

"Very soon I married a Gwasilla chief. Very soon the marriage debt was paid. Part of the payment was the carved house of my late uncle.

Next I married Paddled-to, and he was also given a house.

Finally, I was going to have a husband and married this Potlatch-Giver here. Soon the marriage debt was paid by my brother, and this house was given by my brother. The carved box with all our supernatural powers was put into this house, and it was opened here. I am obeying my late brother who asked me not to have any more husbands, for I am getting weak and everything has been done for me by my brothers. Now I shall not take any more husbands, and I am just waiting whether Potlatch-Giver may not drive me away."

Boas 1966

CHAPTER IV

THE POTLATCH

Editor's note: The Boas manuscript, *Kwakiutl Ethnography*, contains only a brief section, "The Order of a Chief's Potlatches," and a few fragments on potlatching. The former is evidently a George Hunt manuscript edited by Boas. It is an important contribution to the subject, for it furnishes a scheme of an aspect of potlatching that is only partially covered in Boas' general discussion which appears in "*The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*" (1897d) and is reproduced here. Chapters III, VII and VIII also contain some general statements on potlatching. However, case accounts form the vast bulk of publication. There are, for example, descriptions of a number of potlatches given in connection with the winter ceremonial at Fort Rupert in 1895. A full and amended version of this ceremonial forms part of the Boas manuscript (see Chapter VII, pp. 179 sq.). Accounts of potlatches are to be found in all of Boas' major publications on the Kwakiutl. Particular notice should be made of those that are embedded in the family histories to be found in *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl* (1921) and the extraordinary document entitled "The Acquisition of Names," on the social and potlatching career of an individual Kwakiutl man, in *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Kwakiutl* (1925a: 112-357).

Before proceeding any further it will be necessary to describe the method of acquiring rank. This is done by means of the potlatch, or the distribution of property. This custom has been described often, but it has been thoroughly misunderstood by most observers. The underlying principle is that of the interest-bearing investment of property.

The child when born is given the name of the place where it is born. This name (g'i'nLaxLē) it keeps until about a year old. Then his father, mother, or some other relative, gives a paddle or a mat to each member of the clan and the child receives his second name (nā'map'axLēya). When the boy is about 10 or 12 years old, he obtains his third name (gōmiatsēx-lā'yē). In order to obtain it, he must distribute a number of small presents, such as shirts or single blankets, among his own clan or tribe. When the youth thus starts out in life, he is liberally assisted by his elders, particularly by the nobility of the tribe.

"The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," in *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895* (Washington D.C., 1897), pp. 341-58.

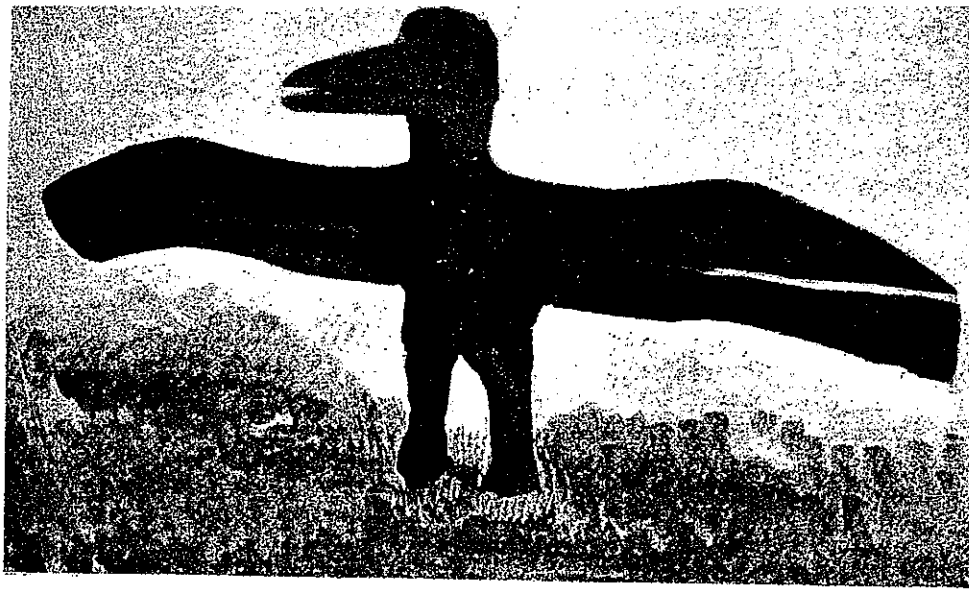


FIG. 16.—Grave monument representing the *HōXhok*⁹

I must say here that the unit of value is the single blanket, now-a-days a cheap white woolen blanket, which is valued at 50 cents. The double blanket is valued at three single blankets. These blankets form the means of exchange of the Indians, and everything is paid for in blankets or in objects the value of which is measured by blankets. When a native has to pay debts and has not a sufficient number of blankets, he borrows them from his friends and has to pay the following rates of interest:

For a period of a few months, for 5 borrowed blankets 6 must be returned (*lē'kō*); for a period of six months, for 5 borrowed blankets 7 must be returned (*mā''laxsalē'kōyō*); for a period of twelve months or longer, for 5 borrowed blankets 10 must be returned (*dē'ida* or *g'ēla*).

When a person has a poor credit, he may pawn his name for a year. Then the name must not be used during that period, and for 30 blankets which he has borrowed he must pay 100 in order to redeem his name. This is called *q'ā'q'oaxō* (selling a slave).

The rate of interest of the *lē'kō* varies somewhat around 25 per cent, according to the kindness of the loaner and the credit of the borrower. For a very short time blankets may be loaned without interest. This is designated by the same term.

When the boy is about to take his third name, he will borrow blankets from the other members of the tribe, who all assist him. He must repay them after a year, or later, with 100 per cent interest. Thus he may have gathered 100 blankets. In June, the time set for this act, the boy will distribute these blankets among his own tribe, giving proportionately to

every member of the tribe, but a few more to the chief. This is called *lā'X'uit*. When after this time any member of the tribe distributes blankets, the boy receives treble the amount he has given. The people make it a point to repay him inside of a month. Thus he owns 300 blankets, of which, however, he must repay 200 after the lapse of a year. He loans the blankets out among his friends, and thus at the close of the year he may possess about 400 blankets.

The next June he pays his debts (*qoana'*) in a festival, at which all the clans from whom he borrowed blankets are present. The festival is generally held on the street or on an open place near the village. Up to this time he is not allowed to take part in feasts. But now he may distribute property in order to obtain a potlatch name (*p'ā'tsaxlāyē*). This is also called *lā'X'uit*.

At this time the father gives up his seat (*lā'Xoā*) in favor of his son. After the boy has paid his debts, the chief calls all the older members of the tribe to a council, in which it is resolved that the boy is to receive his father's seat. The chief sends his speaker to call the boy, and his clan go out in company with the speaker. The young man—for henceforth he will be counted among the men—dresses with a black headband and paints long vertical stripes, one on each side of his face, running down from the outer corners of the eyes. The stripes represent tears. He gives a number of blankets to his friends, who carry them into the house where the council is being held. The speaker enters first and announces his arrival. The young man follows, and after him enter his friends, carrying blankets. He remains standing in front of the fire, and the chief announces to him that he is to take his father's seat. Then the boy distributes his blankets among the other clans and sells some for food, with which a feast is prepared. His father gives up his seat and takes his place among the old men (*Nō'matsēil*). The blankets given away at this feast are repaid with 100 per cent interest. In this manner the young man continues to loan and to distribute blankets, and thus is able, with due circumspection and foresight, to amass a fortune. Sometimes it happens that the successor to a man's name (*lawu'lqame*) already has a name of his own. In all such cases (also when the name is acquired by inheritance) the successor gives up his name and his property to his own successor.

Possession of wealth is considered honorable, and it is the endeavour of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not as much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which makes wealth a desirable object to the Indian. As the boy acquires his second name and man's estate by means of a distribution of property, which in course of time will revert to him with interest, the man's name acquires greater weight in the councils of the tribe and greater renown among the whole people, as he is able to distribute more and more property at each sub-

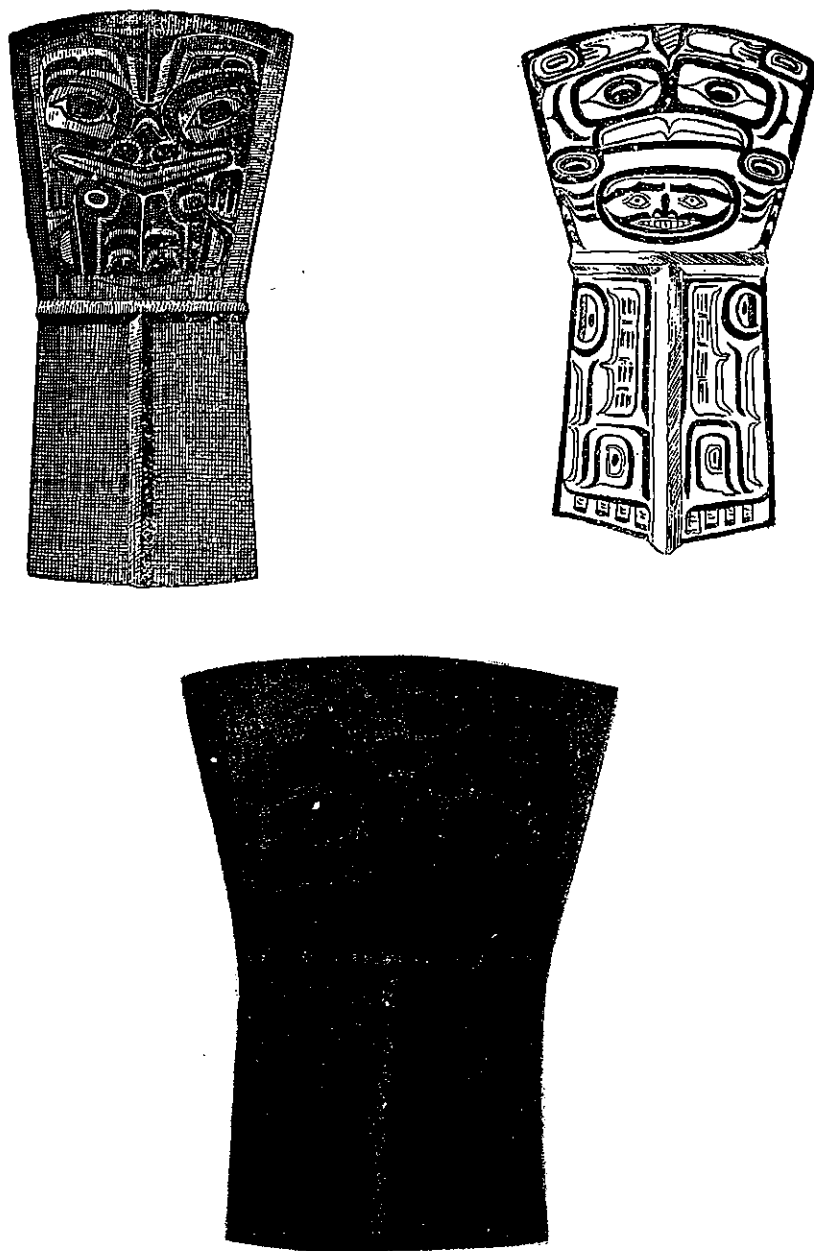


FIG. 17.—Coppers or copper plates used in potlatching

sequent festival. Therefore boys and men are vying with each other in the arrangement of great distributions of property. Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival. And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indian is to outdo his rival. Formerly feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but nowadays, as the Indians say, "rivals fight with property only." The clans are thus perpetually pitted against each other according to their rank. The Kwakiutl tribes are counted as the highest in the order given in the above list. In intertribal rivalry they do not strive against each other, but the

Gué'tela against the Ma'malēleqala.

Q'ō'moyuē against the Qoō'xsōt'ēnōx.

Q'ō'mk-ūtis against the Nē'mqic or Laō'koatz.

Wā'las Kwakiutl against the Lau'itsis or

Ts'ā'mas.

I referred several times to the distribution of blankets. The recipient in such a distribution is not at liberty to refuse the gift, although according to what I have said it is nothing but an interest-bearing loan that must be refunded at some future time with 100 per cent interest. This festival is called *p'a'sa*, literally, flattening something (for instance, a basket). This means that by the amount of property given the name of the rival is flattened.

There is still another method of rising in the social scale, namely, by showing one's self superior to the rival. This may be done by inviting the rival and his clan or tribe to a festival and giving him a considerable number of blankets. He is compelled to accept these, but is not allowed to do so until after he has placed an equal number of blankets on top of the pile offered to him. This is called *dāpēntg'ala* and the blankets placed on top of the first pile are called *dā'pēnō*. Then he receives the whole pile and becomes debtor to that amount, i.e., he must repay the gift with 100 per cent interest.

A similar proceeding takes place when a canoe is given to a rival. The latter, when the gift is offered to him, must put blankets to the amount of half the value of the canoe on to it. This is called *dā'g'ōt*, taking hold of the bow of the canoe. These blankets are kept by the first owner of the canoe. Later on, the recipient of the canoe must return another canoe, together with an adequate number of blankets, as an "anchor line" for the canoe. This giving of a canoe is called *sā'k'a*.

Still more complicated is the purchase or the gift, however one chooses to term it, of a "copper." All along the North Pacific Coast, from Yakutat to Comox, curiously shaped copper plates are in use, which in olden times were made of native copper, which is found in Alaska and probably also



FIG. 18.—Chief holding his copper

on Nass River, but which nowadays are worked out of imported copper. The typical shape of these copper plates may be seen in figs. 2 and 3 and Plate 4. The T-shaped part (qa'lā's), which forms two ridges, is hammered. The top is called "the face" (ō'nuxlēmē), the lower part the hind end (ō'nutsēxstē). The front of the copper is covered with black lead, in which a face, representing the crest animal of the owner, is graven. These coppers have the same function which bank notes of high denominations have with us. The actual value of the piece of copper is small, but it is made to represent a large number of blankets and can always be sold for blankets. The value is not arbitrarily set, but depends upon the amount of property given away in the festival at which the copper is sold. On the whole, the oftener a copper is sold the higher its value, as every new buyer tries to invest more blankets in it. Therefore the purchase of a copper



FIG. 19.—Chiefs delivering speeches at potlatches

also brings distinction, because it proves that the buyer is able to bring together a vast amount of property.

Each copper has a name of its own, and from the following list of coppers, which were in Fort Rupert in 1893, the values attached to some of them may be seen:

Mā'x̄ts'ōlēm (= all other coppers are ashamed to look at it), 7,500 blankets.
L'ā'xolamas (= steel-head salmon, i.e., it glides out of one's hands like a salmon), 6,000 blankets.

Lō'pēlila (= making the house empty of blankets), 5,000 blankets.

Dē'nt'alayō (= about whose possession all are quarreling).

Mau'ak'a (= sea lion).

Qau'lō'ma (= beaver face).

Lē'ita (= looking below; namely, in order to find blankets with which to buy it).

Nū'sē (= moon; its engraving represents the half moon, in which a man is sitting).

G'ā'waqa (= a spirit. Hē'ilt̄suq dialect, corresponding to the Kwakiutl Ts'ō'nōqoa).

Nē'lqemāla (= day face).

Nē'nqemāla (= bear face).

K'ā'na (= Crow; Hē'ilt̄suq dialect).

Qoayim (= whale).

Mā'x'ēnōx (= killer whale).

Qoayimk'in (= too great a whale).

Wi'na (= war, against the blankets of the purchaser).

The purchase of a high-priced copper is an elaborate ceremony, which must be described in detail. The trade is discussed and arranged long beforehand. When the buyer is ready, he gives to the owner of the copper blankets about one-sixth of the total value of the copper. This is called "making a pillow" for the copper (qē'nulila); or "making a feather bed" (ta'lqoa) or "the harpoon line at which game is hanging" (dō'xsēmt), meaning that in the same manner the copper is attached to the long line of blankets; or "taken in the hand, in order to lift the copper" (dā'g-i-lēm). The owner of the copper loans these blankets out, and when he has called them in again, he repays the total amount received, with 100 per cent interest, to the purchaser. On the following day the tribes assemble for the sale of the copper. The prescribed proceeding is as follows: The buyer offers first the lowest prices at which the copper was sold. The owner declares that he is satisfied, but his friends demand by degrees higher and higher prices, according to all the previous sales of the copper. This is called gr'na. Finally, the amount offered is deemed satisfactory. Then the owner asks for boxes to carry away the blankets. These are counted five pairs a box, and are also paid in blankets or other objects. After these have been paid, the owner of the copper calls his friends—members of his

own tribe—to rise, and asks for a belt, which he values at several hundred blankets. While these are being brought, he and his tribe generally repair to their house, where they paint their faces and dress in new blankets. When they have finished, drums are beaten in the house, they all shout "hi!" and go out again, the speaker of the seller first. As soon as the latter has left the house, he turns and calls his chief to come down, who goes back to where the sale is going on, followed by his tribe. They all stand in a row and the buyer puts down the blankets which were demanded as a belt, "to adorn the owner of the copper." This whole purchase is called "putting the copper under the name of the buyer" (Lā'sa).

In this proceeding the blankets are placed in piles of moderate height, one pile close to the other, so that they occupy a considerable amount of space. In Fort Rupert there are two high posts on the beach bearing carved figures on top, between which the blankets are thus piled (Plate 5). They stand about 40 steps apart.

On the following day all the blankets which have been paid for the copper must be distributed by the owner among his own tribe, paying to them his old debts first, and, if the amount is sufficient, giving new presents. This is called "doing a great thing" (wā'lasila).

Coppers are always sold to rivals, and often a man will offer his copper for sale to the rival tribe. If it is not accepted, it is an acknowledgment that nobody in the tribe has money enough to buy it, and the name of the tribe or clan would consequently lose in weight. Therefore, if a man is willing to accept the offer, all the members of the tribe must assist him in this undertaking with loans of blankets. Debts which are repaid in the wā'lasila were mostly contracted in this manner.

In order to better illustrate this curious proceeding, I will describe the sale of a copper which took place in the winter of [1894-95]

* First, a feast was celebrated, in which the Ma'malēleqala offered the copper Mā'x̄ts'ōlēm for sale to the Kwakiutl. Mā'Xua, chief of the clan Maa'mtagila, invited all the tribes to his house. Then he spoke:

"Come, tribe, to my house. This is the house of the first Mā'Xua at G-agaxsdals.

"This the feast house of Mā'Xua here.

"This is the house to which Mā'Xua invited at Ēg'isbalis.

"This is the house to which Mā'Xua invited at Qalō'gwis.

"This is the feast house of Mā'Xua at G-āqis.

"This is the house to which my father invited at Tsā'xis.

"I take the place of my father now.

"I invited you, tribes, that you should come and see my house here.

"I am proud to speak of my ancestor, the chief who in the beginning of the world had the name Mā'Xua."

Then Mā'Xua turned to his own tribe and said: "Yes, K'ēsōyagilis.

Yes, Mā'Xuag-ila. Let me speak of my ways, Wa, wa! thus I speak, my tribe." Then he turned again to the other tribes and told them to sing, saying, "Go on, tell the whole world, tribes! go on and sing; this was given to our ancestors in the beginning of the world by Kuēkuaxā'ōē."

Now Mā'Xua stopped speaking, and Qoayō'lilas, chief of the Ma'malēqala of the clan Wā'las, spoke: "Yes, Chief! it is true what you said. I thank you for your words, Chief! Our ways are not new ways. They were made by our chief (the deity) and marked out for us when he made our ancestors men. We try to imitate what our ancestors were told to do by the creator. Keep in your old ways, Kwakiutl; keep in the ways of your grandfathers, who laid down the custom for you." Then he turned to his own tribe and said: "That is what I say, Wā'kas. That is what I say, Nēg'ē'. The word of the chief shall not hurt me." Now he took the copper (Plate 6) and said: "Now sing my song!" His tribe sang, and after they had finished Qoayō'lilas spoke again: "Yes, my tribe! I can not help how I feel; I have nothing against the way, Kwakiutl, in which you treat me and my tribe. Now I will promise blankets to you, Kwakiutl, blankets to you, Guē'tela, blankets to you, Q'ō'mōyuē, blankets to you, Q'ō'mk-ūtis, blankets to you, Wālas Kwakiutl; this copper belongs to Ts'ā'x'ts'agits'emqa, the son of Wālas Nēmō'gwis. Now take care, great tribe! This great copper has a high price; its name is Mā'x'ts'ōlēm (the one of whom all are ashamed). Now I am going to lay it down before you, Kwakiutl. Do not let me carry it myself, lā'bid! Take it to the chiefs."

Then lā'bid arose and spoke: "Say this again, my chief! Now look out, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, this is Sē'xitg-ila Mā'x'ts'ōlēm [The one who makes thirsty and of whom all are ashamed.] This I will bring to you."

Then he stepped toward the Kwakiutl, and put the copper on the floor where they were sitting. Now Owaxā'lag'ilis arose, took the copper, and spoke: "Thank you, Wālas Nēmō'gwis. Come now, salmon, for which our forefathers have been watching. This is Mā'x'ts'ōlēm. I will buy this Mā'x'ts'ōlēm. Now pay me, Kwakiutl, what I loaned to you, that I may buy it quickly, in order to keep our name as high as it is now. Don't let us be afraid of the price of Mā'x'ts'ōlēm, my tribe, wa, wa! Now put down the dishes, that our tribe may eat."

Owaxā'lag'ilis sat down, the young men distributed the dishes, and all the tribes ate. Now Mā'Xua stepped up again and spoke kindly to the eating people. "Go on," he said, "eat, Wālas Nēmō'gwis; eat, Hē'lamas; eat, Nēg'ē'; eat you, Ma'malēqala; eat, Lā'qōlas; eat, G'ōtē, you Nēm'qic; eat, Sē'wit'ē; eat, Ē'wanuX; eat you, lau'itsis; eat, Wā'kas; eat, Pō'tlidē, you, Mā't'ilpē; eat, Wāts'ē; eat, Hē'was, you T'ēna'xtax. Eat, all you tribes. Now it is done. I have already told you of my grandfather. This food here is the good will of our forefather. It is all given away. Now, look out, Kwakiutl! our chief here is going to buy this copper, and let us help him,

wa, wa!" Then spoke Ha'mēsakinis and said: "Your words are true, Chief! how true are your words. I know how to buy coppers; I always pay high prices for coppers. Now take care, Kwakiutl, my tribe, else you will be laughed at. Thus I say, Ō'ts'ēstalis; thus I say, Wa'nuk"; thus I say, young chiefs of the Kwakiutl; thus I say, Tsō'palis; thus I say, O'gwila; thus I say, Ō'mx'it, young chiefs of the Q'ō'moyuē; thus I say, Qoē'mālasts'ē; thus I say, Yēqawit, chiefs of the Q'ō'mk-ūtis; thus I say, Qoayō'lilas; thus I say, Wā'kidis, young chiefs of the Wālas Kwakiutl. This is my speech for our children, Mā'Xuag-ila, that they may take care, wa, wa!" Then Qoayō'lilas stood up again and said: "Thank you; did you hear, lā'bid? Ho, ho, ho, ho, uō, uō, uō. [The "ho" means the lifting of the heavy copper from the ground; the "uō" is the cry of the Ts'ō'nōqoa.] Now let me invite them, Ma'malēqala; I believe they want to buy my copper. Now I will invite them." Then his tribe said: "Do it, do it," and he continued: "Now, Guē'tela, behold the dance of La'qoag-ilayukoa, the daughter of Wālas Nēmō'gwis. Now, Q'ō'mōyuē, see the dance of Āomōla, the daughter of Wālas Nēmō'gwis. Now Q'ō'mk-utis, see the dance of Mā'mx'oyūkoa, the daughter of Wālas Nēmō'gwis. Now, Wālas Kwā'kiutl, see the dance of Mā'Xualag'ilis, the son of Wālas Nēmō'gwis. These are my words, wa, wa!"

Then all the guests went out. Later on Ōwaxā'lag'ilis invited all the Kwakiutl, Ma'malēqala, Nēm'qic, lau'itsis, T'ēna'xtax, and Mā'tilpē, because he intended to buy the copper Mā'x'ts'ōlēm that morning on the beach. Then all the tribes assembled. Ōwaxā'lag'ilis stood on the beach and spoke. He said:

"Now, come, chiefs of all the tribes. Yes, you come, because we want to do a great work. Now, I am going to buy the copper Mā'x'ts'ōlēm, of Wālas Nēmō'gwis. Only don't ask too high a price for it. And you, young chiefs of the Kwakiutl, take care and help me. Go now and bring the blankets from my house."

Then the young men went and piled up the blankets on the beach. Mā'Xua and Ō'ts'ēstalis counted them. One man of the Ma'malēqala, one of the Nimkish, one of the lau'itsis, kept the tally. Every tribe has a man to count blankets. This office is not hereditary. When coppers are traded, the song makers count blankets.

Mā'Xua spoke: "It is my office to take care of the property of our chief. It was the office of my forefathers. Now I will begin." Then he counted one pair, two pairs, three pairs, four pairs, five pairs, six pairs, seven pairs, eight pairs, nine pairs, ten pairs. As soon as ten pairs were counted, he said aloud, "ten pairs," and the counters repeated, "twenty blankets," and put two stones aside. When Mā'Xua had counted another ten pairs, the counters said, "forty blankets," and put two more stones aside. They continued to put aside two stones for each ten pairs of blankets

(Plates 7 and 8). Two men kept on piling up the blankets, and when they had piled up 1,000 blankets, Mā'Xua said aloud, "One thousand blankets." The blankets were piled up alongside of a carved beam standing on the beach (Plate 5). When the pile was high enough, a new one was begun right next to the first pile.

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Tribes, I buy the copper Mā'xts'olem with these 1,000 blankets. I shall not give any more unless the chiefs of all the tribes should ask for more, wa! That is my speech, chiefs of the Kwakiutl." Now he sat down and Wālas Nēmō'gwis arose. He said: "Ya, Ōwaxā'lag'ilis! are your words true? Did you say it was enough?" Then he turned to his tribe and said, "Ya, Ōlsi'wit! Now rise, chief, and speak for me. That is what I say, Lā'bidē."

Then Ōlsi'wit arose (see Plates 9 and 10) and said: "Are those your words, Kwakiutl? Did you say this was all that you were going to give for the copper? Are there 1,000 blankets?" The counters replied, "Yes, there are 1,000 blankets." Ōlsi'wit continued: "Thank you, Ōwaxā'lag'ilis, Chief. Do you think you have finished? Now take care, Kwakiutl! You, Chief, give twenty times ten pairs more, so that there will be 200 more." Then he turned to his tribe and said, "Chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala! Now, I have said my words, Chief Wālas Nēmō'gwis."

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and said: "Your speech, Ōlsi'wit, is good. It pleases my heart." And he said to the young men: "Go and bring 200 blankets from my house." They went at once and brought those blankets.

Then Mā'Xua arose and counted the blankets. He called out how many there were. He said: "There are 1,200 blankets in a pile here, chiefs of all the tribes, wa, wa!"

Now Ōlsi'wit arose and said: "Thank you, Kwakiutl. Verily, I got all I asked for in my speech and we Ma'malēleqala are pleased, wa, wa!"

Again Wālas Nēmō'gwis arose and spoke: "Thank you, Ōwaxā'lag'ilis, thank you, Chief. It will not be my desire if all the chiefs of my tribe ask for more blankets. I am satisfied." Now he turned to his tribe and said: "Now we must speak, my tribe. Arise, G'ē'g'ESLEN. Speak, Chief! Speak more strongly."

Then G'ē'g'ESLEN arose and said: "How nice it is, tribes! I thank you for your words, Ōwaxā'lag'ilis. Yes, Chiefs, that is our way, to which you must conform. You were not provident when you resolved to buy this great copper. My heart is well inclined toward you, Chief! You have not finished; you will give more. The price of the copper must correspond to my greatness, and I ask forty times ten blankets, that is 400 blankets more, Chief. That is what I mean, forty. Wa, Chief. I shall not speak again if I get what I ask from you." Then he turned to his own tribe. "Chief Wālas Nēmō'gwis, I have done what you asked of me. You asked me to speak strongly to that chief, wa, wa!"

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke. He said: "Yes, Chief, your speech was good. You have no pity. Have you finished now asking for more, If I am willing to give your chief 400 blankets more? Answer me now!" Now G'ē'g'ESLEN spoke: "I shall not try to speak again." Ōwaxā'lag'ilis sent two young men. They brought the blankets and put them down. Again Mā'Xua took the blankets and spoke:

"Ya, tribes! Do you see now our way of buying? The Kwakiutl, my tribe, are strong when they buy coppers. They are not like you. You always bring the canoes and the button blankets right away. Now there are 1,600 blankets in this pile that I carry here." He turned to the Kwakiutl and said: "That is what I say, Chiefs of the Kwakiutl, to those who do not know how to buy coppers. Now I begin again." He counted the blankets and went on in the same way as before. As soon as ten pairs of blankets were counted, they said aloud, "ten pairs," and the counters said aloud how many tens of blankets had been counted. When he had counted all, Mā'Xua spoke: "Wa, wa! Now I say to you chiefs, of all the tribes it is really enough! I have pity upon my chief. That is what I say, chiefs."

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Wa, wa! I say it is enough, Ma'malēleqala. Now you have seen my name. This is my name; this is the weight of my name. This mountain of blankets rises through our heaven. My name is the name of the Kwakiutl, and you can not do as we do, tribes. When you do it, you finish just as soon as you reach the 1,000 blankets. Now, look out! later on I shall ask you to buy from me. Tribes! I do not look ahead to the time when you will buy from me. My chiefs! that is what I say, Ō'ts'ēstālis; that is what I say, Wā'kidis; that is what I say, Mā'Xualag'ilis; that is what I say, Mā'Xuayalisamē. That is what I say for all of you from whom coppers may be bought, by the chiefs of these our rivals, the Ma'malēleqala, Wa, wa!"

Then Wālas Nēmō'gwis arose and spoke: "Yes, Chief, your speech is true, your word is true. Who is like you, Kwakiutl, who buy coppers and who give away blankets. Long life to all of you, chiefs of the Kwakiutl. I can not attain to your high name, great tribes." Then he turned to his tribe and said: "That is what I said, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, that we may beat these Kwakiutl. They are like a large mountain with a steep precipice. Now arise, Yā'qalēnlis, and speak, Chief! Let me see you that I may look up to you, Chief! Now call your name, Ts'ō'nōqoa, you, Chief, who knows how to buy that great copper. You can not be equaled by anybody. You great mountain from which wealth is rolling down, wa, wa! That is what I say, my tribe!"

Then Yā'qalēnlis arose and uttered the cry of Ts'ō'nōqoa: "hō, hō, hō, hō!" and he acted as though he was lifting the heavy weight of the copper from the ground. "You all know, Kwakiutl, who I am. My name is Yā'qalēnlis. The name began at the time when our world was made.

I am a descendant of the chiefs about whom we hear in the earliest legends. The Hō'Xhoq came down to Xō'xop'a, and took off his bird mask and became a man. Then he took the name Yā'qalēnlis. That was my ancestor, the first of the Qōē'xsōt'ēnōx. He married lā'qoag'ilayūqoa, the daughter of Wālas Nēmō'gwis, the first chief of the great clan Wēwamasqēm of the Ma'malēleqala. That is the reason why I speak. I know how to buy great coppers. I bought this copper Mā'xts'ōlēm for 4,000 blankets. What is it, Chief? What is it, Ōwaxā'lag'ilis? Come!, did you not give any thought to my copper here? You always say that you are rich, Chief. Now give more, that it may be as great as I am. Give only ten times 100 blankets more, Chief Ōwaxā'lag'ilis. It will not be much, give 1,000 more for my sake, wa, wa. This is what I say, Hā'wasalal; that is what I say, Hē'Xuayus; that is what I say, Wawilapalasō; that is what I say for all of you, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, Wā, wā!"

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Yes, yes, you are feared by all, Great Chief! Do not show mercy in your speech. Now I am going to ask all of you, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, will you stop talking if I give you these 1,000 blankets in addition to the 1,600 blankets on this pile? If you say it is not enough after I have added the 1,000 blankets, then I will not force the purchase of the copper.

"Now answer me, Wālas Nēmō'gwis. I have seen no one giving 1,000 blankets more. I should tell a lie if I should say I had ever seen it done, as you demand, wa! That is what I say, chiefs of all the Kwakiutl."

Now Wālas Nēmō'gwis arose and spoke: "Chiefs, it is not my desire; it is the desire of all those chiefs who asked for more; I have enough. Bring now the 1,000 blankets for which Chief Yā'qalēnlis asked, wa, wa! That is what I say, Ma'malēleqala, wa!"

Now Ōwaxā'lag'ilis sent the young men to bring these 1,000 blankets. They brought them and Mā'Xua arose. He counted the blankets and called out every ten pairs. Then he made a speech: "Ya! tribes, have all the blankets here been counted?" The people replied, "Yes, yes. Do not maintain, Chief, that we lost run of the number of blankets." Then Mā'Xua continued: "There are 2,600 blankets. I am a Maa'mtag'ila, whose strength appears when they buy coppers. Take care, Chief Ōwaxā'lag'ilis, else we shall be laughed at. Do not give in! Do not weaken, else you will not get that copper."

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Your words are good, Mā'Xua. It is good that you strengthen my heart. Now speak, Wālas Nēmō'gwis! Speak, Chief, and tell me your wishes, else I shall be too much troubled. Now say your price and I will take it. That is what I say, Wā'kidis; that is what I say, Tsōpā'lis, wa, wa!"

Ōwaxā'lag'ilis sat down, and the tribes were silent. Nobody spoke, and Wālas Nēmō'gwis lay down on his back, covering his face with his blanket.

For a long time nobody among all the men spoke. Then Yēqōk'ūā'lag'ilis, the younger brother of Wālas Nēmō'gwis, arose and said: "Chiefs of the Kwakiutl, I know what makes my brother here sad. Try, chiefs, that your speech may please the heart of my chief here. That is what I say, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, wa, wa!"

Then Ha'mts'it arose and spoke: "Kwakiutl, I am afraid of the way in which my chief here is acting. He is making us asleep and all the tribes are asleep. That is always the way of the great chief. Now, Ōwaxā'lag'ilis, try to please him!"

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and said: "Ha'mts'it! you said enough. Too many are your words. Let only him speak who knows how to buy that copper, Wālas Nēmō'gwis! Do not let these children speak. That is what I say, Kwakiutl, wa, wa! Now look about in my house, if you find something to please the heart of this chief. Go! young men." They went, and soon they came back carrying blankets, which they put down. Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose at once and asked the young men how many blankets they had brought. They replied: "Six hundred blankets." He continued: "Is it true what you said? Now, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, I thank you for your words. Mā'Xua! Chief! count them!" Mā'Xua arose and counted the blankets. Then he said: "Ya, tribes, have you counted these blankets, also? There are now 3,200. Look out! chiefs of the tribes! for I shall ask you to buy our coppers also! That is what I say, Nēg'ē'; that is what I say, E'wanu-Xts'ē, wa, wa! that is what I say, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, wa, wa!"

Now Wālas Nēmō'gwis arose and said: "Now take care, Ma'malēleqala! Now, I take that price for our copper. Now give the boxes into which we may put the blankets. We need 50 boxes, and each will be worth 5 pairs of blankets."

Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Thank you, Wālas Nēmō'gwis, for your speech. You say you take the price. Now go, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, and bring the boxes! They will be 500 blankets' worth, to be paid in canoes." Then the young men went and brought short split sticks. They brought 5 sticks. Mā'Xua took them and spoke: "Ya! tribes! truly, you do not think that your words are hard against Ōwaxā'lag'ilis? Truly, you get easily what you ask for, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala. This canoe counts for a box worth 150 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 150 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 100 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 60 blankets. This canoe counts for a box worth 40 blankets, wa, wa! Enough, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala. Now take pity on our chief here. That is what I say, Kwakiutl." Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Ya, son Wālas Nēmō'gwis, I think your heart is pleased. Now there are 3,700 blankets. There are 700 of the fourth thousand. Come, Wālas Nēmō'gwis, and you, chiefs, arise, that I may adorn you." Then Wālas Nēmō'gwis arose and spoke: "Come, Mā'Xmawisaqamayē! Come, lā'bid!

Come, Kwā'x'ılanōkumē! Come, Nēmō'kwag'ilis! Come, Hā'wasalal! Come, Xuā'x'sistala! Come, Ōsiwit! Come, G'ē'g'ēsLEN! Come, Yā'qalēnlis! Come, Wā'k'asts'e! Come, Hā'misalaL! Come, Ts'ō'xts'ais! Let him who brought our copper look at us! Come, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala." Then all the thirteen chiefs stood in a row, and Wālas Nēmō'gwis spoke: "This, Kwakiutl, is the strength of the Ma'malēleqala. These whom you see here are your rivals. These are the ones who have the great coppers which have names, and therefore it is hard work for you to rival them. Look out! chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala! in case they should bring us the copper Mā'xts'ōlēm, which we now sold, that one of you may take it up at once, or else we must be ashamed. That is what I say, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, Wa, wa! Now go on! Chief Ōwaxā'lag'ilis!" Then Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Yes, Wālas Nēmō'gwis, and you other good chiefs who are standing over there. Now, chiefs of the Kwakiutl, scurry about in my house for something with which I may adorn the chiefs." Then the young men went. Soon they came back, carrying 200 blankets and two split sticks, on which five straight lines were marked with charcoal.

Then Mā'Xua arose, took the split sticks, and said: "Thank you, chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala, for the way in which you act. It must be true that you are pleased with the way of our chief here. Now listen, chiefs! Adorn yourselves with this canoe, which is worth 50 blankets, and with this canoe, which is also worth 50 blankets, and with these 200 blankets here. Now there are 4,000 blankets in all, wa, wa! Let me say, it is done!"

Immediately Wālas Nēmō'gwis made a speech, and said: "I take this price, tribes! Thank you, Chief Ōwaxā'lag'ilis; thank you, Chief; thank you, Kwakiutl."

Now Ōwaxā'lag'ilis arose and spoke: "Ya, Wālas Nēmō'gwis. Have you taken the price, Chief?" Wālas Nēmō'gwis replied: "I have taken the price." "Why, Wālas Nēmō'gwis," said Ōwaxā'lag'ilis, "you take the price too soon; you must think poorly of me, Chief! I am a Kwakiutl; I am one of those from whom all your tribes all over the world took their names. Now you give up before I finished trading with you Ma'malēleqala. You must always stand beneath us, wa, wa! Now go, young men; call our chief here, that he may come and see the tribes. Bring Lā'qoag'ilak". Then the young men went, and soon they returned. The sister of Ōwaxā'lag'ilis followed them, carrying 200 blankets. Ōwaxā'lag'ilis spoke: "Ya tribes, come here! This is Lā'qoag'ilak". That name comes from the oldest legends. Now, take her clothes and you, Mā'Xua, give them away!" Now Mā'Xua counted the blankets. There were 200 blankets of the fifth thousand. There were 4,200. "Wa, wa! Chiefs of the Ma'malēleqala," said he. Then Wālas Nēmō'gwis spoke: "Thank you, chiefs! Now, Ma'malēleqala, we will divide the property to-morrow, wa, wa!"

X It was described above how a boy is introduced into the distributions

of property going on among the tribe. It remains to state how he acquires his first copper. When the young man has acquired a certain number of blankets, one of his older friends invites him to take a share in the purchase of one of the cheaper coppers, which may have a value of, say, 500 blankets. The boy contributes 200 blankets as his share and the other man purchases it, announcing the young man as his partner in the transaction. The copper is delivered to the young man, who becomes a debtor to his partner for the amount of blankets contributed by the latter. He announces at once that he will sell the copper the following year, but that he is willing to deliver the copper on the spot. With these words he lays it down before the tribe. One of the chiefs of a rival tribe takes the copper and pays as a first instalment 100 blankets. Then the boy promises a distribution of blankets (tsō'Xua) for the following year and loans out the 100 blankets which he has received. The next year he calls in his outstanding debts and invites all the neighboring tribes to a feast, to which his own tribe contributes food and fuel. In the course of the festival he pays the chief who took his copper 200 blankets, being the value of the 100 blankets received the previous year, together with 100 per cent interest. Then the purchaser pays the sum of 750 blankets for the copper, including boxes and belt, as described above. Of this amount 700 are distributed on the following day in the prescribed fashion among the neighboring tribes. Now the young man proceeds to loan out his blankets until within a few years he is able to repay the share of his partner who first helped him to buy the copper. When the time has come for this transaction, his partner pays him double the amount of what he (the partner) has contributed, and the young man returns to him double of this amount.

The rivalry between chiefs and clans finds its strongest expression in the destruction of property. A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or break a copper, thus indicating his disregard of the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival. If the latter is not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is "broken." He is vanquished by his rival and his influence with the tribe is lost, while the name of the other chief gains correspondingly in renown.

Feasts may also be counted as destruction of property, because the food given can not be returned except by giving another feast. The most expensive sort of feast is the one at which enormous quantities of fish oil (made of the oulachon) are consumed and burnt, the so-called "grease feast." Therefore it also raises the name of the person who can afford to give it, and the neglect to speedily return it entails a severe loss of prestige. Still more feared is the breaking of a valuable copper. A chief may break his copper and give the broken parts to his rival. If the latter wants to keep his prestige, he must break a copper of equal or higher value, and

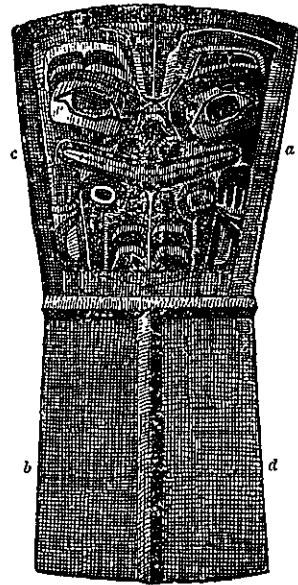


FIG. 20.—Copper. The order in which sections are broken off is indicated by letters *a-d*.

then return both his own broken copper and the fragments which he has received to his rival. The latter may then pay for the copper which he has thus received. The chief to whom the fragments of the first copper are given may, however, also break his copper and throw both into the sea. The Indians consider that by this act the attacked rival has shown himself superior to his aggressor, because the latter may have expected to receive the broken copper of his rival in return so that an actual loss would have been prevented.

In by far the greater number of cases where coppers are broken the copper is preserved. The owner breaks or cuts off one part after the other until finally only the T-shaped ridge remains. This is valued at two-thirds of the total value of the copper and is the last part to be given away. The order in which the parts of the copper are usually broken off is shown in the accompanying illustration (fig. 4). The rival to whom the piece that has been broken off is given, breaks off a similar piece, and returns both to the owner. Thus a copper may be broken up in contests with different rivals. Finally, somebody succeeds in buying up all the broken fragments, which are riveted together, and the copper has attained an increased value. Since the broken copper indicates the fact that the owner has destroyed property, the Indians pride themselves upon their possession (see Plates 11 and 12).

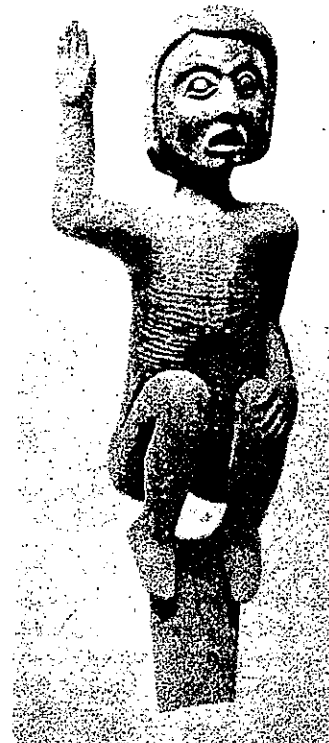
The rivalry between chiefs, when carried so far that coppers are destroyed



FIG. 21.—(upper left). Chief holding broken copper

FIG. 22.—(upper right). Chieftainess holding broken copper

FIG. 23.—(lower left). Image representing rival chief



and that grease feasts are given in order to destroy the prestige of the rival, often develop into open enmity. When a person gives a grease feast, a great fire is lighted in the center of the house. The flames leap up to the roof and the guests are almost scorched by the heat. Still the etiquette demands that they do not stir, else the host's fire has conquered them. Even when the roof begins to burn and the fire attacks the rafters, they must appear unconcerned. The host alone has the right to send a man up to the roof to put out the fire. While the feast is in progress the host sings a scathing song ridiculing his rival and praising his own clan, the feats of his forefathers and his own. Then the grease is filled in large spoons and passed to the rival chief first. If a person thinks he has given a greater grease feast than that offered by the host, he refuses the spoon. Then he runs out of the house (*g'é'qəmx'it*=chief rises against his face) to fetch his copper "to squelch with it the fire." The host proceeds at once to tie a copper to each of his house posts. If he should not do so, the person who refused the spoon would on returning strike the posts with the copper, which is considered equal to striking the chief's face (*k'í'lxə*). Then the man who went to fetch his copper breaks it and gives it to the host. This is called "squelching the host's fire." The host retaliates as described above.

The following songs show the manner in which rivals scathe each other.

First *Neqā'pənk'əm* (=ten fathom face) let his clan sing the following song at a feast which he gave:

1. Our great famous chief is known even outside of our world, oh! he is the highest chief of all. [Then he sang:] The chiefs of all the tribes are my servants, the chiefs of all the tribes are my speakers. They are pieces of copper which I have broken.

[The people:] Do not let our chief rise too high. Do not let him destroy too much property, else we shall be made like broken pieces of copper by the great breaker of coppers, the great splitter of coppers, the great chief who throws coppers into the water, the great one who can not be surpassed by anybody, the one surmounting all the chiefs. Long ago you went and burnt all the tribes to ashes. You went and defeated the chief of all the tribes; you made his people run away and look for their relatives whom you had slain. You went and the fame of your power was heard among the northern tribes. You went and gave blankets to everybody, chief of all tribes.

2. Do not let us stand in front of him, of whom we are always hearing, even at the outermost limits of this world. Do not let us steal from our chief, tribes! else he will become enraged and will tie our hands. He will hang us, the chief of the tribes.

[*Neqā'pənk'əm* sings:] Do not mind my greatness. My tribe alone is as great as four tribes. I am standing on our fortress; I am standing on top of the chiefs of the tribes. I am Copper Face, Great Mountain, Supporter, Obstacle; my tribes are my servants.

At another feast he let his people sing:

1. Do not look around, tribes! do not look around, else we might see something that will hurt us in the great house of this really great chief.

2. "Do not look around, tribes! do not look around, else we might see something formidable in the great house of this really great chief. His house has the *Ts'ó'noqoa*.¹ Therefore we are benumbed and can not move. The house of our double chief,² of the really great chief, is taking our lives and our breath."

3. "Do not make any noise, tribes! do not make any noise, else we shall precipitate a landslide of wealth from our chief, the overhanging mountain."

4. [*Neqā'pənk'əm* sings:] "I am the one from whom comes down and from whom is untied the red cedar bark³ for the chiefs of the tribes. Do not grumble, tribes! do not grumble in the house of the great double chief, who makes that all are afraid to die at his hands, over whose body is sprinkled the blood of all those who tried to eat in the house of the double chief,⁴ of the really great chief. Only one thing enrages me, when people eat slowly and a little only of the food given by the great double chief."

While these songs are merely a praise of the deeds of the singer, the following reply by *Há'nak-alasō*, the rival of *Neqā'pənk'əm* is bitter to the extreme. In it the singer ridicules him for not yet having returned a grease feast.

1. I thought another one was causing the smoky weather? I am the only one on earth—the only one in the world who makes thick smoke rise from the beginning of the year to the end, for the invited tribes.⁵

2. What will my rival say again—that "spider woman"; what will he pretend to do next? The words of that "spider woman" do not go a straight way. Will he not brag that he is going to give away canoes, that he is going to break coppers, that he is going to give a grease feast? Such will be the words of the "spider woman," and therefore your face is dry and moldy, you who are standing in front of the stomachs of the chiefs.

3. Nothing will satisfy you; but sometimes I treated you so roughly that you begged for mercy. Do you know what you will be like? You will be like an old dog, and you will spread your legs before me when I get excited. You did so when I broke the great coppers "Cloud" and "Making Ashamed," my great property and the great coppers, "Chief" and "Killer Whale," and the one named "Point of Island" and "The Feared One" and "Beaver." This I throw into your face, you whom I always tried to vanquish; whom I have maltreated; who does not dare to stand erect when I am eating; the chief whom even every weak man tries to vanquish.

4. Now my feast! Go to him, the poor one who wants to be fed from the son

¹ A fabulous monster.

² The war chief and potlatch chief.

³ The emblem of the winter ceremonial.

⁴ This refers to the fact that he killed a chief of the *Awi'k'ənóx* in a feast.

⁵ Namely, by the fire of the grease feast.

of the chief whose own name is "Full of Smoke" and "Greatest Smoke." Never mind; give him plenty to eat, make him drink until he will be qualmish and vomits. My feast steps over the fire right up to the chief.⁶

In order to make the effect of the song still stronger, an effigy of the rival chief is sometimes placed near the fire. He is lean, and is represented in an attitude as though begging that the fire be not made any hotter, as it is already scorching him.

Property may not only be destroyed for the purpose of damaging the prestige of the rival, but also for the sole purpose of gaining distinction. This is done mainly at the time when houses are built, when totem poles are erected, or when a son has been initiated by the spirit presiding over the secret society of his clan, to which ceremony reference has previously been made. It seems that in olden times slaves were sometimes killed and buried under the house posts or under totem posts. Later on, instead of being killed, they were given away as presents. Whenever this was done, the inverted figure of a man, or an inverted head, was placed on the pole. In other cases coppers were buried under the posts, or given away. This custom still continues, and in all such cases coppers are shown on the post, often in such a way that they are being held or bitten by the totem animals (Plate 14). At the time of the initiation of a member of the clan slaves were also killed or coppers were destroyed, as will be described in greater detail later on. The property thus destroyed is called the *ō'mayū*, the price paid for the house, the post, or for the initiation.

The distribution or destruction of property is not always made solely for the purpose of gaining prestige for one's self, but it is just as often made for the benefit of the successor to the name. In all such cases the latter stands during the festival next to the host, or, as the Indian terms it, in front of him, and the chief states that the property is distributed or destroyed for the one "standing in front of him" (*Lawu'lqamē*), which is therefore the term used for the chief's eldest son, or, in a more general sense, for the heir presumptive.

At all these festivals masks are occasionally worn which represent the ancestor of the clan and refer to its legend. I will give one example: In the potlatch of the clan *K'kwā'kum* of the *Q'ō'moyū*, a mask representing one of the forefathers of the present clan (not their first ancestor), whose name was *Nō'lis* or *Wa'tsē* appears,—a double mask, surmounted by a bear (fig. 5). The bear broke the dam which prevented the property of *Nō'lis* going up the river. The outer mask shows *Nō'lis* in a state of rage vanquishing his rivals; the inner side shows him kindly disposed, distributing property in a friendly way. His song is as follows:

⁶ The first grease feast went as far as the center of the house. As *Nēqā'penk'em* did not return it, the second one stepped forward across the fire right up to him.

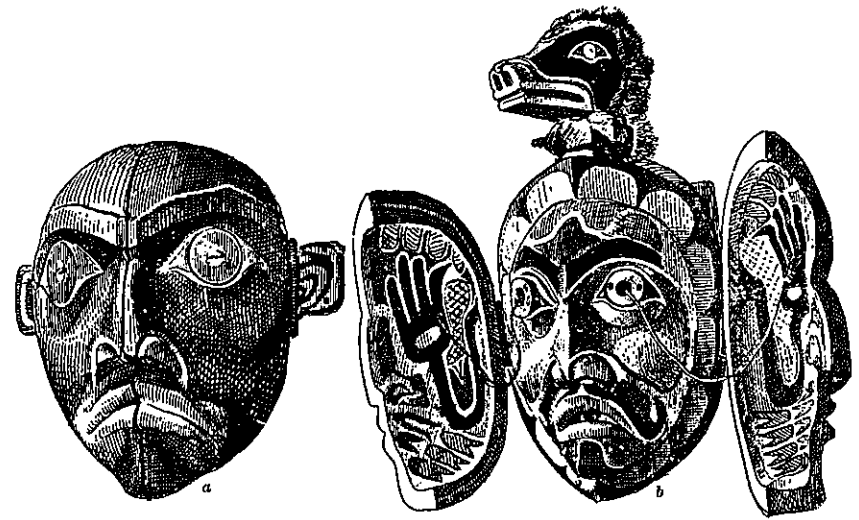


FIG. 24.—(left). Potlatch mask of the *K'kwā'kum*. Double mask capable of being opened and closed by strings: a. outer view representing ancestor in angry state of mind, vanquishing his rivals; b. mask opened representing ancestor in pleasant state of mind, distributing property.

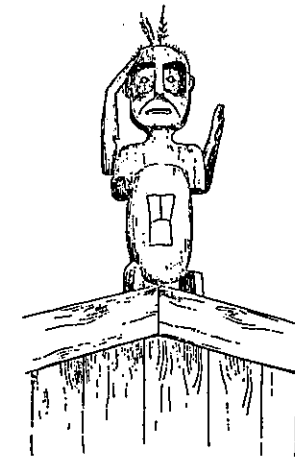


FIG. 25.—Statue of speaker talking to the people

1. A bear is standing at the river of the Wanderer who traveled all over the world.
2. Wild is the bear at the river of the Wanderer who traveled all over the world.
3. A dangerous fish is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.
4. Ya! The si'siuz is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.
5. Great things are going up the river. It is going up the river the copper of the eldest brother of our tribes.

Another song used in these festivals is as follows:

1. The heat of the chief of the tribes will not have mercy upon the people.
2. The great fire of our chief in which stones are glowing will not have mercy upon the people.
3. You, my rival, will eat what is left over when I dance in my grease feast, when I, the chief of the tribes, perform the fire dance.
4. Too great is, what you are doing, our chief. Who equals our chief! He is giving feasts to the whole world.
5. Certainly he has inherited from his father that he never gives a small feast to the lower chiefs, the chief of the tribes.

The clan Haā'nalino have the tradition that their ancestor used the fabulous double-headed snake for his belt and bow. In their potlatches the chief of the gens appears, therefore, dancing with a belt of this description and with a bow carved in the shape of the double-headed snake. The bow is simply a long carved and painted stick to which a string running through a number of rings and connecting with the horns and tongues of the snake is attached. When the string is pulled, the horns are erected and the tongues pulled out. When the string is slackened, the horns drop down and the tongues slide back again (Plate 15).

THE ORDER OF A CHIEF'S POTLATCHES

Now I will talk about the number of what is called by the Indians "the way to be walked by true chiefs." This is what he does:

(1) Gives a potlatch to his relatives (*t!E'nsila p!Esa'*). This is called by the early Indians making a road in the village of the chief on which the tribes walk when they come invited by the chief.

(2) Now he invites all the tribes. Then he gives a potlatch to them (*'mā'qwa*), for this is called a potlatch, the giving away of many blankets to each man and empty boxes in which the blankets that are given away were; and also the baskets in which were dry salmon and clover roots and long clover roots and all kinds of food; and also mats on which the guests are sitting down when they are fed by the host. All these are given to them by the chief and host.

From the Boas manuscript, *Kwakiutl Ethnography*.



FIG. 26.—Statues of chief: (left) selling a copper; (right) breaking a copper

(3) Spreads out the empty boxes (*lōlapmōtēla LEpa'*), giving one blanket each to his tribe, four days after all the tribes go home to where they came from.

(4) Gives a grease feast (*L!ē^cnag'ila k!wē'lasa*) to all the tribes. Now all come and use the house dishes which are shown.

(5) Pays the marriage debt by the father-in-law (*qōtex'a*), when his princess sits in the canoe using as a mast a great copper, and also many boxes and many button blankets and gold bracelets, over one hundred bracelets. The marriage debt paid to *Dō'qwa^cēs* by *Ḡwē'yōlēlas*, chief of the *Ma'malelegāla*, has been seen by me here in Fort Rupert. And also 400 silver bracelets and 4,000 copper bracelets and the same number of small flat coppers; and 2,000 spoons and 200 box covers and 50 chiefs' hats and 150 abalone shells and 600 button blankets and more than 100 dance masks and all kinds of food given in marriage; also many mats; and a box containing the privileges, carved all over; and also all kinds of things. After they have paid the marriage debt they sell the copper to a chief who is ready to buy it. And when he finishes buying it, *Dō'qwa^cēs* counts his property and after he has finished he gives away the blankets to the tribes and this is called doing something great (*ēwā'lasīla*).

(6) Pushes away canoes (*sā'k'asa sā'g'ilmē*). This is the name when they give away canoes in which *Hā'mdzid*, the princess of *Ḡwē'yōlēlas*, was seated. The canoes are given to the chiefs of the tribes.

(7) Throws down trifles (*ēyāg'īLElaxōd*); when the chief gives away boxes and button blankets and gold bracelets and silver bracelets and copper bracelets and small coppers and box covers and spoons and chiefs' hats and abalone shells and masks. When he has done so all the tribes go out of the house into which they were invited and they carry what was given to them and they carry it into their houses. When day comes in the morning *Dō'qwa^cēs* invites the men to go and eat the food for paying the marriage debt.

(8) The last eating of the food for paying the marriage debt (*Ha^cmax-Ḷaxa ha^cmayaxsa^cyē*). Now *Sō'qwa^cēs* invites all the men of the tribes and all go into his house. Then they have the last eating of the food paying for the marriage debt. When all the tribes are inside they are given much dry salmon to eat. And after they have done so all different kinds of foods are taken and given to all the men. And when it is all gone then they take many mats and give them away and the spoons. Now the payment for the marriage debt is done.

(9) And also this, when it is attempted by a chief at one time to pay the marriage debt to his son-in-law, when he gets the goods for paying the marriage debt, the nine ways which chiefs try to get for walking along the road (*qāqēsēla*). There are many chiefs who never get the nine ways of walking the road. And many chiefs exceed the nine ways of walking the road and the payment of the marriage debt. Now it is ended.

Pushes on (*L!E'mkwa*). When the chief has finished doing a great thing the tribes start away in their canoes, and when day comes in the morning the chief calls the *Q!ō'moya^cyē* and *ēwā'las Kwā'g'uī* and the *Q!ō'mk'ūt!E*s to eat breakfast in his house,—that is when the invitor of the tribes belongs to the *Ḡwē'tēla*. After they have eaten the speaker of the chief speaks and says, "Welcome, Chiefs, and listen to the word of my chief who has obtained everything. That is the reason why a chief grows up who went through to the end of the road made to walk on by the chiefs, his forefathers. Now my chief has finished giving away property in this great house. Now my chief puts this on the end for you, chiefs. Now go, young men, go to the roof and push down the roof boards of the house," says he. Then all the young men of the numaym of the chief go out and all the guests go out and as soon as the roof boards have been pushed down all the men carry away whatever is wanted. Now this is not called giving away the boards to the men, for they are just thrown away and that is only done to the boards. They do not move any of the beams of the house. Now it is ended.

Breaks a copper with doing a great thing or breaking a copper with a grease feast. He will do so and when he wishes to break a copper with doing a great thing he will do this.

THE POTLATCH: UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENTS

The Potlatch and the System of Counting. The potlatch system, in which large numbers of blankets must be counted, has led to the development of a complicated numeral system. The fundamental classification is decadic. Although numbers refer almost always to specific objects, absolute counting occurs. The numeral "one" serves as a stem to express oneness in a wide sense. Its derivatives have meanings such as "sameness, level." Four is a stem common to Kwakiutl, Nootka, Quileute and certain Coast Salish dialects. Seven is a loan word obtained from the Nootka. Eight and nine are expressed by terms referring to reaching ten; eight cannot be fully analysed but contains the numeral two and means probably two less than ten; nine means "ready for one."

Ten means "to go into hole," or in another connection *nEqa'*, "straight."

One hundred means "to put on body."

One thousand means "round thing begins to be rolled up."

From these elementary forms, all others are built up.¹

Quick sale of a copper. When a chief wishes to sell a copper quickly, he

From the Boas manuscript, *Kwakiutl Ethnography*.

¹ A full account of the Kwakiutl numerical system is given in "Kwakiutl Grammar with a glossary of Suffixes," ed. Helene Boas Yampolsky and Zellig S. Harris, pp. 276-80, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series*, 37 (1947), Part 3.

puts it down on the floor in front of his guests, and he asks one of the chiefs to take it up and to buy it for half of the price paid for it.

In one of these cases, *O'max'id* rose up and took the copper *O'ba'laa*, stating that he would buy it. Four days after this, he paid 1,400 blankets for it.

Carved images of potlatch rivals. *LElilEwek*^u of the *yeaxiagEme* had a carved figure (Boas, 1897, 390, Fig. 25) standing on the gable over the house door. It held up its hands, begging the chief who owns the image to take mercy on him. It is called *wawali'bas*, and it represents the chief's rival. The two feathers on its forehead indicate that he is a proud man. In the grease feast, the image was placed in front of the fire. Then the attendant held the ladle containing the grease in front of the image and said: "Little one." He pretends to listen, laughs, and says, "I thought so, he came to warm himself at our chief's fire because he is cold and never tasted any grease in his house." Then he pours the grease over the image. After this taunt the rival, who is represented by the image, goes out to get his copper. He walks with the copper to another image called *wig'ustáso*^e (can't be reached), which represents *LElilEwek*^u, and says: "I am going to put out your fire." He strikes with the copper over the head of the image and asks his *numayma* to sing his feast song. Then he promises a feast to his rivals, which will be given when the copper is sold. When this happens, the host must also promise a feast to protect his fire.

In order to make up for the insults to the image representing the rival, the latter may also strike the image representing the host until his copper breaks. Then he throws a piece into the fire. This is called extinguishing his rival's fire. At the same time, grease is poured into the fire so that the blankets of the guests get scorched.

CHAPTER V

WAR

Weapons for war were the lance, about one and one-half meters long, made of a single piece of yew wood (*sEg'á'yu*); a club of whale bone (*kwé'xayyu*); the stone dagger (*nEba'yu* or *Ḷaxstá'la*); the battle-ax (*Ḷá'yála*); a stone club enclosed in hide, with a short handle provided with a loop, by which it was suspended from the wrist (*mElé'gayü*); the bone dagger (*ts'o'wáyu*); and bow and arrows with barbed bone points which made dangerous wounds because they had to be pulled or cut out. They also used the sling (*ye'nk'layu*), which was made of dressed elk skin. Ordinary rounded stones were used with the sling. Lance and sling were said to have been the principal weapons.

Armor (*L'pé'tsa*^e) was made of dressed elk skin (*alá'gEm*). They do not remember having used helmets or armor made of rods.

According to the statements of old men, the village was protected in times of war by a stockade with a single entrance. The stakes of the palisade were about three fathoms long and were tied together with cedar withes. On a platform erected on the inside of the palisade, high enough to give a clear view of the surrounding country, watchmen were stationed at regular intervals. Ditches, about three meters deep, with a covered underground entrance, led into the houses. They were guarded by sentinels. When the village was attacked, they offered a chance of escape to the people.

The fortified houses were always built on an elevated place (*xwEsEla'*).

For warfare, a special type of canoe was used (*mE'nga Kwa'g'uł*, *L'o't!Em De'na'x'da'x*^u). When many canoes joined in a war expedition, those of each group were marked with ornaments of cedar bark or feathers attached to the bow, so that in case of fighting friends and enemies could be distinguished (Boas and Hunt, 1905, 445).

The heads of slain enemies were cut off, and, covered with bird's down served as trophies. They were stuck on poles or suspended from a horizontal pole supported by stakes, at a place in full view of the village, on the beach, or, when the village was located on a river, on the opposite bank (Boas, 1935a, 67, 266).