

## VIII. HEADSHIP

The discussions of social and economic organization just concluded have given some idea of the distribution of power and authority and the nature of political process. Now we turn to the third major institutional complex of the society to seek an understanding of the political organization.

The lineage or segment head (who occupies the apical status of his group) inherits a set of rights and obligations, which may also be described as political and administrative functions. The administrative duties stem from his role as custodian of lineage property. The specific task depends on the nature of property as there is differential allocation of functions depending on the level of the unit. Thus, the lineage head bestows names from the lineage fund of names, decides on the dances, songs, masks to be used in a ceremony, gives feasts and entertainments to the people to demonstrate his generosity and ability to provide. As leader in economic affairs, the leader of any unit initiates the season's activities, giving the signal to begin work on traps, move to fish camp, etc. He settles internal disputes and is responsible for the people in his group vis a vis other groups. He starts the dances, leads the singing, and is seated at feasts in consideration of his position as head of his unit.

The head of a unit represents his group in external affairs, sitting in council, conducting trade. He has the power to declare war and cannot be involved in the expeditions of higher ranking heads without his consent. The lineage head might also make temporary alliances or contract ritual kinship obligations which are binding on his group. In these external relations he is to some extent making policy decisions and to that extent his role is political. There are strong limitations of his power, however, by heads of coordinate groups who are generally engaged in direct competition with him for the cultural summum bonum which is rank. Power of higher chiefs is limited also by the fact that lesser heads can refuse to support them. In practice however I suspect that few weak leaders would so openly court the displeasure of their lineage or town chief.

On the lowest level of organization, the units are component households of the matrilineage. Household heads may inherit their property and position, but according to Niblack,

...as it (chieftaincy) depends on wealth, any freeman who can accumulate property may, by erecting a house, and giving potlatches and feasts in honor of his ancestors, come finally to be the head of a household and be regarded as a petty chief or one of the principal men of the village. (Ibid., p.372)

The prize for which these sublineage heads compete is the status of lineage head, and their principal weapon is wealth.

Swanton writes that the household head's power and influence among other house chiefs varied with the amount of his property.

...it is easy to see how a successful house chief might overshadow the nominal head of the family and supplant him or come to found a new one. The power of the family chief was thus a varying one, dependent on, and at the same time, limited by, the number and power of his house chiefs. (Ibid., p. 69)

These contests are structured by the functional specialization of the different levels of the lineage. It is the control over economic resources, the labor of his dependents, and the power to wage war that gives the house chief the wealth with which to compete with his peers and to challenge the authority of the lineage head. For his part, the latter controls the ceremonial property and attempts to reserve to himself the use of the most exclusive status symbols.

The lineage head has no power to command service from his sublineage heads. Dawson states in 1878:

...the chief is merely the head or president of the various family combinations and unless his decisions carry with them the assent of the other leaders they have not much weight. He has no power of compelling work from other members of the tribe. Should he require a new house he must pay for its erection by making a distribution of property just as any other man of the tribe would do; and indeed it is expected of the chief that he shall be particularly liberal in giving things away, as well as in providing feasts for the people. (Ibid., 119B)

Dawson suspects that the chief's power was much greater in earlier times. We may consult Dixon's chronicler again for enlightenment on this question.

Though every tribe we met with at these islands is governed by its respective chief, yet they are divided into families, each of which appears to have regulations and a kind of subordinate government of its own: the chief usually trades for the whole tribe but I have sometimes observed that when his method of barter has been disapproved of, each separate family has claimed a right to dispose of their own furs and the chief always complied with this request.  
Dixon (Ibid., p. 227)

While trading with a large party of about 200 people on the east coast, perhaps off Skidegate, the observer related how a chief who seemed to be a person of the first consequence was welcomed on board by the Captain who replaced a European cap the old man had lost in a battle.

*Chief  
Cannibal*

...he became extremely useful to us in our traffic, whenever any dispute or mistake arose in the unavoidable hurry occasioned by so great a number of traders, they always referred the matter to him and were constantly satisfied with his determination. (Dixon, *ibid.*, p. 217-218)

Where the town is occupied by a single lineage, the lineage head is simultaneously "town chief." In the multilineal town the head of the title holding lineage has this status. Swanton states, "most questions concerning the interests of a town are said to have been decided by the town chief though with the same probable limitations as those spoken of in connection with the family chiefs." (*ibid.*, p. 69)

The town chief had a special title. (See III/1) In a multilineal town he

stood first socially among the family chiefs, sat in the highest place, directly in front of the inside house pole at feasts, and properly had his house in the middle of the town. (H.L.S.: although a glance at Swanton's house lists shows this wasn't always so.) His social prestige was considerably enhanced by the presence of several other families; and his war power generally increased correspondingly especially if they were related to his. Since however war was determined upon by the individual chiefs individually, he could not count upon their support in every expedition he wished to undertake. (*Ibid.*, p. 68)

It seems that lineages which are subordinate to the title-holding lineage by virtue of being guests in the town did not actively compete for dominance with the "owners." There are cases, however, in which ownership of the town changed from one moiety to the other. We shall examine a significant instance of this in the section on interrelations.

#### SUMMARY:

The role of the head or chief comprises a body of rights and duties which devolve upon the heir to a position. However, in order to legitimate, maintain, and improve his position, he is involved in the competitive struggle for wealth and prestige. Niblack describes his qualifications thus: "Good birth and wealthy or influential family connections are the first requisites of an aspirant for the highest rank." (*Ibid.*, p. 372) Elsewhere he adds,

Personal qualities count for what they are worth in worth in addition. General recognition and consensus of opinion settle the question of rank. That is to say, it is about what the individual can make it by all the arts of assertion, bargain, intrigue, wealth, display and personal prowess. (*Ibid.*, p. 250)

*The doesn't mention  
about power*

Where the two principles of seniority and competition are institutionalized as crucial to political process, it is to be expected that the manner of recruitment will reflect them. The rules of succession provide that the position of the deceased head passes to the next oldest brother, or in the absence of brothers to a sister's son, a niece or a sister. I have a statement from Peter Hill to the effect that if there are several sisters, then the oldest son would be chief. (Stearns, F.N. 04/15) Unfortunately, I didn't perceive the vagueness in this remark in time to remedy it. The same informant continued, "If the oldest one (son) is no good, the chief may choose another successor. Once the chief dies, his choice is law. Otherwise the family may choose the chief." (Ibid.)

This agrees with Swanton's discussion of the subject. (1909, p. 69) ~~This source also~~ states that in case there is a choice to be made it is the household heads who decided between candidates for succession to lineage or ~~to~~ chiefship; in the latter case only the heads belonging to his own lineage had any voice. Swanton declares that success in amassing property is the determining factor.

Dawson holds that in lieu of one of the above mentioned persons in the prescribed line of succession, "

a new chief is then either elevated by the consensus of public opinion, or the most opulent and ambitious native attains the position by making a potlatch, or giving away of property greater than any of the rest can afford... This form may in reality become a species of election, for should there be a strong feeling in favor of any particular man, his friends may secretly reinforce his means till he carries his point. (Ibid., p. 119B)

A case of this sort occurred when old chief Weha of Masset died. Two candidates were put forward. Weha's family preferred his sister's son Harry while the other chiefs supported Paul Radley. Paul was "prominent" in Masset, meaning that he was a "big man"--polite, obliging, good-natured, and wealthy. The family apparently considered Paul too distantly related although he was a blood relation of Weha's on his mother's side. For their part, the sub-chiefs maintained that Harry wasn't wealthy enough to be town chief of Masset. When the showdown came "the family produced things so Harry could prove he was worthy. Harry couldn't do this for himself, but Paul didn't need help." Harry Weha was the next town chief of Masset. (Stearns, Field Notes, 04/10-11)

We have here a set of well institutionalized alternative modes of succession which seem to reflect two different principles: seniority and competition. There appear to be two different ways of attaining highest rank--by appointment, or by coming up through the ranks. We may call the latter, ~~with tongue in cheek,~~

Sigayak  
son  
↓  
old Weha (E)  
↓  
neighbor (name)  
↓  
Harry Weha

"the merit system." Swanton and Niblack have been misled by all the smoke of potlatching into concluding that rank is achieved instead of merely affirmed in the potlatch. When the smoke has cleared away we find the sister's son installed in the town chief's house, his opponent's assertion, wealth, display and personal prowess notwithstanding. The apparently contradictory principles of seniority and competition actually entail each other, and the latter requires the ideology of mobility in order to induce the people to play the game. Albert Edward "denshaw, whom we meet in the last chapter intriguingly at Kiusta, played the game to the tune of four great house-raising and seven potlatches. And yet there are people at Masset today who claim old Albert was never a chief of anything.

Old Weha himself, however, was head of an insignificant Eagle lineage in a village across the inlet when he was declared the next chief of Masset by the reigning town chief, See-Gay. And although Masset had been a Raven town since its founding, there are no echoes of any outcry. In his lists of lineages Swanton remarks of the S<sup>ad</sup>jugax town people (El4) that "in former times it was considered a rather inferior division; but very recently its chief has become town chief of Masset by sufferance of the people and owing to his personal popularity." (Ibid., p. 101. Italic mine.)

One of the tasks I had set myself on going into the field was to trace the genealogies of the heads of each lineage in order to clear up some ambiguities about succession. No sooner had I begun my work than I began to hear that the great Raven chief See-Gay had passed the title to his son Weha. This relationship was a matter of common knowledge to the Haidas who regard it as unusual because it "broke the custom" of ~~avuncular~~ <sup>matrilineal</sup> succession. The stories tell that See-Gay called the people from all over the northern coast of Graham Island to a great feast at which he announced that his son, whose name was Skil da ga' su, was to be the next chief of Masset. The son moved over from Chulchukun across the inlet bringing his people, consisting of several households with him. Upon assuming his position the heir took the name of Weha, as his father's name continued down the matrilineal line. (This fact demonstrates that See-Gay's line had not died out. There were available heirs and a young See-Gay, who perhaps is not a nephew, appears in the historic accounts.)

It is significant that although the title to the town "jumped clans," Weha did not inherit the symbolic properties. Nevertheless, See-Gay's own prized crest, the grisly bear, which was exclusive to the Raven moiety and nowhere is claimed by Eagles, was ascribed to Chief Weha by customary usage. Weha himself never adopted it. It doesn't appear anywhere on the four totem poles standing before his great house. And yet Weha is known as chief of the bear clan.

It is not ~~not~~ possible to date this event with any certainty. The Weha who was chief of Masset in Dawson and Collison's time was an old man and it is generally assumed that he was the son of

*You - not about the fact*

See-Gay. It is not clear whether this is the same Weha who was involved in the plundering of the Susan Sturgess in 1852. There are allusions in Collison's narrative to a Weha who died in a canoe accident. If this is so, we have to do with a telescoped genealogy, and the accession must have occurred in the 1830s or 1840s.

I would reject any interpretation that would attribute this singular event--son succeeding father--as a result of white contact, although there is a tendency to read Northwest Coast history in the nineteenth century as a study of the impact of an overwhelming force on an aboriginal culture. No new practice of patrilineal descent was inaugurated; Weha's own successor, as was discussed on VIII/4, was his sister's son. I believe this case illustrates that the prestige and authority vested in the town chief was greater than has been generally recognized. Another example showing the weight of custom in the manner of selecting the chiefs of Kloo is given in the last chapter. ~~There seems to be evidence for the development of a "royal" lineage.~~

The attitude of the people concerning the <sup>claim</sup> pretensions of the "chiefs" is illuminating. Harrison, writing about tribal organization in the late post-contact period, says:

Each tribe has three or four minor chiefs, although but one is looked upon as the great chief, though as a rule, each person thinks himself as high as his neighbor. At feasts however the distinction is plainly seen. If for instance the head chief at the feast received thirty biscuits, the next would receive only twenty-eight, the next twenty-six and so on according to their status.

(Ibid., p. 52-53)

In earlier times the distribution differentials would have been much more marked, but even so Niblack remarks that no special deference is ordinarily paid to chiefs except by members of their own household. However on state occasions chiefs are treated with great formality in order to impress visitors with their importance. (Ibid., p. 351)

Peter Hill said that when he came home from school (in about 1905) everyone said, "We're all alike here now." Then, he went on, "the next week, after the feasts, we'd have all kinds of chiefs."

Today, the Massets speak of the "hereditary chief" of the village; the "true chief of x," who is a relative of theirs who was edged out of his rightful inheritance by an unscrupulous opponent; and the "Big Shots" who are the unscrupulous opponents. It seems likely that the heads of rival lineages were always considered "Big Shots."

times

In later . . . rivalries between lineages could not be resolved by withdrawal to separate villages. Since the unsuccessful competitor could not be eliminated, he was granted the honorable status of "might-have-been" or in the eyes of his own group, "the true chief."

ion

We shall conclude this long discussion of succession with a brief mention of the rites of accession. The heir to the chief's position gives the funeral potlatch for his predecessor at which the carved mortuary column is erected. At the great feast the heir assumes the hereditary name and the property which passes to him intact. Once installed the chief cannot be deposed although his dependents may split off and set up a new segment. An old chief may, however, find that most of his power has been usurped by a younger man although he retains his titles and honor.

## SYMBOLS

Reference has been made to the symbols of rank which include crests, names, tatoos, labrets, wands, etc. Most significant are the crests. These are conventionalized designs of animals, other natural objects such as the rainbow or cumulus clouds, or artifacts such as the drying frame. They are used by authorized persons in the same way that the cattleman's brand is used to mark personal property, in tatoos, or in carving on totem poles and houses.

Some crests are of supernatural origin. Thus, all Ravens have used the killer whale since Foam Woman, which leads Swanton to suppose that the crest originally had religious significance although by historic times its meaning was entirely secular. (Ibid., p. ) Crests might also be used obtained in exchange as is the case with the highly valued grisly bear crest obtained from the Tsimshian chief Djebasa. The moon and mountain goat crests reserved by the chiefs of Skedans and Skidegate for their own use are also of Tsimshian origin. A notable experience with a supernatural or natural object entitled a person to adopt it as his crest. Thus the "first" sea lion became the crest of the man who claimed to have shot it. His priority of usage established his exclusive title. Some crests were obtained by one lineage in ignorance of the fact that it was already used by a lineage of the opposite moiety.

The answer to the question, "Who are the authorized users?" forces one to modify the impression of exclusiveness conveyed by the preceding discussion. The crestal system pervades all Northwest Coast culture, and intertribal relations are based on shared crests. The Haida Ravens use the same crests as the Tlingit Wolf-Eagle clans, the Tsimshian Bear and Wolf clans and the Bella Bella Eagle and Killer Whale clans. The Gitins or Eagle moiety correspond to the Tlingit Ravens, the Tsimshian Raven and Eagle phratries, and the Bella Bella Ravens. The fictive relationships between lineage chiefs are based on the

sharing of crests and not of names. These fictive relations are elsewhere referred to in the paper as ritual kinship. Their function was to facilitate the redemption of captives, travel and trade through out this extremely hostile area.

Some of the crests occur widely among lineages of each moiety. For example, the eagle, beaver and sculpin were frequent among the Eagle lineages, while killer whale, grisly bear, rainbow and TCamsos (a supernatural being) were widespread among the Ravens. Some crests were found to be the exclusive property of a single lineage: the abalone, mica, yellow cedar bark, skate, dog, star blanket among the Eagles; among the Ravens the drying frame, new moon, worm, and weasel occurred only once. Swanton's interpretation is that these crests were introduced late and that the traditions in which they figure are based on real events. (Ibid., p. )

It will be recalled that segmenting groups retain the crests of their ancestral lineage and this process would account for the similarity of crests among related lineages. This similarity would itself perpetuate traditions of relationship when genealogical links were long forgotten. Swanton finds a close correspondence between the history reconstructed on the basis of shared crests and a history based on myths and traditions. (Ibid., p. 116) Among the Eagle lineages bearing the eagle, beaver, sculpin, and frog, are with only one exception, descendants of Labret Woman. Those lineages using eagle, beaver, frog, halibut, and cormorant claim descent from Property-Making-a-Noise. (Ibid., p. 117) This by no means exhausts the list of Eagle crests.

It cannot be generally maintained then, that crests were the exclusive property of a single lineage serving to define its boundaries and promote internal solidarity. Crests did however symbolize the fundamental dichotomy between the two moieties. Within the lineage they served to denote positions on the status continuum. As observed above, all Ravens were entitled to use the killer whale while the grisly bear was highly valued and its use restricted to chiefs. Young men assumed the crest of lower prestige value before they were entitled to those of highest rank. But if a young man of high rank died before assuming a higher crest, his family was permitted to carve it on his grave post.

Town chiefs and lineage heads endeavored to monopolize highly valued crests, although the powerful household heads disputed their right to do this. The issue was resolved in a vengeance potlatch in which a chief sought to force another to relinquish a crest (or name) by destroying more property than the other could muster. If he did not succeed, the monopoly was broken. The moon crest was successfully reserved to four of the highest ranking Raven chiefs--R4, R9, R2, R19. (Swanton, ibid., p. 107)



## NAMES:

Each lineage had a stock of names which were among its closely guarded properties. Names were given to persons, houses, canoes, traps, etc.

Individuals received several names. The first was given to the child by its mother, the eldest son often receiving her eldest brother's name; the second son the next eldest brother's name and so on. Or the shaman might reveal that a deceased member of the lineage was returning in the new-born and it was then given that ancestor's name. A boy received also the name of his father's father if he were of the same lineage, but otherwise, the name of a great uncle or other male relative. (Peter Hill stated that the paternal grandson may get the name if there is no one else to succeed. F.N. 04/15 This is one of these ambiguous statements I didn't clear up in time.) At each tattooing the young Haida received a new name.

The successor to a headship was permitted to choose one of his predecessor's potlatch names. Since some names had more prestige than others, these tended to be preserved and there is a succession of chiefs named Skedans, Skidegate, Kloo, etc. The whites called the villages after their chiefs and local names tended to be lost. At each subsequent potlatch a man might take another name from the lineage fund or make up one to commemorate a personal achievement. Names might also be bestowed on her kin by the wife of the host at a potlatch (housebuilding type) but these names may not have been hereditary. Fathers of men and women who had distinguished themselves might take a name meaning "father of so and so."

Names did not "jump clans." It was seen that even when chief See-Gay broke the rules by handing his village over to his son, his own name continued down the maternal line and did not go to the successor.

House names might be "inherited" by subsequent houses built by the same owner, but a new name was frequently assigned to a new house built on an old site. House names were sometimes exchanged by lineages having a fictive relationship.

Swanton lists some canoe names owned by the chief of Skedans (RH): "dish canoe," the highest name; "lazy canoe," "dancing canoe" "swan canoe."

Other symbols of rank included labrets. These were worn by all freewomen, the size increasing with age and rank.

Ceremonial wands and batons are used by chiefs and shamans on state occasions. Punctured ear lobes and nasal septums and

tatoos were acquired by children of high ranking families in successive potlatches. Their number was an index of rank. These ceremonies at which the symbols of rank were assumed are elements of the institution of the potlatch.

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## IX. INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

*except Holant*

The heading of this section claims too much. There were no residual, extra-lineage functions requiring establishment of formal governmental structures. An incipient, unformalized kind of group which should be mentioned however is what the first whites called "the council." Because of the consensual basis of all interhousehold and interlineage activity, it is likely that patterns of consultation by heads were always observed. Meetings would have been intermittent for few matters required common action. Interrelations between groups were usually governed by prescribed behaviors attaching to certain roles. For example, ego's relations with members of his father's ~~matrilineage~~ matrilineage and his own lineage were defined by kinship obligations. Blood feud as the appropriate behavior in hostile interrelations likewise called for no interpretation. It was only as lineage remnants began to coalesce that council meetings came to fill an important need. Niblack, whose observations were made between 1885-88 notes:

*Council*

In matters affecting one or more gentes or the village, representatives of the various households or gentes meet (more) formally. They squat around or sit cross-legged, delivering formal speeches in turn, which are heard with rapt attention and approved of by grunts, murmurs, and uplifting of hands. In cases such as withcraft or offenses of medicine men, sentence to death or to fine is adjudged by the leading men of the village after trial. (1888, p. 253)

It seems that "councils of the tribe" (Deans, ~~1891xxx~~ 1899, p. 22) were frequently called to decide an argument between individuals over use of a crest, payment of a debt, etc.

Councils would have been called also to cope with some unusual event, unforeseen in the customary codes. Collison describes the scene in Weha's great house at Masset and his account is of interest for the view it gives of the chief's authority. This event occurred in 1876. Collison had come to Masset from Port Simpson on the ~~inn~~ mainland in response to the dying wish of a subchief, See-Gay (probably a nephew of Weha) whom he had occasionally instructed in Christian doctrines while the chief was visiting the Tsimshian. Collison addressed the large gathering in Weha's house and then sat down after declaring his intention to bring them the message of the Great Chief Above:

There was silence for several minutes. Then there arose a low murmuring consultation from all sides which gradually increased in volume during which the chief was in close consultation with his leading advisers. At length the loud tap of a stick by one of these caused silence and the chief arose to speak.

(1915, p. 106)

The chief answered Collison, asking why the white men sent disease and drink long before anyone came to help them. When he faltered in his oration, he was prompted by one of his advisers, after which he resumed. Collison was then permitted to reply, and was answered by one of the sub-chiefs whose remarks indicated that the missionary would be permitted to teach the children but the adults wanted to hold onto their old ways.

Thus the council meeting ended... Now that the consultation had ended the Haidas gave full vent to their views and groups of excited men were discussing the question in high tones and with vehement gestures both within and without the lodge. Amongst these the medicine men were the most excited and from the fierce looks with which they regarded me I knew that from them at least I must expect active and organized opposition as they realized that their craft was in danger. (Ibid., p., 108)

The possible political importance of the shaman has not been dealt with in this discussion. Certainly these persons exercised great influence as they were believed to have supernatural powers which could be used to injure. It is certain also that chiefs made use of mystical properties and charms obtained from shamans "for obtaining and holding authority over the credulous vulgar." (Dawson, p. 120B) Occasionally shamans might become household heads if they could accumulate the necessary property, but there seems to have been no inherently political element in their role performance.

In a discussion of powers of chiefs, Peter Hill told me that "all the big chiefs ~~xxx~~ came together. He'd (Weha) agree with one and that goes. Nobody ever opposed him. Everybody was happy about it... Nobody disagreed with Weha. If anybody did, ~~they~~ they didn't pay any attention to them." (Stearns, P.N. 04/29)

In this section we shall be concerned with the kinds of behavior disapproved by the society and the mechanisms employed to deter, amend, and punish such behavior.

Breach of etiquette, theft, adultery or seduction, and injury or death of a ~~xxxx~~ member of another lineage were behaviors likely to have serious consequences. Insult, quarrels over gambling games, and failure to live up to an agreement such as a contracted marriage might result in blood feud unless compensation were paid.

Theft of personal property was probably rare in pre-contact times and in any case was not considered a major crime. Poaching on economic preserves of another group was very risky and likely to have dire results. The robbing of the grave house of a shaman

was permitted to another shaman, but a powerful curse discouraged the profane from pilfering.

Reference has already been made to the measures taken by the matrilineage to protect its rights to the sexuality of its female members.

As regards the death of another ~~lineage member~~ lineage's members, the Haida recognized a distinction between manslaughter and deliberate murder. If a person drowned by falling out of a canoe, the owner of the canoe was held liable but the amount of compensation demanded was moderate. (Stearns, F.N. 04/24) In the case of willful injury, the claims would be very heavy. "If the high ranks fight and one gets a little cut, the damages would be high." (Ibid., 04/23) This practice of demanding high compensation for ~~any~~ insult or injury could be turned into a profitable game. Informants not aligned with the family of Albert Edward Edenshaw told me that one way in which he got his property was to pick a fight with someone who had some property he coveted. According to the stories, if he desired something a man had, he would heckle and goad the owner into such a rage that he assaulted his tormentor. Edenshaw would then retire, possibly feigning great injury, and elders of his lineage would come forth and demand reparations which always included the ~~provocative~~ *coveted* object. (Ibid.)

In the matter of responsibility, each head was responsible for the members in his own group. Thus, an uncle had to pay damages incurred by his nephew, and on the other hand, it was the uncle who received compensation paid for injury to a nephew. This arrangement guaranteed the nephews' interest in their uncle's prosperity. A habitual offender might be turned out of the house after his lineage had paid restitution to the claimant.

A woman's own lineage was legally responsible for her, and her husband had no right or duty to revenge her. In fact, if his lineage were liable for injury to her, he would have to help pay the claim. Swanton gives an extreme instance from the traditions of the People of Pebble Town, R9. A woman living there was shot mysteriously and blame was laid upon their traditional enemies, R5. The injured woman's husband belonged to this lineage and before she died, she instructed her friends to kill him. They sent his unsuspecting sons to fetch him to her burial and while he stood weeping over her grave box, struck him down. War followed and R9 was driven to the west coast. (Swanton, 1909, p. 87) (A sequel to this instance was the pitched battle at Daxua between R9 and R5; see X/2)

One of the most effective deterrents to misbehavior was the fear of ridicule. Swanton says that it was customary to say to an unruly member of R4 which traces its descent from the woman

in the cockle shell, "You did not drift ashore in the cockle shell." (Ibid., p. 77) That is to say, that in a society placing such great emphasis on high status, the ultimate sanction is the fear of losing status. Even so serious an obligation as avenging the death of a lineage member can be affected. There is a tale which records how a young man disappeared under suspicious circumstances. A slave of the household reported having seen his decapitated head hanging above the doorway in another house. The young men immediately formed a war party, but were restrained by the elders who pointed out that the slain man had been cohabiting with a relative. "They will call us 'Those who sleep with their sisters,'" If they did not acknowledge the killing by avenging it, no one could speak of the incest. This wisdom prevailed.

Another powerful deterrent was the fear of ruinous suits for damages. The interest of any household in accumulating blankets for distribution was constant and any action which would reduce that store was resented by other lineage members.

There were formal and informal mechanisms for settlement of disputes. One had no legal redress against members of his own lineage, but it seemed that there was always a peacemaker. This was an elder of the lineage or village. Out of respect for this person opponents resolved their differences. This person, or such a person should say, stepped into the breach to help negotiate damages between lineages. Any injurious action involving ~~two~~ two lineages immediately created a state of tension. But there seemed to be no situation in which compensation in property and perhaps the replacement of a slain person was not considered adequate atonement. The rank of the victim determined the amount of compensation asked for death or injury.

According to the myths, ownership of a town sometimes was transferred in settlement of damages. A story collected by Swanton (Ibid., p. 81) relates how a man of R6, the Skidegate T<sup>o</sup>on people, married an Eagle woman, and one day their daughter went to collect gum with her father's nephew.

In old times they used to light a fire under the tree and let the gum run down into hollows in kelp stems. While they did this, the girl was looking upward; and some hot pitch falling into one eye, put it out. In atonement for the injury the boy's family offered three slaves to that of the girl, but it did not satisfy them. At last the boy seized his mother's digging stick and threw it out. It was a sign that his family gave up the town, since ~~when~~ which the Gitins have owned it."

Peter Hill confirmed that a town was sometimes given up to save a life, and gave Limberlost on the Yagun River as an example but he did not know the circumstances--this happened in Weha's time.

It sometimes happened that terms could not be agreed upon, or the damages were not forthcoming and then blood feud resulted. Between enemies of long standing such as the Skidegate Inlet Haidas who warred with the west coast Haidas and also with the people of Kloo, each raid and each murder was only a single event in an endless sequence.

Duels or trials by combat were occasionally employed to resolve a feud between individuals and between lineages. Equipped with armour, masks and daggers, the combatants "stepped forth to the encounter, encouraged by the songs and cries of their friends." (Niblack, 1888, p. 342) These contests must have been governed by rules since Niblack states that "fair fight, excepting in duels seems to have been unknown or unrecognized." (Ibid., p. 340)

Less deadly was the vengeance potlatch. Quantities of property were destroyed in a gesture of anger and contempt. Usually a number of blankets were torn into strips and given out. The offender and his group were shamed forever if they could not duplicate this action. When the insult cut deeply the offended person might attempt to ruin his opponent by destroying a greater amount of goods than the latter could muster. Frequently however, the object was simply to wipe out a slur. This was one way in which chiefs might force an unauthorized person to stop using a crest claimed by the former.

<sup>a</sup> Another case of informal methods of settling disputes was observed by Captain Douglas of the Iphigenia on the afternoon of June 17, 1789 while he was anchored at Haines cove on the northwest coast of Graham Island:

...the chiefs of the two villages on different sides of the cove, having had some disagreement they prepared for war, and a very bloody conflict ~~was~~ to all appearance was prevented by the interposition of the women, which after a very loud and angry debate that lasted upwards of an hour produced a reconciliation between the hostile parties. One of the chiefs attended by his canoes, paddled round the Iphigenia and chanted a song as an acknowledgment to Capt. Douglas that he had not taken part in the dispute while the other party were received at the village of their tribe by the women and children with the tuneful acclamations of welcome or of triumph.

(J. Meares, 1790, p. 363-364)

## X. WARFARE

Warfare is characterized by aggressive hostility and is waged in pursuit of several objectives. It is more encompassing than blood feud which is conceptualized here as a legal action, almost a pact between two groups. It has been seen that the segmenting process is justified in terms of a quarrel, and the tradition of the quarrel is the charter which maintains the boundaries between the units. This is not to say that the quarrel "causes" the segmentation for, as mentioned earlier, there are several unnamed sub-lineages within a lineage and fission is a matter of opportunity. However that may be, quarrels between groups may be resolved by the withdrawal of one party from the arena, or by the payment of compensation to the claimant. The alternative is blood feud which alone can wipe out the dishonor of unavenged injury and insult. Full scale war frequently develops out of long-standing feud. Several other inlet and west coast peoples became involved in the hostilities that began with the splitting off of R9 and R5 from the parent R19 stock at Daxua long long ago.

Warfare then not only involves revenge between feuding parties but plunder and enslavement which are not formally part of the legal process. When the economic motive is primary, the military act differs. Surprise raids are conducted against distant tribes whose chances of retaliating against the island Haida are slight. The death of any Haidas engaged in such raids becomes a matter to be avenged by a return engagement in which more slaves and booty are taken. Haida war parties ravaged the entire coastline of what is now British Columbia, seizing loot and slaves from the 'lingits, the Nishkas, Tsimshians, Bella Cools and raiding the tribes of Vancouver Island. A party of 500 showed up at Fort Victoria in 1853 frightening ~~the wits out of~~ the whites manning the Hudson Bay post there. The governor, James Douglas, persuaded them to leave with gifts of blankets but this resulted in a larger contingent on the next trip.

I do not wish to postulate a shift in the zone of hostilities on the basis of motives for aggression. That is; I don't mean to imply that feud is carried on between Haidas while war as I have defined it is typical of intertribal relations. It is characteristic of this type of social organization based on autonomous lineages that interlineage relations and intertribal relations need not be distinguished analytically. There is no national interest, only individual and lineage interest and this level of interest is what determines the range of mobilization. This explains why there were no permanent alliances. The time factor is important here. The accounts of the earliest traders emphasize the hostile demeanor of the tribes they met in their voyages.

The chronicler of Dixon's voyage described the approach of a party of war canoes. (1787, p. 205) "The place these people came from had a very singular appearance and on examining it narrowly we plainly perceived that they lived in a very large hut



built on a small island and well fortified after the manner of an hippah.." Dixon named the place Hippa Island.

"I could not reckon more than 34 or 36 people in the whole party but then it should be considered, these were probably chosen men who perhaps expected to meet with their enemies as they were equally prepared for war or trade." (Ibid., p. 206)

Coasting south they encountered another party of "aidas. "These people were evidently a different tribe from that inhabiting Hippah Island but appeared equally savage and fierce in their dispositions and were well provided with offensive weapons..." (Ibid., p. 209)

The traditions tell of many a bloody battle between neighboring villages. One episode in the long standing feud between the People of Pebble Town (R9) and the Seaward Squaxadas (R5) was a pitched battle at Daxus. R5 had withdrawn to its old site near Lawn Hill and in the spring they were attacked by ten canoe loads of west coast people.

Both sides lined up opposite, and a pitched battle followed. It lasted a long time; but finally the west coast people were forced slowly back, and suddenly they fell into a trench behind them, where most of them were killed. One of the inlet men had a long pole with a hook on the end concealed by feathers. With this he pulled opponents from their ranks to a place where they could be despatched. A few escaped up the coast, but were pursued and killed; a few others took to the woods and got away. After a long and weary journey, the latter reached Teastia again, but in crossing the channel had to float on grave-boxes and it gave them a "bad name." (Swanton, ibid., p. 82-83)

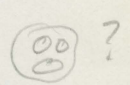
By the middle of the nineteenth century internecine strife had fallen off, although slave raiding expeditions against the mainlanders were frequent and fierce. This abatement of war on the Queen Isaa Islands may be correlated with structural changes. The most notable post-contact change in the society was the aggregation of scattered lineages in nucleating settlements. War itself often had this effect but never on such a scale. The establishment of kinship ties and patterns of interaction between people living in the same village probably encouraged the development of less lethal forms of competition than feud. But before examining the functional substitutes for war, it is necessary to analyse the institution itself. War can be described in terms of three phases; decision, preparation, and attack.

In the discussion of the powers of heads and chiefs, it was noted that household heads and lineage heads had the right to make war on their own behalf and neither could be compelled to take part in the expeditions of another. "aidas undertaken for profit and prestige were private affairs of the lineage or house

head and no other units were permitted to take part. In expeditions planned for revenge, lineage heads consulted among themselves. On the west coast such matters were decided in the winter, apparently by consensus of heads. At Masset each head made his decision whether to join an expedition independently. Often, related lineages of neighboring villages were invited to join the party, but there was no commander in chief. Each lineage head was war chief.

*In chief's seat  
a prop deck?*

Each household head outfitted a canoe providing all the food which was rationed out to the warriors in small, regular portions. The head himself or his deputy, usually a nephew, sat in the place of honor in the stern of the canoe as befitted the holder of the title of "war chief". In battle, command was assumed by an experienced warrior called "sik ladia," who sat in the bow. It was the wife of this man who led the women at home in the rites of sympathetic magic believed to guarantee the success and safety of the raiders. An old woman of high rank accompanied the party. She steered the canoe and it was her task to incite the warriors by goading them into high fury. A shaman went along to kill the souls of the enemy and to remove their scalps when physically dead. The nephews, slaves and other men of the household were required to serve their head as crew and warriors.



The preparations for war were accompanied by much ceremony and strict observance of taboos. The men began to eat medicine and to fast after deciding upon war. The canoes were raised on supports and their bottoms cleaned by burning. They remained there until the day of the raid when they were carried into the water. The participation of both men and women was symbolized by the exchange of belts. During the absence of the warriors the women, to assist the men, danced, fasted and performed certain prescribed rituals. Since a wife's unfaithfulness would cause her husband's death, all the wives of the warriors in one canoe load slept in the same house to keep watch over each other. The actions of the warriors themselves were rigidly prescribed. They never changed seats or paddles since they might intercept the fate of another.

The norms of war permitted ambush, night attack, massacre of women and children, slaughter and scalping of men who resisted too well and enslavement of the rest. The attackers were well organized. A certain number in each canoe were detailed to enter the lodges of a sleeping village and hustle captives down to the beach. The other detachment of warriors which was holding the canoes in readiness, seized the captives and threw them into the canoes which were away on the tide before the village was fairly roused.

In the early days, according to Niblack,

...when two hostile canoe parties met accidentally, preparations for the encounter consisted in putting on the masks and war garments, throwing overboard the dogs, and cautious advance, accompanied by songs, menacing speeches, and gestures. Arrows, missiles, and even bullets (after the introduction of firearms) were avoided by gently heeling the canoe and interposing its gunwale as a protection. In an encounter, the victorious usually slaughtered their opponents, scalped them and cut off their heads, either sticking up the latter on poles to grace their triumph or carrying them off to prevent the friends of the deceased from recovering them.

(Ibid., p. 340)

When the war party returned home, the paddles of those lost in battle were lashed upright in place to inform those watching on shore. Each man who had made a capture stood up in the canoe and sang as they came toward the shore. Swanton states that the spoils of war went to the man who had outfitted the canoe. Elsewhere he states more specifically, "one of the slaves captured by each man was given to the chief; and if a man took only one, the chief sold it and gave part of the proceeds back." (Ibid., p. 55)

Warsfare continued until a relatively late date. One of my informants told me that the last war with the mainland was stopped by the Hudson Bay Company. However for some time after its founding in 1834, the fort had insufficient strength to intervene. Many bloody clashes between the Haidas and Tsimshian occurred almost on the doorstep of the fort. Niblack's account published in 1888 mentions that "since the military occupation of Alaska by our government (1867) and the suppression of slavery throughout the northwest coast, Indian wars have practically ceased." (Ibid., 340)

Even before its suppression by the whites, there were alternatives to wholesale bloodshed. Peacemaking was a possibility. Collison, the first missionary among the Haidas, describes a series of ~~had~~ bloody clashes between the mainland Nishkas and the Hiellen River Haidas that began when a member of the latter was killed during a visit to the Haidas. So many Nishkas were slain and enslaved in the retaliatory raids that their kinsmen sent a fleet against the village of Hiellen. The Haidas, who up to this time had considered themselves immune from attack by sea, fled to Masset. The Nishkas pursued them and burnt many of the lodges. Collison goes on to relate how "the Haidas now began to realize that they had continued the war too long and were winning a bad reputation which might work to their injury." (Ibid., p. 225)

A prominent war chief proposed peace and when the majority of the people concurred, messengers were sent to the Tsimshians and Nishkas with swan and eagle down, the symbol of peace. The peacemakers were welcomed, swansdown scattered, slaves returned and restitution made for slain chiefs. The Nishkas responded with gifts of eulachon grease. According to Collison, "the war chant was changed to songs of peace along the coast and out to the islands.." but alas, "ere long the signs and sounds of strife again arose." (Ibid., 225) Peace, it seems, is not an adequate functional substitute for war.

Niblack, writing on the northwest coast generally, notes, "at the conclusion of a peace it was the customs to exchange hostages in token of good faith." (Ibid., p. 343) The only reference specific to the Haida that I could locate is Swanton's statement that "when peace was made a man of each side, called the 'deer' was taken up and carried about in the arms of his opponents. He was called "deer" because Raven rendered the deer harmless by pulling out its front teeth with a stick." (Ibid., p. 56)

It is easier to describe the behaviors of war than to specify its functions. Its manifest function is to reinforce rank and serve as a path of social mobility by increasing the wealth and prestige of those who successfully participate in it. It is noteworthy that prestige does not come directly from exhibition of military prowess. The outfitter of the canoe or his deputy is the nominal war chief. ~~The~~ The man who directs the operations in battle is simply a specialist.

The manifest dysfunctions of war for the status quo result from unsuccessful participation--the destruction of populations and wealth resulting in structural change: old villages are obliterated, survivors migrate to new settlements or take refuge with kin, the political fortunes of individuals and lineages shift. Epidemics were to have much the same effect, but as disease is a nonstandardized factor, it cannot be considered an institutional alternate. There is an institution however which seems to meet ~~of~~ many of the same functions as war. We turn to an examination of the potlatch.

## XI. THE POTLATCH

It is not my purpose here to conduct an exhaustive analysis of the potlatch or to reevaluate the great masses of literature on this subject. I hope to indicate by a summary of the behaviors comprising the potlatch who is involved, on what occasions, and to assess the contribution which this complex makes to the functioning of the system. Potlatches differed in complexity, duration, number of participants, etc. The following is a bare outline of essential elements.

*walgal  
sk!*

The occasions for giving a potlatch are the raising of a great community lodge, and the erection of a mortuary column although these purposes are inextricably entwined with others as we shall see. Wealth is a prerequisite for giving a potlatch because of the tremendous outlay of gifts and provisions, but high rank is not. The accumulation of the necessary property occupies the lineage for several years. The performance is repeated as often as possible since the several rites de passage required of highest ranking persons can be performed only in conjunction with the potlatch. In former times when only those of high rank had access to wealth through the labor of their dependents, potlatching was synonymous with high status. In late historical times when wage labor offered opportunity for others to acquire the means to give the potlatch, high status was claimed although the institution was drained of its traditional social meanings. This state of affairs has led some writers to interpret the potlatch chiefly in terms of an individual's bid for status. Like all mono-functional explanations, this one is not incorrect, only inadequate.

A chief, deciding that the time has come to give a potlatch, calls the members of his lineage into a feast. They reciprocate by sending gifts which are given away with his own. His wife lends out property, usually blankets, to members of her lineage to be used in repayment of debts, etc., with the understanding that it is to be returned with interest before the great distribution. The ordinary citizen also lends out his property in this manner before calling a council of his friends and kin to evaluate his resources, decide whom to honor with a gift, and how extensive that gift is to be.

Formal invitations are sent out by messenger to male and female members of the host's lineage, and to other lineages of his moiety depending upon the importance of the event and his own means. The common man usually invites only those of his own town, while great chiefs invite those from villages for many miles around.

The guests arrive, splendidly attired, with their spouses and children on the appointed day, making a dance in the canoes, and firing salutes with their brass cannon as their canoes approach

the beach. Slaves rush into the water and throw their master's coppers into the waves. The townspeople dance down to the beach to welcome the guests and help them unload. Then the visitors are ushered to their quarters in the lodges owned by the wife's lineage. Dancing, singing, feasting begin. If the object of giving the potlatch is to erect a house, the members of the host's moiety meet at a "smoke" during which tasks are apportioned to chiefs. These chiefs in turn delegate them to their followers, although the chiefs will later be paid as will the actual workers.

These tasks involve procuring logs from the forest for the house timbers and totem pole, carpentering and carving of the pole. Members of the husband's moiety are specifically designated to perform each task, although in the case of women members, their husbands actually execute the duty without expecting any pay. That is to say, only the members of the husband's moiety are paid for their labor.

Dancing, feasting, singing, gambling and oratory accompany all festive occasions among the *Usidas*. Other elements of the housebuilding potlatch are exclusive to it. The "spirit dances" which Swanton erroneously interpreted as secret society initiations were performed by members of the wife's lineage on such occasions. Niblack and Murdock claim that the housebuilding potlatch was given to bestow status on the donor's children. (Niblack, *ibid*, p. 369) (Murdock, ) On this occasion slaves equalling the number of children to be honored were liberated. The children were brought forward, their ear lobes and septums pierced and the second name bestowed. The children's first two tattoo sessions take place at potlatches sponsored by the parents. Dawson notes that a boy's third and final tattooing takes place when he gives his own housebuilding potlatch with the aid of his mother's lineage and thus enters men's estate. (*Ibid.*, p. 131B-132B) At this potlatch he adopts the name of a maternal relative or ancestor, and drinks down the oil from the great wooden ladle. At the gift distribution which occurs on the last day, the donor of the housebuilding potlatch takes on himself the potlatch name of his predecessor or a name he has selected for himself.

According to Murdock, the funeral potlatch given by the heir of the deceased costs only one tenth as much as the housebuilding type. (1936 p. 13) although Niblack considered this the most elaborate ceremonial of the *Usidas*. (*Ibid.*, p. 372) Its distinctive elements include the erection of the mortuary column which is less elaborate than the totem pole. At the feast which follows, the heir assumes the titles and position. Speeches lauding the deceased and the host are given. This memorial service is paid for with the inheritance although the host must make up the deficit with his own property. Classificatory grandchildren of the deceased's own moiety have ear lobes, nasal septum and for girls, the lower lip, pierced. These children also receive an

eminent ceremonial name from the donor's stock of lineage names. The critical difference between these two types of potlatch is that in the former type, the wife's lineage properties are used, while in the funeral potlatch the host's lineage features its own properties.

The gift distribution which is the potlatch proper is the grand climax. The host wears his most elaborate ceremonial attire--the fringed Chilcat blanket, his headdress hung with ermine skins, and his ceremonial baton which he thumps on the floor with the announcement of each gift. As each guest enters his name is called out and he is seated according to his rank. Seating is by lineages with each lineage arranged at a calculated distance from the seat of highest honor where the town chief sits. The property to be distributed is displayed conspicuously in mounds on the floor, hung on the walls, and suspended from poles. The host's moiety who are the guests at the housebuilding type, are silent while the hostess' moiety cheers. The obligations have been carefully weighed in advance and the value of each gift is calculated to reflect the standing of the recipient. Only the host and his lineage are shamed if it is inadequate, although the guest is free to dispute his award if he feels unjustly treated.

A herald blows a call to announce the opening of the ceremony and delivers a speech praising the host. He calls the names of the recipients in order of rank, a gift is taken and placed before each one, until all are honored. At an "industrial bee" only members of the host's moiety receive gifts, but on other occasions all are remembered. All kinds of personal and household property were given away--blankets, dishes, bowls, canoes, guns, ammunition, money, mirrors, knives, garments, furs, robes, pots, spoons, slaves.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE POTLATCH:

Hosting a potlatch provided the opportunity for the expression and strengthening of internal lineage solidarity. All of its ceremonial property was employed with great effectiveness--crests were worn; masks, batons, dancing blankets were brought out; potlatch names announced; songs and dances performed. The father's and mother's matrilineages both contributed to the gift distribution at the housebuilding potlatch honoring the donors' children. The rites of piercing, tattooing, and naming were accompanied by exhortations to good moral conduct by the shaman and constituted part of the socialization process. At the same time the requirement that these rituals be performed only at a housebuilding potlatch restricted the number who could participate and thus aspire to highest rank.

Potlatching fostered sociability. The feasting, oratory and gambling featured so prominently even in the "industrial"

*There was an additional and for housebuilding*

type of potlatch were favorite pursuits of the Haida. Even the songs and dances displayed as part of the lineage estate were enjoyed in themselves. The hosts used every means possible-- bountiful feasting, lavish entertainment, liberal gift distribution-- to make the event a memorable occasion.

For the infrequent occasions of house or column raising, the potlatch mobilized a far greater work force than the individual lineage, which was on all other occasions a self-sufficient labor unit, could raise. Free cooperation was, however, expected only of relatives. It was noted above that guests were paid for their labor. This payment terminated the obligation. The obligations incurred were of a different nature.

It is the ritual exchange between lineages that sets up reciprocal expectations and obligations. Many of the elements of behavior described above are concerned with recognizing the status of guests and participants alike. For example, the name of the guest is announced as he enters and as his present is awarded. He is seated according to his rank with the town chief receiving precedence. The value of the gift is calibrated to his rank and the costume and crests he wears on this state occasion further advertise his importance.

The man who hosts the potlatch receives more when he is next a guest. That is, his rank has been elevated in perceptible ways. The guests are legal witnesses to this assumption of new names, titles, crests. The whole process demonstrates the agreement on precedence which is the foundation of the social equilibrium. At the same time the potlatch channels competitiveness: it is through this mobilization of his entire substance that the host strives to disrupt that equilibrium in his favor.

All these part-purposes of the potlatch are subsumed in its major purpose of defining relations between lineages. The boundaries thus drawn between coordinate units preserved the autonomy of the unit, and its internal functioning was not affected by its relative ranking.

The potlatch flowered in the middle 1800s at a time when scattered villages were being abandoned and lineages were coming together in nucleating settlements such as Masset, Skidegate, and a few others, less important, such as Xaina. The process was irreversible. The economic basis of society had changed with the intrusion of white commerce. While individuals might migrate, and many did, it was no longer practical for whole lineages to secede and found new settlements in remote places. Lineage rivalries could no longer be resolved by withdrawal while feud between neighboring Households was unacceptable.

And yet the lineage was still adequate to its prescribed tasks. Lineage separation had to be maintained in the face of



close physical proximity if the structures were to continue functioning as constituted. Relations between lineages had been conducted in the language of kinship or of competition. These relations were increasingly formalized. Rank, always a primary principle, served to interrelate the corporate units ceremonially.

Consideration of the time element, meaning the changing social and historic context, is crucial in any interpretation of the functions of the potlatch. Three phases must be distinguished in its development: the feast, which yielded great prestige to the chief who "called the people in" especially in times of scarcity; the classical potlatch which has been described above; and the status struggle in which the bare fact of having erected a big house and totem pole gave one high prestige.

The potlatch did not extinguish the feast since both forms ~~were~~ described in the myths <sup>as</sup> were practiced simultaneously throughout the nineteenth century and the latter persists in somewhat acculturated form today.

Feast giving was an obligation of town chiefs and lineage heads. Criers were sent out with invitations and "every one of the right (moiety) was at liberty to come and eat that portion dealt out to him." (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 155) Seating on these occasions was rigidly ~~prescribed~~ prescribed: the town chief occupied the highest place in front of the inside house pole, while high ranking guests sat around the fire on the bottom stage. The next in rank sat to the right and left of the town chief at distances determined by their status. Ordinary folk sat around the single door at the front or outside.

Ravens and Eagles were called in two shifts, or else the invited Ravens took food home to their Eagle spouses and vice versa. The highest ranking guests were served with elaborate ceremonial dishes and spoons while all others brought their own. Entertainments dramatizing the exploits of the chief or his ancestors were frequently performed.

The term "potlatch" is Chinook (trade jargon) for "give-away." and the distinctive element of the potlatch is the ceremonial distribution of gifts. It is not possible to determine whether other elements such as tattooing and the erection of carved posts were always exclusive to this complex.

Swanton describes potlatching in a discussion illustrating the jealousy with which exclusive crests were guarded. He states,

According to tradition, even the possession of a house-pole was contested by YestAqana. He would let no one else have

one and when he learned that a man of the Sqoos/adss (R10) living farther south had put one up, he gave away a great deal of property to stop him. Others say that YestAqans only refused to allow others to carve their poles higher than a certain point. If, as is asserted, house poles were first used in his day, there may be some truth in this; otherwise one would take it simply as a laudation of the great power of YestAqans. (Ibid., p. 108)

Douglas allegedly noted carved posts at Dadens during his visit in 1789 although I could not locate the statement. A study of Dixon revealed no mention of carved posts although he stayed for the most part a safe distance from shore. The strongest conclusion that can be drawn from such flimsy evidence is that potlatching existed at contact but, because of the nature of economic exploitation, was uncommon and practiced only by the most powerful chiefs. Most writers seem to agree with this conclusion. The difficulty arises when one attempts to assign dates to the different phases. The outline of the classical potlatch given here is based on descriptions of potlatches actually seen by informants of Murdock, Swanton, and Nibleck. This seems to indicate that the classical potlatch was contemporaneous with the virulent form labelled the "status struggle" in which part-purposes assume disproportionate importance.

Some writers see the flurry of house building and totem pole raising that occurred on the northwest coast in the nineteenth century as a cultural efflorescence inspired by improved technology (iron tools) and increased wealth (fur trade). As Drucker presents this position, "...in recent decades..it became possible for anyone to acquire a small fortune in trade blankets, etc., from extra-cultural (i.e. European) sources, by such a relatively simple process as killing a sea otter or two, or putting in a lucrative season on a sealing schooner." (A.A. 41; p. 63, note 22)

Wike has challenged this "enrichment thesis" on the grounds that any sudden increment of wealth from outside would flow into the pockets of the already privileged. (A.A. 60 p. ) It is also asserted that the wave of maritime traders who overran the islands from 1787 to 1830 had little effect on the culture. It was only after the Hudson Bay Company arrived at Fort Simpson in 1834 that the Haidas were able to make use of the technological improvements of white culture that so increased their productivity and wealth. The difficulty with this "explanation" is that the sea otter was almost extinct by 1830. The source of wealth vanished before the "efflorescence" began.

The second prong of Drucker's explanation is the decimation thesis which holds that with the depopulation of the islands "there came to be more high rank statuses than potential incumbents." (Ibid.) This resulted in fierce competition for the positions

by persons out of the direct line of descent who normally would not be considered for the headship. To translate, when disrupted structural relations within the lineage made the normal rules of succession inoperable, the other variable, success in wealth accumulation, dominated. This interpretation is quite plausible when, as Drucker cautions, it is applied to the last phase of development. However the decimation of populations by disease didn't become acute until the 1860s.

Clearly, then, it is not possible to specify just when the social meaning of the potlatch changed. It is possible to illustrate however ~~to~~ what that new social meaning was by quoting James Deans, who claims that it was in the ~~first~~ twenty years following 1853 when the Haidas *first* visited Fort Victoria that the passion for "fine houses and splendid carved columns" raged most furiously. "If a Haida was able to have a column longer and broader than his neighbor it also entitled him to rank high among the people." (1891, p. 286)

The following instance is one of many similar stories.

...in 1883 there was a column finished a few years before my visit to Massett...Behind it stood the frame of a house, showing equally artistic skill. Under this frame I noticed a rude hut of boards, making a wide contrast between the two. Upon inquiry I found that the property belonged to a man who had a beautiful wife or sister whose charms were such that they could readily bring great earnings to the owner of them. Wishing to have a new house it was agreed between the two that in order to have a house and column far surpassing anything ~~to~~ in the land, he would remain at home and employ the most artistic skill on the work, and she would go down to southern parts and there, by the sale of her charms, would raise the funds with which to carry on the work. She went, and regularly by canoe and steamer came a supply of goods and money. The column was carved and set up, and the boards were being got ready with which to cover the frame of the house when suddenly the supply from the south stopped. A few weeks later word came up that she was dead and buried... Had she lived she would have stayed in southern parts until she had made enough to buy one or two hundred dollars worth of goods and provisions; then returned home again; the tribe would have been invited to a housewarming, when most of the provisions would have been consumed and all the goods would have been given away in presents. (Ibid., p. 287)

This form is still technically a potlatch characterized by the housebuilding and the give-away.

SUMMARY:

XI/8

We have seen a sequence of changes in a functional unit, the potlatch, resulting from changes in structure. In the earliest phase, the feast simply celebrated the greatness and liberality of the chief. Friends and kin were treated with generosity, and enemies with hostility. The pressures of factors internal and external to the system forced groups to live in close proximity, in conditions where the integrity of the unit required its demarcation from other units, and where on the other hand, the open hostility which formerly maintained the boundaries had to be channeled into less lethal forms of competition.

In these changed structural relations, the element of liberality could be manipulated to shame a rival in what was ostensibly a gesture of friendship--the invitation to a feast. Thus, generosity became a political instrument marking off the ~~low~~ high from the low, as it had always done, tacitly; and the in-group from the out-group, a function formerly performed by the feud, or myth of feud. The structural change occurred first in the interrelations of the units.

Change then occurred in the internal structure of the units. As lineage strength waned, the boundaries between the different positions on the status continuum weakened. The element of liberality was distorted still further as changing conditions inhibited the expression of other elements in the potlatching complex. The give-away then became a means of celebrating one's own individual importance.

*feasting  
some examples*

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## XII. THE INTERRELATIONS OF LINEAGES IN TOWNS

Our object in this chapter is to examine concrete cases of lineage interrelations in towns. No attempt at a comprehensive analysis of village political organization will be made in this paper.

Kiusta illustrates a relatively simple form of organization. The site is on northwestern Graham Island. At the time of Dawson's visit in 1878, the village had been abandoned for about ten years, but there were twelve houses and a number of carved posts still standing. Swanton was able to obtain the pedigree of nine houses. From west to east, 3 houses belonged to the lineage Q'awas (E21a) headed by Ixtine who was lineage head and ~~the~~ chief before the arrival of Edenshaw. Four houses belonged to the StaStas (E21) whose head, Albert Edward Edenshaw, had houses at Hiellen, Kung, and later at Masset. This was a shrewd and clever man who had amassed much property through his dealings--both piratical and cooperative--with whites. The other 2 houses belonged to the Hiellen-born StaStas (E21c). These 2 households apparently accompanied Edenshaw to Kiusta.

I collected some interesting tales about Kiusta with relevance for our study of interrelations. Once upon a time when the Q'awas group was living at Kiusta under their head Ixtine, a large party of canoes appeared offshore and attempted to land. The people rushed down to the beach and threw things at the visitors to keep them from landing, but the chief came out and scolded them, telling that was no way to greet friends. So the newcomers were welcomed ashore where they soon built a huge house called "Story House," and their chief gave a big potlatch.

"Why didn't the people want these others to land?"

"Well, they knew this man was going to try to take over. And sure enough when the old chief (Ixtine) died, this man seized the name and made himself chief." This story was told to me by the man who succeeded to the name Ixtine and is regarded today by his friends as the rightful chief of Kiusta although as mentioned, the village has been abandoned for a century. (Stearns, F.N. 05)

Study of the lineage genealogies throws some light on this affair. (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 93). Q'awas (E21a) was originally a sublineage of E21 but had split off the parent stock and migrated to the North Island area. The whole region was abandoned when R2, R20 and R19 migrated to Prince of Wales Island in Alaska early in the eighteenth century. Edenshaw, as head of the parent lineage outranked Ixtine, but it must be remembered that E21a was an autonomous lineage, and Ixtine was not subordinate to Edenshaw. They were, it appears from vague allusions, blood relatives, which is not relevant. But after the elder Ixtine's death, his sister's son and Edenshaw were competitors for the title of

*Myth House of Swanton?*

*What about Comshaw?*

town chief. Edenshaw's wealth, the fact that he immediately upon his arrival erected a great house at Kiusta and gave a potlatch, demonstrated that he was a more suitable heir than the nephew who, however, became head of E21a. The title passed to E 21. Title to the surrounding resource areas remained with R19 who were living in Alaska, while E21 retained its ancestral tracts at Rose Spit and around Naden Harbor near Kung.

*all Eagle*

E21 and R19 had an intermarrying relationship. Edenshaw's own wife was an Alaskan Haide, and the interaction across stormy Dixon Entrance was so continuous that no dialectical differences ever developed between the Massets and Kaigani, although dialectical and cultural differences between Masset and Skâdegate are of long duration.

Kiusta, to summarize, was a single moiety town of three related lineages.

*all Eagle etc  
1 house*

The village of Kung was just inside the narrows that open into Naden Harbor from Virage Sound on the north coast. Dawson found that the people were removing to a new village of Yatza on the exposed northern coast where, according to Edenshaw who seemed to be in charge, they expected to get more trade. Swanton's data on 12 houses at Kung shows that 3 belonged to E21; 5 represented E19, the lineage of the town chief Gulas; and 3 represented a related lineage, E19a, under their head Gustamalk. Gulas thus had nominally 8 houses to support him in any undertaking, although Gustamalk was remembered as a forceful chief who probably had ambitions of his own. Nevertheless, these two chiefs of related lineages undoubtedly combined to keep Edenshaw, who always had ambitions, in his place. There was one Raven house in this otherwise Eagle town, but I have no information about it.

A glimpse of the way in which a single lineage town becomes multilineal and then composite is afforded by Cumshewa. This was an old Eagle town belonging to the Witch People (E5). This lineage had subdivided into 3 branches, each taking the name of the part of town where it was localized. The town chief was head of the Low Ground People, (E5a) represented by 8 houses. The High Ground People (E5b) had 3 houses; and the Up Inlet People (E5c) had 8 houses.

One house belonged to a man of R10 from Tasu Harbor who had married a woman of E5a. Presumably he put up a house in his wife's town after performing bride service, rather than go back to his father's people at Tasu Harbor. The other R10 household in Cumshewa may belong to a nephew or other close kin of the original "colonizer." Sometimes sons who for some reason did not go to live with their uncle but grew up in their father's town might prefer to put up a house in that place. More rarely a man might give his house to his wife, thus giving her lineage political representation in his village. An example is House No. 13 in Swanton's list for Ninstints. (Ibid., p. 283)

These examples show how villages occupied by a single lineage come to be shared by related lineages or undergo internal division and so become multilineal. In the case of E21c at Kiusta we see that related lineages may be induced to move in and strengthen the town chief's hand, although there is the implicit threat of competition for the highest title between lineages of the same moiety. This threat may be avoided if the town chief can persuade his kin of the opposite moiety to settle in his town. This may be what happened in Cumshews since one R10 houseowner was affinally related to the town chief and lineage head of E5a. The prospective settler would, ~~however~~ however, have to take an inferior position and have, in effect, a landlord/tenant relationship with his kinsman. The ambitious man would have no hope of gaining great influence in such a situation. An alternative possibility is for intermarrying lineages to settle adjacently where each could be autonomous and yet maintain close relations. While Edenshaw was chief at Kiusta, his son Cowhoe (Gau) was lineage head of R19 and town chief of Dadens across Parry Passage on North Island.

This was the situation also between the Pebble Town People (R9) and the Sea Lion Town People (E9) whose villages were close by on Skidegate Inlet. Sections of both lineages used to camp along the north side of western entrance to Skidegate Channel in the region called Stass'os. Intermarriage was frequent and the children born to Raven women became R11. Children of Eagle women were E10. Each group took the place name of Stass'os. The related groups migrated together. (Swanton, *ibid.*, p.83) In this example, intermarrying but distinct lineages gave rise to coresidential units. These pressures for consolidation were offset by motives for separation.

An interesting case showing the interplay of these factors concerns the removal of the west coast families to Skidegate Inlet. The migration to the inhospitable Pacific coast had taken place during the bloody wars between R9 and R5 as recorded in the traditions and frequently alluded to in this paper. These wars took place soon after contact, but I am not prepared to date the contraction. This must have occurred fairly late in the 19th century.

For whatever cause, war or disease, the remnants of these lineages were not able to maintain themselves in their former isolation and they made a bee line for the site of Old Xains on the eastern end of Maude Island in Skidegate Channel. According to Swanton,

..the first to go were the Pebble Town Eagles (E8) whose chief consequently became chief of the town; and the chiefs of two old west coast towns unwilling to take a subordinate position (*italics mine*) moved back to the site of the inlet towns their ancestors had once occupied, and put up houses.

They seem to have hoped to draw their families with them but if so they were disappointed and Xains was only abandoned when the people all moved into Skidegate.

(Ibid., p. 84)

Swanton lists 13 houses for Xains. The lineage of the town chief, E8 is represented by 2 houses. Other Eagle lineages, E8b and E8d had one house each. The Ravens in contrast had a total of 9 houses: one owned by R9, 4 by R10, one by R10a, 3 by R11. These houses are all contemporaneous and represent the actual distribution of strength. (It is to be understood that in other long-occupied towns, it cannot be determined from the lists of houses alone, how many of the houses of any affiliation were actually occupied at a given time.) \*

This data suggests that priority actually carries more weight than actual power potential, Niblack, (p. 251) notwithstanding. The chiefs who were not pleased with this arrangement set themselves up in rival towns rather than contest the title. Later the option to disperse would be closed.

In the files of the Indian Research Project at the University of British Columbia, I found notes on an interview with Solomon Wilson who was chief councillor of Skidegate for many years and is present head of the Maude Island Eagles. His version of the story follows:

The people got smallpox when they used to go down to ~~Vic~~ Victoria to--sh--trade furs. So they moved to Maude Island, then Skidegate got depleted too, and the chief said, "I'll give you half the village from the church road south if you'll move in. So they ~~in~~ they moved in. But they didn't like lowering themselves after they had just built a new village. (Stearns, F.N.I/37)

### Skedans

Skedans, known by the name of its chief, Gidenst, was one of the most important Haida towns. It was through Skedans' ritual friendship with Djebasa of Kitkatla that many new culture elements were introduced into Haida culture. John Work estimates a population of 439 persons and 30 houses for Skedans in 1841. Swanton was able to secure data for 26 houses from ~~informants~~ informants, but not all these are contemporaneous. There are for example, 2 houses belonging to predecessors of the current (1902) Skedans. Twenty of the 26 houses were owned by R4 and its offshoots. That is, 5 belonged to R4; 12 to R4a; and 3 to R4b. Those-born-at-Qe'gials, R4, embraced several unnamed divisions. R4a, the Peninsula People, were named for their section of town and this lineage had its own head and 3 unnamed subdivisions. R4b, the People of the Town in McKay's Harbor, were a low class of whom it was said that they were won in a gambling game. (Swanton, ibid, p. 79)



There were 6 Eagle houses in Skedans: 3 belonged to E3, Those Born at Skedans; and 3 to E4, the Town of Djigus People. These two groups always "went about together" and used the same crests. The name of those-born-at-Skedans, E3, being one of the four highest ranking Eagle lineages on the Queen Charlotte Islands, came to stand for the entire group. All these factors lead Swanton to "regard them as a later-developed, aristocratic division of E4." (ibid., p. 96)

The interrelationship of these two lineages at Kloo will cast more light on this statement.

### Kloo

The village of Tanoo, known also by the name of its chief, Kloo, is located about 14 miles south of Skedans. Work estimates 545 people and 40 houses in 1841. Dawson speaks of Kloo as being larger than Skedans and "in a more flourishing state than any elsewhere seen on the islands." (Ibid., 169B) Swanton gives 26 houses for Kloo, 10 owned by R3; 13 by E4; 2 by the low class Food Steamers E3b; and one by E3, the household of the town chief.

This situation: 10 Raven households and 16 Eagle houses with the town chief being able to muster only one household is untenable unless we accept Swanton's conclusion that E3 has developed into a kind of "royal" lineage. Since E3 and E4 always migrated together, this situation is unlike that at Old Xaina where the first chief to put down stakes established legal title.

The large Raven lineage, R3, Those-born-at-Q'adasgo Creek, is an offshoot of R9, tracing its descent from a woman of the Pebble Town People R9 and a man of the Cumshewa Witch People, 45. This group is listed by Swanton as one that grew up as a result of children remaining with their fathers. (Ibid., p. 67) Whether this is enough to have given the lineage its low standing is not certain, but their fortunes improved steadily ~~until~~ until in 1900 R3 was one of the largest groups in Kidegate.

A very significant and unique relationship existed between Skedans and Kloo. To avoid any danger of distortion, I shall quote the relevant material in full.

By a curious arrangement the future chief of Kloo lived with his people at Skedans before attaining his majority and succeeding to the chieftainship at Kloo...  
(Swanton, Ibid, p.96)

The first chief after they settled at Kloo belonged to those born at Skedans (E3) but he was finally killed by ..R3, and while his successor was growing up at Skedans, four chiefs of the..E4 were heads of the town successively. The next chief of the former family was succeeded by his

two nephews conjointly. When the Kloo people sent to Skedans to ask which of them was better, they said that these two were equally good; and so to avoid jealousy and further trouble they were both taken. They were succeeded by three more chiefs in succession, the last of whom is still living. (in 1909) As five chiefs have died since the youth of my informant, Kloo would seem to be a very modern town. (Ibid., p. 97)

It may be added that the people of Kloo warred continuously which explains the high mortality rate of chiefs. In contrast, Swanton discovered only one war tale involving Skedans which presumably enjoyed immunity from war because of its position as a cultural center.

There is at least one other instance in which Swanton speaks of "a sort of aristocratic branch," (Ibid., p. 86) In this case it is R13, those born at Rose Spit, a Raven lineage which owned two towns at Cape Ball and which Swanton associated with the Standing Water People, R13a.

Yes

The ideology of social mobility which maintained the separation of the lineages simultaneously obscured and thwarted the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a hereditary nobility. The contrary processes of migration and consolidation counterbalanced each other throughout the pre-contact period. It cannot be suggested, after reviewing the interrelations of lineages, that Haida society ever experienced a stage of static equilibrium. Thus, the simple evolutionism implicit in the view that independent lineages occupied separate villages until forced by depopulation to aggregate in large centers, is inadequate. The insistence on reading post-contact Haida history as the result of the impact of an overwhelming, exploitive force ignores the dynamics of the traditional system. And it overlooks the similarities of effect of several different factors, not all of them post contact: war, disease, migration. What did happen is that as a result of various factors, the alternatives of migration and expansion became impractical while the pressures for consolidation increased.

#### Masset and other northern villages

Masset reflects this modern situation although it is contemporaneous with the other two villages examined in this section. The history of the northern Eagles and the Rose Spit Ravens on northern Graham Island repeats the processes of segmentation and dispersion from a mythical center, the assumption of a locality name by offshoots of the original lineages, retaining of traditions of relationship, and eventually their contraction into

focal settlements.

John Work gives a population estimate of 2473 for Masset in 1841, apparently including the whole inlet area. This would embrace the three large villages of Masset, Yan and Q'ayen as well as small outlying villages.

Swanton's lists of houses again provides the significant data for our present purposes. Of the 20 houses in the village of Yan, 13 belonged to the Rear Town People R15, and its various offshoots. Seven houses belong to E16 and E17, two closely related lineages.

At Q'ayen, located a short distance south of Masset, we find 8 houses belonging to the 4 related lineages of the Point Town People R14; and 6 belonging to E12 and E12a.

Masset, in contrast, presents a picture of great heterogeneity. It appears that Swanton's data shows the situation before the final amalgamation after the missionary appeared. Compared with the relatively homogeneous lineage composition of Yan and Q'ayen, Masset is already the nucleating center as the following table indicates.

| <u>Raven lineages</u> | <u>No. houses</u> | <u>Eagle lineages</u> | <u>No. houses</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| R16 *                 | 6                 | E6b                   | 1                 |
| R17                   | 3                 | E12                   | 1                 |
| R19a                  | 3                 | E13                   | 3                 |
| R14                   | 2                 | E13a                  | 4                 |
| R18                   | 1                 | E13b                  | 1                 |
|                       |                   | E13c                  | 1                 |
|                       |                   | E14**                 | 5                 |
|                       |                   | E21                   | 1                 |
|                       |                   | E21f                  | 1                 |
|                       |                   | E17                   | 1                 |

\* former town chief, See Gay

\*\*present town chief Weha

Villages of several hundred persons were not uncommon in traditional times but the relatively loose-structured mingling of many small groups was a new social and political situation. As the tabulation above shows, the Raven moiety was represented by 5 lineages comprised of 15 houses. The strongest, R16 had founded the village and held title continuously until Weha's accession.

The Eagles show an even greater dispersion with a total of ten lineages composed of 17 houses. This probably reflects the picture around the 1850s and later. After the missionaries were settled here in 1876, the outlying settlements were gradually abandoned and the population of Masset became even more heterogeneous as the people of Yan, Kiusta, Kung, Yatza joined.

*The date is a guess*

At this period it is no longer possible, at least in Masset, to speak of coeval units since the strength of a lineage consisting of a single household could not compare with that mustered by a sizable lineage of 4005 houses. Up until now the internal structure of the lineage was preserved while adjustments were made in the interrelations. But as Drucker quite rightly points out, one factor in this nucleation was population decimation, which, coupled with changes in the economic basis of the society, resulted in internal weakening of the lineage. Changes simultaneously occurred in the external relations both of lineages and of the system as a whole.

It must then be asked whether we find any new forms of political organization which would reflect the new realities. In 1875 Weha is head chief of Masset, and the head of each lineage within the village is a sub-chief. These persons constitute an informal council. There is greater resort to peacemaking with an intermediary soothing ruffled feelings on both sides. No one disagrees with Weha, but on the other hand, Weha is a good man and never hurt other people. (F.N. 04/12) Years pass and Weha dies. His successor is his sister's son Harry, but Harry is never the great chief of the bear clan whom all obey. Names are no longer exclusive property of a "tribe" since the missionaries hand them out indiscriminately. Potlatching no longer maintains boundaries although for some time it does show who has the blankets. Warfare is gone, but the slaves, ostensibly free, live on in drudgery. No dynamic new forms emerge.

But the boundaries soften between units and allegiance begins to shift ever so gradually to the village. Lineage rivalries persist as personal jealousies. "The village won't do things altogether," but the different "tribes" come to think of themselves as "Massets" as against Tsimshians, Skidegates, and whites. Within the village people talk about their "brothers" and "uncles" from Yan, or Tow Hill or Kiusta. What I am not at all certain about is whether they mean "all of us who belong to R15d from Yan," or "all of us who belong to R15a, R15b and R15c, R15d and E17 and E16 from Yan." The people next door are "those people from North Island" although they and their fathers have been living right there for a hundred years. There are a good many whites in new Masset and in Vancouver who think the Haidas should begin thinking of themselves as Canadians pretty soon. The Massets don't even think of themselves as Haidas yet--the Skidegates are almost as objectionable as the whites.

### XIII. CONCLUSION

*except  
holant* { The management of public affairs which constitutes the process of government is carried on in Haida society by the lineages since all public concerns are lineage concerns. The structures of government then, are the lineages and the patterns of relations between them. There are no residual or coordinative functions requiring the establishment of a superordinate authority nor could one be institutionalized.

Internally, the lineage is a multipurpose corporation with strongly developed authority exercised by the head. External relations are conducted for the most part in the language of kinship. In some respects the interrelations are defined by the moiety organization: all Raven lineages share a myth of common descent from Foam Woman although this fact has no practical or ritual implications. Lineages which have undergone recent budding off from a common stock retain traditions and sentiments of relationship which may be expressed by "helping each other." Where no genealogical links can be traced, a fictive relationship is postulated on the basis of shared crests in order to facilitate trade and guarantee safe conduct in hostile territory.

Between lineages of opposite moieties, the most significant relationship is marriage. Where habitual intermarriage between two lineages is practiced, one becomes known as the "fathers" of the other. These recurrent relations between lineages are well institutionalized, providing for reciprocal interaction over long time periods. For example, a man's relations with his father's matrilineage include prescribed actions involving his father's sister through every phase of the life cycle. Similarly, the fictive relationships contracted by lineage heads are binding on their entire group and on their successors. By contrast, the Haida form no durable military alliances as the act of war is conceived in terms of a single raid with limited objectives.

The ranking of statuses within the lineage had as its counterpart, the ranking of lineages. After the Ninstints people, who are generally conceded to have been the first descendants of Foam Woman and Djilseqons, are the three Raven lineages of R4, lineage of the town chief of Skedons; R9, the Pebble Town People of Tceax; and R20 of Klinkwan, Alaska. The highest ranking Eagle lineages are E3, the chiefly lineage of Kloo; E6, the "owners" of Skidegate; and E21, the StaStas of Kiusta. (Swanton, 1909, p. 70) In the fluid political environment which seems to have prevailed as far back as the ~~xxx~~ traditions reach, all were encouraged to strive for the prizes. The rules of competition were clear.

Within the town, the lineage holding title by virtue of priority of occupancy or by legally certified acquisition was dominant.

Other lineages accepted junior status and acknowledged the ascendancy of the "owner." I did not find a single case where control of a town was wrested by force or taken in war from its legal owner, even including the remarkable instance at Kloo where the chief of E3 was killed by a member of the junior, coresident lineage R3.

The proper procedure for men ambitious for power and honor was to set up their own household and found their own lineage in a town of which they were head. Whether this village could be maintained and prosper depended on the head's possession of the chiefly qualities of aggressiveness, cunning, shrewdness, etc, as well as on the fates. But this personal motivation was only a mechanism through which the organizing principles operated.

Through out this discussion of political process in Haida society, we have seen the pull toward consolidation counteracted by the impulse to expansion. Structural features encouraging this consolidation include lineage exogamy and the combination of matrilineal descent with patrilocality residence. The warlike nature of competition in earlier times placed a premium on numerical strength, thus favoring aggregation. The prestige as well as power accruing to the head of a numerous and wealthy group prompted him to offer inducements to followers, who moreover, were pleased to be identified with a ~~high~~ high ranking chief.

On the other hand, feud breaking out between rival factions within a lineage required the elimination of the weaker group, and its migration to a new site, an act which conferred independent status upon the group. This autonomy was preserved in subsequent relations by the maintenance of symbolic boundaries. The nature of economic exploitation likewise limited the centralization of power as each household was able to subsist by its own efforts.

We have found a tendency toward feudalism with high ranking lineages acquiring vast properties and ~~xxx~~ toward the development of "royal" lineages where the chief's position was respected and perpetuated without the force of numbers, as at Kloo. We found also, that the migrations and posturings of the "petty chiefs" effectively limited these tendencies.

The coming of the whites changed the terms of contraposition but did not alter the balance. The tendency toward aggregation in focal settlements by lineage remnants strengthened the position of the great chief who now stood for all political groups in the village. On the other hand, the intrusion of white commerce and the market for wage labor undermined the economic monopoly of the powerful lineage heads. This is the situation in Hasset in 1875. This is the end of Haida society as an internally self-regulating system. In 1876 Christianity came to the Haida and a few years later, the white man's law. Changes occurring in the society as a result of its new status as ward of an alien government will be examined at another time.

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