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A FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS
of
TRADITIONAL HAIDA SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Anthropology 256A
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January 7, 1963

* Recommended for seminar
~~** Not included~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	**	Introduction		
II.	*	Mythical Charters		1-4
		Summary*	p. 3-4	
III.	*	The Nature of Political Units		1-2
IV.	*	The Matrilineage		1
V.	*	Marriage		1-10
		Residence	3	
		Legal Status of Wives	6	
		Inheritance	6	
		Divorce	7	
		Incest	8	
		Adoption	8	
		Ritual Kinship	9	
VI.		Prostitution		1-4
VII.		Property		1-10
		Lineage	1-2	
		Slavery	2-5	
		Personal Prop./Wealth	6	
		Labor	7	
		Trade	8-10	
VIII.*		Headship		1-10
		Summary of roles	3-4	
		Succession	4-7	
		Symbols	7-10	
IX.	**	Institutions of Government		1-5
		Council		
		Legal mechanisms		
X.		Warfare		1-5
XI.	*	Potlatch		1-8
		Functions	3-8	
		Summary	8	
XII.	*	Interrelations of Lineages in Towns		1-8
XIII. **		Conclusions		1-2
	**	Bibliography		1-2

I. INTRODUCTION

We cannot take up our study of Haida society with Foam Women perched on her Crustaceous outcropping as the Haidas themselves purport to do. Our story begins in 1787 with the landfall of the brig "Queen Charlotte" out of London under Captain George Dixon. In the records of early fur traders we find our first descriptions of these people. The availability of such documents governs the time period that can be covered by our study.

The Haidas, who probably numbered more than 7,000 on the Queen Charlotte at the time of Dixon's visit, physically resemble other Indians of the northwest coastal area. Their culture is an elaborate variant of the generalized northwest coast culture built on salmon and cedar. This culture area is notable in American ethnography chiefly because abundant resources make possible permanent villages with a collecting economy. Linguistically the Haida represent the last remnant of the Skitegetan stock which is distantly related to the Athapaskan linguistic stock.

The Queen Charlotte Islands which are the native habitat of the Haida are a wedge shaped group of about 150 islands lying between $51^{\circ}55'$ and $54^{\circ}15'$ north latitude and 131° to $133^{\circ}18'$ west longitude. The archipelago is 190 miles long and 54 miles at its widest part. It is separated from the mainland habitat of the Tsimshian by the 50-75 mile width of shallow, stormy Hecate Strait. The 50 mile expanse of Dixon Entrance separates the islands from Prince of Wales Island in Alaska, home of the Kaigani or Alaskan Haida who migrated from North Island in about 1730. From Cape St. James at the southern extremity of the group it is 150 miles to the northern tip of Vancouver Island where the Awakiutl live.

The Queen Charlotte Ranges form a mountainous backbone 1500 to 3000 feet high down the west flank of the islands. The largest of the group is Graham Island with an area of 2,485 square miles. The western half is mountainous and almost impassable because of tangled undergrowth and deep crevasses. The northeastern part is rolling lowland covered with unconsolidated glacial sediments and till, and in spots by muskeg swamps. The island is terminated on the northeast by a long sandbar which juts far into Hecate Strait and constitutes a great hazard to navigation. There are few large rivers anywhere on the islands but many creeks where salmon enter to spawn. The central lowland of Graham Island is penetrated by an inlet 19 miles long which terminates in a great "lake" 18 miles wide and 6 miles across. The northeastern sector of Coresby Island is lowlying but the remainder of the islands are entirely mountainous with deeply indented coastlines and a heavy cover of Sitka spruce, hemlock and cedar.

The climate is of the temperate marine type. The average January temperature is 37°F. with an average of 57°F. for August. The extreme range is -2°F. to 80°F. The western slopes receive up to 150 inches of precipitation annually compared with 40-60 inches for the lowlands lying in the rainshadow. Fog in summer and cloudy skies in winter contribute to low annual totals of sunshine. Wind seems to be constant, varying only as to direction. Gales from the southeast bring clear skies and heavy seas, while "northwesters" bring rain and quiet water, i.e. good fishing weather. In winter the southeasters howl down the inlet, sometimes reaching 130 miles per hour. (Unofficial figures.) Another factor with implications for work patterns ~~is~~ is the seasonal variation in hours of daylight. In December there are perhaps 4 hours of daylight while in mid-June there are upwards of 20 hours of daylight in each 24 hour period.

lat 54
Sunrise 17h 6m
Sunset 7h 22m

Dr. Newcombe's map of occupation sites (Swanton, 1909, p.) shows that the entire coastline of the Queen Charlottes was settled, although these sites were by no means all contemporaneous. Villages were located near halibut banks and fishing spots or wherever a stretch of gravel beach for landing canoes permitted. By virtue of their canoe transport the people were highly mobile and permanent villages could be located at some distance from the resource areas. The interior of the islands was seldom visited. At contact the lineages were living thus, scattered around the sea-coast in villages ranging from one or two houses to 20 or 30. Relations between villages were frequently hostile and there seemed to be no structures linking them in any common action. In this pre-impact period political process consisted primarily of segmentation and migration. Boundaries between groups were maintained by feud or myth of feud; internal cohesion of groups was strengthened by feasts as well as by common labor.

Less than a century later, in 1875, the population had been reduced by two thirds, the survivors concentrating in the focal settlements of Masset on northern Graham Island and Skidegate on the southern extremity of the same island. Small family groups still occupied some outlying villages. George Dawson, the geologist who visited the Queen Charlottes in the summer of 1878 found potlatches going on at four places but remarked on the state of decline everywhere seen. By the time that the Canadian government extended its authority to these people in the 1870s, change was far advanced.

Initially it was my intention to construct synchronic models of Haida society for two time levels--1875 and 1960--as the published materials and my own field notes are adequate for these periods. Even in a cursory outline however, it became obvious that several crucial problems would have remained outside the planned analysis. For example, were structural similarities in village organization to be interpreted as persistences from an unexamined aboriginal past

or as results of cultural contact which preceded actual extension of Canadian authority? Could one assume, as Dawson and Hibleck did, that the chief's authority was much greater in the past? With due regard for the perils of "historical reconstruction" there seemed no alternative to extending the examination to an earlier period. This paper then, records my attempts to construct a working model of the traditional Haida social system. It does not however offer any such model. This would have required slicing the reconstruction across the grain at a specific date, say 1830, and then proceeding to describe and analyse the structural ratios. I am not yet ~~prepared~~ to do that. The longitudinal study of institutions undertaken herein is prerequisite to such a model. My immediate purpose has been to discover what functions are emphasised by this society and how the institutions, or standardized modes of coactivity, are integrated with each other in the total system and at different points in time. By this means I hope to have cast some light on processes of change during this very unstable "pre-impact" period of Haida history.

I have relied as far as possible on first hand accounts. Because of the late historical horizons, the strong oral traditions of the people and the fortunate circumstance of having several meticulously recorded accounts, I feel that the essential materials for an accurate reconstruction are available. There is substantial agreement on crucial matters among these various accounts. The possibility exists that these conclusions were not independently reached as each writer knew of and frequently cited the work of his predecessors. My contribution, if it can be called that, has consisted in the evaluation of the sources and the resolution of certain ambiguities and discrepancies. This study, when complete, will serve as a base line with which I may compare my own construct of the modern system.

Time scope C 1790-1875

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II. MYTHICAL CHARTERS

Haida society is organized on the basis of exogamous moieties named for the Raven and the Eagle who are spoken of as the "grand-fathers" of the Haidas. The ancestress of all Raven families was Foam Woman, a supernatural being who was sitting on Xagi, a reef in Skincuttle Bay, when the primeval flood receded. She was supposed to have many breasts at each of which she nursed a "grandmother" of one of the various Raven lineages. However, members of the Atana Ravens claim independent descent from a woman who emerged from a cockle shell washed ashore at the island of Atana. The Rose Spit Ravens also reject the tradition which gives priority of descent, and thus by implication the highest rank, to the Ninstints people descended from Foam Woman. There were several versions of the myth for local origin at Rose Spit, one claiming that two persons who were contemporaries of Foam Woman gave rise to the Rose Spit Ravens. The Raven moiety then, was divided into three matrilineal branches--the Xagi, Atana, and Rose Spit branches--corresponding to the southern, middle and northern geographic areas of the islands.

There is even less unity in the mythical history of the three Eagle divisions. Djilaqons (Greatest Mountain) a contemporary of Foam Woman, is nominal ancestress of the Eagle clans, but there are persisting traditions of foreign origins for two of the divisions. Djilaqons, herself brought from the mainland in the grey beginning, gave rise to those people living in the same region as the Xagi Ravens. The second branch, that of the Gitins, or northern Eagles, seems to have spread from Rose Spit, while the third division, the StaStas, trace their migration from Tlingit and Tsimshian country. The interesting thing about the Eagle genealogy is that it has been tailored to conform to the pattern set by the Raven genealogy, on the principle that complementary structures really should be similar.

Separate myths deal with the development of lineages. The relationship of the Raven lineages is explained by the settlement patterns of Sqena, a "story town" south of present day Sandspit. In this town were five rows of houses in which lived all the Raven families of that dim time. Those in the first row on the beach were named T_ddjilanas, the Sand Town People. (Swanton's lineage no. 2, i.e. R2. Lineages will be referred to throughout by this device. Every numbered segment is an autonomous lineage. Similarity of numbers shows relationship but not political subordination.) The Kunulana, or Point Town People (R14) lived in a row which extended out on a cape. The Yakulanas, Middle Town People, (R19) occupied the middle row. The Earth Eaters, or Q'oetas (R21) lived in the fourth row near the hills where trails were numerous. The Rear Town People (R15) occupied the rear row. (It is interesting that a town with precisely the same settlement pattern was said to have existed at Rose Spit where it was called House Point Town.) From these five lineages all others were derived. To make sense of the social

organization we are to believe that all the Raven clans settled in Sqena and from there dispersed over the islands. Some integration with the preceding cycle is achieved by identifying R19 with Foam Woman, R2 with the grandmother at Atana, and R14 and R15 with the Rose Spit grandmother. It is necessary to go into these murky mythical matters because they are the basis of felt relationships between lineages. People of different Raven lineages say--"We were at Sqena together." As the Haida's own cultural reconstruction and interpretation of origins they offer considerable insight into the organization.

Returning to Sqena, the story goes that a troop of mischievous boys went through the village one day shooting down dogfish eggs in the houses with their newly made bows and arrows. When they pulled this prank on the chief he became angry, a fight ensued, and the lineages dispersed. Subsequent migrations and segmentations resulted in the fluid distributions of population that prevailed when history began.

Lineages reproduce by cell division, meaning that a newly segmented lineage was structurally complete except for a charter. The tradition of the quarrel which was supposedly the cause of the segmentation, seemed to express and certify the separation, performing the same function as the notice published in the newspaper that X will no longer be responsible for the debts of Y. To further establish its political adulthood, the segment founds a town, either by being the first group to occupy the site or by purchasing it from the prior occupants. This act gives the group a name which is the diacritical feature of the autonomous lineage.

distinctions
Differentiation is a gradual process. Unnamed subdivisions arise within a lineage, adopt some distinctive feature of dress for use at potlatches. Such differences were recognized by the observation, "The dress is between us." (Swanton, 1909, p. 79) Thus boundaries were drawn which deepened until the formal break occurred. Related lineages retained the same crests, but new exclusive ones were sought. Linking the lineage founder with some episode or character in the tribal mythology gave a supernatural sanction to the group and justified its use of certain names, dances, songs, stories. Infringement of these special prerogatives led to feud, war or at least a suit for damages. The reverse process of amalgamation of depleted lineages can also be traced, where remnants of groups weakened by war or plague sought refuge with kin.

These processes are seen in the history of the People of Pebble Town. It seems that a set of lineages including the Middle Town People (R19) moved from mythical Sqena to Daxua north of modern Lawn Hill on the east coast of Graham Island. After a time, according to a story collected by Swanton from survivors of the lineage at Skidegate, a fight broke out between heads of two households. One head bought a canoe that had already been promised to the other man. A slave of the offended man smashed up the canoe and in the fight that ensued, the party of the offender was driven to the woods.

They came down to Skidegate Inlet and purchased a town from a Raven group called the Sea Otters (R7). Their first town was called "Small Stones" or pebbles and thence its new possessors received the name of the People of Pebble Town (R9). "At the time when they lived at Daxua they were recognized on all hands as part of the Middle Town People." (ibid. p. 80)

The other household involved at Daxua was known as the Sqaaxadas. This group split in two as a result of one part, those eventually becoming R10, taking sides with those who became R9. The remaining section became known as the Seaward Sqaaxadas (R5). R10 went to live at Pebble Town with R9 and subsequently migrated to the west coast with them. Relations between R5 and R10 and R9 on the other side continued hostile. While the latter were at Pebble Town and some of the R5 people at Skidegate, blood feud broke out between them. To escape their enemies, the Pebble Town People (R9) migrated to the west coast and bought a town site, Tcaatx, from its first owners who rejoined their kinsmen elsewhere. R9 occupied one half and assigned the other half of the town to their friends R10 who had accompanied them. R10 finally moved north alone to a place called Swampy Village opposite Hippe Island. The significant thing here is the way in which boundaries are maintained between the two groups in spite of intensive interaction.

As was seen in the events related above, the lineage at the time of its segmentation adopted the name of the locale where it first settled and was afterward known by that name, regardless of residence. Among the Rose Spit Ravens, the ancient lineage known as the Point Town People (R14) gave rise to named autonomous lineages which retained knowledge of their recent relationship. These dispersed to separate settlements which gave them their own names. We find the Hiellen River Point Town People, (R14b), the Masset Inlet Point Town People (R14c), the Rocky Coast Point Town People (R14a), the Yagun River Point Town People (R14d). The issue of common interest or action between such related lineages will be taken up when we discuss interrelations of lineages.

Segments of localized lineages then took the name of their house. So at Yan, segments of Those-born-at-Masset Inlet (R22) out of Skidajao (R16) from the Masset branch of the Rose Spit clan were called World House People and Rainbow House People.

SUMMARY:

We have been examining the credentials of the lineages. We have seen that when fission occurs in a matrilineage, the segment moves to a new locale, establishing its legitimacy by acquiring title to the site, calling itself the people of that place and preserving its myth of separation as evidence of its autonomy.

Despite this fluidity of movement, the Queen Charlotte Islands were not a frontier. Long before the first white observers appeared on the scene, the whole coastline was partitioned into holdings claimed by villages. Economic competition for the choicest resource

areas was probably quite severe, although there were several means of acquiring access and the people did not live cheek by jowl. Most of the food was taken from the sea and the yield was abundant. Nevertheless, in pre-white times a state of war seems to have been the normal condition; descriptions by early observers (Dixon, 1787, passim) suggest that every hamlet was an armed camp. War seems to have precipitated the emigration of the Middle Town People (R19) and the Sand Town People (R20) to Alaska in about 1725. John Work, a factor for the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Simpson from 1834-1841 estimates about 6600 population for the Queen Charlotte Haidas and another 2000 for the Kaigeni (Alaskan Haida.) (Cited in Dawson, 1878, p. 173B) Pre-contact population was probably somewhat greater than that. The effects of the first plague introduced from Siberia cannot even be guessed at, since knowledge of this is inferential: the shamans divined that the first European vessels were Kalikoustla, the spirit of the plague, returning. (Harrison.)

Various writers (Swanton, ibid., p. 81; Drucker, 1955, p. 110) have assumed that each village was originally occupied by a single lineage and the discussion of lineage development above would support that assumption. Such a village consisting of one or several households, would be an economically self-sufficient unit under a lineage head. The rule of exogamy would require development and maintenance of friendly relations between villages of opposite moieties. It is not necessary to assume ceremonial interdependence in the early stages since, as is elsewhere discussed, competitive interrelations such as the potlatch complex may have developed as functional substitutes for war. The pressures for consolidation were offset by the overriding dynamic of the society--the ambition of every householder to set himself up as a "Big Shot," that is, as master of his own town. These opposed tendencies of centrifugal and centripetal movement characterize political process in Haida society.

III. THE NATURE OF POLITICAL UNITS

Early writers conceived of the village as the political unit although they recognized differentiation of sub-units. Dawson observed: "Among the Haidas each permanent village constitutes a chieftaincy, and has a recognized head chief." (1878, p. 118B)... "The village appears to be the largest unit in the Haida system of government, and there has not been any permanent premier chief or larger confederacy or league of tribes. Such unions may doubtless have been formed from time to time for offensive and defensive purposes but have not endured." (Ibid., p. 120B)

Niblack, in discussing the exceptional case where a chief is able to extend his influence beyond his own village through war or ownership of valuable lands, states, "In a strict sense, however, the village is the tribal unit. Alliances of tribes have always been only temporary, and no lasting federation has ever been formed." (1888, p. 251)

Swanton concurs: "The largest body of people under one government among the Haidas were those in the same town. Although one family might own two or more towns, there were more often several families in one town, and although all had their own family chiefs, one of these was chief of the town." (1902, p. 333)

This town chief had a special title which Swanton says was translated as "town mother" in Skidegate, and "town master" in Masset. (1909, p. 68)

These accounts give a picture of scattered, self-sufficient towns composed of households each with its own head and all under the authority of a head chief with undefined powers. These writers, in remarking the absence of a more inclusive structure than the local village were thinking in terms of the coordination and regulation of political units by a superordinate agency. The functions which would seem to require such a mechanism--that is, ~~interrelating discrete units for purposes of~~ arranging marriage, settling disputes conducting trade, war and large scale economic enterprise--were obviously not administered by any familiar hierarchical structure. This approach to the study of government in Haida society leaves one with the question implicit in the above quotations--why did no confederation of towns develop? The answer to this is simple. Towns were not corporate. They were merely the locus of lineage settlement. As will become abundantly clear as the discussion proceeds, it is the lineages which are the political units. As Swanton indicated, the matrilineages may be localized in one settlement or dispersed over several. The named localized segments, except for the exogamic requirement which makes lineages interdependent, is in theory adequate to all its political, military, social and economic tasks. The head exercises a strongly developed domestic authority over members. There are, however, degrees of corporateness, meaning that a sublineage or component household of the lineage, is in some respects itself autonomous. The household head who Swanton refers to as a "petty chief" owns his own establishment, has access to economic resources, and is the law to his dependents.

This distribution of power on all levels of the lineage precludes its centralization in any superordinate office, meaning that the apical status, that of town chief, is almost without authority.

Drucker, in a book written for popular consumption, (1955, p. 110) recognizes this corporate character of the lineage, but ~~states~~ ~~up~~ the same proposition of social and political isolation:

Concludes w/

"Each segment was a lineage which held title to its lands of economic importance, occupied a separate village consisting of one or more houses, had its own chief and lesser chiefs. Each lineage waged war or made peace, staged ceremonials, and tended to its various affairs independently of any other.

Analysis of the lineage composition of towns shows several possibilities of structural organization. There is the single-lineage settlement of one or several households in which the highest ranking household head is simultaneously lineage head and town chief. In the multilineage town, the lineage which holds the legal title is said to "own" the town, and other lineages occupy the village with its permission and by accepting junior status. The town is thus a lineage property in that title to it could be bought and sold, given away in exchange or in payment of compensation for damages. However the houses are owned by individuals and cannot be alienated by the lineage head. It is only political dominance that is transferred. Frequently members of a selling-out lineage leave and take up residence elsewhere in which case the town may become a single-lineage unit again. The composite town is a multilineage settlement in which both moieties are represented, and only this type is ceremonially and socially self-sufficient. The necessity for interlineage relationships imposed by exogamy exerted great pressure for consolidation in composite towns. This pressure was increased by the operation of other factors during historic times. A fourth type of town may thus be distinguished as the nucleating center fed by decimated groups from widely scattered lineages. Each of these types of lineage association implies a different allotment of power. This question of the political relations between co-resident lineages will be further explored in a subsequent section. The point to be made here is that the town is the arena for political action and is not itself a political unit vis a vis other such units. The analysis of Haida government must turn on an examination of lineages, their functions and their interrelations.

IV. THE MATRILINEAGE

The matrilineage is a system of ranked statuses ascribed on the basis of genealogical relationship to the occupant of the apical status. This rank must nevertheless be achieved, in that the candidate's progress through the different grades is marked symbolically by tattoos, names, increasing size of ear punctures, labrets, etc. Members of the lineage occupy positions ranked from high to low on the finely graded status continuum. There is no sharp demarcation denoting a class line. Slaves, of course, are not members of the society and the system need take no account of them. This internal ordering applies equally to the lineage or to the component household.

The family group or household is commonly domiciled in one of the great plank community houses which average 30x40 feet, and are excavated within to provide three successive stages. These living areas are assigned on the basis of rank. Slaves and low class members of the family occupy the space near the door while the head's section is at the back of the house. This house is owned by the headman who raised it or his heirs. His authority over to the 30 to 40 or more persons living with him is almost complete. These include his brothers who have no houses of their own, and the unmarried sisters' sons of these men who are living avunculocally in order to receive their education and training. These men form the core of the matrilineage.

Wives of the lineage members, their unmarried daughters, and sons under ten, all belonging to lineages of the opposite moiety, also live there. Sons in law of the head or his brothers, who are husbands of daughters living uxoriocally, and their children are included. These sons-in-law will include the nephews who marry the daughter of their mother's brother. Other members of the household are fiances of engaged daughters who are performing bride service, old widowed sisters and aunts, low class relatives who have the status of servants, and slaves. Since residence after marriage is patrilocal except for prospective heirs to the headship who reside avunculocally, married daughters and sisters of matrilineage males other than the wife of the heir are not included in the family group.

It is likely that this household composition was not constant. According to Peter Hill, "people used to move in and out. They didn't believe in living together all the time because quarrels would break out." (Stearns, Field Notes, 04/9)

The family group so constituted has great political significance. The wealth and prestige of the head, and thus his ranking vis a vis heads of coordinate units, depends upon the size of his household and the wealth that its members can produce. The head can command the service only of those persons who are directly dependent on him. This fact probably explains the ambition of wealthy and powerful men to build great houses. Some of the house names are suggestive: e.g. "The clouds sound against it," "People call to each other in it," "House chiefs peeped at from a distance." (Swanton, 1909, p. 284)

V. MARRIAGE

need your authority.

Aside from the rule of moiety exogamy, marriage arrangements seemed to be dictated by political expediency. Marriage was the only fundamental institution systematically interrelating the otherwise self-sufficient lineages. Some lineages, for example R9 and E9 consistently intermarried, resided in the same village and migrated together when necessary. Other spatially distinct lineages, for example the Kiusta StaStas (E21) and the Kaigani Middle Town People (R19) habitually intermarried, although the relation was not exclusive. The StaStas also intermarried with the Seaward SqaXadas (R5). (Swanton, *ibid.* p. 67) Where intermarrying was consistently practiced, one lineage was known as the "fathers" of the other. This at first suggests asymmetrical ranking of lineages, but as the term "father" has no overtones of political authority in Haida society, the term probably refers to systematic patrilateral cross cousin marriage. Equality of spouses is implied in the fact that town chiefs sought their wives far afield because "they could not find anyone great enough near by." (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 68) Territorial alliances were apparently unimportant, but the acquisition of new titles and crests and the preservation of prerogatives were accomplished through intermarriage of high ranking persons.

It is significant that although chiefs had ritual friendships with mainland chiefs, intermarriage with mainlanders was rare. Harrison suggests that a conflict over residence was responsible. (1925, p. 77-78) It is a fact that Port Simpson Tsimshians made a ruling that Haida men had to marry and live in Port Simpson. "All they cared about was the rank of the Haida young man," it was told. (Stearns, F.N. 04/22)

Matrilateral + patrilateral

Bilateral cross cousin marriage ^{was} practiced although the preferred spouse for the sister's son of a lineage head was his mother's brother's daughter. On the other hand, father's sister's daughter stood in a relationship permitting great freedom and stable unions often resulted. The forbidden marriage was, of course, the incestuous one between Raven and Raven or Eagle and Eagle. Those who broke this taboo were subjected to great scorn and loss of status. So strong was this sanction in the culture that to this very day people who "married right" will say, "The old people don't look down on us." (*ibid.*) A frequent response to questions about lineage and moiety affiliations of couples was, "I've watched Ravens and Eagles for years and I've never seen them mate," (*ibid.*) showing that people still feel they have to justify breaking this old rule.

in 1870

A myth collected by James Deans, an employee of the Hudson Bay Company, suggests that even in traditional culture the classificatory incest taboo was occasionally broken. The myth relates how two lovers who were both Ravens fled to the woods to be together. The girl was abducted by a bear (itself anomalous since bear crests belong to the Raven moiety exclusively) and while living with his tribe gave birth to two sons. The lovers were eventually reunited and because of their long sufferings, permitted to marry.

(1899. p. 48)

Marriage arrangements were made by the mothers of the boy and girl, often when the children were very young. In Skidegate a mother who wanted her daughter to marry a certain boy gave his mother several blankets. This was known as "putting an string on." He could avoid this marriage only by returning the blankets, and since young men had no property of their own, this was difficult. (Swanton, 1909, p. 50) In Masset the opposite relation prevailed. (Ibid., p. 51) A boy's parents contracted an engagement for their son by presenting a gift of blankets to the girl's parents. There was no obligation to return the blankets if the marriage didn't take place. A young man who was not betrothed as an infant generally became engaged when between 15-18 years old. According to Swanton, he then went to live with the girl's family, if not already there, (i.e. unless he were engaged to his mother's brother's daughter) and worked for them until his marriage. (Ibid., p. 50)

The marriage rite is made up of these elements: assembling of respective lineages, smoking together, speech making, handing over of the bride, exchange of gifts, feasting, dancing, singing.

On the day set for the ceremony, the groom with his mother, sister, mother's brothers, and mother's sisters went to the house where the girl's parents lived and set down in the back of the house which is the honored place. Members of the girl's lineage were assembled and tobacco passed around. After the smoking, the elder of the boy's lineage delivered an oration praising the girl's family. Several more speakers addressed similar remarks to the girl's father and sometimes to her mother.

The father replied that his family was low and his daughter useless but he knew that her husband's mother and sisters would look after her. He then called his daughter and instructed her to sit down with her husband. She did so, and took his hand. At this point the girl's mother gave the boy's mother and sisters some property on behalf of her lineage. (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 51)

After the ceremony the youth's family took the bride ^{where?} home but only after she was taken to her mother in law's house where she received a meal and a new blanket. According to Murdock, it was the groom's father's sister who gave the wedding feast immediately after the ceremony. (1936, p. 364)

Swanton goes on to describe the customs prevailing at Skidegate. "Next day the bride carried a tray of food furnished by her mother in law over to her father and uncles. In exchange they gave her husband four or many times as much property of all kinds. The bride left the dish in her mother's house and her uncle's wife brought it back full of property. As long as they remained married, the girl's uncles had to help her husband and do almost anything he wanted them to." (Ibid.)

At Masset when the family could afford it, the girl's mother gave away property to the women of the (moiety) her son in law belonged to. It was also customary for a man to give a slave or some other present to his future father in law." (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 51-52) It should be noted that these apparent differences in formality and practice may reflect differences in rank of the participants as well as regional variations in custom. *and wealth*

It is difficult to determine from the literature the conditions and amount of the marriage payment and dowry since the observers' descriptions are often distorted by the white man's view of these transactions. Niblack states that marriage is "often a commercial transaction of buying and selling. "A man desiring to marry a girl sends his mother or a middle man to her parents to negotiate. An understanding having been arrived at, he sends as many presents as he can get together to her father." (1888, p. 367)

Niblack goes on to present a generalized discussion of north-west coast customs which may or may not be true of the Haida also. "When the ceremony is complete the father of the girl gives her a dowry equal in value to that received from the husband and she goes to live with her father in law. If they afterwards separate through dissatisfaction the presents are all returned; but if a wife is unfaithful, the husband can send her back with nothing and get his own property back from the father." (*Ibid.*, p. 368)

Dawson says that after the ceremony the "father of the girl gives various articles of property to her, constituting her dowry. She is led away by her husband but after a time returns on a visit to her parents, bringing presents, generally of food, from her husband." (1878, 129B-130B)

It seems clear that what has been called the marriage payment is simply an exchange of gifts between members of families who are henceforth to be related affinally. This exchange represents only one element of their participation in the solemnization of the new relationship. A curious thing is the behavior of the lineage elders in deprecating their own family and exalting the position of the opposite. I have discovered no similar instances in any other social context.

RESIDENCE:

Murdock insists that residence was matrilocal, (1934, p. 374) 385) except for the sisters' sons of chiefs who were expected to inherit their uncles' property and so resided avunculocally. Murdock's own definition (1949, p. 16) states that "if custom requires the groom to leave his parental home and live with his bride, either in the house of her parents or in a dwelling nearby, the rule of residence is matrilocal. If on the other hand the bride regularly removes to or near the parental home of the groom, residence is said to be patrilocal." I accept these definitions but reject the

conclusion ^{of matrilocality} on the following grounds:

In the descriptions of marriage ritual just reviewed, Swanton recorded the father's reference to his daughter going to live with her husband's sitters. (This interpretation ^(mine) assumes unmarried sisters.) It was then noted that after the ceremony the groom's family (which in Swanton always means lineage) took the bride home, after she had paid a visit to her mother in law, which suggests avunculocal residence. Niblack notes that the girl received a dowry from her father and then she goes to live with her father in law. Likewise Dawson states that the bride is led away by her husband but later returns on a visit to her parents.

The pattern would seem to be this: a woman and her young children live with her husband's family. Daughters remain with their parents until adulthood. Boys, on the other hand, go to live with their mother's brother when they are about ten. The Haidas believe that boys will be spoiled if they stay with their mothers and scorn is heaped upon those who break this rule. (Swanton, *ibid.* p. 50)

At the time his engagement is arranged the boy, who has been living in his uncle's house, goes to perform bride service for two or three years in the home of his future father in law. (*Ibid.*) Murdock is aware of this arrangement (1934, p. 373) but he extends it into the period beyond marriage. In the case of boys engaged to the daughter of the mother's brother with whom they live, there is obviously no change of residence at betrothal and probably not at marriage if they are most likely to succeed. Other youths take their wives home to mother. The typical pattern then, is patrilocal residence with an avunculocal alternate in certain cases.

These two modes of residence correspond to the two possibilities of patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousin marriage. If a man marries his father's sister's daughter and they reside patrilocally as the rule specifies, then from her point of view the residence is avunculocal. It is in these circumstances that a woman may occasionally inherit the headship in the absence of a suitable brother or uncle. This is rare however, and the presence in the household of nieces married to sons of the head generally does not affect the political organization of the unit.

Of the sisters' sons who have gone to live with their mother's brother before puberty, one or more may marry the uncle's daughters. The surplus nephews who are not needed to fill authority roles in the matrilineage either at present or in the future go back to their father's house at marriage. This minimizes the danger of excessive competition on the junior level within the matrilineage. At the same time these surplus males are ineligible to compete for the succession in their father's house which is affiliated with a lineage of the opposite moiety. In other words only those

males in line for the headship of the lineage or one of its segments are fully effective politically.

Although there is no clear evidence enabling us to perceive precisely where the lines of cleavage are drawn, it seems logical to assume that the younger brothers with no political significance are the segmenting unit. This, of course, is an unsupported speculation.

Schneider, in discussing problems of internal organization of matrilineal groups, emphasises that matrilineal societies must in some way restrict the authority of inmarrying male affines over wives and children. This is accomplished by segregating political and domestic roles of males and by retaining legal power over females and rights to their children. It is in this light that we must view the structural implications of combining matrilineal descent with alternate possibilities of patrilocal and avunculocal residence. Only the males residing avunculocally combine political and domestic membership in the same group. On the other hand, the man residing patrilocally is at the same time living with his mother who is his link with his own matrilineage. At first it seems that this situation might intensify friction within the household, but since the head exercised complete authority over his dependents, there was no way, legitimately or morally, to depose him. The only possibility was to split off, and as suggested above, the younger brothers or sons would have most to gain from this action.

The practice of bilateral cross cousin marriage contributes to family harmony since relations of kin are structured from birth and the relations prescribed for cross cousins are consistent with role requirements of spouses. Of course not all marriages were contracted between consanguineal cross cousins. In marriages between previously unrelated lineages, the wife going to live with her father in law was the outsider. If hostilities broke out between her people and her husband's, she was placed in a difficult position. She could expect no aid from her affinal relatives. Her children had no recognized place in the community since they were also legally outsiders. (If their mother died, children usually returned to their uncles. Daughters might marry in the town where they grew up and sons occasionally erected a house in their father's town. (Swanton, 1902, p. 331-332) The difficulties in controlling and protecting female members of the lineage and their children who were residing at a distance probably strengthened the tendency toward patterned intermarriage between lineages and adjacent villages.

The problem of potential conflicts of authority between fathers and uncles over children is aggravated by patrilocal residence. This threat to continuity of the matrilineage is met by the device of sending boys to live with their uncles at the age of ten. Thus it is the mother's brother who is responsible for their training and discipline and whom they serve in all capacities. This practice has the additional feature of

justification segregating the brothers and sisters during puberty when enforcement of the incest taboo is most crucial. The justification for this uncle-nephew relation is the Heide rationalization that maternal care makes boys unmanly. Girls continue to live with their fathers until marriage although his authority over them ends with puberty. The relatively large role he plays in the daughter's marriage ritual is interesting.

LEGAL STATUS OF WIVES:

The function of bride service is to establish a man's rights in personam over his wife. Her lineage retains rights in dem. There is no community property in marriage. She inherits from her own lineage, i.e. from her mother, while her husband inherits from his mother's brother. She participates in the councils of her lineage and can become a shaman or inherit a chiefship. If she is injured her husband has no right or duty to avenge her as this is the duty of her own lineage. He is the representative of her kin group in her husband's household if he is head, and all his dealings with her kin are conducted through her.

If the husband commits adultery, his wife's mother is entitled to damages. If the wife commits adultery, her lover is liable for damages to be paid to her mother while the husband is left to avenge himself. However, extra-marital relations with classificatory brothers in law or sisters in law respectively are not considered adulterous.

INHERITANCE:

The rules of inheritance specify that a man's property passes to his younger brother, or lacking brothers to the eldest sister's son, or lacking sons to a sister or mother. The estate, consisting of names, crests, songs and other incorporeal goods as well as title to real and personal property is never split and descends as a whole to the heir. The heir is also obligated to marry the widow. Niblack states "In case he is already married, the next in succession takes her." (Ibid., p. 254) Dawson remarks that polygamy seems to be restricted to chiefs, but he was able to learn of only one case in his time in which a Skidegate man had two wives. Ostensibly the custom was more prevalent in earlier times.

(Ibid., 130B) My informant Peter Hill never heard of polygamy for chiefs but said that if one of the chief's nephews were single he might marry the widow. (Stearns, Field Notes, 04/15) If the widow were young or her previous husband illustrious her chances of remarriage were good. If she was sent back to her lineage and indemnity must be paid.

The widow herself receives nothing from her husband's estate since theoretically she has her own dowry and personal property. In practice it seems she was often left destitute, her substance having been appropriated by her husband or his successor. "When a man dies, his wife takes only a blanket." (Stearns, F.N. 010/7)

Willie Matthews, present hereditary chief of Masset, told me how, when his father died, ~~his~~^{the} father's brother, a "Big Shot" who was married six times, ~~was~~ took over the big house on the hill. Willie's mother Kate came back "with hardly a stitch of clothes" to live in a little shack behind her kinsman George Weha's house. Willie and his sister lived inside the big house with their Uncle George and several slaves (ostensibly free by this time, 1897). (Ibid.) As a member of Weha's lineage, the most powerful in Masset, Kate was probably entitled to property of her own, but her son remembers her as a destitute widow until she remarried several years later.

Another example is provided indirectly by Dawson's notes on Tlell, a rich tract of country midway down the east coast of Graham Island. "The region came into the possession of (chief) Skidegate as the property of his wife but was afterwards given by him to the Skedans of that day as a peace offering for the wounding or killing of one of his (Skedans) women. The tract now belongs to Skedans and is valued as a berry ground." (Ibid., p. 165B)

The rules, to summarize, provided for the remarriage of widows and their economic independence, but it seems that these rules were consistently broken. The practice of turning widows out at their husband's death was described to me by several of the old people as "a very cruel custom," which implies that it was modal behavior. Peter Hill explains that chiefs valued the land where their uncles used to live. Widows did not belong to their family anymore and had to leave unless there was a man who could marry them. (Stearns, F.N. 04/23-24) ^{new} (chiefs)

Another source of tension over disposal of the inheritance was the exclusion of sons from the patrimony. It is axiomatic that the symbolic property which is the charter of the group and legitimizes its existence must not pass out of the hands of group members. And yet Swanton records, "If a man were very fond of his children he might give them the right to ~~some~~^{use} some of his crests but these must be surrendered as soon as the children married. Occasionally a crest of this kind was kept through life and according to tradition one or two crests were given by the man who first obtained them to his children, and thus to the other clan. (1909, p. 107) The rule that the inheritance not be split worked to the disadvantage of sons and younger nephews although it seems that articles of personal property were occasionally given to these persons. Rarely a man willed his house to his wife or son.

DIVORCE:

Divorce was apparently a simple matter in which the wife went back to her father's house and marriage gifts were returned. Adultery was grounds for divorce but I know of no cases in which much was made of this. Usually the spouses just began living with someone else.

An informal relationship which might be considered an alternate to marriage was the practice of taking a temporary wife. A man whose betrothed was too young for marriage might bring a girl home with no formalities of any kind. The couple was simply found together in the morning and they continued to live together until his ~~legitimate~~^{betrothed} wife was ready for him. Difficulties arose when the young man wouldn't give up his love match and feud was the frequent result. This sort of arrangement was welcomed by the girl's family if the young man were of high rank. Children from such a union were received by the girl's lineage with no stigma whatever. (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 50)

INCEST:

A marriage system based on exogamy cannot tolerate classificatory incest. Those who break the incest rule are punished by public scorn and loss of status. "They become like slaves," and so are symbolically and effectively expelled from the system.

There is another category of sex behavior^(b) which cannot be classified as an alternate to marriage although it overlaps in obvious ways. This is ~~the~~ prostitution which will be examined presently as an economic institution with profound implications for structural change.

ADOPTION:

Adoption is the process of assigning or changing group membership of an individual. In this manner outsiders are assimilated into the system. For example, slaves when freed are adopted into the lineage their mother was attached to. When practiced by chiefs, ~~when~~ adoption is itself an institutional alternate to normal succession. According to Dawson, a man wishing his own son to succeed him, gave the infant to his sister to suckle. "The child is then spoken of as belonging to the aunt, but after it attains a certain age may be returned to the real mother to bring up." (*Ibid.*, 134B) When a chief dies without close kin, a distant male relative may be adopted by the widow or by a sister of the deceased and thus inherit the property and position. These seem to have been mechanisms to counteract depleted lineage membership while maintaining the fiction of matrilineal succession.

A different kind of practice--that of extending protection and access to other lineages in a town--is occasionally and loosely referred to as adoption. (Stearns, F.N. 07/10)

RITUAL KINSHIP:

Marriage as a mechanism establishing friendly relations over wide areas is insignificant in contrast to the institution of ritual kinship. The function of ritual kinship was to provide safe contact through hostile territory. ~~Elements or component~~ ^{Other} functions were the establishment of trading relations, channels for exchange of captives, and for the circulation of crests, names, dances and other ritual properties.

The relation links two Haida lineages of the same moiety, or a Haida lineage with a lineage or clan of equivalent crest on the mainland. Partners to an intertribal relationship regarded other, unrelated groups as their fictive kin did. This shared cognition implied the observance of exogamy. "A Haida marrying into another tribe always avoids a certain clan among them, the members of which for one reason or another, he considers his friends." (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 66)

Dawson describes the manner in which protection was extended:

An Indian on arriving at a strange village where he may apprehend hostility, would look for a house indicated by its carved post as belonging to his totem, and make for it. The master of the house coming out, may if he likes make a dance in honor of his visitor; but in any case protects him from all injury." (*Ibid.*, 134B)

A further implication of the extension of kinship obligations to members of "friendly groups" is redemption from slavery. To cite Dawson again:

...should an Indian be captured as a slave by some warlike expedition, and brought into the village of his captors, it behoves anyone of his totem, either man or woman, to present themselves to the captors, and singing a certain sacred song, offer to redeem the captive. Blankets and other property are given up for this purpose. Should the slave be given up, the redeemer sends him back to his tribe, and the relatives pay the redeemer for what he has expended. Should the captors refuse to give up the slave for the property offered, it is considered rather disgraceful to them, (*Ibid.*)

~~We see how~~ public opinion was mobilized to enforce observance of the rules. This practice was very profitable since considerable interest was expected on his investment by the "redeemer."

The importance of these relationships was greater in pre-contact times when war was incessant, for parties to such a contract did not make war on each other. Later, when the Hudson Bay Company established a "guest house" at Fort Simpson for the thousands of Indians coming to trade, the visitors still preferred the hospitality of their related lineage in the nearby Tsimshian village. In

1866 the Haidas received permission from the Tsimshian to erect their own Haida style community house nearby. (Niblack, *ibid.*, p.337)

Such relationships were contracted by the lineage heads, were binding on all members of the kin group, and were hereditary. They were accredited by myths. The "friendship" between the great Haida chief Gidanst (corrupted by the whites to Skedans) and the Tsimshian chief of Kitkatla whose title was Djebasa, was supposed to have originated when the latter came down with his people in two canoes from the Nass. Halfway between their ultimate destinations, the two canoes stopped, a song was sung and they separated, one continuing on to found Skedans and the other settling at Kitkatla. After this the two chiefs always treated each other as brothers. (Swanton, *ibid.*, p. 79)

Skedans became the cultural center through which new traits were imported--ceremonial apparatus, dances, songs--elements of ritual which lost their sacred character in the transplantation.

The seal to such a contract was the exchange of names. When the whites came, the Indians sought to incorporate them into the traditional system in this manner. When Capt. Douglas of the Iphigenia anchored off North Island, (June 19, 1789) he was welcomed by the ranking chief of the area, Black Gunia. After a choral concert of two hundred voices, "he paid Capt. Douglas the compliment of exchanging names with him, after the manner of the chiefs of the Sandwich Islands." (Dawson, *ibid.*, p. 157B) Whether because he took this ritual seriously or because he expected recompense, Black Gunia warned the captain of a raid plotted by a number of the Indians. His reward was forthcoming. The name of "Douglas" became in time the property of Albert Edward Edenshaw along with the title of "friends of the whites." Douglas' name was last awarded to a living grandson of old Albert.

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VI. PROSTITUTION

A society can tolerate a certain latitude in the sexual behavior of its members. As has been seen, Haida society prescribed certain relations in which joking relations and license were expected. Extra-marital affairs channelled into these relationships caused no conflict in roles and therefore no threat to the structure. Other unions were considered adulterous and offenders subject to payment of damages to the lineage whose rights were infringed. In the same vein, a husband's neglect of his wife by committing adultery with other women was likewise considered an injury by her lineage.

Legal actions were undertaken by the matrilineage in order to protect its right of controlling the sexual activities and children of the female members. It is by regulating the interrelations of members that the kinship ~~system~~ ^{unit} performs its basic task of recruiting new members. Implicit is the view of sex potential not as an intrinsic quality of the individual, but as a property held by the corporation. A man acquires rights of access by performance of bride service and exchange of goods with his wife's group. What happens then when a social attribute becomes an economic resource, when sex relations become a commodity to be disposed of outside the system? A society can afford deviation by a small percentage of its members, but when prostitution becomes institutionalized as a modal activity, traditional modes of recruitment and allocation of social tasks are invalidated.

Prostitution is an institution with an economic aim orientation. Its task is marketing sex relations outside the system. The goals lay both within the system and without. Prostitution was seen as a means of accumulating wealth with which to achieve status and prestige through potlatching, and as a means of earning the new goods, especially liquor, but also guns and clothing.

While there is no way of determining how many women engaged in this activity, the only formal requirement was sexual maturity. The trade was sometimes practiced at home in the villages, where feasting and merrymaking had traditionally enlivened the long winters. White men took Indian girls on boats and put them ashore when they became pregnant. Many women accompanied white men to other places, leaving their Indian husbands and children behind. Sometimes they sent their half-breed children back to be raised by their families.

Often whole families went to the cities, where the women supported her husband and children and accumulated blankets. As in other rural-urban movements, it is the mobile nuclear family which is best suited to the new conditions. In these circumstances, prostitution must be considered a variant of the migrant labor pattern which took families or groups of young people to the hop fields, the berry fields and the potato fields of the northwest at harvest time.

The opportunity for wage earning by women as well as by junior male members of the lineage had far reaching consequences for the traditional system. Their status ^{as well} was changed from unpaid dependent worker to entrepreneur. The effect on the marriage relation seems to be less drastic than would be expected. Where nuclear families migrated together, relationships shifted, the husband assuming the authority formerly reserved by the woman's lineage. Her economic activities boosted his prestige while women seem to have competed with each other in the earning of blankets. Here the competition is not structural but individualistic.

Despite its economic motivation, it is ridiculous to consider prostitution as a new source of wealth for the system. Here man was marketing not the raw materials of his environment but the raw materials of his society.

Niblack notes several structural features which facilitated the rapid incorporation of this complex:

The chief demoralization in this region has been amongst the women, brought about by the independent position they occupy in the social organization of the tribes by the peculiar laws or customs relating to marriage by purchase, and by the right to return a female to her people in case she proves unsatisfactory or undesirable. (Ibid, p. 346)

It was a short step from the concept of sexuality as a property to sexuality as a commodity.

This familiar story of the "demoralization of the native", in which rum, prostitution, and disease are related elements, began in 1787 when European ships began visiting the Queen Charlottes to barter for sea otter furs. After they had ~~disposed~~^{dis}posed of their furs, including the garments on their own and their dependent's backs, the Haidas, ever willing to earn a blanket, began offering their wives, daughters, sisters to the willing mariners. When the fur trade slacked off in the 1830s, Haida economy experienced a recession. The Hudson Bay Company established a trading post at Fort Simpson in 1834, and their steamer the Beaver plied up and down the coast. There were few other contacts with whites. The gold rush of 1849 brought a swarm of adventurers to the islands. Mining was severely hampered by the intervention of the Haidas. Their habit of plundering wrecked vessels and enslaving their crews motivated most travelers to keep out of their way. Fort Victoria had been established on the southern extremity of Vancouver Island in the 1840s. Beginning in 1853, the Haidas began making the 500 mile journey in their sixty foot canoes. Indians from all over the area found these white settlements irresistible and they encamped outside them by the thousands. No power in traditional society could keep them home. The frontier outposts of white civilization had too few resources with which to control so many.

Lineage heads had control only over the members of their own households and it was these dependent members who were most likely to leave. After slaves were freed, many of them left also. Public opinion could not be mobilized to uphold the old ways in the face of what appeared to be more equitable access to the world's goods. Sometimes individuals were able to influence their own relatives but often as not those in authority were in the van.

The church appeared on the northwest coast long after the traders. The first Anglican missionary, Wm. Duncan arrived at Fort Simpson on the mainland on Oct. 1, 1857. In 1876 Wm. H. Collison went to Messet on the Queen Charlottes to found a mission.

The fledgling colonial government had no means of controlling the unscrupulous traders who sold adulterated liquors to the Indians. Hudson Bay Company suffered financial loss when it attempted to restrict the sale of liquor.

It goes without saying that these events had disastrous consequences for the society. In 1787 Dixon had remarked at the large numbers of children seen in all the villages. (p. 237) In 1878 Dawson recorded, "Very few children are now seen about some of the villages, the women resorting to Victoria for purposes of prostitution. Their husbands, be it said to their shame, frequently accompany them and live on their ill gotten gains." (Ibid., 130B) These sorties down the coast were enlivened by raids on villages of other tribes of the mainland coast and Vancouver Island. When the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1862 struck Victoria, thousands of natives fled homeward taking the plague with them. Whole villages were wiped out, but when the epidemic subsided, back came the survivors.

With the decreasing population of the islands, village after village was abandoned as the lineage remnants consolidated in focal settlements. In Dawson's time only one village on the west coast was still occupied. In the inhabited places, many of the houses were falling into decay, while in other of the great community houses only two or three people still lived. In the sixty years between 1840 and 1900, the population declined by ninety percent.

The logic underlying the organization of this paper requires the examination of each institution of Maïda society: isolation of elements, summary of behaviors, etc. with particular attention being paid to alternates and variations of behavior and their implications for structural change. It was observed that prostitution cannot be considered an alternate to marriage although it is certainly a form of sexual behavior. That is to say, the element shared by both institutions is sex relations. The tasks associated with the element in each functional context are contradictory. This is no problem unless both institutions become universal and then the conflict disrupts ~~all~~ social relations.

One function of sex relations in marriage is to provide new members of society. Its function in prostitution is to provide wealth. On another level these purposes complement each other. For example, it was seen that the wife's economic activities bolster her husband's prestige and position. Prostitution's ~~lethal~~ lethal effect on the system results primarily from its related side effects: the draining off of personnel in pursuit of extra-systemic goals; decrease in reproduction because of sterility and death, disease and death of present members.

We shall find another instance of this in studying the institutions of warfare and potlatch where common elements in both institutions are complementary on one level and contradictory on another.

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VII. PROPERTY

The economic institutions of a society are those concerned with meeting the material needs of a population. Two aspects of the productive system will be considered here, first the ways of controlling the means of production, or the institution of property, and second, the organization for production which includes the division of labor according to seasonal and sexual principles.

Property may be distinguished on the basis of its functions as symbolic or economic. Symbolic property, the function of which is to emphasize and personify lineage unity as well as individual rank and status, includes crests, songs, dances, names, and titles to town-sites. These types will be considered in a later section.

Economic property, with which we are here concerned, includes title to resource areas, capital and personal property. "Resource areas" as the term is used in Northwest coast ethnography, refers to locations where the food and industrial materials used by the culture can be gathered. In aboriginal times, three fourths of the food was taken from the sea. The five varieties of salmon comprised three fourths of that, with cod, halibut, shellfish, herring spawn, and eulachon oil making up the rest. Twenty per cent was made up of vegetables and fruits: lily roots, the inner bark of the spruce, hemlock and cedar dried and made into cakes; certain species of seaweed dried in cakes; berries--salal, strawberry, elderberry, and crabapples. Perhaps five per cent of the food supply was made up of eggs, seals, waterfowl, whales, and bear in season.

Before contact only a native tobacco plant was cultivated, but the very earliest explorers seem to have introduced the potato. By the end of the nineteenth century potatoes had become a staple in the diet and as an export. The cedar provided raw material for houses, dugout canoes, totem poles. The bark was used for clothing and mats.

There was no communal property or virgin territory on the Queen Charlotte Islands. The interior of the islands was seldom visited, but the whole coast line, bays, lakes, streams--anywhere that salmon might enter at spawning time--was divided into family tracts. Small creeks were owned by individual families but the few large rivers such as the Yakoun and Ain were divided among several, or owned by one powerful household and sections of it leased to other groups. Whales and sea lions and all flotsam and jetsam washed up on the beach belonged to the head of the group owning that section. Where possible, villages were located on the open coast near the halibut banks but other groups migrated to fish camps near the banks. Berry patches and offshore rocks where sea gulls laid their eggs were claimed by individual groups as their private preserves.

Boundaries were extended far out to sea giving the right to shoot sea otters and seals and fish on the halibut banks.

"These tracts are considered as strictly personal property, and are hereditary rights or possessions, descending from one generation to another according to the rule of succession." (Dawsán, *ibid.*, p. 175) They could be sold, rented, or given up in payment of damages. (By renting I mean that a charge is levied for temporary access. Thus, the Ninstints "aida charged the Tsimshian for the privilege of hunting sea otters off Cape St. James.) Families without land of their own paid for the right to pick berries or fish after the owner had finished.

Rights in property were established through priority of occupancy, purchase, inheritance, or as compensation for injury. An example of the latter is the transferring of title to Skidegate. (see p. V/7) These transactions were certified by the myths and traditions which formed the charter of each group. Title was always handed over formally so there could be no doubt of the legitimacy of a group's claims. Possibly the transactions were sometimes recorded on totem poles, but these have not often been analysed from that standpoint. Infringement of property rights was a serious matter and often resulted in blood feud.

One problem lies in the nature of the "group" which held title. From the facts given above it is clear that title gave full rights over property. All of the sources agree in assigning these rights to the "family." Swanton, who uses the term family to mean lineage, calls these land holding groups "households." This is consistent with the characterization of the individual household as the self-sufficient economic unit.

Examination of the implications of "Town ownership" is made elsewhere. In passing I wish to note that title to a village site is a political matter. Village sites are not included when surrounding resource areas change hands. The reverse is also true.

SLAVERY:

The terms "capital" and "personal property" are more or less interchangeable in a collecting society since the tools of production are those a man makes and uses himself. The productive process consists largely in the application of labor to raw material. However, human labor becomes capital in the institution of slavery.

The function of slavery was to provide an abundance of cheap labor to produce the vast surpluses of food required by the rituals of rank. In a collecting society the ratio of consumption to production is such that it is difficult to accumulate significant surpluses unless a class exists which has no rights and can be worked literally to death. In addition, the existence of a servile caste to perform the most menial drudgery freed high ranking members to perform the prestigious arts and crafts. This point must not be overdrawn however.

3
Garfield

As chattel goods, slaves could be bought, sold, given away or destroyed in a grand gesture of conspicuous consumption. They were not allowed to hold property or marry and their children were slaves also. They were compelled to wear their hair cut short as a badge of status, and women were not permitted to wear labrets. If a side door were cut into the house, they were forbidden to enter by the front door. Their duties included the routine drudgery, fishing, paddling the canoe, going to war. They could be compelled to act as assassins, and were the logical scapegoats in witchcraft cases. When old and useless they were killed and their bodies thrown into the sea. Only slaves sacrificed at their master's funeral were buried and these were considered fortunate.

The position of slaves is clearly distinguished from that of the low class families attached to powerful households. These persons may be the survivors of lineages depleted by war or disease and incapable of getting along independently. These people, such as the Food Steamers, (E3b) at Skidegate, take service with their kinsmen in exchange for protection. They swell the numerical strength of their head, having some economic significance and increasing the size of his war parties. They share minimally in the rights and prestige of their group, but nevertheless they do share.

Other writers have emphasised the slave's value as a symbol of wealth while deprecating his importance as a producer of wealth. They base this evaluation on the fact that the slaughter of slaves at ceremonies is the most impressive evidence of the ability to waste.

On the other hand, since a chief's authority to compel assistance from his own people was limited, the man with many slaves reaped more profit proportionately. The war chief whose raiding party was composed primarily of slaves did not need to pay his crew in kind. In yet another and more significant way, slaves contributed to the political power of their master. The ambitious man who possessed many slaves was freed from the necessity of asking cooperation from kinsmen in every undertaking. He could act unilaterally without checks on his authority by subordinates.

Slaves were obtained by capture in wars of vengeance, in slave raids, by purchase or by descent from slaves. During the pre-white era when intertribal wars raged continuously, the Haidas swept down on the Lingit, Tsimshian, and Nishka villages of the mainland. In the process many Haidas were themselves slaughtered and enslaved. One object of raids was to seize persons of high rank and hold them for rich ransom. Frequently however, these persons, rather than suffer disgrace, resisted so violently that their captors were forced to slay them. Crews of coastal vessels wrecked on the treacherous bars were frequently enslaved. The steamship Susan Sturgess was boarded by two parties of Haidas in 1852, the ship destroyed and the crew taken to serve in the house of Chief Weha at Hasset. Eventually the men were redeemed by the

Hudson Bay Company at Fort Simpson.

No distinction was made between Haida slaves and those of other tribes, although no master would keep slaves of his own crest. Perhaps this had something to do with the practice of ranging far afield on slave raids.

The Tsimshian were middlemen in a very profitable trade with the southern tribes who kidnaped neighboring Indians and sold them. There was less chance of escape or redemption when people were sold far from home. Escape was not always a happy alternative for slaves who returned to their homes were despised. A great ~~name would remove~~ potlatch could remove the "bad name" which clung to a former slave.

On certain occasions slaves were liberated. It was the custom to free several slaves at a housebuilding potlatch where children of ~~high~~ high ranking family were tattooed and given ceremonial names. Liberated slaves were allowed to go home or adopted into the lineage to which they had been attached.

The value of slaves increased during the historic period. Niblack cites Dunn to the effect that at Port Simpson in 1834, "a full grown athletic slave who is a good hunter will fetch nine blankets, a gun, a quantity of powder and ball, a couple of dressed elk skins, tobacco, vermilion paint, a flat file and other little articles." (Ibid., p. 252) In 1878 Dawson noted that scarcity, due to the suppression of warfare, had driven the value up to 200 blankets, (or about \$250.) (Ibid., p. 134B)

Estimates of the number of slaves on the northwest coast in 1841 (Simpson cited by Niblack, *ibid.*,) range as high as one third of the population. John Work's estimate of the population was 6600 for that period, which according to the above estimate would mean 2200 slaves on the Queen Charlottes. This strikes me as rather high but I know of no evidence at this point by which to confirm or reject.

In 1878 Dawson records: "One slave still remains among the Gold Harbor Haidas. There are none at Skidegate or other of the southern villages, but a considerable number at Masset and the northern villages." On the basis of information supplied him in 1932, Murdock concludes that slaves were never numerous as most households had none and three was the largest number recorded for a single household. (1936, p. 17) I reject this interpretation on several grounds:

Slavery is one of those unflattering things which modern Christian Haidas believe reflect discredit upon them and about which there is therefore a conspiracy of silence. It is in fact illegal, according to a Masset Band Council by-law, to call anyone a slave. I was able to elicit the name of only one slave ~~status~~ family, although I discovered this status for several more living

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Masset in the records. Further, the heyday of slave raiding was long past when Murdock's informants were born and they had no knowledge of the earlier situation even were they inclined to discuss it. Circumstances did not favor prolific reproduction by a downtrodden caste who were not permitted to marry and whose treatment as described by Collison was brutal. When opportunities for wage labor opened up, newly liberated slaves would have been the first to leave. Since the population was reduced by 90% between 1840 and 1900, the slave population would have suffered the same or greater ratio of decrease than their masters.

Slave holding in Alaska came to an abrupt end in 1867 when the U.S. acquired the territory. In British Columbia the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the province did not try to abolish the institution all at once. He issued an order that slaves were henceforth to be referred to as tenas and tenas kloodch-men, or little men and little women. When Collison went to Masset in 1876 slaves were still in bondage, although Niblack in 1886 refers to it as a thing of the past. When finally freed, those ex-slaves who did not go back to the mainland were admitted to the lineages and later to band membership.

But although their political status might be improved, their social status was not. Charles Harrison, erstwhile missionary at Masset observed in his memoirs published in 1925: "Even at the present day the descendants of the Haida slaves, although not now in bondage, have to intermarry among themselves and are not allowed to intermarry with freeborn Haidas." (p. 69) A great flurry of excitement was caused in Masset a few years ago when the engagement of Pearl White and Buddy Parnell was announced. Pearl was a member of a high ranking family while Buddy was the grandson of a slave. The general expectation in the village was that Pearl's mother would never permit the marriage to take place. However, at the wedding feast the bride's mother announced that she wanted all the talk to stop so that the young couple might be happy. The groom's father, acting as toastmaster, devoted the customary oration to the miracle of a slave's son marrying a White.

As mentioned above, the Masset Band Council passed a by-law forbidding the use of the term "slave" as an epithet or a referent. In 1952 one of my informants spent two weeks in jail for addressing a native constable, who was in fact of slave descent, as, "You dirty slave, get out of my house." The white constable who overheard the remark made the arrest and secured the conviction. The necessity for protecting the office of constable from insult was probably responsible for this action, but nevertheless, the incident made a profound impression on the villagers. No one would discuss slavery with me above a whisper. When they did, however, they spoke of other folks' low class background with great relish.

PERSONAL PROPERTY and WEALTH

Personal property in this society consisted of houses, household furnishings, canoes, hunting and fishing implements, articles of trade and dance paraphernalia. (Niblack, *ibid.*, p. 334)

In the traditional culture wealth was measured in sea otter skins, hunting and fishing grounds, slaves, household and personal property. The sea otter skin, worth about \$40 was the unit of value. As the supply of skins was exhausted, the two and a half point Hudson Bay blanket became the universal unit of currency worth about \$1.50. The value of all other goods was computed on this basis. *Harrington*

The copper, a cherished heirloom and emblem of wealth made of virgin copper in the form of a large shield $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 12-25 inches wide and $1/16$ to $1/8$ inch thick was worth about nine or ten slaves in former times. The ancient ones brought 20-30 sea otter skins in 1804 among the Tlingit. In the 1870s good coppers brought 40-80 blankets. (Niblack, *ibid.*, p. 336) Counterfeit coppers of European manufacture were not valued. At this time the value of a slave had appreciated to 200 blankets. A 10-15 pound box of eulachon grease was worth one blanket.

In order to give some idea of the type of wealth being accumulated in 1886, Niblack gives an inventory of the cache of a Klawak chief which was looted by white men. "The booty included five hundred blankets, fifty wash bowls (used for eating) thirty six mirrors, six valuable dancing robes, and many other articles." The value of this treasure was \$2000. (*Ibid.*, p. 337)

The only cash value I have ever seen mentioned for one of the great community houses appears in a paper by James Deans. I append his remarks for their interest.

During the summer of 1872 I visited a large newly finished house. Leaning against the wall were several bundles of sticks. Each stick was as thick as a man's thumb and two feet in length. My Indians told me that altogether these bundles contained 5,000 sticks, and that each stick was a tally for one blanket given away, or in all 5,000 blankets. In those days a blanket would cost these people not less than six dollars by the bale, representing in cash \$30,000 paid away in connection with this house. I told the Indians that was a large amount to pay for such a building and I could not believe it. To this they all replied that it was true. So I said no more, but went and overhauled one of the bundles. The quantity of sticks was correct, if the blankets were. The owner of this house was a skaga, or doctor." (1891, p. 283)

There is a discrepancy in the value of the blanket in the data cited above. There was more than one grade of HBC blanket, but the $2\frac{1}{2}$ point was standard. Even at the minimum figure of \$1.50 the total cost of the house would be impressive.

LABOR

The division of labor or the allocation of roles in production is an aspect of status. An analysis of Haida economic activities will show why preoccupation with rank was not combined with role differentiation as the basis of a stratified society.

In this society there are two bases of economic role differentiation: sexual and seasonal. Men hunt, fish, carpenter and make war. Women process fish, gather berries, roots and cedar bark, keep gardens and raise children. But the division is not rigid. Women go along on trading expeditions to help paddle the canoes and to keep an eye on the bargaining. Men pitch in at fish camp and around the village. Exemption from manual labor is nowhere mentioned as appropriate to high rank, although Niblack states that "A chief is more or less waited on by his dependents," and that slaves performed the meanest drudgery. Peter Hill remarked that "in the old days chiefs liked to give orders quite a bit and their relatives were more or less like servants." (Stearns, F.N.04/5) Types of labor requiring high degrees of skill were rewarded by the society. Chiefs often repaid a skilled carver with a choice fishing spot or crests far beyond his station. Some of the chiefs, for example Steilta and Albert Edward Edenshaw's nephew Charlie are primarily remembered for their fine carvings.

A review of the seasonal cycle gives some idea of working relationships. During the winter months from mid-November to mid-February, storms, heavy seas and long hours of darkness keep the canoes on the beach. Feasting and industrial activities are carried on around the hearths in the great communal houses. In mid-February the men go sea lion hunting on the west coast but are back in time for the opening of halibut season. If the main village is close enough to the halibut banks they bring their catch back to the village to be cleaned and dried. Otherwise women accompany them to fish camp. Then it is time to intercept the northward migration of fur seals, the hunters going in pairs, one to steer and one to shoot. At the end of the fur seal season, men are off to their camps on the west coast to try for sea otters. A dozen or so canoes participate, all the hunters getting a share of the proceeds except for the man who fires the fatal shot and his steersman. These two get a double share.

At the village this (early April) is clam digging time so women, children and slaves are off to the sand beaches of northern Graham Island to gather shellfish. With the first sockeye run in early June the permanent village is deserted as families disperse to their shacks and smokehouses beside their respective creeks. Here all members--old and young, chief and slave--work feverishly through the twenty hours of daylight to spear, clean and dry the salmon. As berries ripen, women gather, boil or dry them for winter use. Cedar bark and spruce roots for making clothing and household furnishings are gathered. Huge cedar logs suitable for canoes and totem poles are hewn down and floated to the permanent village. In some parts of the islands

herring spawn is collected on spruce boughs and dog fish livers are boiled down for oil. Humpbacks and spring salmon choke the creeks in July and August, and in September coho salmon begin a run that lasts into November. These runs mean frenzied work in the smokehouse with the result that several tons of food are put away for winter. Potato gardens are tended and traps visited.

In the winter when villagers reassemble there is time for craft work. Canoe building and the carving of monumental poles is highly developed, but the same excellence of workmanship is found in the boxes, spoons, ladles, dishes, baskets, clothing, tools and weapons used in everyday activities.

The implications of this type of economic organization for political organization need little emphasis. Except for the rare occasions when a house or totem pole is raised there is no subsistence activity requiring a larger labor force than the household. Food was prepared primarily for domestic consumption and for meeting social obligations. A large household could prepare much more than was needed for subsistence. The surplus was used by the head for the feasts at which the people were "called in." In addition to the great quantities of dried fish and berries preserved in grease that were consumed by the guests, an equal amount was placed in their dishes and sent home with them. They were, however, expected to return the platters heaping full within a few days. Food was the commodity given and exchanged between kin. These feasts are not to be confused with the potlatch which is also characterized by lavish provisions of food.

Except for the potato crop which later became a source of income, food was not usually bartered and so was not a direct source of wealth, in the sense that canoes or sea otter skins were.

TRADE:

based on

Intertribal trading and regional specialization was already well developed on the Northwest Coast when the whites arrived. The opening of the fur trade opened a market for yet another commodity and the Haidas, by virtue of their insular location, got a good share of the returns. In the first recorded visit of a trading ship to the Queen Charlottes, Dixon's chronicler describes the scene at Cloak Bay (North Island) on July 2, 1787:

There were ten canoes about the ship, which contained as nearly as I could estimate, 120 people: many of these brought the most beautiful beaver (sic) cloaks, others excellent skins, and in short, none came empty-handed, and the rapidity with which they sold them was a circumstance additionally pleasing; they fairly quarreled with each other about which should sell his cloak first and some actually threw their furs on board, if nobody was at hand to receive them; but we took particular care to let none go from the vessel unpaid. Toes (adzes) were almost the only articles we bartered with on this

occasion, and indeed they were taken so very eagerly, that there was not the least occasion to offer anything else. In less than half an hour we purchased near 300 beaver skins, of an excellent quality.

Most of the trading parties they encountered as they coasted down the west flank of the Charlottes were small groups of men, well armed and prepared for trade or war should the opportunity arise. Sometimes a few old women accompanied the men and took an active part in the proceedings.

In 1834 the Hudson Bay Company established a fort and trading post at a point on the mainland where tribes from all the northern coastal area had been in the habit of meeting in the month of September to trade. The function of ritual friendships in facilitating the interrelations of these hostile tribes has already been discussed. It was estimated that 14,000 Indians called at Fort Simpson in 1834. (Niblack, *ibid.*, p. 337) The Tsimshian moved their settlements from Metlakatla and the Skeena River to occupy a place near the post. The Haide came every year to exchange sea otter skins and fur seal skins for blankets, guns and ammunition. These visits were commonly marked by conflict. (Collison, 1915, p. 89)

Niblack's description of trading procedure offers an interesting contrast with Dixon's.

Every article purchased undergoes the closest scrutiny. Every defect is discovered and the value scaled down accordingly. If once a certain price is obtained for a commodity of theirs it is adhered to thereafter as the set price and the knowledge of such value travels fast. Time and distance are unimportant factors in a bargain. If 200 miles further on the price paid for a commodity is considerably greater the distance is reckoned as nothing in going there to get the difference. On the other hand, in purchasing goods from the traders they show rare good sense in their selection of the better qualities, mere cheapness in itself being no recommendation. (Niblack, *ibid.*, 337)

In 1853, Hudson Bay Company bought out the stock of an enterprising trader who had set up shop in Masset. The man had a little trouble when the Indians broke into his cache of whiskey and barely escaped with his ~~own~~ life. The presence of a trading post acted as a magnet to the surrounding villagers who came to settle at Masset.

In the native villages, business was still being conducted in traditional fashion. Dawson describes a Tsimshian trading party which landed at Cumshewa Inlet while he was there. Two canoes, most of whose occupants were women dressed in clean blankets and with their faces blackened, paddled slowly up to the beach, the light sails folded but a strip of red bunting fluttering from the mast of the foremost canoe. The villagers

rushed down to help unload the precious boxes of eulachon grease and beach the canoes. "In half an hour, the travelers, distributed among the houses of the village, are found at their evening meal. Business does not seem to occupy their attention; they will remain here several days to talk about that." (Dawson, *ibid.*, p. 136-137)

With the extinction of the sea otter, the suppression of warfare and the abolition of slavery, new forms of local economic specialization emerged. It was reported that in 1834 the Haida freighted from 500 to 800 bushels of potatoes to the market at Fort Simpson. In Niblack's time, the Haida canoe was the Cadillac of Hecate Strait. "It is not unusual now," he wrote, "to see fleets of canoes coming in from the Queen Charlotte Islands bringing potatoes and towing new canoes to trade or sell." (*Ibid.*, p. 338) Collison observed in the 1870s that "a whole fleet of new canoes are brought over annually and sold to the mainland Indians, one proviso being demanded in the payment being an old or derelict canoe in which to make the return voyage to the islands. Having obtained the old canoes, they set themselves to repair and strengthen them, and then filling them with cargoes of fish grease and other provisions, they make the return journey." (*Ibid.*, p. 163)

Despite its recurrent, well-institutionalized nature, trade on the Northwest Coast had a remarkably shallow impact on participating societies. Cultural traits such as Tsimshian dances and songs and fragments of ritual were adopted by the Haida for their dramatic effects and with none of the intrinsic meaning assigned them by their originators. The observance of fictive relationships, the development of a trade jargon and the adoption of a uniform currency summarize the effects of trade.