YALE UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS
IN ANTHROPOLOGY
NUMBER 13

RANK AND POTLATCH AMONG THE HAIDA

GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

NEW HAVEN
PUBLISHED FOR THE SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, YALE UNIVERSITY
BY THE
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press
1936

EDWARD SAPIR
LESLIE SPIER
Editors

1. House building
1a Totem pole (partial substitute)
Funeral
Vengeance
Face saving

RANK AND POTLATCH AMONG THE HAIDA

THE potlatch of the Northwest Coast, though extensively treated in the literature, has always remained something of an ethnological curiosity. Whether viewed in psychological terms as an exaggerated and institutionalized expression of vanity or narcissism, or in economic terms as a disguised form of investment, insurance, or exchange, or even in sociological terms as the conventional road to social recognition and prestige, the seemingly reckless distribution or destruction of property has appeared, at best, only partially understandable. To call the potlatch the product of historical accident under unique circumstances does not, of course, dispose of the question; it merely begs it. The field research of the author among the Haida has disclosed what seems to be, for this tribe at least, a reasonably adequate sociological interpretation of the potlatch. It has made the practice appear no longer as an arbitrary or accidental excrescence on the culture, but rather as an integral part thereof, an element deeply enmeshed in and inextricable from the whole social fabric. In particular, the potlatch is discovered to be the dynamic factor in the most vital of all native institutions—the system of rank and status.

The author conducted his reserches principally among the northern Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands, now resident at Massett, although he made comparatively short visits to the other two surviving groups; the central branch, now gathered at Skidegate, and the Alaskan or Kaigani branch at Hydaburg. The data and terms cited below, unless otherwise labeled, refer particularly to Massett usage. The historical present is used throughout, although the folkways in question have long since fallen into disuse.

The potlatch (ĝä'' ιsau)[1] is known to the Haida in five principal forms, which may be conveniently designated as the house-building, totem pole, funeral, vengeance, and face-saving types. All of them conform to a single basic pattern, namely, the ceremonial distribution of property to invited members of the opposite moiety, and all have some reference to rank, which they either confer, validate, or uphold. An explanation of the precise manner in which the potlatch is integrated with the system of rank should properly follow a detailed description of the several types of potlatches themselves.

The house-building potlatch (Massett and Hydaburg: 'wa'łal; Skidegate: wa'łgal), given to build or repair a house, is by far the most important type. For years in advance a man accumulates the products of his industry, the profits of trade, and the plunder of war, to which his wife adds all the property she can assemble through gift, inheritance, or her own labor, often amounting to as much as that amassed by her husband. Both spouses pool their contributions in a common fund. Occasionally a man, anxious to give a potlatch but still somewhat short of the requisite amount of property, will borrow the balance from his father, brother, or maternal uncle. He must do so secretly and at night, however, for if detected he will be discredited and his potlatch will be considered as without effect.

[1] The phonetic orthography follows that of Edward Sapir in *The Phonetics of Haida* (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, nos. 3, 4: 143-58, 1923) with the following exceptions: an inverted breve is here placed beneath anterior palatal k and x, and above anterior palatal g.

One year before the actual ceremony, when the goal of the accumulation is clearly in sight, comes "lending day" (stlα'ntedja'ŋ), the first act in the potlatch. From the common store of property—consisting principally of trade blankets, in former times probably of sea otter furs—the wife, not the husband, lends to the various members of her clan and moiety from one to ten or more blankets each. The recipients may use the blankets to repay a debt, to give a funeral potlatch, or for any other purpose, but they assume the obligation to return one year hence double the number borrowed, i.e., to repay the loan with 100 per cent interest.

A year later, shortly after the winter season begins, a canoe is sent to friendly villages, often at a considerable distance, to issue invitations to the potlatch.[2] Invitations are extended to both sexes but only to members of the host's moiety, i.e., the opposite moiety from the standpoint of his wife, who, as we shall see, is to be regarded as the real donor of the potlatch. The guests bring their spouses and often their children, so that those foregathering for a house-building potlatch commonly number several hundred. At one potlatch, witnessed some fifty years ago by two reliable informants, nearly the entire population of the four surviving villages in the northern Queen Charlotte Islands was brought together for the festivities. The visitors remain for a considerable part of the winter, living in the various houses of the village and being fed and entertained by the hostess and her clansmen.

The first day of the potlatch is called tcα'naŋ. The visitors from each outlying village, as they arrive, lash all their canoes together off the shore and perform a special dance on them before they land and are ceremoniously received. The same evening the members of the home village assemble at a large house belonging to a clansman of the host. The invited guests with their spouses paint their faces, don festive or ceremonial attire, and enter the house in couples. Each man and wife, as they enter, dance to the beat of the drum during the singing of four songs by the audience, and then take their seats. In this dance, called sα'ada'l (Swanton: sq!ā'dal), the men, but not the women, carry rattles. When all the visitors have danced and taken their places, the local men of the hostess's moiety retire with their wives, adorn themselves, return, and dance in similar fashion, couple by couple. The adolescent and adult but unmarried members of the hostess's moiety in the home village perform a dance by themselves on this occasion, although the visiting youths do not dance. It should perhaps be noted that, in the sα'ada'l dance, the visiting performers include both men and women of each moiety, whereas among the local dancers the men are all of one moiety and the women of the other. A feast is now served on ceremonial dishes to the invited guests, i.e., to members of the host's moiety alone. Those present who belong to the other moiety also eat, but from ordinary utensils. During the feast one or two daughters of the host and hostess dance the ĝιta·'sa·x̣ɛl, an energetic and sprightly dance expressive of their pride in and gratitude toward their parents. Following the feast come several informal dances, in which hosts and visitors mingle.

[2] On the mode of extending a potlatch invitation see J. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 8, 1905), 167–68.

On the next day the people abstain from food. In the evening they all assemble in a large house to smoke—in former days to chew—tobacco. On this occasion the host appoints five of the more prominent guests, invariably men of his own moiety, to act as foremen in securing the timbers for the new house. One is made responsible for obtaining a sound cedar log, sixty to seventy feet in length, for the totem pole, and each of the others for getting the timbers for one section or quarter of the house. Each foreman selects a crew from the men of his own moiety to do the actual work under his supervision. On the following day the crews leave by canoe in search of timber, accompanied by a few women to cook for them and by some men of the other moiety who labor with them without expectation of material reward. Five days or more, punctuated by feasts and dances at the "logging camps" in the evenings, are required to select, fell and strip the timbers, launch them, and fasten them to the canoes. The crews then return to the village, singing towing songs as they paddle, and are welcomed with a feast and a dance. At another smoking session, the host assigns to individual guests specific tasks in the preparation of the timbers, e.g., to one the carving of a section of the totem pole, to another the hewing of particular wall planks, and so on.[3] He appoints women as well as men, provided, of course, that they belong to his own moiety. A woman thus chosen lets her husband do the work in her stead, but it is she who will receive the payment. The work thus proceeds, with one or two more smoking sessions to assign further tasks, until the new house is completed and its totem pole is carved and ready to be raised.

The labor is punctuated and enlivened every few days by a dance, and more rarely by spirit performances of longer duration. The dances are held in the evenings. The performers, wearing ceremonial costumes and carrying rattles, dance to the beat of a wooden drum and to the accompaniment of songs, usually four in number. The dances are regularly given in pairs—sometimes, as in the sα'ada'l, first by the guests and then by the hosts, sometimes by the members of the hostess's moiety followed by those of the opposite moiety. Two of the dances deserve special mention. The sα'a'gα (the term is the same as that for "shaman") is danced by one or two men or women during the singing of four songs. The performers wear elaborate headdresses consisting of a tall cylinder of beautifully carved and inlaid wood with a tail of ermine skins behind and a circle of sea lion whiskers around the top. The crown is filled with the down of eagles which, in the slow movements of the dance is dislodged by nods of the head and scattered through the air like snow. One night is always devoted to the q'ɛ'nx̣ɛl or "spring dance." About ten young men from the moiety of the hostess, sometimes joined by one or two young women, dance first, and are followed by a similar group from the moiety of the host. Each group has a leader and, as it dances, sings four songs which he, after taking the appropriate medicines and salt water emetics, has composed especially for the occasion. The leader stands in one place, his body quivering or trembling all over, while his followers dance energetically.

The spirit performances associated with the house-building potlatch have been ade-

[3] Cf. Swanton, *op. cit.*, 163.

quately described by Swanton,[4] whose account tallies closely with such facts as the present author was able to obtain thirty years later. These performances are expressly stated to have been borrowed in the main from the Bellabella through the medium of slaves captured from that tribe. Swanton, perhaps too strongly influenced by the findings of Boas[5] among the Kwakiutl, associates the spirit performances with "secret societies" and speaks of "novices" and "initiates." Whatever may be the situation at Skidegate, whereof the present author, because of his very brief visit there, cannot speak with authority, secret societies neither do nor did exist at Massett and the other northern villages. The performers have no other organization or common bond than their membership in the clan of the potlatch hostess or in a closely allied clan of the same moiety. Their actual behavior, however, appears to have differed very little from that reported by Swanton for Skidegate, and it seems necessary here to record only a few supplementary remarks.

The ʼwi·ʼlala (Swanton: ū'lala) performance can apparently be given in connection with a house-building potlatch by any one who can afford the additional expense, about fifty blankets. In corroborating Swanton's account my informants pointed out that the possessed persons or "novices" are the sons of the donors of the potlatch, that they are careful to bite only persons of high rank, and that whenever they bite a person in the arm or destroy a canoe or do any other damage, the host makes restitution in blankets to the injured party on the spot—not at the final distribution. According to Swanton,[6] La·'teł had the sole right to perform ʼwi·ʼlala in the northern villages. My informants admitted that La·'teł acted ʼwi·ʼlala at the house-building potlatch given by his parents, but recalled, in addition, that Si'gai had enacted the performance at ʼAtʼaiʼwa's (Massett) and Ga'ʼu at Qaŋ, both at their parents' potlatches. An eye-witness of Si'gai's performance stated that the ʼwi·ʼlala was a privilege of the Sḳɩda·'qʼau ʼla'nas clan of Ravens at Massett, which had acquired it from a captive Bellabella, but another informant, in general more reliable, denied that any clan enjoyed an exclusive right to the ceremony.

The ʼwi·ʼłam or dog-eating performance is also an importation; even the words of the songs are said to be in Bellabella. It occurs near the end of the potlatch festivities and is enacted, not by any "secret society," but by the persons who are shortly to be tattooed, all of whom are clansmen of the hostess or members of allied clans of the same moiety. Early in the morning of the day of the performance, before the first raven has cawed, the participants climb to the top of a roof and sing a song there. For the actual ceremony, a number of poles, painted red, are set up in a wide circle around the fireplace in the dance-house, and are connected by a rope of cedar bark. The performers enter the house in single file and march around the fire within the circle, beating time with their feet, singing, and holding their arms outstretched in front of them. The leader carries in his arms the carcass of a slaughtered

[4] *Op. cit.*, 155–81.

[5] *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (Report U S. N tional Museum. 1895, 311–738).

[6] *Op. cit.*, 180.

dog. He sings a song by himself and then, while his followers join in the refrain, buries his teeth in the flesh, sometimes eating it but more often merely pretending to do so. For the next song he passes the dog to the person next in line, who repeats the performance, as does each in turn to the end of the line. Afterwards, the actors contribute two blankets each, tear them into strips, and distribute the strips among the spectators belonging to the opposite moiety.

The gagi·'t (Swanton: gāgī'd) performance commonly takes place on the same day as the dog-eating ceremony. A clansman of the hostess, presumably possessed by a spirit-monster with a spiny face and hairy body, runs wildly about the village clad only in a scanty breechclout, trying to frighten everybody. Kwʋns, of the Tʋlk'a' gitʼane clan of Eagles, acted gagi·'t at the potlatch given at Yan by his mother's sister's daughter, Xʋ'tł-ḳɩŋau, and her husband, Sḳɩ·'lkɩŋa·ns, of the ʼAu' stʼłaŋ ʼla'nas Raven subclan. Whether or not Stła·'ḳɩŋaŋ also acted gagi·'t, as Swanton[7] states, my informant could not say.

The raising of the totem pole comes as the final act and climax in the actual construction of the new house.[8] Everybody participates—hosts as well as guests, women as well as men. A hole, six feet or more in depth, is dug close to the house in the center of the façade, and the finished pole is laid on the ground with its base beside the hole and its top pointing away from the building. The men grasp the ends of stout pieces of wood placed laterally under the pole, and lift in unison bit by bit to the accompaniment of shouts. When the pole is raised sufficiently, two X-shaped braces or supports of heavy timbers are thrust beneath it—a short one near the center and a tall one near the end—and these are advanced as the pole rises. When the men can no longer lift, they seize staves, place the ends against the pole, and push upwards, while the women stand in line behind the house and tug at a long rope fastened to the top of the pole. When the pole approaches the perpendicular, its base slips into the hole, and it is held upright until earth is filled in and tamped down. The Haida of Alaska in former times often placed a slave in the hole to be crushed to death when the pole was raised, thus enhancing the prestige of the builder, but this form of "foundation sacrifice" seems not to have prevailed on the Queen Charlotte Islands proper.

The day following the raising of the totem pole is devoted to the tattooing of the children of the host and hostess and of others who pay for the privilege. The intervening evening, however, is made the occasion for an important dance, called ʼała'gandaŋ, at which the performers are all those who are to be honored on the morrow. Even little children dance, and babies are carried in the arms of older dancers. The participants paint their faces, carry rattles, and wear ceremonial garments decorated with their clan crests. They form a continuous circle around the wall of the house, keep time with their feet to the beat of the drum and sway in unison from side to side. During the dance the host and hostess, and they alone, sing privileged songs belonging to the clan of the hostess.

[7] *Op. cit.*, 181.

[8] At Skidegate, however, according to Swanton (*op. cit.*, 162, 167), the totem pole was erected before the house itself was built.

All those who are tattooed belong to the clan of the hostess or to closely affiliated clans of the same moiety. They include: (1) the own and adopted children of the donors of the potlatch, (2) the children of the host's brothers, of the hostess's sisters, and of the donor's daughters, all of whom are tattooed gratuitously, (3) other children of the same moiety whose parents pay the hostess from five to ten blankets per child for the privilege, and (4) adult men, but not women, of the same moiety in return for a similar payment. Children under ten years of age and persons already fully tattooed merely have the appropriate crests marked with charcoal on their skins, but this counts in every way as an actual tattooing, and is paid for as such. The persons appointed to do the work are, in so far as possible, the ˈla'nαˈlαŋ (male cross-cousins) and sqˈa·'nαˈlαŋ (father's clanswomen) of the subjects. If they are not sufficiently skilled, however, and nearly always if they are women, they delegate the task to others, with whom they divide the fee of five or ten blankets which they receive at the final distribution. As a rule, four artisans operate on each son of the host and hostess, two on each daughter, and but one on each other person tattooed, but each subject has, in addition, a sqˈa·n (father's clanswoman) to prepare the charcoal and wipe the blood from the wounds. A complete tattoo covers the back of the hands, the upper and lower arms, the chest, the thighs and lower legs, the upper surface of the feet, and even the dorsal side of the fingers and toes; also sometimes the back and the cheeks beneath the eyes. Only a portion is done at a single potlatch; a Skidegate informant, for example, acquired his nearly complete tattoo bit by bit at six potlatches. Many persons, consequently, are only partially decorated. Tattooing is a mark of rank, and the amount exhibited by a person furnishes a very rough indication of his social status.

The day following the tattooing, the last day and climax of the potlatch festivities, is called ˈwa'ɬal ha'stɬα. Early in the morning, before the people have arisen, the donor of the potlatch goes forth and sings four "property songs" (gida·'ksalαŋe) of a type sung only on such occasions. These songs are privileges, not of his own clan, but of a clan of the opposite moiety—his father's clan according to my informant, but possibly the clan of his wife and children, since the two are frequently the same and were confused by my informants in other instances. After breakfast, the young clansmen of the hostess, the "children" (ĝι'tα·ˈlαŋ) of the host, visit in turn the various houses of the village and ceremoniously invite all the members of the host's moiety to the new house for the potlatch proper, i.e., the actual distribution of property. The following account is a description, with a few general comments, of a potlatch given at the village of Yan near Massett some fifty years ago by Kιŋigwa'u, a Raven of the ˈAu' stˈlαŋ ˈla'nas subclan, and his wife, Statɬq'a'was, of the Tci'tc gitˈαne clan of the Eagle moiety. On this particular potlatch the author has especially full information, since it was witnessed and described by his two best informants, one of them the son of the donors.

As the guests arrived at the new house, a slave, stationed outside the door, called out the ceremonial name of each. Just inside the door stood Kwυns, a member of the Tυlkˈa' gitˈαne, a local Eagle clan closely associated with that of the hostess. He carried a staff, and

in a loud voice announced each incoming guest by his ceremonial name. Two young men, Na'kαdjut and Djαgi'αs, sons respectively of an older and of a younger sister of the hostess, ushered the guests to their seats. The posts of honor—to the right and left just inside the door—were assigned to clan chiefs from neighboring villages: Xe·'djιgwe, chief of the Kwυn ˈla'nas clan of Ravens at Q'aiya'ŋ, and Si'gai, chief of the Sḵιda·'qˈau ˈla'nas clan of Ravens at Massett. The members of other visiting Raven clans sat on the left of the house (as viewed from the door); the local Ravens sat on the right. The seating was by clans; within a clan the individuals of highest rank sat in back next to the walls, while those of lesser rank sat in front on the lower tiers of the excavated floor. The local and visiting Eagles were gathered in the rear of the house, i.e., furthest from the entrance and just in front of a curtain of sails which concealed the pile of blankets and other property from the audience. This seating arrangement prevailed only at potlatches.

Behind the curtain stood the host and hostess, dressed in ceremonial blankets. Kιŋigwa'u, the host, had his hair tied in a knot with cedar withes and his face painted with a single diagonal stripe. His wife, Statɬq'a'was, wore a large spruce-root hat and a broad belt woven from cedar bark, and had her upper lip painted in token of her high social status. When the house was filled, the curtain was dramatically thrown open, exposing the pile of property, before which the host and hostess strutted proudly back and forth, while the Eagles, but not the Ravens, clapped loudly in applause. Statɬq'a'was, who was carrying a basket of the berry-picking type on her back and was holding an iron agricultural implement in her hand, explained to the assembled people that these were symbolic of the occupations —picking berries and raising potatoes—by which she had accumulated her share of the property to be distributed. Kιŋigwa'u, who was carrying an adze, spoke in praise of his father, a famous canoe-builder, and told how he himself had amassed his property at the same occupation.

It was at this point in the proceedings, apparently, that Kιŋigwa'u assumed his "potlatch name," ˈI'ɬaĝιtqˈaltɬαstα'ns. When a house chief dies, his potlatch name descends to his heir and successor; the latter assumes this honorific title, however, not at the funeral potlatch (although one informant so stated) when he comes into the position and property, but only when he subsequently gives a house-building potlatch. "After that," says Swanton,[9] "he could add a new one every time he made a potlatch." According to my own information, however, a chief assumes a potlatch name only once—at his first house-building potlatch—although he may inherit and transmit the right to other names, holding them in trust, as it were, and conferring them at funeral potlatches but not using them himself. Potlatch names may originate in various ways. Sḵιlkιŋa·'ns, a Raven house chief at Yan, at his house-building potlatch assumed the title of Skaxwe·'t, the name of a Tsimshian chief who had failed to pay him a debt. A former chief of the Tci'tc gitˈαne clan of Eagles at Yan obtained the potlatch name Naska'itɬ by gift from a Tlingit chief with whom he established

[9] *Op. cit.*, 118.

a formal st'a'gʋl (guest-friendship) relation.[10] With this explanatory digression, we may return to Kιŋigw'au's potlatch.

After the dramatic exposure of the accumulated property and the speeches by the hostess and the host, all the local Eagles, i.e., the members of the moiety of the hostess, filed out of the house by the front door and dispersed to their homes, where they painted their faces and donned ceremonial attire. Returning to the potlatch house, they brought with them the blankets they had borrowed from the hostess the year before, an equal number representing the interest at 100 per cent on their loans, and additional blankets in payment for all the children and others who had been tattooed on the previous day. They marched in single file, each with a load of blankets thrown over his shoulder, and entered the door slowly, one by one. As each appeared, two or three of his sq'a·'nα'lαŋ (paternal aunts and female cross-cousins) spoke up to compliment him on his appearance, oratory, or the like, and whoever did so then and there received a blanket as a gift. The rest of the blankets were piled high on top of those collected by the donors of the potlatch, and the curtain was closed.

The hostess, standing in front of the curtain, summoned to her by name each of her children, in order of age, and then, accompanied by two of her sisters, Xʋtlkιŋa'u and Djαt'a'tlιαs, sang two low lullabies (ĝι'tq'agan) in their honor. This ceremony, involving a public announcement of the names of the children, had an important social function. The name of a newborn child is selected, shortly after its birth, by the mother in consultation with the father and grandparents, and is bestowed at a small feast a few days later. Advice is usually sought from a wise old woman or seeress, for a child is believed to be a reincarnation of the ancestor or deceased relative whose name it bears. The choice is invariably made either from the fund of names belonging to the maternal clan or from the list belonging to the clan of the child's paternal grandfather. When the parents later give a house-building potlatch, the childhood names are publicly announced and confirmed, and thereby invested with an honorary or ceremonial significance, or else a new name of an honorary character is conferred. In the particular potlatch under discussion the childhood names of the daughters received public confirmation in the rite just described, while the only son was given a new name, that of his paternal grandfather, in the following ceremony.

When the children had returned to their places, the hostess called back her son, as well as two of her husband's nephews, and they all retired behind the curtain. Here her husband made his son sit on a large "copper" (t'au), which his nephews lifted upon their shoulders. The curtain was then thrown open, and all the Eagles applauded while the nephews marched back and forth with their burden, followed by the proud parents. When the applause ceased, the procession stopped, and the host explained to the assembled people that he was bestowing upon his son the name of his father, who had been cradled in a "copper" the day after his birth. He also announced that his father, St'ast, the chief and last

[10] See G. P. Murdock, *Kinship and Social Behavior Among the Haida* (American Anthropologist, vol. 36, no. 3: 355–85, 1934), 377.

survivor of the Do' git'αne clan of Eagles, had said that his grandson and namesake should inherit from him, when he died, his privileges and his property rights on Nαsto' or Hippa Island.

The actual distribution of the property followed. The hostess supervised the distribution, aided by her husband, who stood by her side and called her attention to any mistakes. Na'kαdjut, the son of her elder sister, stood beside the pile, took each time the number of blankets she indicated, threw them upon the floor, and called aloud the ceremonial or potlatch name of the recipient, who answered: "Xade!" Four Eagle boys acted as pages, picking up the blankets, carrying them on their shoulders, and depositing them in front of the proper persons. The first three recipients were, in order: Xe·'djιgwe of Q'aiya'ŋ, Si'gai of Massett, and Na·'laŋ of Yan, chiefs of the Kwʋn 'la'nas, Sķιda·'q'au 'la'nas, and St'laŋ 'la'nas clans respectively. After the outstanding chiefs had been provided for, donations were made to other guests for their various services, beginning with those responsible for carving the totem pole.[11] Persons who had themselves given house-building potlatches received larger gifts than did others who had rendered similar services—on the principle, so often reiterated by my informants, of "making it even." Additional blankets were also given to the women who had assisted the hostess as midwives at the birth of her children. A number of blankets still remained, reserved for a special distribution called ĝä'djuksau. The hostess presented one or two of them to each Raven guest who had distinguished himself by exceptionally hard work or good dancing, and then asked any one whom she had overlooked to speak up. If a volunteer had really done well, she gave him a blanket; but if he were bluffing, she gave him only a strip of sail, and the crowd jeered at him. She added another touch of comedy by presenting the last ragged blanket with mock solemnity to her husband, who belonged, of course, to the moiety of the recipients; his "reward" was precisely equal to that received by the tiniest Raven boy who had done his bit by fetching water. In all, approximately nine hundred blankets were distributed, although a scant hundred had sufficed at another remembered potlatch given a generation earlier, at a time when two blankets constituted an adequate reward to a young man for a whole season's work.

After the presentation of the blankets, the host gave away two "coppers," one to Xe·'djιgwe and the other to Si'gai. Contrary to Swanton,[12] "coppers" are not "sold" at a potlatch, but are given away—usually to a man, or the heir of a man, who on some previous occasion has given a "copper" to the chief whom the donor has succeeded. Following the presentation of the "coppers," the hostess, aided by a female relative and four girls as assistants, distributed a great quantity of clothing, dishes, horn spoons, mats, and other feminine articles in much the same manner as the blankets had been given away. Any chief who wanted one of the boxes in which the blankets and other property had been stored, asked for it, and it was given him. The guests then departed, to carry their gifts to the houses at

[11] The order of distribution seems to have been different at Skidegate. Cf. Swanton, *op. cit.*, 169–70.

[12] *Op. cit.*, 156.

which they were staying, but they shortly returned to participate in a dance, which lasted well into the evening. On the following day, all who had come from other villages returned to their homes, and the people of Yan celebrated the end of the potlatch festivities with an informal picnic (q'a'igwʋdaŋ) in the new house.

Numerous facts suggest that, although a man is commonly spoken of as having given a house-building potlatch, the actual donor is not he but his wife. It is she who makes the loan the previous year, and she who superintends the actual distribution. To be sure, he presents the "coppers," but he merely stands by while she gives away the blankets, dishes, and other articles. In Skidegate and Hydaburg, the husband presides over the distribution of blankets, but in the latter place it is specifically stated that the wife alone has the power to decide how many each recipient is to get and to correct her spouse if he makes a mistake. In Hydaburg, moreover, it is the wife, not the husband, who distributes the slaves and "coppers." The songs, dances, and ceremonies performed at the potlatch, in so far as they are privileges, belong to the wife's clan or related clans, not to the husband's. The participants in the spirit performances and the assistants at the final distribution are her kinsmen and kinswomen. The comic presentation of the last bedraggled blanket by the hostess to her husband is another eloquent piece of testimony. Finally, this interpretation alone squares with the native theory, often explicitly expressed by my informants, that all potlatches are given to the opposite moiety. Swanton,[13] therefore, would seem to have interpreted the situation incorrectly when he states that a house-building potlatch "was given by a chief to the members of his own clan" and that he "borrowed from the opposite clan through his wife, and paid back to the heads of his own clan."

The second major type of potlatch is one which may be called the totem pole potlatch. At Massett, it is called cα na'gαt, a name derived, according to one informant, from cαŋ na'gαt (air house). The more usual name at Hydaburg is kwei na'gat. This ceremony requires the distribution of only about half as much property as the house-building potlatch, and confers rather less than half as much prestige and status. It is usually undertaken by a man and wife who have not accumulated sufficient property to build a house, but who are forced to take immediate action either to give their children enough status to marry well or else to counteract some derogatory remark made in public about the low status of one of their sons or daughters. A totem pole alone is erected, the building of the house being postponed until further property has been amassed. With the exceptions noted, the cα na'gαt follows precisely the pattern of the house-building potlatch, for which it is a substitute, and includes the same ceremonial elements. Another alternative is the gut'ι'n'wa (Hydaburg name), which is a house-building potlatch given, not by a single couple, but by two brothers and their wives, who pool their resources for the purpose. The elder brother becomes the house chief, and the younger inherits from him. Na·'laŋ and Gʋndlιga·'s of the 'Au st'laŋ 'la'nas Raven subclan at Yan gave such a potlatch. It differs from an ordinary house-building potlatch only in that the children of both brothers acquire status thereby and that their

[13] *Op. cit.*, 155.

enhancement in status is only about as much as if their parents had given totem pole potlatches. Neither the cα na'gαt nor the gut'ι'n'wa is permitted at Skidegate, and it is probable that both represent comparatively recent innovations.

The third major type of potlatch, the cα k'a' (Swanton: sī'k!a) or funeral potlatch, involves the expenditure of scarcely one-tenth as much property as does the 'wa'lal, and is correspondingly less important. It is given to erect a mortuary column for a deceased house chief or other important person of either sex, but never for a child or a person of inferior social status. The donor is always a male and is normally the next of kin in the maternal line, i.e., the eldest surviving brother of the deceased or, in default of brothers, the eldest sororal nephew. The potlatch is usually held during the winter season following the completion of the funeral ceremonies and feasts, but it may be postponed a year if insufficient property is available. The donor may use the property he has inherited from the deceased, but must make up any deficit with his own possessions, supplemented by donations from his clansmen. The guests invariably belong to the moiety opposite to that of the deceased and his heir. They include all local residents of the opposite moiety and perhaps one clan from a neighboring village, to whom a formal invitation is extended.

The first day, as in the case of the house-building potlatch, is marked by dancing (especially the sα'ada'l) and a feast. On the second day, tasks are assigned and the guests depart to select, fell, and bring back a cedar suitable for the mortuary column. Shaping the pole, carving it with crests pertaining to the clan of the deceased, and erecting it consume perhaps ten days, which are interspersed with feasts and dances. If the donor can afford the additional expense, a spirit performance may be held, but this is somewhat exceptional. Tattooing does not occur in conjunction with the funeral potlatch. In its stead, the classificatory grandchildren (t'ak'α'nα'lαŋ) of the deceased have their ears and nasal septum pierced and, in the case of girls, also the lower lip for the reception of the labret. Contrary to Swanton,[14] these mutilations are not performed, save very exceptionally, at a house-building potlatch. The children operated upon belong exclusively to the moiety of the deceased, although not necessarily to his clan. Those who perform the mutilations are the sq'a·'nα'lαŋ (paternal aunts and female cross-cousins) of the donor of the potlatch. They receive a few blankets each for their services, which they never delegate to others.

The actual distribution of property comes on the final day of the potlatch. It is preceded, however, by a name-giving ceremony (q'auli'da). When the guests are assembled in the house, the donor of the potlatch makes his appearance from behind the curtain which conceals the pile of blankets. He is not accompanied by his wife as in the house-building potlatch. The children who have had their ears, noses, and lips pierced sit in a line before him. To each of them he gives a name, preferably an eminent one, from his clan fund of names. These names do not supersede the ordinary ones in everyday life but, like those bestowed upon children at a 'wa'lal, are used at potlatches and similar important occasions. Though honorary, they are not to be confused with the far more important "potlatch names" as-

[14] *Op. cit.*, 162, 169.

sumed by a man giving a house-building potlatch. In one funeral potlatch upon which the information was particularly full, the names were bestowed, not by the donor of the potlatch, but by his clan chief and the chief of a closely associated clan of the same moiety residing in the same village. The author suspects that this may have been the usual procedure. After the name-giving, the donor directs the distribution of the property, mainly blankets, which are carried to the recipients by his younger classificatory siblings. The carver of the crests on the mortuary column receives about ten blankets, the other guests two or more, in proportion to their services. The festivities terminate with a dance given by the guests.

The fourth type of potlatch, the gαda'ŋ or vengence potlatch, is given by a man or woman of high rank who has been insulted, or whose honor has been injured in any way, by a person of similar rank belonging to the opposite moiety or to another clan of the same moiety. No one gives a vengeance potlatch against a fellow clansman or against a person of low social status, an insult from whom is ignored as though from a dog. The donor issues invitations to members of the opposite moiety in all the villages for miles around. His own relatives also gather at his house to watch the proceedings with pride. When the guests are assembled, the host brings out some valuable property and destroys it in the presence of his antagonist, who must then make a similar sacrifice or suffer irreparable loss of prestige. The host may kill a slave, or hack a valuable canoe to pieces, or crumple a "copper" and throw it into the sea. In some of the villages on the west coast, poles are said to have been erected at vengeance potlatches. The commonest procedure, however, is to tear a number of blankets into strips and distribute the pieces to the invited guests, who belong necessarily to the opposite moiety. In a typical case—a potlatch given by Kɩŋigwa'u, a Yan chief, against 'A'nilas, a chief at Massett, who had accused him of taking a piece of driftwood from a strip of beach belonging to himself—the donor had his sororal nephews tear twenty blankets into shreds, hack a valuable "copper" into narrow strips, and distribute the pieces of both. Every one present who belonged to the opposite moiety, regardless of rank, received a strip of blanket and a piece of the "copper." The antagonist, who chanced to be of the other moiety received a whole blanket. He then, in turn, had a similar number of blankets and a "copper" cut into strips and distributed, and gave a whole blanket to Kɩŋigwa'u. (Had the two opponents belonged to different clans of the same moiety, the opposite moiety would have been the recipients from both.) This reciprocal destruction of property satisfied the honor of the donor, left his opponent undamaged in prestige, and restored peace between them.

The vengeance potlatch is occasionally used to ruin an opponent who is too poor to make an equivalent sacrifice of property, even by calling upon his relatives for assistance. For a similar reason, a person rarely gives a gαda'ŋ against a wealthier opponent, lest the latter destroy more property in return than the donor can raise. In Skidegate, where the vengeance potlatch seems to be a more serious matter than in Massett, a poor man is said to make no attempt to meet the challenge of his opponent, lest the latter thereupon give a gαda'ŋ quite beyond his ability to return. As a rule, however, a vengeance potlatch takes

place between equals, and ends in a draw. Indeed, in Massett, the ceremony is usually marked, not by hostility and bitterness, but by mutual good will and even joviality. It is a festive occasion rather than a grim contest. The aforementioned potlatch between Kɩŋigwa'u and 'A'nilas is a case in point. When the donor bade his nephews destroy his two "coppers," his opponent, who had but a single "copper," called out: "Brother-in-law, take one of them back; I can't make it even." Kɩŋigwa'u then good-naturedly withdrew one of his "coppers," and the ceremony went on. The object of the potlatch seems, consequently, not so much to take vengeance against an opponent as to wipe out a slight and uphold the prestige of the donor—"to restore the integrity of the individual," as Pareto[15] would say.

Somewhat resembling the fourth type of potlatch is the fifth principal type, the 'a·'nsɩŋadα or cɩŋa'dα, which may be called the face-saving potlatch. Whenever a person of high social status suffers in public a mishap which makes him appear ridiculous or causes him to be laughed at, e.g., tripping and falling at a feast or potlatch where members of other clans are present, he can "save face" and prevent all future reference to the mishap by giving a small potlatch. On the evening of the following day he invites all the villagers belonging to the opposite moiety to his house for a feast, after which he tears ten or more blankets into strips and distributes the pieces among the guests. The higher he is in rank, the more careful he must be to wipe out thus even the slightest injury to his dignity, e.g., merely stumbling in public. A face-saving potlatch is also given by the parents of a child of high social status if the latter trips and falls on a path and is helped up by a member of another clan, or tumbles from a canoe into the water and is rescued by an outsider, or suffers any comparable public mishap. The father invites the members of his own moiety, i.e., the opposite moiety from the point of view of the child, and the mother tears up ten or more blankets and distributes the pieces to the guests. No one thereafter may allude to the accident. Ridicule is effectively stopped.

Despite their differences, all the five types of potlatch bear some relation to rank. In Haida society, however, rank is not a simple phenomenon. There are really operative two independent but interrelated systems of rank, namely, political rank or *position* and sociological rank or *status*. The former relates to chiefship alone; the latter to membership in what has often been loosely called a "social class." The potlatch operates as the decisive factor in both systems, but in different ways.

As regards *position*, the Haida distinguish two grades of chief: house chiefs and clan chiefs. Any one who owns a dwelling is a house chief ('na 'le·'). Such a position can be acquired only by giving a potlatch—either a house-building potlatch to get a new dwelling erected and thereby establish oneself as its chief, or a funeral potlatch to validate the inheritance of a house and its chiefship. A house chief exercises a mild paternal authority over the members of his household, who normally include his wife or wives, his unmarried daughters, his sons under ten years of age, his married daughters with their husbands and children, his younger brothers with their wives and children, a sister's adolescent son or two, one

[15] Vilfredo Pareto [Arthur Livingston, ed.]. *The Mind and Society* (New York, 1935), 2: 736 ff.

or more married nephews (who may or may not be sons-in-law as well) with their families, and perhaps some other poor relative and a slave or two. He directs the economic activities of the household, protects and cares for its members, and is treated with respect and a measure of reserve. His nephews (including his sons-in-law) are his right-hand men, obeying his orders, assisting him in his economic activities, and manning his canoe on military and trading expeditions.

The clan chief is always also a house chief, usually the richest and most influential in the village. He exercises authority over all the house chiefs of his own clan who reside in the village. He can normally count on their support in war and other enterprises, even though he has no recognized power to force obedience or punish insubordination. His authority, therefore, resides mainly in the prestige of his position and in his wealth and personal qualities. He acts as trustee of the lands and prerogatives of the clan. He is treated with marked deference, is greeted with the special expression "nαŋ ˋi'tładas," and receives from his clansmen small presents of fish and the like from time to time. He is known by the title either of "village master" (Massett: ˋla'na ˋle·; Hydaburg: ˋla'na lαˋai'; Skidegate: ˋla'na]gai'ga) or of "village mother" (Massett: ˋla'na ˋa'ˋwe; Hydaburg: ˋla'na a'we; Skidegate: ˋla'na ˋau'ga). The latter title, in Massett at least, is also applied to the wife of the chief, who is always consulted by the women of the clan before they plan a communal picnic or the like. As to why the chief of a clan, though a male, is called the "mother" of the village, three informants gave as many different explanations, obviously rationalizations. According to one, the clansmen always consult their chief before they do anything, as a child asks permission of its mother; according to the second, the chief gives feasts just as one's mother provides one with food; according to the third, the chief issues orders to his clan, "which is like a big household," just as a mother gives orders to her children. The authority of a clan chief does not extend beyond the limits either of the clan or of the village. Aboriginally, the clan and the village seem to have been coterminous.[16] A clan was merely a localized segment of a moiety, a group of Ravens or Eagles settled in one village. Sometimes a discontented house chief, if influential enough, would desert the village with a band of followers and establish another settlement, with himself as its chief. In this way a number of Haida clans have become divided into subclans resident in different towns. In all such cases, the chiefs of each subclan are entirely independent, and each has the titles and prerogatives of a clan chief. With time, of course, such subclans would develop into distinct clans, with no mark of their former union save a common fund of privileges. The evidence seems clear that this process has actually taken place in a fair number of cases.

Under aboriginal conditions it was apparently quite exceptional for a village to be inhabited by more than one clan. Even since white contact, which has resulted in a marked decrease in the number of settlements, the several clans of a village have been quite independent. The chief of one clan may, through superior wealth or status or because his group is larger or possesses more privileges, come to enjoy greater prestige than the others, but he

[16] Cf. Swanton, *op. cit.*, 66.

wields no actual authority outside of his own clan. This is definitely true of the northern or Massett and of the Alaskan or Kaigani branches of the Haida. The sole exception is found at Skidegate, where the chief of the Gιtι'ns clan of Eagles, the original inhabitants of the village, acquired a measure of authority over the chiefs of the clans which moved in later. This development seems to have been recent as well as localized, and to have been influenced by contact with the whites. The "town chief" mentioned by Swanton[17] cannot, therefore, be distinguished from the clan chief as an aboriginal functionary.

Chiefship, in both the household and the clan, is hereditary in the female line. The old chief's property, his widow, and his position with its prerogatives and authority, descend in a body to the heir, who must validate his inheritance by giving a funeral potlatch. Normally, the succession falls to the eldest surviving brother of the deceased chief; in default of brothers, to the eldest son of the eldest sister (in Skidegate, the eldest nephew by any sister). If there are no male heirs, a woman may succeed—a sister, niece, or granddaughter. An incumbent has the power during his lifetime to set aside the next of kin in favor of a junior heir, but he seldom does so unless the senior already holds an equally high position, or is disqualified by some physical, mental, or moral defect, or—most important of all—does not enjoy a high social status. If a house chief fails to name his successor, the clan chief appoints him. If a clan chief dies without selecting his heir, a council of the clan meets to do so. All the men and women of the clan resident in the village, provided they do not lack social status, assemble to smoke—formerly to chew—tobacco and to discuss and vote upon the available candidates. They usually select the next of kin unless he is disqualified by reason of poverty, laziness, incapacity, low status, or non-residence in the village. Their decision is announced to the heir, if he is not present, by the widow of the deceased. A clan council also has the power to set aside the nominee of the old chief, if he is obviously unfit. Once chosen, however, a clan chief cannot be deposed for any reason.

As regards sociological rank or *status*, the literature on the tribes of the Northwest Coast commonly distinguishes three "social classes"—nobles, commoners, and slaves—and treats them as hereditary although also founded very largely on wealth. This view, falsely suggesting a parallel in type with the social classes prevalent in Europe and other parts of the world, is definitely misleading, at least in so far as the Haida are concerned. To be sure, the slaves (xa'ldaŋ; plural: xa'ldansιda) of the Haida do represent a fairly typical servile class. Recruited by war or purchase, they are objects of property and labor for their masters at the more unpleasant tasks. Their status is hereditary, although they are not allowed to marry and rarely have children. Utterly despised, they lack all rights and are generally neglected and ill-treated. Their numbers seem never to have been large; most households had no slaves, and the largest number recorded for a single household was three. The so-called classes of "nobles" and "commoners," on the other hand, are not, among the Haida, hereditary at all. Nor are they, strictly speaking, based upon wealth. They are dependent, rather, on the distribution of property, on potlatches. What gives a person status, moreover, is

[17] *Op. cit.*, 68.

not his own potlatches but those given by his parents. A Haida cannot inherit status; he cannot acquire it by his own liberality; he can possess it only if his parents have potlatched.

Fundamentally, therefore, the so-called "nobles" and "commoners" of the Haida are, respectively, merely those who possess status and those who lack it, those whose parents have potlatched and those whose parents have not. There are, however, numerous gradations of status, depending in every case upon the number and type of the potlatches given by the parents. A person whose parents have given a house-building potlatch is known as 'ya'ɛ't (pl.: 'ya'' ɛduk), and enjoys what may be regarded as the norm of full social status. He is definitely outranked, however, by a person whose parents have given two house-building potlatches, and even by one whose father has given a funeral potlatch in addition to a 'wa'łal. Those whose parents have given only a totem pole potlatch or a gut'ɩ'n'wa (a house-building potlatch given jointly by two brothers and their wives) are classed with 'ya'' ɛduk, and associated freely with the latter, but enjoy a considerably lower status—one rather less than half as high. No difference in rank obtains between two children whose parents have given equivalent potlatches, even though the parents of one outrank the parents of the other. A child born subsequent to his parents' potlatch, moreover, enjoys a status precisely equal to that of his elder sibling born prior to the event, even though he does not bear the outward symbol of his rank in an extensive tattoo. Status depends, therefore, not upon the rank of one's parents, the date of one's birth, or the quantity of one's tattoo, but solely upon the number and quality of the potlatches given by one's parents. Persons whose parents have given a housebuilding or totem pole potlatch enjoy preferred seats at feasts, have the right to speak first at all public gatherings, are alone eligible to inherit a chiefship, associate little with those of lower status, and can insult the latter with impunity. They feel called upon to defend their exalted status and prestige against any infringement, and they do so through the instrumentality of face-saving and vengeance potlatches. Psychologically, they typically resemble those individuals in our own society who are said to "carry a chip on the shoulder," i.e., who are quick to lash out with fist or tongue at the slightest invasion, real or fancied, of their personal prestige, their vanity, or their "rights."

A person who lacks status entirely, whose parents have never given a potlatch, is known as 'isa'nĝɩda. He is universally scorned and may not resent any affront from his superiors. He lives in the rear corner of the dwelling of some maternal relative and at feasts occupies an inferior seat near the door. He cannot inherit a chiefship; even if he is the next of kin, he will be passed over in favor of a junior heir who possesses the requisite status. Though greatly superior socially to a slave, his status is as permanent, and he is as helpless to improve it. If he is capable and industrious he may acquire wealth and give liberal potlatches. He may thereby secure a measure of respect for himself, and even become a self-made house chief, but he can never escape the stigma of his low status. His case is paralleled by that of the *nouveau riche* in our own society, to which, however, it is at best somewhat inferior. Nevertheless, by his potlatches he can advance his children to the status of 'ya'' ɛduk and make them in every way the social equals of the offspring of more exalted parents. Conversely, a man who enjoys a high social standing through the liberality of his parents, but who is too lazy or shiftless to accumulate property and give a potlatch of his own, loses the respect of the community but does not forfeit his status. He is called 'isa'niα, a term of reproach for a poor man. His situation resembles that of the "black sheep" of a respectable European family, but it is his children who suffer in status, not himself. One's own potlatches count for little in comparison with those given by one's parents.

tattoo - a 'mark' of status, more exclusive than lip piercing

A person is not utterly without status, even if his parents have not potlatched, providing either his father's own brother or his mother's own sister has given a house-building or a totem pole potlatch. He basks, as it were, in the reflected glory and acquires a measure of status—enough to raise him a bit above his fellows who are less fortunate in their aunts and uncles, but not enough to remove the stigma of the term 'isa'nĝɩda. This does not hold true in Skidegate, where, however, the potlatch of a maternal grandfather has much the same effect. Slightly better off is the person whose father, though he has given no house-building or totem pole potlatches, has nevertheless held a funeral potlatch. Such a person may not be called 'isa'nĝɩda nor may he be insulted with complete freedom, but his status is far inferior to that of the 'ya'' ɛduk and he may associate only with those who have little or no status.

From the foregoing account, as from the available literature, it might be inferred that "commoners" constitute a majority and "nobles" a small minority in Haida society, as is the case in most stratified societies. Such an inference, however, is quite erroneous. Informants at both Massett and Hydaburg insisted strongly that persons lacking in status never constituted more than ten per cent of the total adult population. "Nobles" have always greatly outnumbered "commoners." The explanation of this fact lies in the widespread practice of adoption. Orphans and the children of shiftless parents are commonly adopted by a paternal uncle and his wife. Adoption regularly involves giving a house-building potlatch; indeed, it is invalid without one. The donors of a 'wa'łal customarily take advantage of the occasion to adopt any children of the host's brothers whose prospects of acquiring status otherwise are slim. An adopted child is called ĝɩ'tq'aid. By virtue of the potlatch he becomes the legal child of his foster-parents and acquires the same high status as their own offspring. In general, therefore, a person fails to acquire status only if his father is deceased or incapable and he also has no paternal uncle able to adopt him with a potlatch.

90% nobles

Illegitimate children present a special case. They fall into two categories: (1) q'aigwa'ł-diα or the offspring of an unmarried mother, and (2) 'a·'ŋĝɩda or the progeny of an endogamous union. Even under aboriginal conditions, it is said, unions between a man and a woman of the same moiety, though rare, sometimes occurred. An endogamous union, however, has never been regarded as a valid marriage, nor its offspring as legitimate. Illegitimate children possess no status and can acquire none, for they have no legal father and their mother cannot give them a potlatch by herself.

Distinctions in rank are clearly reflected in the native system of composition [compensation?] for murder. When a clan has lost a member through murder or sorcery it seeks vengeance by slaying a

clansman of the murderer, unless prevented by the mediation of the chiefs of neutral clans. In the latter case, the clan of the aggressor either surrenders the culprit to be killed or, as happens much more frequently, renders compensation in property. The compensation, which is used to give a funeral potlatch to the deceased, is always graded in amount strictly according to the status of the victim. Even if vengeance has been taken, however, the case is not necessarily closed. The blood feud, to be sure, is terminated, but a balance remains to be settled one way or the other by a transfer of property unless the two victims happen to be identical in rank. If, for example, the murdered man is a 'ya'ɛ't, while the person slain in retaliation enjoys only the partial status conferred by a totem pole potlatch, the death of the latter extinguishes only approximately half of the "wergild." Even the slaughter of three 'isa'ng̃ɩda in a feud does not quite compensate for the loss of one 'ya'ɛ't.

wergild

The system of rank and its integration with the potlatch, as they have been described above, prevail among all branches of the Haida tribe with only minor variations. Whether or not a comparable situation exists among the mainland tribes is uncertain. The evidence in the published literature on the Tsimshian and Tlingit is not so much negative as inconclusive. That among some of the Tlingit, at least, the situation may approximate that among the Haida becomes not improbable in view of information given by one Hydaburg informant. This informant, the son of a Tlingit father and a Haida mother, had himself married a Tlingit woman and had lived for twelve years with her people near Sitka, where he had personally witnessed several potlatches. According to him, the potlatch-status complex in essentially the Haida form prevails among the Tlingit of the islands as far north as Sitka, and was borrowed he believed, from the Haida. The Tlingit, he said, have both the house-building and the funeral potlatches, which they call yα'datiye and ko'i'k respectively, but they lack the totem pole potlatch since they do not ordinarily erect totem poles. He was unable to recall any significant differences between the Tlingit and Haida potlatches that he had seen. Among the Tlingit of the islands as among the Haida, he insisted, status depends upon the potlatches given by one's parents, a person whose parents have given a house-building potlatch outranking one whose father has given only a funeral potlatch and being outranked by one whose parents have celebrated two yα'datiye. Among the Tlingit, too, the real donor of the potlatch is the wife, who is said to have, as among the Haida, the final word as to the distribution of the property. Whether the pattern in question has a wide or a restricted distribution among the Tlingit can probably be determined only by further field work.

based on sociological status, i.e. investment by potlatching in worth

MUSEUM of ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH
COLUMBIA
STATE LIBRARY
Cat. No.