Haida

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The Haida are an Indigenous group who have traditionally occupied Haida Gwaii (now known as Graham and Moresby Islands, off the coast of British Columbia), and part of the Alexander Archipelago in southeastern Alaska (Blackman, 2018). This entry focuses on Graham and Moresby Islands, specifically the town of Masset, around the time of 1875-before extensive contact with Europeans and christianization. Traditionally, the main social and political unit of the Haida was the moiety (the Raven and Eagle), comprised of several lineages. Lineages were not ranked, although some were more powerful than others, and each lineage was led by a matrilineal chief. There was no overarching political unit above the lineage. The traditional religious beliefs of the Haida included a variety of supernatural beings, a belief in reincarnation, and the presence of shamans. Because religion overlaps with many elements of life among the Haida, this entry considers the religious group to be coterminous with the society at large.

Date Range: 1870 CE - 1901 CE

Region: Haida Gwaii

Region tags: North America, Canada

Haida Gwaii, ca. 1875. Haida Gwaii is located off the coast of British Columbia, and includes the two main islands of Graham and Moresby (formerly called Queen Charlotte Islands).

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite   ✓ Religious Specialists   ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

—Source 1: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: Cross-cultural codes 4. Ethnology, 11(4), 436-464.

—Source 2: Divale, W. 2004. Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research.

—Source 3: Murdock, G.P. & Wilson, S.F. (Jul., 1972). Settlement patterns and community organization: Cross-Cultural Codes 3. Ethnology, 11(3), 254-295.

—Source 1: Murdock, G.P. (1967). Ethnographic Atlas. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

—Source 1 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ne09-001

—Source 1 Description: Swanton, J. R. (1905). Contributions To The Ethnology Of The Haida. Memoir Of The American Museum Of Natural History, New York. Leiden: E. J. Brill ; G. E. Stechert & Co.

—Source 2 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ne09-007

—Source 2 Description: Van den Brink, J. H. (1974). Haida Indians: Cultural Change Mainly Between 1876-1970. Monographs And Theoretical Studies In Sociology And Anthropology In Honor Of Nels Anderson. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

—Source 3 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ne09-000

—Source 3 Description: Blackman, M. B. (2018). Culture Summary: Haida. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.

—Source 1 URL: http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ne09-003

—Source 1 Description: Murdock, G. P. (1934). Haidas Of British Columbia. Our Primitive Contemporaries. New York: The Macmilliam Company.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

—Yes

Notes: "It was mainly Englishmen and Americans who sailed their ships to British Columbia to trade there. After a period of strong American ascendancy, the English dominated the region (i.e., after 1830). In the first half of the nineteenth century the Hudson's Bay Company established agencies in various places. Around the middle of the century British Columbia became a crown colony, and in 1871 it joined the Canadian Confederation...Missionary work was not directed primarily at the archipelago either. The first mission post in the north was established in the region of the Tsimshian, and it was 1876 before a missionary from there was sent to Masset. European administration, too, was originally applied from the mainland. The Queen Charlotte Indian Agency dates from 1910, when an Indian Agent at Masset was put in charge. Because they could easily cross to the mainland and travel long distances by canoe, the Haida Indians cannot be said to have lived in isolation in the century preceding the establishment of the mission post in 1876, as the records show" (Van den Brink, 1974:6).

> Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

—Field doesn't know

Notes: SCCS Variable 1654, Pacification, indicates that there was not enough information to judge whether the society was pacified in the 25 year ethnographic present or not. Additionally, for SCCS Variable 1649, Frequency of Internal Warfare (Resolved Rating), no resolved rating was made. (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

> Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

—Field doesn't know

Notes: SCCS Variable 1654, Pacification, indicates that there was not enough information to judge whether the society was pacified in the 25 year ethnographic present or not. Additionally, for SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare (Resolved Rating), no resolved rating was made. (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

— No

Notes: The religion is coterminous with the society and there is no special assignment of religion. "The Haida did not show any consciousness of being one people and had no unified government. They know one and the same type of social system in which chiefs also had their place as leaders of clans and households but not as formal leaders of the tribe or its two moieties. The tribe is divided into two matrilineal exogamous moieties or phratries, the Ravens and the Eagles. Together with their divinities, individuals were classed as one or the other, the Raven phratry being the most important. Each phratry was subdivided into twenty matrilineal clans, which Murdock considers to be the fundamental social and political units of the Haida" (Van den Brink, 1974:16).

Does the religion have official political support

— No

Notes: The Haida do not have an official political office to support the religion (see Van den Brink, 1974:16). However, religion is a pervasive element in many aspects of Haida life, making the religious group coterminous with the society at large.

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

—Estimated population, numeric: 8000

Notes: "The first exact, official population figures date from 1880. It is assumed at present that there were at least 8,000 Haida inhabiting the archipelago when the explorers and early traders arrived" (Van den Brink, 1974:21).

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

—Estimated population, percentage of sample region: 100

Notes: At the time this entry focuses on, the Haida did not yet have extensive contact with Christian missionaries. Therefore, 100% of the Haida society adhered to the traditional beliefs.

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

—Yes

Notes: "In each village certain persons stand in particularly close rapport with the supernatural beings. Besides a class of seeresses, old women who possess the power of prophesy through dreams, there are the shamans proper or medicine men, who can summon to their aid at any time their familiar spirits, i.e., those spirits, usually of animals, with whom they have established communion" (Murdock, 1934a:257). "Close relations with the supernatural were maintained by the shamans, who used their power in the treatment of sick people and practised or counteracted magic to influence the weather. To become a shaman, an individual had to observe special rules over a long period. The shamans had considerable herbal lore, but were only called in after the Indians had vainly tried all of the household remedies, of which there were many" (Van den Brink, 1974:20).

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

— Yes

Notes: "Close relations with the supernatural were maintained by the shamans, who used their power in the treatment of sick people and practised or counteracted magic to influence the weather. To become a shaman, an individual had to observe special rules over a long period. The shamans had considerable herbal lore, but were only called in after the Indians had vainly tried all of the household remedies, of which there were many" (Van den Brink, 1974:20).

↳ Powers are culturally transmitted from a supernatural being:

— Yes

Notes: "The principal classes of supernatural beings who spoke through shamans were the Canoe-People, the Ocean-People, the Forest-People, and the Above-People. Spirits would come down from the Tlingit country and look around a village to find 'one who was clean,' through whom they would act. To become 'clean,' a man had to abstain from food a long time" (Swanton, 1905:38).

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

— No

Notes: "The calling of a shaman was generally hereditary in his family, the order being usually from maternal uncle to nephew. Before he died he revealed his spirits to his successor, who might start with a comparatively feeble spirit and acquire stronger and stronger ones" (Swanton, 1905:38).

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

— I don't know

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

— I don't know

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of scripture.

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

— No

Notes: According to Murdock and Wilson (1972), column 6 (large or impressive structures), "There are no structures in the community that are appreciably larger or more impressive than the usual residential dwellings."

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

— No

Notes: According to Murdock and Wilson (1972), column 6 (large or impressive structures), "There are no structures in the community that are appreciably larger or more impressive than the usual residential dwellings."

Is iconography present:

— Yes

Notes: "This was essentially an applied art, not art for art's sake. It served religion and the social organization. The motifs were usually animals or mythical beings who had revealed themselves to the ancestors of those who were permitted to depict them. The production, possession, and displaying of the figures indicated not only the origin of the individual but also his relations with the supernatural. In their carving the Haida filled all of the available space, adapting the subject while preserving its original shape. On the totem poles, on the façades of houses, on canoes, chests, masks, and many other objects, they covered the surface with carved or painted figures. Carvings were often painted, chiefly in red and black" (Van den Brink, 1974:14).

⤷   Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:

—On persons

—At home

—All public spaces

Notes: "In their carving the Haida filled all of the available space, adapting the subject while preserving its original shape. On the totem poles, on the façades of houses, on canoes, chests, masks, and many other objects, they covered the surface with carved or painted figures. Carvings were often painted, chiefly in red and black" (Van den Brink, 1974:14).

⤷   Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:

— Yes

Notes: "This [wood carving] was essentially an applied art, not art for art's sake. It served religion and the social organization. The motifs were usually animals or mythical beings who had revealed themselves to the ancestors of those who were permitted to depict them. The production, possession, and displaying of the figures indicated not only the origin of the individual but also his relations with the supernatural. In their carving the Haida filled all of the available space, adapting the subject while preserving its original shape. On the totem poles, on the façades of houses, on canoes, chests, masks, and many other objects, they covered the surface with carved or painted figures. Carvings were often painted, chiefly in red and black" (Van den Brink, 1974:14).

⤷ Supernatural beings (zoomorphic):

— Yes

⤷ Supernatural beings (anthropomorphic):

— Yes

Are pilgrimages present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of pilgrimages.

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

Notes: "In death 'the soul flies away.' The Haidas believe that every person possesses two souls. One, the shadow-soul, returns at some indefinite time after death to enter the body of a pregnant woman and animate her child; the quickening marks its appearance. It is with this soul that the idea of reincarnation is associated. The other soul leaves the body in sleep and experiences the adventures seen in dreams. If a person is suddenly startled, his dream-soul takes fright, flies away, and its owner sickens and dies. In death the dream-soul 'drops down' to an underworld, where it is welcomed with a feast and dance by the spirits of those who have gone before" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: "In death 'the soul flies away.' The Haidas believe that every person possesses two souls. One, the shadow-soul, returns at some indefinite time after death to enter the body of a pregnant woman and animate her child; the quickening marks its appearance. It is with this soul that the idea of reincarnation is associated. The other soul leaves the body in sleep and experiences the adventures seen in dreams. If a person is suddenly startled, his dream-soul takes fright, flies away, and its owner sickens and dies. In death the dream-soul 'drops down' to an underworld, where it is welcomed with a feast and dance by the spirits of those who have gone before" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

⤷ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: "In death the dream-soul 'drops down' to an underworld, where it is welcomed with a feast and dance by the spirits of those who have gone before" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

> Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

— Yes

Notes: "The souls of those who are killed in war or feuds go to a third spirit world—a beautiful realm in the sky with eternal summer and an abundance of singing birds" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

> Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

— Yes

Notes: "In death the dream-soul 'drops down' to an underworld, where it is welcomed with a feast and dance by the spirits of those who have gone before" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

> Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

— No

Reincarnation in this world:

— Yes

Notes: "In death 'the soul flies away.' The Haidas believe that every person possesses two souls. One, the shadow-soul, returns at some indefinite time after death to enter the body of a pregnant woman and animate her child; the quickening marks its appearance. It is with this soul that the idea of reincarnation is associated" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

> In a human form:

— Yes

Notes: "In death 'the soul flies away.' The Haidas believe that every person possesses two souls. One, the shadow-soul, returns at some indefinite time after death to enter the body of a pregnant woman and animate her child; the quickening marks its appearance. It is with this soul that the idea of reincarnation is associated" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

> In animal/plant form:

— Yes

Notes: "The dream-souls of those who die by drowning become incarnated in killer-whales and inhabit special villages under the sea" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

> In form of an inanimate object(s):

— No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

— Yes

Notes: "Then [after funeral ceremonies] the male cross-cousins place the corpse in a cedar chest or a special coffin, carry it out of the house through a hole in the side wall, and deposit it in the burial hut of

the clan" (Murdock, 1934a:253).

↳ Cremation:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cremation.

↳ Mummification:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of mummification.

↳ Interment:

— Yes

Notes: "Then [after funeral ceremonies] the male cross-cousins place the corpse in a cedar chest or a special coffin, carry it out of the house through a hole in the side wall, and deposit it in the burial hut of the clan" (Murdock, 1934a:253).

↳ Cannibalism:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cannibalism.

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of exposing corpses to the elements.

↳ Feeding to animals:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of feeding corpses to animals.

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

— No

Notes: No evidence for the presence of co-sacrifices.

Are grave goods present:

— No

Notes: "No property is placed with or in the coffin, but all garments and other objects touched by the deceased during his last illness are removed and burned" (Murdock, 1934a:253).

Are formal burials present:

— Yes

Notes: Bodies are buried in family crypts. "Then [after funeral ceremonies] the male cross-cousins place the corpse in a cedar chest or a special coffin, carry it out of the house through a hole in the side wall, and deposit it in the burial hut of the clan" (Murdock, 1934a:253).

↳ As cenotaphs:

— No

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

— Yes

Notes: "Then [after funeral ceremonies] the male cross-cousins place the corpse in a cedar chest or a special coffin, carry it out of the house through a hole in the side wall, and deposit it in the burial hut of the clan" (Murdock, 1934a:253).

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

— No

↳ Other formal burial type:

— Yes [specify]: Shamans are interred in a separate crypt

Notes: "He [the shaman] is also buried in a separate place and in a special way—on a low platform raised above the ground on four posts and covered with a roof" (Murdock, 1934a:257).

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Religious Specialists

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

— Yes

Notes: "The universe is inhabited by human beings and supernatural beings, called collectively the sgā′na qeda′s. The latter were those for whom land was first created. They inhabit the atmosphere, the ocean, the woods, lakes, and streams" (Swanton, 1905:13).

↳ A supreme high god is present:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 238 (Note, identical to Ethnographic Atlas Column 34), Religion: high gods, indicates that "a high god is absent or not reported in substantial descriptions of religious beliefs" (Murdock, 1962-1971; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— Yes

Notes: "In death the dream-soul 'drops down' to an underworld, where it is welcomed with a feast and dance by the spirits of those who have gone before. Here it lives a life much like that on earth. From time to time it returns to earth temporarily as a ghost, and may be seen or heard in a graveyard or a deserted village" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

⤷ Human spirits can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: "In death the dream-soul 'drops down' to an underworld, where it is welcomed with a feast and dance by the spirits of those who have gone before. Here it lives a life much like that on earth. From time to time it returns to earth temporarily as a ghost, and may be seen or heard in a graveyard or a deserted village" (Murdock, 1934a:252).

⤷ Human spirits can be physically felt:

— I don't know

⤷ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

— Yes

Notes: "In the Land of Souls they [human spirits] knew what passed in this world, and, when living relatives were poor, the souls sent them property" (Swanton, 1905:35).

⤷ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— I don't know

⤷ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

— I don't know

⤷ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

— I don't know

⤷ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

— I don't know

⤷ Human spirits can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

— I don't know

⤷ Human spirits can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

—I don't know

    ↳ Human spirit's can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

    —I don't know

    ↳ Human spirits know your basic character (personal essence):

    —I don't know

    ↳ Human spirits know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

    —I don't know

  ↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

  —I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

—Yes

Notes: "Other important nature spirits include a great sea deity, a Thunderbird who produces thunder by flapping its wings, a goddess of fire who resides under every hearth, and the Creek-Women, one of whom lives at the source of each stream and presides over all the fish in it" (Murdock, 1934a:256).

  ↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

  —Yes

Notes: "According to the Haida spirit-theory, every animal was, or might be, the embodiment of a being who, at his own pleasure, could appear in the human form" (Swanton, 1905).

  ↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

  —I don't know

  ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

  —I don't know

  ↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

  —Yes

Notes: "Supernatural beings were particularly averse to urine, blue hellebore and certain other plants and objects. If one put urine into the sea, and a storm arose in which any one was drowned or injured, he who had done so had to pay the injured

party or his family" (Swanton, 1905:18).

→ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:

— Yes [specify]: Cause thunder and lightning

Notes: "The thunder-bird (hl'liñA) produces thunder by the rustling of its feathers; and when it opens its eyes, there is lightning. The thunder-clouds are its "dressing-up." This being occupied a very small place in Haida thought, probably because thunder-storms are not common" (Swanton, 1905:14).

→ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

— Yes

Notes: "Not all of the dead went to the Land of Souls. Those who were drowned went to live with the killer-whales. According to one man, they went to the house of The-One-in-the-Sea first, where they had their fins fitted on, after which they went round into the houses of the other killers. When killer-whales appeared in front of a town, it was thought that they were human beings who had been drowned and took this way to inform the people. These persons thus became supernatural beings; and it appears that several of the great ones, like ɛadjō′n, had once been men" (Swanton, 1905:35).

→ These mixed human-divine beings can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: They are seen as killer-whales (see Swanton, 1905:35).

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of an eschatology.

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— Yes

Notes: "The shaman, who may be of either sex, leads a life in most respects like that of an ordinary individual. He distinguishes himself from his fellows, however, by abstaining from seaweed and whale blubber and by never combing, washing, or cutting his hair lest, like Samson, he lose his power" (Murdock, 1934a:257).

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Religious Specialists

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifices.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifices.

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifices.

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

— A tribe

Notes: The Haida have no political authority beyond the local community, which is indicative of autonomous bands and villages (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967; retrieved from Divale, 2004). "The Haida did not show any consciousness of being one people and had no unified government. They know one and the same type of social system in which chiefs also had their place as leaders of clans and households but not as formal leaders of the tribe or its two moieties. The tribe is divided into two matrilineal exogamous moieties or phratries, the Ravens and the Eagles" (Van den Brink, 1974:16). According to Murdock and Wilson (1972; Column 10: Descent), the Haida have matrilineal descent with dispersed sibs. Further, the Haida live in clan-communities, with matrilineal moieties. Source of information: Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1967), Columns 19, 20, 22. Because the Haida have kin ties beyond the community, the society is best characterized as a tribe.

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— No

Notes: The only ethnographic evidence for formal education is that of missionary schools, beginning after the time that this entry focuses on (see Van den Brink, 1974:45, 80).

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

— No

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20 (Food Storage) indicates that food is stored in individual households (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20 (Food Storage) indicates that food is stored in individual households (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No

 Notes: It can be assumed that transportation infrastructure is not present, as routes of land transport are "unimproved trails", according to Murdock and Morrow (1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004; SCCS Variable 14).

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

 Notes: It can be assumed that transportation infrastructure is not present, as routes of land transport are "unimproved trails", according to Murdock and Morrow (1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004; SCCS Variable 14).

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

— No

 Notes: Tuden and Marshall (1972) column 10, Police (note, equivalent to SCCS variable 90, Police) indicates that "police functions are not specialized or institutionalized at any level of political integration, the maintenance of law and order being left exclusively to informal mechanisms of social control, to private retaliation, or to sorcery."

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

— No

 Notes: "Social control was maintained at the lineage, town, and household levels by the appropriate chiefs. The fairly rigid class system served to reinforce expectations about appropriate behavior" (Blackman, 2018).

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

— No

 Notes: "Social control was maintained at the lineage, town, and household levels by the appropriate chiefs. The fairly rigid class system served to reinforce expectations about appropriate behavior" (Blackman, 2018).

Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

— No

 Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of an institutionalized military.

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

— Yes

Notes: The Haida rely primarily on fishing for subsistence, with a secondary dependence on hunting and gathering. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.

> Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

— Gathering

— Hunting (including marine animals)

— Fishing

Notes: The Haida rely primarily on fishing for subsistence, with a secondary dependence on hunting and gathering. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.