered he Woyala to her and said he.

Welcome to you my wife Kwānxwālayugwa. I hope we will live together happy as a husband and wife should be. And now I will take the two slaves for the one charge of powder and this one native copper bullet. And I will loan the gun to your father so as he can kill the man he wants to kill said he give this native copper bullet to his new wife and then he took the gun and load the gun with the man shooting charge of powder and he told his wife Kwānxwālayugwa that the man who will shoot the man can put the

copper bullet into the gun before he shoot at his man and after everything's settled then all the men came away and Kwāxwālayugwa and the two slaves was left behind to Woyala.

And as soon as they arrived at Tłixsi'we they found the Kwākwākwām clan had their bows and arrows and burnt point spears and their slings already made. And that Udzistalis found out that a poor class man belong to the Gwawā'inuxw tribe who killed his son Hāmdzid so Udzistalis told his warriors that they will go to Mackenzie Sound were there is a village at Nimmo Bay. This is the place where all the Gwawā'inuxw is living and their head chief whose name is Waxu'nakwālas. This is the chief who Udzistalis wishes his warriors to kill. So they started away early in the morning four canoes of them and one of these canoes had a high bow on her and while they paddling along the man who will shoot with the gun cut a hole through to the right hand side of the great war canoe and after he got the hole cut through then he poke the end of the gun through the hole. Now it is all ready and about middle of the day came in sight of the village at Nimmo Bay or Hegams. Then the Kwākwākwām people paddled ashore in front of the village and the Gwawā'inuxw people rush down to the beach shooting with their bows and arrows and slinging with their slings and the Kwākwākwām people done the sam thing and after both side of warriors nearly use up all their arrows the chief Waxu'nakwālas came out of his house all dressed up and he run down the beach with burnt point spear and he went and spear the canoe bow near where the gun poked through. Then the man with the gun shot and killed him dead. This native copper bullet went right through his heart and into a large spruce tree that standing in front of dead chiefs house and as soon as the chief was killed all his tribes people run into the woods and the Kwākwākwām people went out of the great war canoe and they took the dead chiefs body and put it into the canoe and they cam away homeward and on the way home Udzistalis himself cut off the dead chief head and they the headless

body over board. And late in the night they arrived at Dłixsi'we. That ends the story.

Now it is little over three year ago. I was sitting in my house at Fort Rupert an Indian whose name is Giḱalas (George Williams) came in and said George I got something with me that killed my great grandfather by the Kwḱwakwḱm tribe at Hegḱms whose name was Waxunakwḱlas said he as he took out of his pocket the native copper bullet and he said he to me I will give this to you and when took the bullet and thank him for it. Then I asked him how he get hold of it. Then he said one day he had to get firewood at the beach in front of his house at Hegḱms as he was cutting a drift log and while he took a rest he saw light blue spot on a rotten stump and he took his axe and he went and chop into it the blue spot and his chopping did not go in deep then he found the native copper bullet three fingers or three inches deep. Then he scrap of the copper rust off and took it into his house and show to his grandfather and the old man told him that this thing that killed our great chief Waxunakwḱlas and disgraced our tribes name. So this is how I got it.

Now I went to six different story tellers and no two say the same so I write what the first old man told me about this story for everything is changing and the stories also changing also.

Your very sincerely,

George Hunt

Hopetown War (Mungo Martin Version)⁶⁶

First Musket

Mungo's mother's great grandfather was killed at Waxi'datsi (near Minstrel Island). His name was Hḱmdzidi. They were on their way up to

⁶⁶ The following was obtained from Mungo Martin by Wilson Duff. The original can be found in Wilson Duff Files at British Columbia Archives.

Knights Inlet (Father – Kwaguł, mother – Ṭłatłasiḱwala). Killed by a Gwawā'inuḱw. It was a mistake, they thought his party were Mamalilikāla. It was night. The Gwawā'inuḱw walked across from the other side of the little point. Collapsed their tent – a canvas tarp obtained from North (also had some Hudson Bay Company blankets). His wife yelled at her father-in-law, anchored out in canoe. “Wake up, they just killed your son, Hāmdzidi” (father-in-law was Udzistalis). (So Gwawā'inuḱw knew who they had killed). So he went ashore. They had a little baby, put it in canoe. (this was Mungo's mother's grandmother). The others going to Knight's stopped there next morning – wouldn't pass them up because they were well respected people. All went back to Ḳalugwis. Had (funeral) there. The Gwawā'inuḱw had taken his head. After that, they all went up to Dzawadi in a group.

After eulachon season, they all came back to Ḳalugwis. Two canoe loads of men went and had a minor fight with Gwawā'inuḱw. [When Gwawā'inuḱw went back to Hegams after the murder, there was a person standing in front of village, yelled “who's head have you got?” “His name was Hāmdzidi, the eldest son of Udzistalis”. An old lady sitting on the bank Ṭsuxwmādzānwāls “elderberry bush growing on boulder” “What did you say?” “He said Hāmdzidi” she: “You get (saplings of cedar from mtor) strings to string their heads on when they (Kwaguł) come. You don't go around killing Kwaguł (revenge will come)”]

2 loads of Kwaguł came. Some went ashore with mallets and chisels, aiming to fall a big cedar behind the village on to the houses. They felled it, but it didn't reach the houses, Gwawā'inuḱw shot at them with bows and arrows, but didn't attack as Kwaguł were out in front of village ready to attack. Women of village were sitting around fires blowing on the ends of their long hair braids (this would cause tree to miss house). It took 3-4 days to fall tree – 2 shifts, day and night shift. When it fell, they gave up the raid and went back (cedar still there).

The Kwaguł heard the Kyuquot people had guns (halayu “magic sticks”). They took 2 slaves, poled up Nimpkish river into the lake, a little bay called Hi’lu’tso (“bay in a big bay”). Walked up a little stream Xwālgwad (“dog fish creek”). It took a day and a half to get to the west side of the island.

There were West Coast people at the head of the inlet there. They took them to Kyuquot (‘AgaDi’s village). They bought the musket, a single shot – all ready to fire a flintlock.

They went back, home to K̄alugwis. The Kwaguł got ready to go to Hegams. Had to hire a Mamalilik̄ala for a guide – they didn’t know the Gwawa’inuxw chief (their victim). They used a T̄agwān (canoe). Cut a round hole through the side. They started off.

It was high water when they arrived. When the Gwawa’inuxw saw war party coming, they all went into chief’s house. Nobody outside at all. Kwaguł arrived in front of the village. One man came out. “You wait until the tide falls so the real Gwawa’inuxw will come out of the water.” (hoping they would go dry). The Kwaguł waited, going out as tide fell. Low water. The people came out of the house, all with batons (singing sticks) singing.

Ha ha ha wāṭam lisa

“drifted in like drift log”

“look what drifted in” sort of thing

(pretty confident of killing the Kwaguł)

All rushed went down the beach, men and women. (low water gave them more room to fight). The chief came down “Get out of my way, get out of my way” (giwi’, giwi’). “The canoe will be mine”.

The gunner was a Kwixa. The chief’s name was Waxunakwālas (Waxu for short). The Mamalilik̄ala pointed him out “that’s the chief”. He was very close when he shot. Everybody ran back up the beach as he fell away from boat. Never heard of a gun before. After, they decided to go get chief back.

A Walas Kwaguł there was good with a harpoon. He drove one through flat of chief's foot. Pulled – tugging against the Gwawā'inuḡw who have grabbed him. Got him to canoe. There is a little island (bare then) off village. They took the split cedar lining of canoe. Split it into kindling. Chopped his head off, lit fire, threw body in. Cedar crackled. Yelled, laughed. "What's the matter with your chief, he crackles a lot."

This happened 7-8 years later. They heard about the abundance of muskets up near Bella Bella. Udzistalis daughter went up there and married Woyala, who was half Bella Bella and half Gitḡaḡa. Woyala went up to Kitkatla to purchase muskets, and got them – powder, shot, everything. Udzistalis and Woyala had it all planned that the (five?) Bella Bella tribes, the Ṭḡatḡasiḡwala, Mamalilikḡa, Ławitsis and all Kwaguł would go on war. Headed up Kingcome (Gwawā'inuḡw and Dzawadā'inuḡw were like the same people – went to Kingcome for eulachons) reason was came as above incident.

Dzawadā'inuḡw heard of it, built Ma'layatsi, a fortification right out over the riverbank. The war party was so big that the canoes reached from one side of the river to other.

Chapter 5: Order of seats of Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw

An anthropologist named Ronald Rohner lived in Gilford in the 1960's. He worked closely with William Scow. When questioned on who was an authority on Kwakwaka'wakw culture and history, William Scow replied "George Henry (Kingcome Inlet) knows the potlatch position of almost everyone in most of the tribes throughout the area." William knew and recognized that George Henry was a *Ka'atsu* (names-keeper).

In the winter of 1962, George Henry worked with Henry Nelson and wrote every member within each *'namima* of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw that he could remember. This is the following people that he recorded:

Before continuing, it is important to point out that I have adapted the information by transcribing each name into U'mista orthography so that it will be easier for the current generation of Kwakwaka'wakw to read.

Dzawada'enuxw

Kwikwikw (The Eagles)

Potlatch Name	English Name
Kodalagalis	Alex Nelson
Himas	Putla Effrey
Malidadzi	Sam Cedar
Xalkila	Hector Webb
Witsaxtlesaw'i	Billy Johnson
Yeku'walagalis	Herbert Johnson
Lalakutsa	Tom Dawson → Albert Dawson
Hamdzidi	Namugwis Cedar
Wamis	David Shaughnessy
Tsaxtsaxwalis	Jack Henry
Kwamaxalas/Hamalagiyus	Jack Nun → Henry Nelson

Lilawagila

'Maxwa	Anitsa (Daisy Webber)
Hawilkwalał	Tom Harris → Dan Willie
Ṭsandigam	Peter Smith
Gwiksisalas	Mrs Sam Webber
Gixkan	Peter Smith's Grand(?)
Hayałkan	Grace Smith
'Nage'	Harry Jack
Ṭłakwadzi	Mrs Mary Dick
Muxwsistalisagama'yi	John Scow
'Maxwa	Tom Smith
Gixkanis	Biscuit Smith
Ṭłakwagila	Dan Willie
Siwidi	Robertson Johnson
Ṭłasutiwalis	Peter Harris
'Maxwa	Timothy Webb
Iwułtaladzi Tłalilitła	Sonny Johnson

Gigagama'yi

Woyala	Willie Hawkins
O'gwila	George Henry
Hamdzidi	Tsamaga
Tłalibalisama'yi	Dick Hawkins
Siwidi	Dave Dawson
'Nagedzi	B. Wilson younger boy
Tłalilitła	Christian Webber
Yakalagalis	Hełkwagila'ogwa
ḲwamḲwamgalis	Timothy Willie
Tłalibalis	Mrs Ernest Scow
Hamalagiyudzi	Jack Scow
'Nagedzi	Sam Hunt
Ḳwayamdzi	Tom Dawson

Ḳwa'ilaskan

Philip Martin

Wayukama'yi

Panuyudas

Jim Wamish

Helagalis

Stephen Wamish

Hewaḱalis

Charlie Dick

'Maxwalagalis

Herbert Johnson

Ḳumanakwaladzi

Mr Hall

Namugwidzi Bibanadidzi

Blackie Dick

'Nanampango

Adam Dick

Kwaxalanukwame'

Eli Hunt

Siwidi

George Henry

Tikwap

Sam Cedar

Yekawidi

Frank Nelson

Iwagidi

Jim Joe

Homiskanis

Mrs Sam Webber

Homiskanidzi

Lucy Dawson

Owadi

Charles Willie

Nenakawilas

Harry Dawson → Ike Dawson

Mamxo

Charlie Wilson

Tsuxtsa'esagama'yi

Jackson Ford

Padziyus

Grace Smith

Kwaxalanukwama'yi

Harry Bee

Ḳakakilaka

Witsaxtlesaw'i

Billy Wilson

Hamdzidigo

Arthur Shaughnessy

Ḳwaxuḷ 'Nagedzi

Billy Sunday

Yekuḱwalagalidzi

Louis Jack

Wayugwamasawi

Jim Walkus

Wiksakakw

Tom Williams

Lalagisawa'yi

Mrs Kenneth Hunt

'Maxwagila

Mrs Tom Wamish

Kikudilikala

Hamdzidistala

Peter Scow

Kwamaxalasugwi'lakw

Philip Wilson

Widzikwalasa'wi

George Smith

Hamdzidi

Mrs Hemas Johnson

Tsestilela Wakas

Sam Webber

'Maxwayalisama'yi

William Robertson

Hamalagiyus

Jack Nun

Hanidzam

Michael Dick

Nanampangila'ogwa

Mrs Sam Webber

Okwilagama'yi

Peter Moon

Yakudlas

Willie Moon

Tsaxtsaxwalisama'yi

William Dawson

Tlakwaxsdzi

William Dawson

'Walas

Mrs Frank Dawson

Yiyagadala

Kikagilagama'yi

Thompson Lagis

Kwamxalagalis

Tom Lagis

Lagas

Kesu

Art Lagis

Kwalyagwis

Harry Lagis

Ninalkinuxw

Padziyus 'Maxwa

William Dawson

Kwamxalagalis

Frank Dawson

Yaya_xwalisama'yi

Kay Dawson

Tsaxtsaxwalisama'yi

Brothers & Sisters

Kwamaḡalas	Henry Nelson
Kugwisila'ogwa	Annie Cedar
Kwikwasutinuxw	
Naxnaḡwala	
Kodalaḡama'yi	Alfred Coon
Kumugwa'yi	John Scow -> Sam Scow
Dḡaxwa'egalis	Billy Scow
Paḡpaḡalis Wanukwdzi	Peter Scow
Guḡḡalas – Hoyaḡ	Peter Coon
Kamkaḡawidi	Jim Patch
Gikagolis	Abbie Scow
Kumanakwala	Henry Biscuit
Waxulagalitsawe'	Charlie Coon
Mimawigandi	
Mupankam	Gow-gow
Gigalgam	
Amagogila	Dave Willie
Yakaḡanlis	Alex Willie
Tsaxtsaxwalis	Gilbert Willie
Kwaxuḡ 'Nagedzi	Billy Sandy
Gwusdidzas	Wayuḡ
Dḡidḡagidi	
Lalakanxidi	George Scow
Namukwalagalis	Mrs Berty Robertson

Gwawa'enuxw**Kwikwikw**

Tatantsidi

Glen Johnson

'Nage

Bill Wilson

Gigalgam

Kisbalis Waxunakwalas

Billy Wilson

'Nagedzi

Ned Coon

Hamdzidi

Mrs Mary Johnson

'Maxwa

Mrs Henry Smith

Gixsistalisama'yi

Sally Williams

Ayutłala

Sam Cedar

Kwaxalanukwama'yi

Norman Dawson

Wigikulilsawi

Big Tom

Tłakwadzi

George Williams

'Muṗankam

Alex Williams

'Namugwis

Fred Williams

Kaxwsamalagalis

Jim Wakus

Hikan

Nuṭnuṭidzi

Jack Henry

Hikandzi

Bill Johnson

Yekuḱwalagalis

Mary Dawson

Yakudłas

George Henry

Kumuḱo

Dzunuḱwadzi

Wiwānagi'lakw

Pangwidi

Jim Pungwid

Gwalis 'Namugwis

Jim Pungwid

Ṭṭakudṭas
Hayalidzṃ

Jim Pungwid
Tom King

ḲuḲamagaxto'yi

'Namugwidzi
Hamalakalaṭ
Siwidi

Willie Webber
Charlie Coon
Tom Patch

Haxwa'mis

Gigalgṃ

Tṭatṭaliṭṭa
Yaxw'ya'xwṃlisṃma'yi
Ḳasṃlas
Ḳasayapa'lakw
'Maxwṃlagṃlis
Ṭṭakwagila
YekuḲwṃlagṃlis
Ṭikwap
YekuḲwṃlagṃlis
Ḳugwikilagṃma'yi
Ṭṭakwadzi
Ṭṭakutṭṃlas
Gixkṃndzi

Leslie Nelson
Percy Frank
Henry Nelson
Sam James
Mrs Toby Willie
Jim King
Hector Webb
Harry Bee
Hagwidayu
Jumbo Crow
Mrs Johnson Cook
Mary James
Jack James

Gwi'gwa'inuxw

Kwaxila
Gwuṭṭṃlas
Paṭpaṭṭṃlis
Gwuṭṭṃlasṃma'yi

Henry Smith → Gordon Nelson
Mrs Kingcome Joe
Sam Webber
Mrs Alex Willie

Galustowk	Lizzie Prevost
Tłakwagilagama'yi	Lizzie Prevost
Yekun	Lizzie Prevost

Gixsam

Huxwawidi	Herbert Johnson
Lalakutsa	Jackson Ford
Kugwikilagama'yi	Jumbo
'Maxwayalis	Robertson Johnson
Yakudlas	Mrs Frank Dawson
Lalakanis	Mowichi

Ha'ayalikawe

Tłakwagila	Copper Johnson
Gixkangama'yi	Mrs Frank Dawson
Tłalilawikdzi	Dado Gwejano
Amaxwalał	Wata oo

These were the names recorded in 1962 by George Henry and Henry Nelson. Keep in mind this is only one book and there are people missing from the lists. This is why it is crucial to bring all the potlatch books together so they can provide the most accurate listings. Also, any error is my own.

Chapter 6: Divide and Conquer

How Kwakwaka'wakw were subjugated

My goal with this chapter is to clarify how certain factors debilitated Kwakwaka'wakw people, which then made it easier for government to dispossess Kwakwaka'wakw land and subvert traditional self-government. This process of subjugation was cumulative and occurred over a 200 year period of time and can be viewed as cultural genocide. Consequently, my aim here is to summarize this process so that people can begin to understand how the Kwakwaka'wakw traditional governance system became debilitated.

Before I continue, I would like to point out that before Canada existed, the Kwakwaka'wakw people had lived in their territories since time immemorial. During this time, they had possessed sovereign powers and made the laws for their territory and decided how the resources were to be allocated. It was not until the Kwakwaka'wakw people were persecuted and oppressed, that the government was able to subvert Kwakwaka'wakw governance and subjugate Kwakwaka'wakw people under colonial norms.

I have divided this chapter into the following subsections – disease, theft of land, potlatch ban, *Indian Act*, and residential schools because these are the primary factors that worked in conjunction to debilitate Kwakwaka'wakw people. For each topic, I will outline the challenges Kwakwaka'wakw people encountered and provide examples on how they responded to these challenges.

Disease (Population decline)

In BC there were many epidemics that occurred during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries that were damaging to Kwakwaka'wakw people. Each epidemic created a crisis for Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribe) and 'namima (clan) membership as populations declined. Many diseases such as smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, and influenza were to blame for the depopulation. However, in addition to the various disease epidemics, some of the last inter-

tribal wars also impacted Kwakwaka'wakw people. Consequently, the Kwakwaka'wakw people had a dilemma because they needed to find a solution to repopulate and rebuild the gukw_ulut (tribe) and 'namima (clan) so they would not dissolve. In the following pages, I will share stories about how my ancestors dealt with depopulation and the solutions that were devised. My intention is to provide a glimpse into how Kwakwaka'wakw families survived these periods of crisis.

The Story of Emily Willie

My great grandmother Emily Mary Willie nee Scow was born in 1913 and was from the Kwikwasutinuxw of the Kwakwaka'wakw people. Her father Peter Scow (b.1877)⁶⁷ was born not long after the 1862-63 smallpox epidemic in BC and her paternal grandfather Harry "Hamdzid" Scow (b.1839)⁶⁸ had survived the 1862-63 smallpox epidemic and had also survived a war with the Bella Coola people in the 1850's or 1860's. The exact date of this war has never been accurately determined; however the war has been documented⁶⁹ in multiple publications. Sadly, the Bella Coola nearly killed all the Kwikwasutinuxw people in this war. Thus, my great grandmother's family had experienced a great deal of loss during the 19th century prior to her birth because the Kwikwasutinuxw people were low in numbers due to epidemics and warfare. Consequently, this created a sense of urgency amongst her family because it was highly unlikely the Kwikwasutinuxw could endure another disease epidemic. Therefore, Emily's parents arranged her marriage strategically to another Kwikwasutinuxw descendant named Charles Willie (b.1906) whose mother Mary Seaweed (b.1852) had narrowly escaped from the Bella Coola warriors when they raided Gwa'yasdams (Gilford Island, BC), the home of the Kwikwasutinuxw. In addition, because of the depopulation in the 19th century,

⁶⁷ Date is approximation from 1881 Canadian Census return.

⁶⁸ See above note (1).

⁶⁹ See Rohner (1969), Boas (1895), McIlwraith (1948).

young people were encouraged to have as many children as possible. My great grandmother Emily had 17 children, which under normal circumstances, probably would not have happened, but our family desire to repopulate the Kwikwasutinuxw and fear of another epidemic, were primary contributors in this development. Consequently, arranged marriages became a mechanism for the Kwakwaka'wakw people to repopulate the gukwalut (tribes) and 'namima (clans) that had been heavily depopulated. Other examples of people who were strategically married to repopulate the Kwikwasutinuxw people are George Scow (b.1886-d.1971) and Pauline Lagis (b.1898-d.1937), Harry Coon (b.1916-d.1970) and Helen Scow (b.1915-d.1946), Albert Dawson (b.1903-d.1967) and Harriet Grace Scow (b.1906-d.1940), Alfred Coon (b.1908-d.1949) and Ethel Johnson (b.1909-d.1999), Thomas Lagis (b.1866-d.1937) and Kathleen Willie (b.1908-d.1954), Timothy Oscar Willie (b.1917-d.1982) and Mary Johnson (b.1921-d.1978). All of these people were descendants of the Kwikwasutinuxw and were strategically arranged in marriage.

Now, repopulating gukwalut (tribe) and 'namima (clan) were not the only factors in arranged Kwakwaka'wakw marriages, there were other factors as well, but they were definitely primary factors in times of population crisis. Hence, in the latter 19th century and early 20th century it was common for Kwakwaka'wakw people to have their marriages arranged. The last Kwakwaka'wakw people to have their marriages arranged were born in the 1920's and 1930's and this time period also coincides with the turning point in Kwakwaka'wakw population as Kwakwaka'wakw population has grown steadily ever since, making arranged marriages less important.

The Story of Thompson Sound

The next story is about another method Kwakwaka'wakw people utilized to counter depopulation. There was a group who lived in Xakwikan (Thompson Sound, BC) and they were a 'namima (clan) of the Kwikwasutinuxw people. Unfortunately, this group was decimated by smallpox and dwindled in

numbers (circa 19th century). Some of the survivors were part D^za^wa^da'enu^xw and moved to Gwa'yⁱ (Kingcome Inlet). In terms of living, this family lived in Gwa'yⁱ (Kingcome) during the wintertime and would return to X^ak^wi^kaⁿ (Thompson Sound) during the springtime. One of the descendants of this 'na^mi^ma (clan) was Thomas Lagis (b.1866) and he married multiple times throughout his life and had many children. Thomas had a son Harry Lagis (b.1929) who told me that his father had been married many times throughout his life. It turned out his father Thomas, being the son of a survivor of the smallpox epidemic, had been strategically married multiple times in an attempt to repopulate a 'na^mi^ma (clan).

Both of these stories are examples how Kwakwaka'wakw people reacted to depopulation in the 19th century. In particular, it reveals how arranged marriages and multiple marriages contributed to rebuilding depopulated 'na^mi^ma (clan) and gukwa^lut (tribe). However, despite these efforts to increase Kwakwaka'wakw population, the depopulation of Kwakwaka'wakw people made it more difficult to resist the encroachment from the early colonies and later, the governments of British Columbia and Canada.

Summary

It was easier for government to subjugate Kwakwaka'wakw people because of the population decline due to disease. Even though most census data for this time period is speculative, it is estimated that Kwakwaka'wakw population was reduced to approximately 1/10 of its original population (Galois, p47). In terms of approximation, it is estimated that the Kwakwaka'wakw people numbered over 10,000 and were reduced to approximately 1000 through multiple disease epidemics. Diseases such as smallpox, measles, and tuberculosis were considered to be the main contributors in cause of deaths. It is important to recognize that the Kwakwaka'wakw people developed strategies to repopulate the various 'na^mi^ma (clan) and gukwa^lut (tribe) that were low in numbers because the

maintenance of those structures were considered an imperative. Today, population numbers continue to rise and move closer to pre-contact levels.

Reserve Commissions (Land Theft)

Even though the process of dispossessing Kwakwaka'wakw land occurred over an extended period of time (1851-1913), for Kwakwaka'wakw people, it was not clear that the government had laid claim to the land of the Kwakwaka'wakw people until the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission in 1913. The McKenna-McBride Royal Commission held meetings in Alert Bay to discuss land and resources in Kwakwaka'wakw territories. This was the first time the Kwakwaka'wakw people had seen maps with the land divided and reserves established. When Owaxalagalis from the Kwagwul spoke, he referenced this short notice by saying:

“I want to bring to your notice the plan of my land that I have here in my band. It was only given to me on *Saturday* night, and according to this plan my land ownership, if it is, the land is too small” (McKenna-McBride transcripts, RBCM).

The short notice in which the Kwakwaka'wakw people were given their maps created panic amongst Kwakwaka'wakw and the McKenna-McBride commission took advantage by coercing the Kwakwaka'wakw people into a framework where they had to compete with each other over land and resources by threatening Kwakwaka'wakw people with the possibility of not getting any land for themselves. Essentially, this generated conflict and division between various Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribes) as the short notice did not give Kwakwaka'wakw people enough time to meet and discuss amongst themselves how they were going to respond to the actions of the government.

In addition, there was a lot of confusion regarding the intentions of Canadian Government. For many Kwakwaka'wakw people, they thought government was going to recognize Kwakwaka'wakw people as the true owners of the land. For instance, Johnny Clark of the Lawitsis made the following statement to the commissioners of the McKenna-McBride Commission:

“I have been taught and told by my old people that I would be protected by the Government. I know and they acknowledge that it was our land. The first white men when they came into the country were not so free, but the white men coming in now are getting too free in taking the country” (McKenna-McBride transcripts, RBCM).

In the following, I would like to share some of the comments that were made during the McKenna-McBride Commission by the leaders of the Kwakwaka'wakw that exemplify how the Kwakwaka'wakw attempted to resist the dispossession of their lands.

Review of McKenna-McBride speeches

When it was time for Harry Mountain of the Mamalilikala tribe to speak he asked questions that still have not been answered to this day. One of the first questions he asked was “How do you own the land? We never sold it to you and you never came to me and made an agreement” (McKenna-McBride transcripts, RBCM). These questions reflect how the Kwakwaka'wakw people felt about their land being stolen. When it was time for the Haxwa'mis to address the McKenna-McBride Commission, Johnny Johnson of the Haxwa'mis challenged the idea of reserves. He wanted this term dissolved and argued that should not exist. When Lagiyus of the 'Namgis spoke, he refused to recognize that the government had authority to do what they were doing.

The Kwakwaka'wakw people were obviously resistant to the process of dispossession of their lands. Once the McKenna-McBride Commission had completed its work, the majority of Kwakwaka'wakw lands were appropriated for colonial settlement and the Kwakwaka'wakw were forced onto tiny reserve allocations.

Potlatch Ban (1884-1951)

The potlatch ban occurred from 1884-1951 and during this time it was illegal for Kwakwaka'wakw people to potlatch. Consequently, this affected potlatch in many ways. First, it made it illegal to invite neighboring gukwalt (tribes) to gather together under one gukwadzi (big-house) to meet. For comparison, this would be the same as making it illegal for the House of Commons of Canada to summon its members of government. Secondly, the potlatch ban forced Kwakwaka'wakw people to make alterations to potlatch practices in order to avoid persecution. Over time, these alterations eventually eroded vital elements of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government. One effect of this was that younger generations of Kwakwaka'wakw people began to forget how traditional Kwakwaka'wakw self-government was organized.

Yakwa (Give-away): Altering Potlatch

In the early 1920's, the potlatch ban was beginning to be heavily enforced by the government. In 1921, Dan Cranmer hosted a potlatch in Mimkwamlis (Village Island), and after his potlatch many Kwakwaka'wakw people went to jail at Oakalla Prison in Burnaby, BC. My great-great grandfather Ned Joshua Coon (b.1888-d.1940) was sentenced to serve time at Oakalla because he had delivered gifts to the guests at Dan Cranmer's potlatch. Consequently, the persecution by government for potlatching created fear among the Kwakwaka'wakw people and created a crisis in the potlatch system.

Many aspects of potlatch changed after Dan Cranmer's potlatch. For the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw, they decided to spend winters in Gwa'yi (Kingcome) so their gatherings would not be disrupted. Other Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribes) such as the Kwagwł and 'Namgis, were not as fortunate because they lived closely to the Indian agent William Halliday in Alert Bay, BC. Consequently, the Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribes) who did not live in places of isolation made changes in the potlatch system by changing the order of gift distribution for the yakwa (give-away) at the end of a potlatch. The gifts were no longer distributed in the traditional order which enumerated the various gukwalut (tribes), 'namima (clans), and dlaxwa'yi (standings/seats). Instead, the yakwa (give-away) was separated from the potlatch itself and gifts were given to guests at a separate occasion. This changed occurred because some of the Kwakwaka'wakw people had obtained legal counsel and were advised they could circumvent the anti-potlatch laws by separating the yakwa (give-away) portion from the actual potlatch gathering. Consequently, the new process for the yakwa (give-away) was to go house-to-house starting from one end of the village and proceeding to the other end. In addition, this would occur separately, usually a few months after the potlatch. Unfortunately, over time, this changed to the yakwa (give-away) and would have negative implications.

In the 1940' and 1950's, an anthropologist named Phillip Drucker interviewed Kwakwaka'wakw elders such as Charles Nowell, Ed Whannock, Dan Cranmer, and Bill Scow and these men were recognized authorities in potlatch, meaning they were well educated in the ways of potlatch. Collectively, these men informed Drucker that when the sequence for the yakwa (give-away) was altered to go from house to house instead, it deprived the younger Kwakwaka'wakw people of the opportunity to learn all the 'namima (clans) in the various gukwalut (tribes) and to learn who had dlaxwa'yi (standing/seats). Consequently, the younger Kwakwaka'wakw generations began to forget how the traditional self-government system was organized. The younger generations

of Kwakwaka'wakw people became disconnected and displaced from the Kwakwaka'wakw self-government and forgetting the system and its functions contributed significantly in the subjugation of Kwakwaka'wakw people. It did this by reducing their ability to resist their assimilation into an imposed colonial system.

Summary

The potlatch ban (1884-1951) affected Kwakwaka'wakw people in many ways. First, the strength in Kwakwaka'wakw self-government was its ability to bring groups together in the form of potlatches. Therefore, when the anti-potlatch laws were enforced, it disrupted Kwakwaka'wakw ability to congregate in large numbers to meet and govern. Second, the potlatch ban also changed the *yakwa* (give-away) system, which was the primary method for Kwakwaka'wakw people to learn the various 'namima (clans) of the different *gukwalut* (tribes). Therefore, younger generations of Kwakwaka'wakw people began to forget the organization of the traditional Kwakwaka'wakw self-government. Thirdly, the persecution of Kwakwaka'wakw people that occurred after Dan Cranmer's potlatch also created fear and crisis in the potlatch system. Therefore, some Kwakwaka'wakw families decided to quit potlatching because they did not want to go to jail or have their children imprisoned for potlatching. Consequently, all of these factors contributed to the oppression of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government.

Indian Act & Bands: The Reshaping of Kwakwaka'wakw Identity

In addition to the anti-potlatch laws, the creation of Kwakwaka'wakw bands reshaped Kwakwaka'wakw identity and was also a factor in the subjugation of the Kwakwaka'wakw people. In his book,⁷⁰ Chris Andersen examines how government used its power to create Metis identity and

⁷⁰ *Metis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood*, UBC Press, Vancouver-Toronto (2014).

manipulate it to their advantage. By advantage he refers to how it creates a useful tool for government in the administration of people and in the theft of their lands, rights, and resources. Moving onward in this thesis, I would like to draw on Anderson's argument and discuss in a Kwakwaka'wakw context.

First, I will discuss how the creation of 'bands' by government has reshaped Kwakwaka'wakw identity. Between the years 1876-1879, George Blenkinsop worked for Indian Reserve Commission and his job was to enumerate the native people of the Pacific Northwest Coast and part of the interior. He conducted the first systematic nominal census for Kwakwaka'wakw people. Initially, when he enumerated the Kwakwaka'wakw people, he enumerated them under one group "Kwakewlth⁷¹ Tribe" and for every Kwakwaka'wakw gukw^{alut} (tribes), he referred to them as branches of the "Kwakewlth Tribe." For example, Kwakewlth (Kwagul) branch, Nimkeesh ('Namgis) branch, Mahteelthpee (Madilpi) branch, etc. Thus, the first time Kwakwaka'wakw people were enumerated in a nominal census⁷², they were recognized as being one group (band), which is the way it should have been done. However, when government imposed the band system, they divided the Kwakwaka'wakw people into multiple bands.

Consequently, government was then able to manipulate Kwakwaka'wakw bands by entrenching these smaller groups into a framework where they competed with each other for land and resources, which generated tension and division amongst Kwakwaka'wakw people. For example, when the McKenna-McBride Commission met with Kwakwaka'wakw leaders in 1913, this process forced Kwakwaka'wakw people into a framework where they had to compete with each other over land and resources by submitting

⁷¹ This term actually refers to one branch of Kwakwaka'wakw people, the Kwagul (Kwakiutl) of Fort Rupert. However, outsiders have mistakenly described all of the Kwakwaka'wakw people by using the term Kwakewlth by mistake.

⁷² In 1879 by George Blenkinsop.

claims to land and this generated confusion, panic, and internal conflict which government benefitted from.

Next, I would like to discuss how government imposed its own criteria for membership in the new Kwakwaka'wakw bands and why this was problematic for Kwakwaka'wakw people and beneficial for government. First, government did not recognize traditional Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribes) and their members and transfer this organization to form the new bands. Instead, government determined the membership of each band itself with its own criteria and under this new system was able to create confusion and division amongst Kwakwaka'wakw people. First, the government did not allow a Kwakwaka'wakw person to be a member of more than one band. This was problematic because, as stated previously, most Kwakwaka'wakw people had multiple membership across various gukwalut (tribes) and 'namima (clans). The ramifications of the new band membership meant that, for a Kwakwaka'wakw person, if you had a dłaxwa'yi (standing/seal) in multiple gukwalut (tribes), the government would not allow this in the new band system. Furthermore, because the government only recognized legal rights to one Kwakwaka'wakw band, subsequently, a Kwakwaka'wakw person lost their rights to any other gukwalut (tribe) or 'namima(clan) they were affiliated with, and this impacted the size of Kwakwaka'wakw bands because it allowed government to further reduce the size of each band. For example, under traditional form of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government, one gukwalut (tribe) may have four 'namima (clans) and each may have 50 dłaxwa'yi (standings/seats) for a total of 200, which would represent the seats of government for that particular gukwalut (tribe). Subsequently, when government created a band for this gukwalut (tribe), it was able to reduce the numbers of the gukwalut (tribe) with the one band rule by not allowing Kwakwaka'wakw people with multiple dłaxwa'yi (standings/seats) to be included. Consequently, this allowed government to reduce the sizes of the bands and in some instances, this was approximately by 50% or more. Evidently, this was beneficial to government

because it created smaller Kwakwaka'wakw bands. In addition, government was able to further reduce Kwakwaka'wakw bands by excluding people who had multiple dłaxwa'yi (standings/seats) in Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalt (tribes), which, under the band system, forced them to have membership with one band and not have their membership in other Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalt (tribes) recognized by government.

Summary

Ultimately, government was able to divide the Kwakwaka'wakw people by having the ability to create and control Kwakwaka'wakw identity with the creation of bands and control of membership. Originally, government recognized the Kwakwaka'wakw people as one group but decided to divide them into multiple bands because it was easier to manipulate Kwakwaka'wakw people and this was accomplished by entrenching the newly created Kwakwaka'wakw bands into a framework where they had to compete for land and resources, which was done in McKenna-McBride Commission. In addition, because government was able to control band membership in these newly formed group, it benefited by being able to reduce the size of Kwakwaka'wakw bands further by excluding people with multiple dłaxwa'yi (standing/seat).

Patriarchy of the Indian Act

In her book,⁷³ Audra Simpson discusses the patriarchy of the *Indian Act* and how it has shaped current notions of self-identification in Mohawk communities negatively. Therefore, for this next segment, I am going to draw on the theme of Simpson's argument and discuss how the patriarchy of the *Indian Act* has impacted Kwakwaka'wakw people and changed certain aspects of traditional self-government and self-identity.

⁷³ *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, Duke University Press, Durham and London (2014).

Ultimately, the imposition of the *Indian Act's* patriarchal system over the Kwakwaka'wakw system changed many aspects of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government by it reducing the roles of women and increasing the roles of men. Historically, in the Kwakwaka'wakw self-government system, women were included in the membership of the 'namima (clan). Therefore, they were incorporated in the decision-making process by having dłaxwa'yi (standings/seats), which created a more gender balanced form of governance. However, when the government created Kwakwaka'wakw bands, they excluded women from the governance of the band. For instance, when the bands initially met with government, it was just the men of the bands that attended, which are reflected in the minutes⁷⁴ of the meetings between Kwakwaka'wakw bands and government.

The patriarchy of the *Indian Act* also shifted notions of Kwakwaka'wakw self-identity with the imposition of band membership over traditional Kwakwaka'wakw self-identification system. Historically, under traditional system, a Kwakwaka'wakw person could gain membership to 'namima (clans) and gukwālut (tribes) through both their mother and/or father. This is why a Kwakwaka'wakw person could have multiple memberships in various 'namima (clans) and gukwālut (tribes) because they could draw on the lineage of both their mother and father to establish membership. However, when the government created the band system it also created its own rules on band membership, which contradicted the Kwakwaka'wakw system in many ways. First, band membership was limited to one Kwakwaka'wakw band affiliation and did not allow multiple band memberships for Kwakwaka'wakw people. Second, the government's method of transferring band membership to subsequent Kwakwaka'wakw generations differed from traditional methods. For example, the band system transferred band membership from father to child and rarely allowed a woman to transfer her band membership to her

⁷⁴ Library and Archives Canada have minutes of meetings between Kwakwaka'wakw bands and government.

child. Thirdly, the band system stripped a Kwakwaka'wakw female of Indian status⁷⁵ if she married a non-native Indian and did not allow her to pass Indian Status on to her children either.⁷⁶ Consequently, the band system of membership interrupted the traditional form of self-identification for Kwakwaka'wakw people and created split identities for younger Kwakwaka'wakw people, which over an extended period of time, became internalized by younger generations of Kwakwaka'wakw people. Ultimately, this contributed to the erosion of traditional forms of self-identity, which aided in the subversion of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government in potlatch and created additional tension and division in Kwakwaka'wakw communities.

Summary

The underlying theme with the new band system and *Indian Act* is they created more tools for government to divide Kwakwaka'wakw people. Under the band system, it allowed government to remove Kwakwaka'wakw females from band governance and the patriarchy of the *Indian Act* was used to reduce the roles of Kwakwaka'wakw women and further reduce band(s) population by removing Indian status from Kwakwaka'wakw woman who married non-natives. Likewise, government also shifted notions of Kwakwaka'wakw self-identity by controlling and manipulating band membership with methods that contradicted Kwakwaka'wakw system, which over time, became internalized by Kwakwaka'wakw people and created confusion surrounding Kwakwaka'wakw self-identity that still plagues contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw people.

Residential Schools

⁷⁵ Legal recognition by Canada that a person is a status Indian.

⁷⁶ This changed somewhat with amendments to the *Indian Act* through Bill C-31 in 1985 and Bill C-3 in 2010

Residential schools displaced Kwakwaka'wakw children from their communities. The residential schools were created by government and administered by the church in order to assimilate the Indians into European culture. At these schools, they imposed English names on children, which divided families. For instance, two brothers from the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw ended up with different last names, one was Richard Hawkins and the other James Dick, they ended up with different last names even though they had same mother and father. Not only did the residential schools disconnected Kwakwaka'wakw children from their families, culture, and language, the schools did not provide Kwakwaka'wakw children with life skills needed to be successful, instead the schools demoralized them. Because of these circumstances, the residential schools created conditions where it was easier for Kwakwaka'wakw children to internalize and normalize the new system and new way of life imposed on them from the churches and government. Consequently, the residential schools disrupted the transition of traditional knowledge and knowledge became fragmented and harder to learn from generation to generation, which brings us back to today and this attempt to return information to community through a literal application (thesis) as a strategy of resistance to colonial oppression.

Conclusion

The Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw of the Kwakwaka'wakw people should have been recognized as one gukwalut (tribe). Their name Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw is a term of self-identification that reflected unification between four groups – Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis. When the federal government established the band governments, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw had the largest population amongst Kwakwaka'wakw. For this reason, the government decided to divide the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw into four separate bands rather than one. Therefore four bands government created were Tsawataineuk, Kwicksutaineuk, Gwawaenuk, and A'hwa'mish.

In response, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw erected a totem pole in 1936 to affirm their identity. Ultimately, they erected a totem pole to make a political statement declaring, “You (government) may define us in that fashion but this how we self-identify ourselves”. At the time, in the 1930's, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw were living together during the wintertime in Gwa'yi (Kingcome) and because of the isolation, they were able to potlatch freely. Consequently, this was another reason for government to keep the four – Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis bands separated.

Unfortunately, despite this strong form of resistance, contemporary Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw remain divided. Even a written declaration in 1938 by the ancestors of the four – Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis that requested government to amalgamate the four bands into one was not enough to unite the bands. Today, the four are represented under the *Indian Act* by three bands – Dzawada'enuxw First Nation, Kwikwasutinuxw-Haxwa'mis First Nation, and Gwawa'enuxw Tribe. Over time, most contemporary members of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw have internalized and normalized the new band identity created by government. For

instance, if you ask a contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw person to self-identify, he or she usually responds with their band affiliation. Consequently, we have failed to honor this historic agreement that is symbolized by the totem pole. Next, I would like to provide further context for the pole by sharing its history and discuss other ways it was profound.

Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw Totem Pole (1936)

This particular totem pole represents the highest form of Kwakwaka'wakw law. Historically, we did not have a written language therefore we had other means of legalizing agreements and one of the methods involved totem poles. Before I continue, I will describe the design of the totem pole. It has four crests that represent each on one of the four – Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis on the pole. On top is the thunderbird, which represents the Gwawa'enuxw. Below is a wolf, which represents the Haxwa'mis. Below that is a raven, which represents the Dzawada'enuxw. On the bottom is Tsekame', the first ancestor of the Kwikwasutinuxw. In regard to its history, an elder Glen Johnson told me that in the 1930's, the ni'noxsola (respected leaders) decided to create this pole so the younger generations would remember Musgamakaw Dzawada'enuxw identity. He went on to say, at that time, the older members of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw recognized that this new band system was distorting our identity and they were worried about the implications if we remained divided moving forward.

Next, I would like to elaborate on why this pole represents a legal agreement in the highest form of Kwakwaka'wakw law. If you recall, public recognition and the role of witnesses was very integral to the Kwakwaka'wakw system of self-government. Any time an agreement was made, in order for it to be validated, it needed to be facilitated through a potlatch. Therefore, when the four - Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis decided to have this pole created and erected in Gwa'yi (Kingcome), it was

facilitated through a rigorous process of validation. First, they commissioned a team of carvers to make the pole and they designated Willie Seaweed from the Nakwax'daxw of the Kwakwaka'wakw to be the head carver because he was a prominent Kwakwaka'wakw artist. By doing so, this brought instant credibility to the pole because Willie Seaweed was one of the most prominent artists of his generation, and it was also a form of external recognition because he was from a neighboring Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribe). In addition to Willie Seaweed, there was a coalition of people who worked on the pole and these were Tom Omheed from Kwagul, Herbert Johnson from Haxwa'mis and Gwawa'enuxw, Dick Hawkins from Dzawada'enuxw, Peter Scow from Kwikwasutinuxw, and Dick Webber from the Dzawada'enuxw. This team of carvers added another layer of credibility because each person added credibility to the totem pole. Lastly, when this pole was raised, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw invited all the other Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribes) to come and witness the erection of the totem pole and validate the pole. When all the Kwakwaka'wakw gukwalut (tribes) arrived in Gwa'yi (Kingcome), they had a meeting. At this meeting they listened to the explanation the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw provided on why the pole was being raised. Afterwards, they were given opportunity to speak and give verbal approval or address concerns. After all the various Kwakwaka'wakw (tribes) had spoken and given their approval, the totem pole was erected, a song sung to celebrate, and gifts given away (potlatch) afterwards. Consequently, this totem pole represents the highest form of Kwakwaka'wakw law because it went through a vigorous process in order to be created and then was publically recognized by all the Kwakwaka'wakw people.

Not only did the government of Canada reshape the identity of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw, they created a lot of additional problems for the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples as a whole. First, the government subverted the traditional form of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government and then imposed its own

band governance system. Second, they created the *Indian Act*, which was also imposed on the Kwakwaka'wakw people. It should be recognized that Kwakwaka'wakw people had their own laws and protocols, which in the Kwak'wala language is called gwayilelas. Consequently, because government had the ability to manipulate Kwakwaka'wakw identity, it was able to gain access to Kwakwaka'wakw land and resources more easily. Furthermore, the government gave legal authority to Kwakwaka'wakw bands by choosing to only to recognize band councils as representing Kwakwaka'wakw people. This gave government an advantage because they consolidated all the power into the band councils and did not recognize the traditional form of Kwakwaka'wakw self-government. In other words, Kwakwaka'wakw self-government was comprised of gukwalut (tribes) and 'namima (clans) and each of these components were comprised of a number dlaxwa'yi (standings/seats). In this system, the majority of Kwakwaka'wakw people were included in the system. Some gukwalut (tribes) had approximately 85% of its membership integrated into its system of government. Now, in comparison with the band system, which has one seat on council per 100 members, it is obvious that the traditional system was more inclusive. For example, if you had 500 members in a band, under the *Indian Act*, the council would be comprised of 5 members, which is only 5% of the membership. Consequently, the band system has been problematic ever since its inception and has created new challenges and issues for Kwakwaka'wakw people.

Kwakwaka'wakw Resurgence

In her book,⁷⁷ Mishuana Goeman argues that it is important for Indigenous nations to not replicate settler modes of territory, jurisdiction, race and gender. As a result of colonialism, I believe that the Kwakwaka'wakw have been coerced into replicating settler ways and have internalized traits from

⁷⁷ *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London (2013).

settlers that have been very damaging to Kwakwaka'wakw communities. As a counter strategy, I agree that we need to stop replicating settler values and approaches and, instead, be reconnecting to our traditions and culture. This is self-empowering and a solution to the challenges that we face today. However, in doing so, it is also important to recognize that traditions can also prevent growth in communities, so I am not simply suggesting that Kwakwaka'wakw traditions are utopian and that we simply must return to the way things were. Based on my experience, there is a constant struggle to identify and reconnect to traditions and values that are good and to critically engage with the ones that have a negative impact on our communities. Critical engagement with traditions and values are necessary because traditions that are damaging should be discarded while ones that are empowering should be reincorporated in Indigenous cultures, regenerated, and built upon. I understand this is not an easy process given the complexities, but I feel it is a process we need to work through. For the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw I believe that returning to a modified form of traditional governance would resolve internal conflict and strengthen our position to engage government over the land issue. Mainly, because the traditional governance is more inclusive, and reflects a type of governance that is simply better suited to our size and needs.

Kwakwaka'wakw Self-Reflection

In his book,⁷⁸ Glen Coulthard presents an argument that when Indigenous people engage with the state's legal and political system, we "begin to approach our engagements with a degree of critical *self-reflection*⁷⁹, skepticism, and caution that has been to date largely absent in our efforts". Furthermore, he believes that Indigenous people must address both the subjective and objective dimensions in order to transcend the colonial

⁷⁸ *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London (2014).

⁷⁹ Emphasis mine.

relationship between Indigenous peoples and settlers. For Coulthard, the subjective dimension includes the “internalization” of colonialism and he believes without constructively engaging with “internalization”, Indigenous peoples will ultimately continue to regenerate or reinforce the colonial relationship with settlers. Therefore, I am going to critically self-reflect on ways in which Kwakwaka’wakw people have internalized colonialism and discuss how this has negatively impacted our communities. In addition, I will discuss the ramifications that stem from seeking external recognition.

Re-establishing traditional Kwakwaka’wakw self-government

Asserting Traditional Kinship Practices

In his book,⁸⁰ Robert Innes makes the argument that the Cowessess First Nation asserts their sovereignty through their kinship practices and also promotes the idea that it is better to be in-relation to one another rather than not being in-relation because you are less likely to be enemies if you are in-relation. Therefore, I believe one solution for the Kwakwaka’wakw people is to return to their traditional forms of kinship practices because, in doing so, it could also be a way of asserting our sovereignty given that our traditional governance was designed on kinship. Returning to traditional forms of kinship recognition would simultaneously help revitalize traditional governance as well. It would relieve membership tensions created by the *Indian Act* and patriarchy because collectively the Kwakwaka’wakw people would have a more inclusive outlook on membership and be less gender discriminatory. Also, the imposition of settler forms of kinship on Kwakwaka’wakw people through the *Indian Act* has caused division and tension, it makes a lot of sense that returning to traditional forms of kinship would reverse the negative effects.

⁸⁰ *Elder Brother and the Law of the People: Contemporary Kinship and Cowesses First Nation*, University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, (2014).

Finally, in my opinion, if the government of Canada truly wants to reconcile with First Nations, I believe they should help First Nations reconnect to their traditional governing systems and revitalize First Nations Languages because there is value in Indigenous teaching and ways of life and it would represent a true form of reconciliation. It would also begin to unravel some of the problems they created in First Nation communities such as what happened with the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw. Based on my experiences, it is my strong belief that revitalizing traditional forms of knowledge can be empowering and can lead to the unification of Indigenous peoples, which I believe was the strength of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw and Kwakwaka'wakw peoples and I hope someday can be reestablished.

Appendix A: Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw Standings

Written by Henry Nelson and George Henry (1962)

184	Gla kwayus sa Isawadainuk	tr
<u>Kwwek - Eagle Clan</u>		
Godalagilis	Alex Nelson	
Hemus	Pu. Kila Effer	
Mulida gi	Sam Cedar	
Kul. ki la	Hector Web	tr
Wetaki sa wi	Billy Johnson	
Yeku. gualagalis	Herbert Johnson	
Gla la gucha	Alber. Dawson	
Gaa-yun-gi	Sam Dawson	
Hung gi di	Namogwis Cedar	
Wa-mish	David Shaungnessy	
Chowk cha-kwalis	Jack Henry	
Kwama-ka-lus	Jack Henry Nelson	
<u>Lela-wa-gila</u>		
Makwa	Ahnichagalis	
Hawil kwa luit	Dan Wells	
Isunla-gum	Tom Harris	
Guiksisalus	Peter Smith	
Gigkun	Mrs. Sam Weber	
Hayat kun	Peter Smith & Grandma	
Nagi	Grace Smith	
Klakwagi	Harry Jack	
Mowksistalisaganagi	Mrs Mary Dick	
makwa	John Seow	
Gikanis	Tom Smith	
Klakwagila	Biscuit Smith	
Namogwis Seawid	Dan Wells	
Klasutwalis	Robertson Johnson	
Makwa	Peter Harris	
Ewoit tala gi tlaklekl	Timothy Web	
	Sonny Johnson	

Gigagamayi

Johnson
 Ella Efferly
 Lar
 Webb
 Johnson
 Johnson
 Dawson
 Johnson
 Cedar
 Cunningham
 Henry
 Nelson
 Nelson
 Harris
 Smith
 Weber
 Smith
 Smith
 Smith
 Smith
 Smith
 Smith
 Harris
 Webb
 Johnson

Woyala
 Agwila
 Kunguli
 Tlalipalusamayi
 Tlalipalusamayi
 Tlalipalusamayi
 Nage-gi
 Tlalipalusamayi
 Yaka-lage-lis
 Kom-kom-gis
 Tlalipalusamayi
 Hamalagusgi
 Nage-gi
 Tlalipalusamayi
 Guayun-gi
 Kvelachukukun

Willie Hawkins
 George Henry
 Chama-ga
 Dick Hawkins
 David Egusa
 Albert Dawson
 B. Wilson
 Christian Webb
 Hekwagilukwa
 Timothy Willie
 Mrs Ernest Scow
 Jack Scow
 Sam Hunt
 David Dawson
 Tom Dawson
 Philip Martin

gwi-jakle
-yakwala

Wayu-kamay

Panuda-us
Hela-galis
Heve-kalis
makwala-glis
Komanagwalagi
namogwis-gi bebanadigi
namumpunghor
Kwakilankwami
Sewidi

Pasa-liti Wakus

makwaya-legi
Owadi
Homuskanus
Homuskanusgi
Owadi
Nemagwelus
mumkha
Tsuksa-askamay
Pagus
Kwakilankamay

Jim Wanush
Stephen Wanush
Charlie Dick
Herbert Johnson
Mr. Hall
Black Duck
Adam Dick
Eli Hunt
George Henry
Sam Cedar
Henry Nelson
Frank Nelson
Jim Sam Weber
Lucy Dawson
Charlie Willie
Harry Dawson
Charlie Wilson
Jackson Ford
Grace Smith
Harry Bee

Ka-ki-kila-ka

Wicha-tlasawi
Humgidokok
Kwakothnagi-gi
Wayu-gwadawawi
Wiksakowk
Lala-gesawayi
makwagila

Billy Wilson
Arthur Shaugrossy
Billy Sunday
Lester Jackson
Jim Wilkins
Tom Williams
Mrs. Lemuel Hunt
Mrs. Tom Wanush

jala

Ki. ko dile kala

	Huonjotistala	Peter Scow
amusik	Kwama kalasugwilouk	Philip Wilson
namuk	wigikwalasawi	George Smith
Dick	Humgudi	Mrs. Hennes Johnson
Johnson	Chestilela wakis	Sam Weber
ll	Makwaya lisamayi	William Robertson
"Dick	Hapnala gus	Jack Dunn
Dick	Han gum	Michael Dick
Hunt	Namumumpungilogwa	Kalapa ^{Mrs. Jack Weber}
Henry R. H.	Ogwilagamayi	Peter Moon
Cedar	Nyaku glas	Willie Moon
Y Nelson	Kul kilagamayi	Mulus Lagis
Nelson	Isowksa kwalisa mayi	Ray Dawson
m Weber	Ila kwaksagi	Wm. Dawson
awson	walus	Family Gerry Dawson
Willie	Ye-ya-ga-da-lutl	Mrs. Frank Dawson
Wm. Dawson	Kika gila-gamayi	Thompson Lagis
Pilson	Kwum kalagalis	Tom Lagis
Ford	Lagis	
mith	W. Kwalisawu Ka-30	Art Lagis
ee	Kwikya igwis	Harry Lagis
	ne ull kinoo hwa	
Wilson	Pajus nakwa	Tom Dawson
Haungrey	Kwum kaaglagilis	Frank Dawson
Bunday	Yow yow kwilisamayi	Ray
Jack	Tsa tsakw lisamayi	brothers &
Kalkus		Sisters
ilhoris	Kwama kalus	Henry Nelson
Hunt	Kwaggesilogwa	Annie Cedar
Wamuk		

Kwekasu tiriik

Kor da latlumaye	Alfred Coon	T
Komo goaye	John Saml Scow	
Putlpallis wanoje	John Billy Scow	
Gortlus - Hoyatl	Peter Scow	
Kum kahwidi	Peter Coon	2
Kika gor lus	Jim Patch	
unkwid	Abbie Scow	
Komapa kwala	Tom Dawson	G
wakho paglis chu we	Henry Biscuit	
mo den kun	Charles Coe	2
Amakho gila	Gow - Gow	
Yakutlun lis	Dave Willie	
Asousakwalis	Alex Willie	2
Kwakul Nagi ge	Gibbs Willie	K
Kwosdijus	Billy Sandy	
	Wayne	

Gliglagodi

Cala kunyidi	George Scow	T
Namo kwala gals	Mrs Bert Robertson	

Gwa wayinuk
Kweek

Coon	Ta tunshidi	Glen Johnson
Scow	nage	Bill Wilson
Scow		
Scow		
atch	Qisbalis wako nagwalus	Billy Wilson
cow	nage gi	Ned Coon
son	Hum gioli makawa	Mrs. Mary Johnson
scout	Gikristalis anagi	Sally Williams
Coon	Ayutlut	Sam Cedar
w	Wegikulilisawi	Big Tom
lie	Klakwa gi	George Williams
lulu	mopun gum	Alex Williams
lulu	Namogwis	Fred Williams
ndly	Kowksamalagalis	Jim Wakus

Hee bin	
Yakoglus	
Hee bungi	
*Yekakwa lagalis	(George Henry)
nuth nuzige	(Bill Johnson)
Komokor	(Mary Dawson)
	(Jack Henry)
	(Juno Kwag)

wewana gilouk

Pungwid	Jim Pungwid
Gwalis Namogwis	" "
Glakwoylus	" "
Haya ligum	Tom King

Turn to page
176 for
the rest

Kukamageti~~Wenagiluk~~

namogwisgi
Hamalakalutl
Seawid

Willie Weber
Charlie Coon
Tom Patch

Hakwamish tube

Klaklilekla

Yowkyakwalisamayi

~~Kasalus~~

Kasayapaluk

makwalagalis

Klakwagila

Yekogwalagalis

Le gwap

Yekokwalaglis

Kukwekilagamayi

Klakwagi

Klakwohalus

Gikun-gilos

Kwakila

Gwothlus

Pail patlis

Gwothlusamayi

Galus touk

Klekwagilagamayi

Yekun

Leslie Nelson

Percy Frank

~~Henry Nelson~~

Sam James

Mrs. Toby Willie

Jim King

Herta Web

Harry Bee

Hagwidayu

Gumbo Crow

Mrs. John Cook

Mary James

~~John James~~

Gordon Nelson

Henry Smith

Mrs. Kergons Joe

Sam Webster

Mr. Alse Willie

Lizzie Prepost.

Appendix B: Historiography

1834

Tolmie Census

William Fraser Tolmie (1812-1886) written works include *Comparative Vocabulary of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia* (1884) and his journals published in 1963 as *The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie*. He produced one of the earliest censuses of the Kwakwaka'wakw people. Only the Head Chief names are recorded.

1849

Vancouver Island becomes a British colony. Queen Victoria leases all of Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company on the condition that the company promotes colonization of the island.

1850

As Chief Factor of the HBC, James Douglas begins to negotiate agreements with Kwakwaka'wakw, Saanich, Snunueymuxw and Songhees/Lekwungen, Snanaw-As, Sciw'new, T'Souke and the Malahat peoples now engulfed by the Colony of Vancouver Island. The written agreements state that the Indigenous signatories surrender their entire territory forever in exchange for small reserves and residual hunting and fishing rights. The oral evidence indicates that the agreements reaffirmed Indigenous territorial ownership and allowed for peaceful European settlement within these territories.

1856

Bella Coola war

According to Boas & Hunt the war occurred in 1856. However, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the Bella Coola war happened as late as the

1870's. It is believed that Hunt may have pushed the date back to protect his informant who participated in the retaliation war. Further research is needed.

1878

Alfred J. Hall sets up a mission school in Fort Rupert.

Reverend Alfred James Hall arrived at Fort Rupert in 1878 but two years later he was encouraged to move his mission to Alert Bay on Cormorant Island where the prospector-turned-trader Wes Huson and his partner Stephen Spencer had opened a store, built a wharf and were operating a fish saltery, later a cannery. The Nimpkish moved across to Alert Bay from their main winter village site, (Whulk), at the mouth of the Nimpkish River. Hall built a school, a church and a sawmill and, with the relocation of the Indian Agency from Fort Rupert in 1890, Alert Bay became the business and administrative centre of the north island.

1879

Kwawkewlth census is taken where the names of the heads of family are recorded. However, children and wives' names are not recorded.

1880

Alfred J. Hall sets up a school in Alert Bay.

1881

Canada creates six Indian agencies: Cowichan, West Coast, Kwawkewlth, Fraser River, Kamloops and Okanagan. The Indian agents report directly to the Indian Superintendent for BC (until 1910).

1881

Canada enumerates Indians in BC in the national census.

1884

The Potlatch Ban was in effect from 1884-1951.

1885

Canada enacts a potlatch ban. Every Indian engaging in a potlatch or Tamanawas (spirit) activities is deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and is subject to imprisonment of up to six months in jail.

1886

Franz Boas (1886-1942) was the father of North American anthropology and begins researching the Kwakwāka'wakw people. He later meets George Hunt and the two create a working relationship whereby they document information on the Kwakwāka'wakw for over fifty years. They create probably the largest collection of documentation on a First Nation group in North America.

1888

George Dawson writes the first ethnographic account of the Kwakiutl people. However, he is a geographer and only conducted his fieldwork out of personal interest.

1891

Canada enumerates the Indians of BC in their national census.

1901

Canada enumerates the Indians of BC in their national census.

1911

Canada enumerates the Indians of BC in their national census.

1913

The Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in the Province of BC (the “Mckenna-McBride Commission”) begins its community hearings. The Indian Rights Association resolves to appear before the Commission and demand the issue of title be settled before reserves are adjusted. The Commission travels the province for three years, holding community meetings from which they produce volumes of testimony and 98 interim reports. The people discuss water, hunting, fishing, grazing, and timber rights, and ask for treaties and larger reserves. They also express fears that the Commission will further reduce existing reserves. Commissioners assure the people that the Indian Act guarantees that reserves cannot be reduced without Indian consent.

1913

Edward Curtis travels to the Northwest Coast and produces a film “In the land of the Headhunters” and also writes a volume on the Kwakiutl Indians.

1921

Canada enumerates the Indians of BC in their national census. If you do not have an English name, you are assigned one by the government.

1921

Dan Cranmer hosts a potlatch in Village Island and people are sent to jail. This strikes fear into a lot of Kwakwaka'wakw families, especially the ones who live near Alert Bay. As a result, families begin to drop out of potlatch system out of fear of imprisonment.

1921

Indian Agent/Justice of the Peace William Halliday and the RCMP stage a major raid on a Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch at Mamalilikulla (Village Island), arresting 49 people and confiscating all regalia, masks and other sacred items. Twenty-six people are incarcerated, and the confiscated items are sold to

public and private collections throughout Canada and the United States. The Kwakwaka'wakw join the Allied Tribes.

1934

Kwikwasutinuxw head chief Johnny Scow (1875-1934) dies.

1935

Chief Copper Johnson (1849-1935), known as Kwamaxalas dies. He was the head chief of the Haxwa'mis. His son Herbert Johnson was his heir.

1936

Feeling the pressure to divide by the government, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw respond by building a totem pole to commemorate the union of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw. They create a pole that is symbolic of our political relationship; the pole has one crest for each of the four tribes – Dzawada'enuxw, Kwikwasutinuxw, Gwawa'enuxw, and Haxwa'mis. The four crests are on a single pole.

1938

In response to the changes that are occurring due to colonization, the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw decide to host May Sports. They enlarge the soccer field, build Deland's Hall, and build the church. The four tribes did all the work collectively despite objections from the Indian agent. The work is also completed without money as no one was paid to do his or her work.

1938

The leaders of the Musgamakw Dzawada'enuxw meet and decide to amalgamate. However, the government curtails their efforts.

1940

Ned Joshua Coon (1888-1940), head chief of the 'Nax̱nax̱w̱la of the Ḵw̱iḵwas̱uṯinux̱w dies. A memorial pole is erected in Alert Bay for him.

1947

Amalgamation: Kwikwasutinuxw-Ah-kwaw-mish. After the amalgamation between the four tribes fails, the Hax̱wa'mis attempt to amalgamate with the Dzawaḏa'enux̱w but fail because the government does not want our people living in Kingcome because they cannot monitor and control us due to our isolation. Therefore, the Hax̱wa'mis are forced to amalgamate with the Ḵw̱iḵwas̱uṯinux̱w. It is also agreed that there will be two chiefs, one to represent each tribe. However, the position for the Hax̱wa'mis disappears shortly after when Herbert Johnson dies.

1950

Dzawaḏa'enux̱w head chief Dick Webber dies.

1953

Herbert Johnson (1886-1953), head chief of the Hax̱wa'mis dies.

1962

Ronald Rohner visits Gilford Island and writes another ethnography. His informants are Chief Bill Scow, Jack James, Charlie George, Tom Patch Wamiss, and others.

1965

The new Alert Bay bighouse is completed. Historically, bighouses are built for the 'namima but the bighouse in Alert Bay is built for everyone which is a first. This also begins a new era of potlatching.

1967

“The People of Gilford: A Contemporary Kwakiutl Village” – Ronald P. Rohner is published.

1967

“Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl Indian” – James P. Spradley is published.

1967

“To Make My Name Good” – Philip Drucker and Robert F. Heizer is published.

1984

Samuel Scow passes away (1890-1984). The eldest son of Chief Johnny Scow passes away. Sam Scow was Head Chief of the Tsitsiwalagame of the ‘Namgis.

1984

William Scow passes away (1902-1984). The second son of Chief Johnny Scow passes away. Since his older brother Sam Scow took a big position in the ‘Namgis, Bill Scow took over for his father as head chief of the Kwikwasutinuxw.

1985

Mamalilikala Kwikwasutinuxw claim. Roughly 10 months after the death of the Scow brothers, the Sewid family submits their claim.

Glossary⁸¹

⁸¹ Words and definitions provided by William Wasden Jr.

Dłaxwame’: “standing before” another term for Head Chief.

Apsik̓as: “loyalty to one chief” early anthropologist translation “rival”.⁸²

Dłuwalgame’: “eldest son of a chief” (prince).

Kidił: “sitting still in the house” any daughters of a chief (princesses).

Gi’: “respected, cherished, beloved one” a term of high endearment to address an eldest child by family members, as well as lovers to each other.

Długwe’: “supernatural treasure” a term used for the eldest son of the Head Chief of a clan.

Gigame’: “respected, cherished, beloved, in front” or anyone of noble rank.

Xamagame’ Gigame’: “true chief” a term for the Head Chief of a tribe or Head Chief of a clan.⁸³

Mudził: “lifting the dress in the house” the wife of a Head Chief. The meaning comes from her having to lift her dress because she is continually giving feasts.

U’ma: “noble one” ladies of lower rank.⁸⁴

The words for “rival” are poorly translated and do not translate as such:

Apsik̓as: “loyalty to one chief,” this is a term for the Head Chief of the second clan, also translated as “rival,” a poor interpretation by early anthropologists.

⁸² (Curtis, 1907-1930, p.141)

⁸³ (Curtis, 1907-1930, p.139)

⁸⁴ (Boas, Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, Report of the National Museum, 1895, p.28)

Dukwałape’: “the ones you watch,” another word poorly translated as “rival.”

Hayu’t: “rival,” this is the only word that has been used to describe rival.

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