A COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION OF NORTHWEST COAST SHAMANISM

by

GRACE MAIRI MCINTYRE JORGENSEN

B.A., University of Manitoba, 1967

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1970
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Anthropology

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date Sept 23rd 1970
The following paper presents a comparative examination of shamanism as practised traditionally among a number of British Columbia Northwest Coast Indian groups. Case studies representing groups about which information is readily available, from each of the six major linguistic divisions in the area, have been presented in terms which indicate the ordered relationships between shamanistic beliefs and practises, and an attempt has been made to suggest structural links with other aspects of culture in each case. The major ethnographic works pertaining to each group were examined intensively and as many independent sources as possible were consulted for cross-checking the data.

It was found that while in outward appearance patterns of belief and action show considerable similarity from one group to another, the emphasis and structural implications of these beliefs and practises are different for each group.

Some of these differences are expressed most clearly by the variations present in the public initiation of novice shamans. At this time principles such as rank, kinship, inheritance or residence are, to varying degrees, recognised or affirmed, counterbalancing the shaman's identification with the supernatural, as spirit intermediary.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I SHAMANISM AND THE SUPERNATURAL: DEFINITIONS</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II SHAMANISM AMONG THE COAST SALISH OF THE FRASER VALLEY</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III NOOTKA SHAMANISM</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV SOUTHERN KWAKIUTL SHAMANISM</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V BELLA COOLA SHAMANISM</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI COAST TSIMSHIAN SHAMANISM</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII HAIDA SHAMANISM</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII TLINGIT SHAMANISM</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX A COMPARISON OF INITIATION PRACTISES</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X CONCLUSION</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This presentation seeks to review the data on shamanism, as practised traditionally, among British Columbian Northwest Coast Indians from the perspectives of form and structure. By form is meant the morphology of beliefs and practises, the patterned, persistent order of relations in a complex of ideas and behaviour. By structure is meant the principles on which these forms depend (Firth, 1961:28). The major assumption here is that a particular cultural domain of activities, in this case those which have been termed 'shamanistic', will vary from one culture to the next in accordance with different patterns of human interaction, and the content of behaviour and belief in related spheres of cultural activity. In short, by presenting and comparing a sequence of case studies, this paper hopes to show that although there are repeated similarities in shamanistic patterns throughout the Northwest Coast so that, in outer appearance, shamanism in the area appears remarkably uniform, the emphasis and structural implications of these beliefs and practises are different for each group.

In terms of method, the comparative units selected were determined mainly by considerations of the ethnographic literature available, geographic location, and linguistic affiliation. Since, on the Northwest Coast, broad cultural differences were generally correlated with linguistic affiliation and geographic propinquity, I chose groups about
which information was more readily available, from each of the major linguistic divisions, plus the Bella Coola, who, although they spoke a Salish language, were considerably isolated from other Salish speaking groups and developed a number of their own distinctive traditions. The number and choice of these comparative units has proved sufficient to allow me to suggest formal and structural differences in so-called shamanistic beliefs and practices.

For each group, because of considerations of time, only the major ethnographic sources were examined to any great extent. However, as many independent sources as possible were consulted for cross-checking the data. A major source of data was myths and stories, particularly those of the Haida collected by Swanton (1905, 1908), and those of the Tsimshian collected by Boas (1916). I tended to select from the myths and stories that information which agreed with what has been found for other Northwest Coast groups, or which directly or indirectly was corroborated by ethnographic reports of the area. Also, where putative cause and effect relations are implied, I have inferred an item of belief. For example, sometimes stories rest on specific reactions associated with menstrual blood; other stories rest, for their effect, on the assumption that supernatural beings cannot see when human beings are a source of injury. At all times I have tried to indicate when conclusions are derived from myths or stories and when otherwise.
The time scale represented by the ethnographic literature relates to different periods of the post-contact era. By and large this is different for each group, both in terms of the date of publication (and therefore in terms of the style of the ethnographer), and in terms of the degree of contact undergone by each group. We can still perhaps make statements about the structural implications of shamanism for each group but we must be more cautious about making statements of comparison. An added difficulty concerning the ethnographic literature is that, in order to get as comprehensive a knowledge as possible for each group, sources ranging over time had to be examined. It was therefore difficult to arrive at both an accurate and a comprehensive understanding of traditional shamanism, and thus a cautious acceptance of conclusions is not unwarranted.

Chapter I gives definitions of the main terms used, particularly the difficult term 'shaman' as this has been used on the Northwest Coast and in the literature at large. Chapters II-VIII present case studies of shamanistic beliefs and practises as found among the Salish of the Lower Fraser Valley, the Nootka of the northwest coast of Vancouver Island, the Southern Kwakiutl of northern Vancouver Island and the immediate mainland, the Bella Coola, the Coast Tsimshian, the Haida, and the Tlingit. For each case study the available data has been presented in terms which indicate the ordered relationships between belief and practise, and an attempt has been made to suggest structural links
with other aspects of culture. Chapter IX attempts to illustrate some comparisons more explicitly by focusing on the similarities and differences involved in shamanistic initiation. This is by no means always clear cut or easy. In some cases, for example, it is clear that although two or more groups differ by the emphasis they place on a particular aspect of behaviour or belief, this difference can only be inferred indirectly from the ethnographic reporting. Similarly, absence of a particular belief or practise cannot always be inferred from an absence of reporting. Chapter X, finally, attempts to form some general statements about traditional shamanism as found on the Northwest Coast. It reviews some of the characteristics common to shamans as individuals, some of the differences and similarities regarding the position of shamans in society, and some of the features associated with the shaman's position in relation to the symbolic order.
CHAPTER I

SHAMANISM AND THE SUPERNATURAL: DEFINITIONS

Shamanism has usually been regarded as a phenomenon involving belief in a 'supernatural' and in 'spirits'. Since each of these terms have given rise to confusion and controversy in the past it is as well to try and define what will be meant by them here.

Burridge has suggested that:

All religions are basically concerned with power. They are concerned with the discovery, identification, moral relevance and ordering of different kinds of power.... Within these terms a spirit being, whether thought of as a deity or ghost or human being or angel or goblin or fairy, becomes a named and identified source or principle of power with particular and often measurable attributes and ranges of power. And all that is meant by a belief in the supernatural is the belief that there do exist kinds of power whose manifestations and effects are observable, but whose natures are not yet fully comprehended (1969:5).

Burridge's comment is useful here because it was within just such range of concerns that shamanism operated: concepts of power, the discovery, identification and moral relevance of "not yet fully comprehended" power were central considerations. Shamanism was a system of action based on the assumption that there were powers, embodied in, or realized in, spirit entities, which could help or harm men, and which, by using certain techniques, could be prevailed upon for human ends.

'Supernatural' as used here will refer to those kinds of power postulated by Northwest Coast Indians whose "manifestations and effects are observable, but whose natures are not yet fully comprehended."
'supernatural' wolf, then, would be a wolf postulated to have supernatural power. Some individuals, for example, twins, shamans, ceremonial dance initiates, had supernatural power, in contrast to ordinary people: power whose manifestation was in fact observable, but whose nature was mysterious. This definition makes sense of the Kwakiutl term "nawalak", and of Boas' translation of it as "supernatural". Like other Northwest Coast groups, the Kwakiutl attributed a 'spiritual' aspect to all phenomena of the universe. But in addition, some creatures or phenomena were differentiated from others on the basis of their possession of "nawalak", an attribute which, it seems to me, was conceived of much in the same way as uninitiated Westerners conceive of electricity. The definition also seems to make sense of the Tsimshian term "nexnox" which, Boas noted, "designates anything mysterious" (1916:543). Anything which was deemed to possess extraordinary properties, for example, trees, rocks, pools, mountains, or other phenomena of unusual shape, size, or property, the sleight-of-hand trick of a dancer, or weapons of unusual strength, were all termed "nexnox".

"Nawalak" and "nexnox" were not synonymous, since the former was used most frequently as an adjective, the latter as a noun, but both refer to power sources which are or appear to be, manifestly observable, although mysterious in nature.

It is expedient at this point to say a word concerning 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery'. For the most part, it would seem that these two terms were used interchangeably by Northwest Coast ethnographers. With
the possible exception of possession by a malevolent supernatural being, they were used to refer to the conscious, controlled use of specific ritual techniques for anti-social ends. Usually the techniques followed two patterns. One method consisted of (or was alleged to consist of) the preparation of elements taken from the intended victim (clothes soaked in the victim's sweat or blood, urine, hair, nail clippings, the victim's vapo­rous breath collected on a stick, and so forth) and subjecting this to special treatment, for example, wrapping them in corpse flesh. The second common method, usually attributed to shamans, was the "throwing" or projection of supernaturally charged objects into the victim. Frequently it was believed that the "thrower" had to be in sight of his victim. In terms of the classical definitions of witchcraft and sorcery, used by most Africanist anthropologists, either method would probably be regarded as sorcery since they define sorcery as the conscious and controlled use of learned techniques, as opposed to witchcraft which is the uncontrolled use of inherent, psychic powers. This definitional distinction has been challenged since the dichotomy seldom persists into ethnographic reality. On the Northwest Coast the anti-social use of supernatural power for the most part conforms more or less to the classical use of the term 'sorcery' and in these instances I am quite willing to use the term. Among the Tlingit, and to a lesser extent the Haida and Tsimshian, the phenomenon differed somewhat. Details are difficult to establish but the active fear of the anti-social use
of supernatural power seems to have been both greater and more prevalent, judging by the increased instance of cases which have come to the notice of ethnographers, and by the intensity of people's reactions in these instances. The persecution of suspected individuals among the Tlingit could well have been loosely described as a "witch-hunt". However, without becoming entangled in the complex issue of witch versus sorcerer it would be difficult to defend a definitional distinction here. Thus sorcerer will be the term used throughout the paper.

Shaman -- A Definition

A thoughtful review of the literature will indicate that the term 'shaman', for comparative purposes, is not easy to define. In much of the literature the term is treated as synonymous with witch doctor, medicine man, mystic, visionary, magician, sorcerer, or spirit medium. Partly this reflects the process of defining, since definition is largely a matter of convenience based on the problems and perspectives of the researcher. But it is also a reflection of analytical confusion about a series of phenomena which are not well known. Since definitions should, in some sense, correspond to an empirical reality before they can be applied to comparative analysis, it seems appropriate here to examine first how the term shaman has been applied on the Northwest Coast. Then there will be an examination of how it has been applied and defined more generally.
Among the Coast Salish of the Fraser River valley the term shaman has been applied by ethnographers to individuals, called in Salish "sxwalem", who had acquired spirit power to cure after a successful spirit quest with its visionary spirit encounter. They were thereby distinguished from others who acquired spirit power by the nature and extent of their power which itself derived both from the nature of their supernatural relationship and from their own ritual purity and spirit vitality. Although reports sometimes suggest that the shaman acquired from the spirit the power to cure by himself without the direct aid of the spirit (Jenness, 1955:67), continued control of the spirit as a necessary requirement is implied by the fact that shamans could lose the ability if they lost control of the spirit (for example, as they lost personal vitality in old age or sickness). Continued control of the spirit is also implied by the fact that shamans could "set their powers to fighting" and direct their spirits to attack others (Duff, 1952:101), and by the fact that during curing ceremonies the spirits were supposed to come near (Duff, 1952:101). Although initiation was supposed to require visionary or hallucinatory experience and subsequent 'instruction' by the spirit through dreams or visions, curing ceremonies did not necessarily involve a trance and shamans were not believed to be 'possessed' by spirits in the sense that the spirit took over control of the body. Shamans were thus spirit masters more than they were spirit mediums. They were masters in the sense that they con-
trolled and directed spirits. They were not necessarily masters of supernatural knowledge. Among the Salish another important means of manipulating or controlling supernatural force was compulsive magic. By compulsive magic is meant activities or objects of symbolic importance believed to have automatic cause and effect relationships with supernatural power. Ritualists among the Coast Salish were those masters of magical knowledge who could manipulate supernatural force for specific ends by performing or reciting specific formulas.

Among the Nootka the term shaman has been applied by Drucker to individuals who performed a role analogous to that of the Salish "sxwalem": they were those who had acquired spirit power to cure after a successful visionary encounter. They were distinguished from ritualists and from others who had acquired visionary spirit power by the nature and scope of their power which, again, depended on the nature of their 'relationship' with the spirit and their own spirit vitality and ritual purity. A successful initiation and subsequent curing power depended on control of the spirit. At no time were shamans believed to be possessed by their spirits. The spirit came close and instructed or directed them but remained subordinate to the shaman's will. Like the Salish, then, Nootka shamans were masters of spirits. Perhaps even more than the Salish shamans, however, they were potentially rivalled as experts in supernatural control by some of the more powerful ritualists who could determine the weather or the movements of animals or fish, and a number of other important phenomena.
Writing of the Kwakiutl, Boas distinguished between winter dancers and other recipients of supernatural favor, calling the latter shamans, although the native term "paxala" which he translated "shaman", designated either. Although the divisions between these two groups were not always distinct, 'shamans' as a group differed from winter dancers by the fact that they retained their spirit name throughout the year where winter dancers retained theirs only for the Ceremonial season, and 'shamans' acquired power associated with curing which they could therefore in some sense direct. Not all 'shamans' could cure although they could assist in curing. Not all shamans received their power directly from a spirit encounter, since power could be transmitted by transferring a material source of power (Boas, 1966: 132), originally derived from the spirit. And not all shamans could clearly have been called spirit masters since, as the experience of one woman indicates (Boas, 1930:53), some never came in direct contact with their spirits and could not properly control them. All acquired, in addition to power, a song and name. Whether power was acquired as the result of direct spirit contact or by transmission, shamans underwent a period of ritual preparation, and initiation, an event such as sickness or ritual transfer of power, which in Kwakiutl terms provided some valid basis for a formal announcement of changed status. In short, Boas applied the term 'shaman' to individuals who claimed to have acquired supernatural power associated with curing, and a song and
a name, directly or indirectly from a spirit source, after some unusual
event which provided validation of the claims and the right to the
shaman's name and song. He further distinguished several classes of
shamans; those who had confronted the spirit directly and could both
cure and "throw" sickness; those who could cure but could not cause
sickness and those who could only "see" and diagnose sickness. All
these individuals were distinguished from several other groups of peo-
ple who had unusual powers, the winter dancers, seers, and individuals
with non-curing power. Since those who could only diagnose sickness
were classed by Boas as 'shamans' along with the very powerful super-
natural experts who could project disease, all of them in distinction
to dancers and thereby in opposition to the native use of the term
"paxala", it seems clear that he regarded 'shaman' as synonymous with
curer or medicine man. There seems some justification for this since
curers, weak or powerful, shared many of the same rights, duties, obli-
gations and expectations. Since ritualists who could be called upon to
manipulate the supernatural were absent or unimportant, even minor sha-
mans were in some sense masters of the supernatural since, unlike others
with spirit power who could use this power only for their own ends, they
were intermediaries between the human and supernatural worlds, drawing
upon supernatural power on behalf of members of the community. If
they were not spirit controllers, they were certainly spirit authorities.

Among the Bella Coola, McIlwraith distinguished two types of
religious experts to which he applied the term 'shaman', one of these,
"alukwala" in Bella Coola, he called shaman, the other, "askankots", he called "shaman of the dead". The first derived powers from a 'living' spirit, the second from a ghost. He defined a shaman as, "a person endowed with mysterious ability and wonderful knowledge, due to personal contact with supernatural beings" (1948a:547). The Bella Coola recognized a third type of individual who had experienced personal contact with supernatural beings. These were those who had received "ixlokwaladjut", "supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate." This last was considered an exceptionally rare occurrence and the reason for assistance was commonly attributed to the spiritual strength or ritual purity of the individual concerned. They differed from the other two by the fact that their powers were of personal rather than public importance.

Ability to cure was not, itself, a defining characteristic since many who claimed the status of an "askankots" or an "alukwala" could not cure although they could perform a miraculous feat of some other kind. The recognised, validated claim to visionary experience, with or without the ability to cure marked the individual as having particular insight into the spirit realm. Accordingly, he was viewed as particularly suitable to enlist supernatural assistance, "his greater acquaintance with them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests" (1948:572). The fact that spirit contact was exceedingly dangerous meant that shamans were usually those individuals who had
power within themselves to withstand the power of the spirit. In this respect they controlled the spirit to some extent although they did not direct it.

Among the Tsimshian, the term 'shaman' was applied by ethnographers to those spirit experts who were curers. The Tsimshian had two terms designating spirit masters; one, "naxnagam halait" meaning literally 'spirit supernatural performance', referred to those lineage chiefs possessing a number of inherited spirit associates, who could call upon their spirits to "throw" power into young lineage initiates, the other "swe'nsk halait" meaning literally 'supernatural blowing', referred to those individuals who possessed spirit associates which they could call upon for curing. The term 'shaman' has been applied to these last. The spirit powers of chiefs were inherited and were closely concerned with the ceremonial affairs of the lineage. The spirit powers of shamans were acquired largely independently (the shaman did not normally inherit his spirits but acquired them independently in a solitary quest), and were concerned with affairs such as sickness, the prediction of the movements of game, the detection of witches, or the control of weather, which were of general rather than lineage importance. Shamans controlled and directed their spirit helpers. They were supposed to be able to send their spirits to attack others or to find out what was happening in distant places. In myths shamans are recorded as having visited the homes of supernatural beings and journeyed to the land of ghosts. At least mythically, therefore,
shamans not only had the power to direct their own spirits but could travel themselves through the spirit realm to confront malevolent spirits or gather information. Modern shamans, however, were believed to rely on the assistance and direction of their spirit helpers rather than to travel themselves in the spirit world.

Swanton described the Haida 'shaman' as:

One who had power from some supernatural being who 'possessed' him, or chose him as the medium through which to make his existence felt in the world of men. When the spirit was present the shaman's own identity was practically abolished. For the time he was the supernatural being himself (1905a:38).

Stories describing shamanistic performances certainly substantiate this description. However, shamans were not simply vehicles for spirit beings. They were differentiated from others who acquired spirit power (e.g. hunting power), or who were possessed by a spirit (e.g. sorcerer), by the fact that they controlled their spirits, for public benefit. When community consultation with the spirit was desired they induced possession.

Individuals designated 'shaman' by ethnographers among the Tlingit were those who had acquired, through direct contact, control of several, ideally eight, spirit helpers and who had formally announced the claim to shaman at a public initiation following the death of an old shaman. As indicated by de Laguna (1954:176), eight symbolized ritual completeness and by establishing control over eight spirit helpers the individual established, incontrovertably, his thorough acquain-
tance with and mastery of the spirits, and the right to become acknowledged as shaman at the death of a predecessor. The shaman's power derived from his control over the movement and abilities of spirits. He did not himself "see" sickness or determine the movements of animals, but acquired this information from his spirits. The evidence is not clear as to whether shamans were 'possessed' by spirits at such times.

This brief review has been sufficient to indicate that the term 'shaman', on the Northwest Coast, has been applied to a number of specialists who by no means share a complete identity of roles or functions. Among some groups the term has been applied to individuals acknowledged as sole specialists of the spirit world, in others the individuals termed shaman have been rivalled as specialists by ritualists or ceremonial leaders. In some, the shaman's sphere of influence is largely confined to curing or causing sickness, in others it extends to a great number of other concerns. In some groups shamans are believed to direct spirits, in others the spirit is a benefactor or patron rather than an assistant. In some groups it is believed that shamans are possessed by their spirits, the spirit taking over the functions of the body, while among other groups it is believed that spirits draw near and instruct the shaman, or even, that the shaman directs power received initially from a spirit without the necessity of subsequent attendance by the spirit. The common feature distinguishing individuals termed 'shaman' seems to have been that, for whatever reasons (sickness,
visionary experience, transfer of power), they have been those individuals publicly acknowledged as having special inside knowledge of the behaviour of spirit beings and a peculiarly close relationship with spirits. They act as public intermediaries between men and spirits, public in the sense that they are publicly known and acknowledged as specialists and in the sense that they provide a service upon which potentially any member of the community, and even sometimes beyond, may call. Among some groups those termed 'shaman' are aligned with kinship units although their services may be requested by other people outside the kinship unit. Generally, those termed 'shaman' were ritually set apart from others. The retention of power required the maintenance of strict ritual prescriptions. By contrast, this was generally less imperative for others who possessed spirit power or practised magical techniques. For example a man with hunting power might temporarily lose his ability as a result of contact with a menstruant woman but the results would be deemed far more disastrous for a 'shaman'.

The term 'shaman' on the Northwest Coast, then, seems to have been applied to individuals who were publicly acknowledged as spirit experts and who, by virtue of this acceptance, acted as intermediaries between men and supernatural entities.

A word of caution should be noted. There is the danger that in specifying a series of characteristics held in common by a number of specialists we appear to have isolated a single, identifiable occu-
pation common throughout the area. It should perhaps be remembered that the term 'shaman' is an analyst's construction, designating certain specialists who appear to share the particular features we have chosen. It is an arbitrary decision to term as 'shamans' those who possess in common, characteristics such as visionary spirit contact and powers of public importance. Again, in reality the division between those who could be called 'shaman' by ethnographers and those who could not was sometimes, as among the Salish or Kwakiutl, very indistinct.

We may now turn to a brief examination of some other definitions of the term shaman, since these focus on certain properties or suggest problems for analysis which might be of importance for the Northwest Coast. At the very least it places this analysis of Northwest Coast shamans into a more general perspective.

In 1910 Swanton wrote, in The Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico:

Mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men may be divided into two classes: The shamans, whose authority was entirely dependent on their individual ability, and the priests, who acted in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society (1960:522).

By this definition he emphasized the public nature of the shaman's services but differentiated shamans from priests by the fact that they held no formal office with formalized authority and explicit rights and duties. Swanton's definition is an interesting example of how a different selection of defining criteria might affect one's analysis of North-
west Coast specialists. By his definition the Kwakiutl "chief's shaman" might perhaps be classed as a priest and removed from a comparison with those who are elsewhere called shamans.

Lowie, in his book *Primitive Religion* (1960), written in 1924, gives little help with a definition. He mentions vaguely that a shaman was one who acquired a spiritual communication (1960:14), and that shamanism involved "direct intercourse with the spirit world" (1960:15). Many have felt that this definition is too broad to be useful. It does not distinguish between a monastic mystic, a medieval European witch or even a 20th Century Western evangelist.

Radin, in his book *Primitive Religion* (original publication, 1937), never actually provided a concise definition of shaman but described them at length and contrasted them with priests. He noted their common association with hunting societies and regarded them as products of a hunting economy and social organization. By implication he defined shamans in psychological terms:

> Throughout the world of primitive man some form of emotional instability and well-marked sensitivity has always been predicted as the essential trait of the medicine man and shaman (1957:106).

> The shaman was thus labelled and set apart by the nature of his psychic constitution and by the insistence of the normal man that he, the shaman was peculiar (1957:108).

> The basic qualification for the shaman and medicine man in the more simply organized groups like the Eskimo and the Arunta is that he belong to the nautic-epileptoid type (1957:132).
By defining the shaman in these terms Radin was creating certain difficulties for himself. By insisting on a psychic condition as the definitive criterion he differentiated between individuals who in sociological terms would probably be classed as one. Again, the 'psychic condition' of individuals as a determinant of social institutions or processes is a difficult variable for psychologically untrained anthropologists to work with. 'Psychic condition' may be an important definitional variable, with formal and structural implications, but it leads to the controversial problem of the definition of normal.

Norbeck, who has written more recently on comparative religion in Religion in Primitive Society (1961), writes:

'Shaman' is derived from the native term for religious specialists among the Siberian tribes. Many ethnologists restrict this term to individuals who acquire supernatural power by inspiration: that is by vision, revelation, or other direct personal experience (1961:103).

I am unclear as to whether he means that ethnographers restrict the term to specialists who acquire visionary supernatural power or simply "individuals". If he means the latter, the definition does not distinguish between those in North America who acquired personal guardian spirit powers and the specialists who acquired powers of public importance.

Eliade, in his monumental Shamanism Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy wrote: "shamanism = technique of ecstasy" (1964:4). By this he meant that shamans were those who specialized in the control of visionary experience. The shaman differed from others with guardian spirit
powers in that he could induce visionary experience at will. Shamanism was the associated body of belief and practise centering around the shaman. In this sense shamanism was pre-eminently a Siberian phenomenon although shamanistic elements of belief and practise could be found in many other parts of the world. As Eliade himself observed, he was concerned with a religious phenomenon and thus limited his definition of shamanism to a specific type of religious experience. He was not interested in defining a type of social ceremonial or religious institution, therefore did not consider phenomena which, from a sociological viewpoint could be considered the equivalent of Siberian shamanism. Although his definition has a number of sociological implications, by the fact that Northwest Coast ethnographers (among others) have felt compelled to extend the term to include spirit experts who did not regularly induce trances, it is apparently not altogether helpful.

A number of British social anthropologists have also attempted to define shamans as distinct from other religious specialists. Nadel in, "A Study of Shamanism in the Nuba Mountains", wrote that shamanism, "rests on the belief that spirits may possess human beings, and on the practise of establishing communication with the supernatural through human beings so possessed" (1965:465), and described the shaman as one who, "is a passive medium when possessed; but through his ability to induce possession he is also a master of these supernatural powers"
(1965:465). By this definition, Nadel drew attention to the public nature of the shaman's services and to its sociological significance as a means of community 'interaction' with the spirit world. Of all the definitions given so far Nadel's corresponds most completely to the activities which have been described as shamanism on the Northwest Coast. In contrast to Radin it provides sociological criteria which can be readily observed by anthropologists and correlated with other social phenomena; in contrast to Lowie it limits analysis to individuals who perform a public service by providing a means for community 'interaction' with the spirit world; and in contrast to Norbeck it distinguishes between individuals who receive personal and private powers from those whose powers may be used in the service of others. However, by insisting that shamanistic contact involved possession by the spirit, he dismisses a number of spirit specialists who derived their knowledge of spirits and consequent ability to manipulate spirit powers without continued contact with the spirit itself. For example, in some instances at least, it would seem that a Kwakiutl shaman acquired from an initial encounter the subsequent knowledge of techniques to direct power, without the necessity of continued assistance from the spirit, and, Drucker states emphatically of the Nootka that shamans were never possessed by their spirits (1951:205). On the basis of Nadel's definition, Balikci, describing Netsilik Eskimo spirit specialists, distinguished between shamans, "characterized by the spirit possession trance" and three types of "para-shamanistic techniques" employed by
individuals who could control spirits but were not possessed by them (1963:382). Perhaps this distinction is justifiable in the Netsilik example since the shamans, "angatkok", are socially more respected, powerful and influential than practitioners of the other techniques. The same basis for a distinction cannot, with certainty, be made for the Kwakiutl since it is not clear that the most powerful specialists, those who had confronted the spirit and could "see" their spirits, were any more 'possessed' during performances than lesser shamans. The definitions regarded so far have centred themselves largely around the performance of particular types of religious specialists: the seance. Perhaps shamans should be defined in terms of their relationship or functions to the group, or in terms of their functions or position relative to other religious specialists within the structure. In these terms, the Kwakiutl shaman would be one who had "gone through" everything and confronted the spirit, not necessarily because of his experience or of his performances but because of other criteria such as respect, or political power, or influence.

Firth has suggested that the term 'shaman' should be limited to Siberia. He writes:

Spirit possession is a form of trance in which behaviour actions of a person are interpreted as evidence of a control of his behaviour by a spirit normally external to him. Spirit mediumship is normally a form of possession in which the person is conceived as serving as an intermediary between spirits and men. The accent here is on communication; the actions and words of the medium must be translatable, which differentiates them from mere spirit possession or madness. Shamanism is a term I prefer to use in the limited North Asian sense, of a master of spirits (1959:141).
Beattie implies a willingness to extend this when he writes: "And when the medium is not only a vehicle for spirits, but is believed, like Prospero in the Tempest, to be able to command them, we have shamanism" (1964:229). A number of other anthropologists describing non-Asiatic societies have tended to follow Firth's definition of the shaman as master of spirits (e.g. H.S. Morris, 1967:189-216), so that, despite himself, the term has spread beyond the limits he proposed. Firth meant the definition in a narrow sense, following Siberian shamanism, in which the shaman was master by virtue of his control and direction of spirits. As is evident from the examination of Northwest Coast phenomena the concept of master can allow a considerable degree of interpretation. In my opinion a sociological definition of shaman as master of spirits would view the shaman as master relative to other specialists in the society. Implicit in all the definitions discussed so far, is the idea that shamans are acknowledged authorities on spirits or the powers derivable from spirits. They differ from sorcerers (although they may also be sorcerers) by their public acceptance, and from magicians or from priests by the direct nature of their control of power. In this broad sense, then, it seems adequate to define the shaman as a master of spirits.

As indicated in the first section of this chapter, the term 'shaman' has been used by Northwest Coast ethnographers to designate a series of specialists who performed a number of quite different functions. We here define the term in a standard sense because it is expedient, realising that it may gloss distinctions or impose regularities which,
in the light of future research may prove irrelevant, misleading or false.

Finally, a brief note should be made concerning the term 'chief' as used in the following chapters. The term is a convenient shorthand used to refer to those individuals who were in some sense formal or informal leaders within their communities. The functions and characteristics of these individuals varied widely from group to group. To indicate something of these differences a description of roles and native terms is presented in the appendix.
CHAPTER II

SHAMANISM AMONG THE COAST SALISH OF THE FRASER VALLEY

The two main sources consulted for the following were Duff's The Upper Stalo Indians (1952) and Jenness' The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian (1955). Suttles' Katzie Ethnographic Notes (1955), and "Affinal ties, subsistence and prestige among the Coast Salish", (1960), and Barnett's The Coast Salish of British Columbia (1955), were also consulted for confirmation and for additional information. The works by Duff, Jenness and Suttles pertain directly to the Salish of the Lower Fraser Valley. Barnett's report pertains to those Salish of Vancouver Island and the B.C. mainland bordering Georgia Strait, including groups who were culturally very similar to the Stalo and Katzie of the Fraser Valley. The report by Duff is a complete ethnographic monograph, which in addition to some useful information about shamanism and spirit dancing, gives as complete a report as possible of traditional social organization, land rights and property ownership, economic organization, and so forth. By the time Duff collected his information, however, most of the traditional ways had disappeared and it is likely that many of the details had been forgotten by informants. Jenness interviewed his informant, a highly respected and widely known shaman, in 1936 when the old man was about 75. He notes that undoubtedly much of the old man's philosophy and faith was a synthesis of old and new ideas and in some cases, the ideas expressed were not those of other Coast Salish people (1955:47). In conjunction with other sources, however, both
these accounts yield a fairly comprehensive knowledge of traditional shamanistic beliefs and practices.

Like other groups in the area, the Fraser Valley Salish believed in an undetermined number of supernatural entities. All, or nearly all, phenomena possessed vitality and special powers which potentially could affect man for good or ill. In addition to the supernatural force which animated the rocks, plants, animals, and other phenomena of the natural world, they recognized a host of other supernatural entities, such as ghosts, a variegated assortment of spirit creatures inhabiting the natural world called "slalakums", and possibly a supreme deity or creator. Supernatural entities were of interest chiefly for the power they could give men.

Every living creature in man's neighbourhood emanates its power, which travels about and frequently attaches itself to the vitality of a human being. The power of an individual wolf, for example, may enter a man, making him a good hunter; the man gains, and the wolf itself loses nothing. Each creature has its special power that it can bestow (Jenness, 1955:37).

Suttles, writing of one group, notes that the term for power, "swiam", "seems to mean simply 'strength' or 'ability' in a physical as well as spiritual sense" (Suttles, 1952:6). It could include the personal competence of an individual at some activity, or the ability derived from a spirit to cure, foretell the future, acquire wealth, and so forth. Apart from a few fortunate individuals who were born with the ability to see ghosts or foretell the future (called "seuwa"), most people, if 1. Duff is not sure whether this last was a post-contact innovation, but tends to think that it was, while Jenness reports his informant as certain that it was a pre-contact belief.
they wished to achieve recognition or distinction in some activity, had
to rely on acquiring additional powers from supernatural beings. Bene-
fits from supernatural beings could be achieved through the use of
compulsive ritual, through visionary experience or other less direct
association with spiritual entities, and through prayer.

Compulsive ritual, "siwil", or what Duff calls "spells", could be used for a multitude of purposes, including hunting and fighting,
gambling, causing an individual to become overpoweringly attractive to
another, even curing or causing sickness, or inflicting bad luck in
war. Men could become excellent hunters, fishers, gamblers, and so
forth, if they had knowledge of powerful spells. The causative prin-
ciple underlying these spells is not quite clear but it would seem
that spells, when appropriately directed, had power over the spirit-
ual elements of men, animals or other supernatural entities, causing
them to behave in the desired way. "Siwil" were inherited and no vis-
ionary experience was necessary. Their effective use, however, re-
quired strict ritual purification and legitimacy of purpose. Some
individuals, called "ritualists" by Duff and "priests" by Jenness, be-
came known as specialists in the knowledge and use of ritual tech-
niques. They could be asked to exorcise ghosts, restore an individual's
vitality or remove the consequences of pollution by washing away im-
purity through ritual and prayer.

But perhaps of more concern than the power derived from ritual,
was the power derived from spirits, particularly the power which re-
vealed itself in the special song and dance obtained. Almost everyone sooner or later acquired the dancing power and special song given by a guardian spirit or "sulia". As Jenness explains:

From the world around him...a man received 'power' that aided him at intervals in his yearly round, and that often welled up inside him during the winter months, impelling him to burst into song and dance (1955:41).

Often an individual obtained such power from a guardian spirit without knowing, and had to be helped by experienced dancers to realize his power and give it expression. Even if the individual had not acquired this power it could be induced by experienced dancers whose powers were especially strong. Although the Salish term, "sulia", referring to the spirit, implied visionary experience, dancing power acquired from a guardian spirit might or might not involve visionary contact with the spirit:

Through the power breathed in them by old dancers rather than through individual dreams and visions, did the majority of the people acquire their guardian spirits. But...when these old dancers seized a youth and rendered him unconscious with their breath, giving him whichever of their own guardian spirits they chose to confer, his vitality never travelled far away....So far from reaching the true home of a spirit and there learning its song, he heard no more than the 'echo' of that song here within the realm of human beings. Consequently the power (swiam) that he received was very slight (Jenness, 1955:46).

In short, although almost everyone acquired spirit powers, the nature and strength of this power varied in proportion to the directness of contact and the intensity of the man/spirit: 'relationship'. The intensity of 'relationship' and consequent powers seem to have depended a great deal on the length and difficulty of training undergone, with its
resulting state of ritual purity and personal spiritual strength.

On this basis, there were two main types of guardian spirit relationship; one whereby an individual, in close relationship to his spirit, achieved the power to accomplish extraordinary feats such as curing, and one whereby an individual received from his spirit a song and dancing power. This second was by far the most common. Very few people had the ability or the inclination to undertake the grave dangers and prolonged hardship required by training for extraordinary powers such as curing. The ability to perform a spirit song and dance was conceptually distinct, for the Fraser Valley Salish, from the exercise of other types of spirit power, although the same spirit could give either type of power to different individuals. Individuals with other types of spirit power also had their spirit songs. A shaman, for example, did not use his shaman songs at spirit dances.

Shamans were those who had acquired spirit power to cure sickness through a spirit quest. Theoretically anyone could become a shaman if he or she were willing to undertake the necessary training. Duff reports:

To my informants, a conversation on training for supernatural power, was a conversation on shamans. A few warriors, hunters, and gamblers trained for a specific power, but these were regarded as exceptions (1950:98).

There is the strong suggestion that the successful novice could ask for, or would be granted, whatever power he sought. And since ritual techniques were sufficient to secure everyday social and economic concerns, the power to cure, with its potential significance for everyone in the
community, was presumably the one most likely to bring distinction, and so, most sought after.

Most commonly, at least for men, training for spirit power began in early childhood, before the dangers of sexual impurity brought on by puberty. If there was a relative who was a shaman he was likely to instruct the youngster, if not, an experienced shaman might be hired. At about twelve the youth started going into the woods alone. His periods of isolation became progressively longer and he wandered further and further into the more remote areas. He fasted, bathed in cold streams, purged himself, maintained continence and avoided contact with women, and sang and danced to the point of exhaustion, trying always to think of the power he wanted. Jenness' informant described his own experience (1955:65-67). When he was three years old, his mother, who was herself a shaman, encouraged him to bathe and scrub himself, and imbued him with a sense of being different from other children. When he reached about eight years old she enlisted the aid of her three oldest and best-informed relatives to teach him history and ritual knowledge. At about ten, again at his mother's insistence, he started to go out by himself in the woods, and, for the next four winters he continued, staying out for longer and longer periods and subjecting himself to greater and greater hardship. Finally, he was successful and acquired the power to remove sickness with his hands. One of Duff's informants claimed that the trainee was usually twenty-five to thirty before he experienced anything, some were over forty, and others never achieved success.
Shamanistic power could occasionally come from, "a quest later in life through illness, or by inheritance" (Duff, 1950:99). This last did not apparently imply inheritance of a spirit but inheritance of power. A man could transfer power to his son but the son would still have to train for it and the power "would not be as strong as the father's" (Duff, 1950:100). Individuals were believed more likely to get power just after the death of a spouse because, "When your wife dies, part of you dies with her, and you are different from what you were.... You are more powerful at that time" (Duff, 1950:95).

According to Jenness' informant, training had the effect of weakening the bonds which united the individual's vitality and mind to the body, so that they could "travel" greater distance to "penetrate beyond the veil of the everyday world to the mystic realm of the unseen" (1955:65). This would seem to link with Duff's report that one was likely to receive power at the death of a spouse. Clearly, the acquisition of power depended upon something of a real or symbolic social death (isolation from everyday activities by a retreat to the woods, or the death of one's status as wife or husband). Individuals so isolated were once removed from the ordinary, commonplace affairs of everyday living. The breaking or rejection of sexual ties, for example, was an important symbolic removal from the human world. The comment of Duff's informant also implies that the individual's strength of personal power was in some measure responsible for the degree of spirit power achieved. Training enhanced the individual's personal vitality
or supernatural force. Loss of vitality, through age for example, meant loss of power (Jenness, 1955:36).

Perhaps we may infer that shamanistic initiation involved a two-fold process. The initiate increased his own personal vitality while he reduced the bonds which united vitality and mind to the body so that it could travel. Increase in personal spirit force and the progressive removal of the spiritual from the physical was expressed in ritual, physical, and social terms by training. Training was believed to increase vitality, while, in a very empirical fashion, it emphasized a rejection of the normal physical and social necessities, (such as food, warmth, shelter, affinal ties), of ordinary human life.

Duff writes:

By virtue of their special powers, shamans were very likely to become important and respected members of society, but they did not form a class or society apart. Their abilities to cause or cure disease, to act as intermediaries between men and ghosts, to tell what was happening in distant places and what was to happen in the future, and to help out in wars brought them high respect as well as more tangible wealth (1950:102).

Thus they had a fairly broad range of abilities and duties. But they were not the sole specialists in dealings with the supernatural. Although, when regarded as a whole they seem almost unchallenged authorities of the spirit world, individually, perhaps, they did not always emerge so clearly as the spiritual leaders or spokesmen of the community. Firstly, different shamans had different powers. Some were specialists in specific conditions or could only cure in a certain way. Some were more powerful than others; and undoubtedly, evaluation of sha-
mans with respect to one another varied according to the affiliations of different groups. Secondly, ritual techniques were believed effective for all manner of things, sometimes even curing (Duff, 1950:115). A ritualist, then, who knew the specific spell necessary, might be summoned instead of a shaman. What Duff calls the "fortune-teller" ("seuwa") was another kind of specialist born with the power to "see ghosts, to find lost articles, to see far-off events (far-sightedness), and to foresee future events" (Duff, 1950:114). "Seuwa" were frequently considered more efficient than shamans for mediating with ghosts and might be called, instead of a shaman, to preside over the feast for the ghosts held four days after a death. Neither were shamans leaders in all ritual affairs. For example, the First Salmon Ceremony was conducted by a chief, the oldest man of the community, or the fisherman who caught the first fish. Nevertheless, shamans, more than any of these other specialists, were feared and respected for their knowledge and ability. They were usually successful fishermen and hunters, usually obtained several winter dance spirit songs, and were likely to be wealthy and so more likely to have high status. Their "general excellence in these fields was considered to be largely a result of their familiarity with spirit matters" (Duff, 1950:102). They became people of stature, deferred to and treated with respect, courtesy and circumspection for fear of the possible consequences should they have cause to feel offence.

Unfortunately Duff says very little about the relationship between shamans and the community (as opposed to 'society') but it is
my impression that shamans were to some extent aligned with specific village communities and that they were thought likely to use their powers in the interests of their own community, sometimes in opposition to other groups. Duff writes:

A shaman from Sardis, whose sulia was the sixqi (double-headed snake), had this carved on his totem-pole (house-post(?)) and 'put his power in it'. Any enemy raiding parties who saw it got sick. "I guess he doctored his own people so they didn't get sick" (1950:101).

When discussing shamans, Duff's informants often stated where the particular shaman was from, thereby aligning him with a community, or residential grouping. One inference which emerges from the data is that shamans, especially powerful ones, tended to become widely known public figures. Jenness' informant was known throughout the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island. Duff's informants could give examples of shamans from quite distant communities. For example, E.L. from Omahil mentions a shaman from Sardis, a Kilgard shaman, one from Hope, and a Cultus Lake shaman besides those whom he knew in his own community.

One is impressed by the interest that shamans seemed to arouse, judging at least by the number of stories Duff was able to collect, and their wealth of detail, in comparison with stories concerning other specialists. In effect shamans appear to have stood as public figures in much the same way as 'chiefs' or "siem"; at once aligned with a community but of wider reputation. "Siem", or so-called chiefs, were men who came to be unofficial and informal leaders in community matters by virtue of their ability, wisdom and generosity. By their success and ability
to win respect they became focal figures of interest. Similarly, shaman, by their success and the respect commanded by their powers came to receive broad, but informal, public influence.

Theories of disease and curing practices seem to have followed Northwest coast patterns with the difference that, like the position of shaman itself, curing patterns showed much more informality than found elsewhere on the Coast. Disease could be caused by soul loss or object intrusion and curing was accomplished by retrieving the soul and blowing it into the victim's head, by sucking out the intrusive object, or blowing out the ailment. There is only one specific mention, by the informants who give examples, that the cures were public or involved any formal ceremonialism. One informant states: "The doctor comes, puts a basket on his head. He has a bunch singing and drumming while he goes and gets (the soul)" (Duff, 1950:112).

In spiritual terms the shaman was intermediary between the human and supernatural worlds. His training and initiation differentiated him from others in at least two respects: firstly, through training he achieved a ritual purity and spiritual force such that in an encounter with the supernatural he could maintain a balance of power; secondly, through training and initiation he experienced symbolic death and was both once removed from the ordinary and commonplace affairs of everyday life, particularly human intercourse and sexuality, and once nearer the spirit world.

In more broadly religious terms, the division between shaman and others appeared less. He was one of several specialists who could
command supernatural power, while as shaman, he differed from other spirit dancers only insofar as he was likely to get more spirit songs than usual. Salish religious involvement was largely individualistic and egalitarian, almost everyone participating on equal terms in the major religious ceremonies. To quote Duff:

Spirit singing during the winter dancing season was the most prominent and satisfying phase of Stalo religious and ceremonial life. The spirit song was the type of individual guardian spirit power which most people received at some time in their lives....A song could usually be expected to come unsolicited to anyone interested in becoming a dancer. If one didn't come unsought, there was a way in which one could be instilled into a prospective new dancer (Duff, 1950:103).

Shamans participated in these dances, not as shamans, but as spirit dancers, singing spirit songs distinct from their shaman songs, Salish religious activity can be regarded as primarily concerned with achieving a diversity of economic, social and ceremonial ends deemed beyond the capacity of men by themselves. The shaman had a monopoly of access to a relatively limited number of these ends. He differed from other men with spirit power, however, by the fact that his powers could be used in the service of others. His visionary spirit powers were a public resource.

In secular terms the position of shaman was important. It seems to have been clearly distinguished from that of other specialists. In purely structural terms the shaman was focus of a number of countervailing principles, while the selective pressures instrumental in the development of a shaman (initiation and training) seem to have insured that they were normally individuals of above average ability. The sha-
man was both a member of a community, in some part responsible for its spiritual welfare and physical health, and a specialist in a wider sense, from whom people could, and did, request help. He was like other men (owing spirit songs and subject to subsistence requirements) but set apart from them by rigorous ritual requirements. He was both feared for his ability to cause sickness or death, and respected for his power to cure. From the viewpoint of personality, shamans were unusually capable hunters, fishers, spirit dancers, and so forth. They were usually wealthy. The key factor distinguishing the position of shaman from other specialists is signalled by the importance of training. The Salish themselves regarded training as the critical factor. In exceptional cases it was possible to obtain power without the lengthy training but training was the ideal. Neither those who inherited spells nor those born with inherent powers needed to undergo training. Spirit dancers could receive visionary initiation but did not receive spirit power unless they had undergone lengthy training. In both practical and symbolic terms, training and successful initiation selected those of unusual ability, strength and persistence and set them off from the ordinary and mundane, and from the polluted. Shamans were evidence of man's dependence on the spirit world and of the excellence which could come from harmony with the spirit world.
CHAPTER III

NOOTKA SHAMANISM

Drucker's *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes* (1951), was the major ethnographic source consulted for the following section. Sapir's "The Life of a Nootka Indian" (1921), and Sapir and Swadesh's *Nootka Texts* (1939) and *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography* (1955), were also consulted. Drucker's report is comprehensive and detailed. Frequently it has given detailed information not available for other parts of the Coast. A point to note is that Drucker and Sapir and Swadesh appear to give different emphasis to the Tsayik ritual, a group curing and shamanistic initiation ceremony. Sapir and Swadesh give a detailed account of this ritual as an item of ethnographic detail in their linguistic report *Nootka Texts* (1939:107). Drucker mentions the ritual but did not regard it as ever having been of great importance among most of the northern and central Nootkan peoples, attributing its importance among the groups studied by Sapir to the fact that they were adjacent to Salish speaking peoples and relatively isolated from other Nootkan groups (1951:216). Drucker was interested in presenting a general ethnographic description and it is possible that, in the interests of clarity, he minimized some of the differences between groups.

Like other Northwest Coast groups, the Nootka believed in a host of animal and spirit supernatural beings endowed with varying different extra-human characteristics which could harm men or be utilized by them for social and economic ends. The various animal and spirit
beings of Nootka territory provided most critical social and economic resources: food, supernatural power to perform extrahuman feats, and ceremonial privileges. Most important for man's physical well-being were the Salmon and Herring people, who, provided they were treated with proper care and respect, would return year after year to visit the coast in their fish form and allow themselves to be caught. Squirrels and minks sometimes provided shamanistic power. Killer whales could give power to attain wealth. Whales, by their capture, brought men esteem. A race of spirit beings called "ya ai" could bring wealth power, shamanistic power, ceremonial prerogatives, or a number of other benefits. It is difficult to know whether the physical well-being which came to men when the salmon and herring allowed themselves to be caught, or the prestige which came to the whaler, can be thought of as attainments wrought from supernaturals in the same way as powers such as the power to heal, hunt, or grow wealthy were, but perhaps the possibility is not too far-fetched. In each case, an animal or spirit entity was approached or treated in prescribed ways in the belief that it had the power to grant or frustrate the desired end.

As Drucker observes, beliefs in the attributes of particular kinds of supernatural beings were generally consistent with Nootka knowledge of, and familiarity with, different parts of their environment. He writes that:

The woods and mountains were thought to be populated by vast numbers of dangerous and horrendous supernatural beings while the sea contained fewer and less malignant spirits. (1951:151).
Although almost all supernatural beings were viewed as either potentially dangerous (even the salmon, if improperly treated could become vengeful and steal human souls), or positively malevolent, by the use of specific techniques they could be avoided when necessary, and were capable of being manipulated. The Nootka themselves considered ritual as indispensable in their economic pursuits as the manufacture and maintenance of tools and weapons (Drucker, 1951:15, 163). We might almost term their economic ritual knowledge part of their technology, so closely and consistently were they linked.

A major portion of Nootkan religion...consisted of a series of techniques for manipulating supernatural power to one's own ends....Performing the rites properly was as important as laying a good sound harpoon line....A man performed his rites, often arduous and painful, with stolid determination; he approached situations of actual contact with spirits not with awe or ecstasy but with physical fear that he grimly overcame, bolstered by the knowledge that if he performed his ritual acts properly he would receive no harm, but rather sure success (Drucker, 1951:163).

Manipulative techniques could involve propitiation, techniques of compulsive magic, or spirit contact. Hunting or fishing of all important animals in Nootka economy involved ritual, either propitiatory or compulsive, at some stage. Propitiatory techniques were used primarily for the salmon and herring and for whales. The former were honored at the First Salmon and First Herring ceremonies and at all times the bones of these creatures were preserved and returned to the water so that, when reincarnated, they would have no reason not to return again. Similarly, after killing or beaching a dead whale, the animal was honored
by a small ceremony before dividing the carcass. Compulsive rituals were of fundamental importance to the Nootka. As Drucker defines them these were:

...magical acts whose correct performance brought about the desired result in a cause-effect reaction. Included were the formulaic prayers; the application of 'medicines' (au yi)....; use of human corpses and bones; the setting up of dummy figures imitating the desired act, as in the shrines; and the procedures of black magic (1951:164).

Compulsive rites were private property. They were all supposed to have been derived from supernatural encounters in which the supernatural being gave instructions by which anyone who followed the correct procedure could expect success. Knowledge of specific rites were closely guarded hereditary secrets. While it would seem, from Drucker's examples, that ordinary individuals most commonly owned rites that were of private benefit (or of limited and indirect benefit to others), 'chiefs' ("ha'wil") were often extremely important owners of ritual knowledge. Most, if not all chiefs, could perform a rite to bring the herring, say, or to attract dead whales to shore. Knowledge of such publicly beneficial ritual was an important prop to chiefly authority. In this connection chiefs often had, what Drucker calls "shrines", where the ritualist prepared his 'medicines' and performed his rites.

These were made and used to "bring" a variety of products of economic importance; often the same shrine and its ritual served to bring heavy runs of salmon, herring, and to cause dead whales to drift ashore. Most frequently the chief who owned the territory where these commodities were obtained was expected to see to it that the supply did not fail by carrying out his rituals meticulously (1951:171).
On these occasions chiefs performed a private hereditary prerogative in public capacity.

A technique, both propitiatory and compulsive in character, was ritual purification. Drucker reports that the underlying concept, clearly expressed by the Nootka was:

...that the odors of warm, sweaty humanity were repugnant to the spirits. By bathing in cold water till the body was chilled, however, and scrubbing away grime and sweat with pleasant-smelling or magically potent plants one could approach the spirits without their being aware of his presence (1951:166).

Ritual purification was essential for all contact with supernatural beings: it facilitated contact when this was desirable, as in hunting, or reduced the dangers when undesirable. Contact with a malevolent or powerful being could be fatal unless the individual was sufficiently pure. Besides enhancing the individual's appeal to supernatural beings, ritual purification also seems to have increased the individual's own supernatural power. Individuals were commonly said to bathe for power.

Propitiatory ritual, compulsive ritual and ritual purification were the means by which most people ensured their everyday ends. In addition, the special ritual knowledge of chiefs further helped to ensure economic security for the community. Very few people attempted or even desired visionary contact with supernatural beings.

Spirit contact could be sought for the purposes of acquiring ceremonial prerogatives, shamanistic powers, or miscellaneous powers
such as "good luck" power, power for attracting wealth, hunting power, and so forth. High ranking people and chiefs were most likely to seek ceremonial prerogatives or powers of some economic importance.

Successful visionary contact depended on the individual's ability to overcome the supernatural being. Thus, although theoretically contact could come unsolicited, it was more likely to have been sought, since success in overcoming the being depended on the individual's ritual purity and his ability to withstand the supernatural emanations long enough to shout a ritual cry. Commonly, the individual prepared himself by rigorous ritual bathing, keeping continence, and singing songs and prayers for supernatural aid given to him by elder kinsmen as hereditary family secrets. The encounter with a spirit "was tremendously charged with danger" (1951:187). Should the individual not make his ritual cry, should he remove his eye from the spirit, or not be in the proper state of ritual cleanliness, he and not the spirit would be vanquished. The best prepared might manage to give the ritual cry, and whatever accompaniment was required, while others might recover after the spirits had gone, to make their spirit cry over any remains. At the sound of the cry the spirit was supposed to "turn to foam" or disappear, leaving some material token of the encounter. This token had to be preserved at all costs. As Drucker explains:

The token -- a rattle, a bit of dyed cedar bark, a bundle of medicinal leaves, a painted pebble, or whatever it might be -- had to be preserved....All the power of the spirit somehow resided in this fetish -- should it be lost, the finder lost control of the spirit, and consequently his shamanistic power (1951:187).
Thus far visionary initiation was the same for shamans as for any other seeker of spirit power. Spirit contact was no less difficult and dangerous for those who sought ceremonial prerogatives or wealth power than for those who sought shamanistic power. Shamans differed from those who acquired other types of power in that their relationship with the spirit being was ongoing, continuous and intense. Sometime after his spirit encounter, the prospective shaman was helped in establishing control over the spirit by a power "fixing" ceremony. It was this ceremony which publicly established the initiate's intention of becoming a shaman and it was at this point that shamanistic initiation overtly departed from ordinary initiations (since the ritual cry of shamanistic novices was distinctive it may have been instrumental in determining the type of power received). An experienced shaman, preferably one who was a kinsman or trusted neighbour, was called to "set his power right". He made scraping motions over the novice's body, "gathering the power together" (Drucker, 1951:188). With control over the spirit established, the novice began a period of training, lasting from several months to 3 or 4 years, under the 'instruction' of his spirit. All the techniques of healing, the songs used, the kind of face paint, rattle, ornaments, dancing, were taught the novice by his helper so that, although shamanistic techniques were generally similar, each shaman had his own particular variations. By the time the novice was instructed by his spirit that it was time for him to start practi-
sing "everyone knew about him". The usual procedure for announcing one's readiness was to give a feast or, more commonly, ask one's chief to give a feast, where the announcement could be made and his shaman's name made public.

While not hereditary, shamanism tended to run in families, Drucker describes the experience of one informant as an example. The informants' maternal grandmother, paternal grandfather and elder sister were all noted shamans. As a child her maternal grandmother persuaded her to take part in ritual bathing expeditions and taught her "how to cure, how to find and take out the disease objects, as well as what to do when she encountered shamanistic power" (1951:189). Successful confrontation with the spirit required considerable ritual, mental, and emotional preparation. While most people might learn shamanistic techniques from curing ceremonies, the precise details of how to acquire particular spirits and manipulate them remained family secrets. Because the Nootka consistently placed such stress on the compulsive power of words and actions in controlling spirits, it is likely that only those with esoteric knowledge would feel sufficiently confident to seek or claim a visionary encounter. Thus although formal instruction by another shaman was not necessary for initiation in Nootka terms, it was likely to have been the most usual procedure.

Once established, shamans continued to seek spirit encounters and increase their power, since different spirits gave power to heal different kinds of diseases. Over a lifetime most shamans acquired several helpers. The most powerful and famous shamans were those who could cure the most intractable diseases.

In terms of rights and privileges, shamans were not much differentiated from others. Unlike the Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian shamans, Nootka shamans were not distinguished from others in everyday life by dress, hairstyle or any other item of appearance, and they were not differentiated from others at death. The burial of a shaman was the same as that of any other individual. Despite the popular conception of shamans as being wealthy and successful, as Drucker points out, in practice no shaman, as shaman, could ever hope to rival a chief by giving a potlatch (1951:182-3). Drucker concludes that the respect and prestige offered them was the major motive for becoming a shaman:

Discussion of shamanism with informants leaves one with a sharp impression of the respect the people had for shamans, and the interest in the curing performances... And a shaman was nearly always treated, it would seem, with the deference due to one who has another world peopled by potent fearsome beings at his very fingertips... perhaps, occasionally colored by the fear that the shaman's powers might not be for good only (1951:183).

It is possible that this popular conception of shamans as successful was linked to the degree of prestige granted them.

Unlike the Tsimshian shamans, for example, who performed public services by officiating at ceremonies, foreseeing the future, fol-
ollowing the movements of game and so forth, in addition to their curing, Nootka shamans seem only to have been curers. Several causes of disease were recognized. It could be caused by the intrusion of various different kinds of disease objects, "sent" by human or supernatural aggressors or by evil shamans; by possession by a spirit, usually fatal; or by soul loss. When a person fell ill and other means had failed, a shaman was called in. The particular shaman depended on the wealth and status of the family. If the individual belonged to a wealthy family, some famous shaman might be called in from a neighboring village. Otherwise the closest kinsman or the nearest shaman available was called. The cure was public, everyone in the community attending, and usually held at night. The shaman assembled his assistants, usually male and female close kin, who helped him by drumming and singing his spirit songs. The shaman began by calling upon his spirit helpers to divine the cause.

As he sang his spirit songs:

His power increased and he came in closer contact with the spirit world. The space about him came to be peopled with spirits, who sang with him and told him what to do....Along with the power to see his supernatural helpers, the shaman could see other things invisible to common eyes as his power became stronger. Some would feel and press the patient's body with their hands as they sang, to locate the place in which the sickness was concentrated, but the more powerful 'doctors'...could 'see' into the body of the sick person.... In this way he was able to diagnose the particular disease from which the patient suffered (1951:205).

At no time were shamans possessed by their spirits. The spirits came close and directed them, but remained subordinate to the shaman's will.
Once the spirits had drawn close and the shaman had been able to make a diagnosis of the patient's conditions he stopped and waited for the offer of payment to be made. The spirit, rather than the shaman was supposed to decide on the appropriate payment. The usual payment ran from 4 to 10 dollars, sometimes more if the patient was of high rank. Once the spirit, or spirits, were satisfied with the offer, if it was within his power the shaman proceeded with the cure. If the cause was an intrusive object the shaman would try sucking or removing it with motions of the hands. If the cause was soul loss the shaman went after it, into the sea if the salmon were believed responsible. Most shamans performed no more than a few cures a year. The responsibility of shamans seems to have been largely limited to diagnosing and curing disease. If disease was attributed to sorcery or object intrusion the individual responsible was usually "whoever had recently quarreled with the victim or the victim's parents (in the case of a child) or who otherwise had most reason to desire the person's death" (1951:215).

Sapir and Swadesh (Sapir and Swadesh, 1939:107; Sapir, 1921:355) reported another kind of curing ceremony, "the Tsayik, a doctoring ritual", at which certain individuals could also become initiated as shamans. The information is not clear but it would appear that sometimes, in the case of persistent sickness, it was decided to hold the Tsayik ceremony and invitations were sent out to Tsayik members (those, I infer, who had been initiated at such a ceremony). Several days before the curing, those who were to be initiated were seized and for 10 days, dur-
ing which time members sang their songs and performed a curing ritual, the novices underwent initiation. Drucker mentions the ceremony but reports that "the Northern tribes knew of it but say they never had it" (1951:216). He was able to collect only fragmentary data. Among the Northern Nootka at any rate, it does not seem to have been a very pronounced means of curing or acquiring shamanistic powers.

A brief mention should perhaps be made of ceremonialism generally in Nootka society. As among other Northwest Coast groups, ceremonial privileges were highly esteemed among the Nootka. They were usually hereditary, supposed to have been derived in the past from some supernatural source. Two main types of ceremonial privilege were those able to be performed at potlatches and those associated with what Drucker calls the "Shamans' Dance", and what others have called the 'Wolf ritual" (Sapir, 1921:363). He prefers to call it Shamans' Dance after its native name and because, "as the native name suggests, numerous features of the ceremonial refer to the local shamanistic pattern" (1951:386). The Shamans' Dance or Wolf ritual was somewhat analogous to the Secret Society dances of the Kwakiutl except that it was more closely associated with lineages.

Each chief, as representative of his lineage, inherited special songs, dances, display rights, and other performances to be used in the ritual, and sometimes these rights overlapped, that is, two or more chiefs would each own a different procedure for accomplishing the same result.

Briefly, the ceremonial can be characterized as a dramatic performance in which the entire local populace participated (Drucker, 1951:387).
Shamans, as such, were no more closely involved with these ceremonials than anyone else. They participated at such ceremonials on the same terms as anyone else of the same rank and, like everyone else, might or might not acquire specific privileges according to inheritance or the favour of chiefs.

Nootka social organization rested on the twin principles of kinship and rank. Ideally, rank was a system of relatively fixed positions with attendant rights, privileges and duties, into which individuals were recruited on the basis of primogeniture. The eldest offspring of the eldest offspring were entitled to the foremost rank positions, successively more distant offspring from the direct line of descent being entitled to successively lesser rank positions. For example, the foremost chief of the Moachat owned, among other things, "the water along the outer coast...the southeast tip of Nootka Island and adjacent waters, and inland to the watershed of Nuchatlitz inlet" (Drucker, 1951:248), while the chiefs of more junior Moachat lineages owned less extensive stretches of territory, and still lesser people owned various minor rights such as the right to place a trap on a certain river or the right to live in one corner of the chief's house. Having said this, it is necessary to modify the statement somewhat. Although it is possible to regard rank as a system of positions independent of the individuals who held them, at least in historic times when depopulation reduced the number of people available to fill them, particular positions, with their bundles of rights and privileges, could
be modified. The incumbent of a particular position might fall heir to added prerogatives or he might be superceded by others who inherited several sets of privileges. Thus 'Tom', a respectable but by no means aristocratic Nootka Indian described by Sapir (1921:232-41, 351-367), was able to create a position of high rank for himself by pot-latching and displaying a series of privileges which, in prehistoric times, he might not have inherited in total.

Kinship was reckoned bilaterally, with a patrilineal bias. Individuals maintained kinship links and reciprocal obligations with relatives on both the mother's and the father's side, although they may have tended to stress paternal connections.

Kinship and rank structured the basic social units of society and strongly determined patterns of interaction. The principal social, economic and political unit was the 'lineage'-local group, comprised of a core of kinsmen related to the chief ("ha'wil") who owned hereditary title to territorial rights and other privileges, plus a variable number of transient followers who claimed more distant kinship connections to the chief or his kin. This group was held together by a complex of reciprocal rights and obligations based on rank and kinship claims. By virtue of his rank, the chief was entitled to the "help", respect, and loyalty of his followers; by virtue of kin connections they in turn were entitled to protection and security from the chief. The authority of rank was based on the control of resources:
The real fountainhead of chiefly power is clear. Whatever authority a chief had derived in final analysis from the various rights he had inherited. The head chiefs, the 'real chiefs', were those who held the most, the lower chiefs, those who owned less, and commoners were simply people who possessed none at all (Drucker, 1951:247).

"All the territory, except for remote inland areas, was regarded as the property of certain chiefs" (Drucker, 1951:248). Rights to names, ceremonial prerogatives, houses etc., all belonged to various chiefs. Chiefs thus controlled the distribution of all major resources. Anyone of a chief's group might utilize his various economic resources under the condition that they expressed public acknowledgement of the chief's right of ownership by giving tribute, or, as the Nootka expressed it, giving "help". The authority of chiefs at first seems almost limitless. They directed group activities, had the final voice in matters of group policy, and held potlatches and controlled the display of ceremonial prerogatives. However, a critical check to chiefly power was provided by kinship ties and residence patterns. Individuals maintained their kinship connections over a very broad range of territory and, by calling upon their kinship ties, direct or remote, to various chiefs, they could be sure of acceptance into at least several different groups. Residence patterns were flexible. Although men might tend to prefer patrilocal residence, a couple could decide to live with either the wife's or the husband's relatives, close or distant, either on the mother's or the father's side. There was, therefore, for most practical purposes, no restriction on residence and, wherever they might
decide to go, by calling on kinship ties a family could be assured of some economic and social security. Individuals tended to remain with the household of a particular chief if they had some privilege to keep them there, for example if they expected to inherit a position or if they had been given some particular right by the chief, but otherwise, many could, and did, change households.

From a chief's point of view, this migratory residence habit was far from advantageous. All his inherited rights would be of little use to him if he could not muster enough manpower to exploit them...so he was in every way dependent on his tenants. Every chief recognized this; it was taught him from childhood. His problem was, therefore, to attract lower-rank people to his house, and to bind them to him as much as possible (Drucker, 1951:279-80).

One way he could hope to encourage people to remain was by appearing to control ritual techniques which ensured adequate subsistence and wealth for the generous distribution of property at potlatches. Ritual was deemed to be a vitally effective means of ensuring economic and social ends. Sapir's informant, 'Tom', believed that it was his maintenance of taboos and ritual techniques which had ensured his success and long life (1921:351). Compulsive ritual techniques he deemed even more effective than spirit contact. As Sapir explains:

Such extraordinary occurrences as these are clearly in the nature of accidents; they cannot be relied upon for the necessary aid in the successful prosecution of life's work. The standard and on the whole the most useful means of securing this necessary aid is by the performance of secret rituals (1921:353).

By performing lengthy and elaborate rituals at shrines chiefs at once signified their ownership rights to territory and gave evidence of their intention to secure all the success possible.
The pattern of shamanism, it seems to me, was consistent with these aspects of social structure and religious beliefs. In particular the position of shaman in socio-religious terms was, I think, in large part determined by the position of lineage heads, who had immense control of resources but, who, because of flexible residence rules had to enhance their authority with claims to ritual knowledge and supernatural prerogatives. Drucker explains:

Almost all of the shamans whose lives and miracles were recounted to me were of low rank; commoners, or the younger sons of chiefs. This does not mean that chiefs did not search for spirit power or that they never had supernatural experience like their lesser kin. What happened was that a chief who encountered a spirit in the woods received songs and dances for a display privilege, or a ritual for increasing the salmon run, or a medicine for hunting whales. Power to cure the sick fell to those persons of less importance who had time for it (1951:181).

Since shamans commonly performed only a few cures a year, the exercise of their powers did not make great inroads in their time. I suspect that more pertinent was the fact that curing was an ability which did not lend itself to ostentatious public displays. Since sickness is a condition which does not wait for accumulation of wealth and lengthy preparations, a curing ceremony, even if public and dramatic, never had the same potential for impressive public display as a ceremonial prerogative given at a potlatch. Secondly, curing was a service performed on behalf of a private individual; it roused private indebtedness rather than community indebtedness. Or at least, if it roused more the widespread gratitude of family, lineage or village, it did so indirectly. A significant point to note is that among the Nootka
shamanistic powers were defined as the power to cure (or powers strictly related to curing or causing sickness). Unlike the Bella Coola or Tsimshian, for example, powers to give a miraculous display, were not considered shamanistic. In other words, by the Nootka definition of shamans, the area for dramatic expression by shamans was restricted to occasions which did not allow impressive formal public displays and so shamans and chiefs did not compete for public attention. Again, as curers, shamans did not threaten to compete with chiefs in securing formal community indebtedness.

It is perhaps useful to attempt a brief comparison of some aspects of Nootka and Tsimshian shamanism since Nootka and Tsimshian social structure show some obvious superficial parallels and some differences. Among both, the lineage-local group was a cohesive corporate unit under the direction of a lineage head who strictly controlled the allocation of economic and ceremonial resources. Rank differences, particularly between lineage heads and others, were strongly marked. In both cases, lineage heads were frequently masters of supernatural control; the Tsimshian chiefs controlled spirits, the Nootka controlled ritual techniques. Some obvious differences include the differences in residence patterns and criteria for group membership and differences in religious beliefs and practices. Among the Tsimshian, residence patterns and group membership depended on matrilineal affiliation. Individuals were members of their matrilineal group and residence was primarily avunculocal: a couple moved to the house of the husband's
maternal uncle. Membership in the matrilineage entitled an individual to the use of lineage territorial resources but conversely, rights to resource use were restricted outside the matrilineage. In short, bilateral kinship among the Nootka allowed much greater individual mobility and more variable group membership. Correspondingly, chiefs perhaps had a less stable following and less stable control of human resources. Differences in religious beliefs and practise include the much greater stress among the Nootka, on the use of compulsive magic, particularly for the supernatural control of subsistence production and wealth, and among the Tsimshian, the greater emphasis on personal guardian spirit power, particularly on the supernatural protection of lineage members by the spirits associated with chiefs. One of the most striking differences in shamanism was the restricted sphere of influence of Nootka shamans, compared with Tsimshian shamans who officiated at the First Salmon Ceremony, could determine the movements of animals and fish, control the weather, and so forth. I would suggest that this striking difference in this sphere of influence of shamans is related to respective differences in the positions of chiefs. In both groups maintenance of rank and prestige by chiefs depended a great deal on their ability to validate their claims by the distribution of wealth at potlatches. The accumulation of wealth, therefore, was a matter of great concern for chiefs and factors which could enhance the ability to accumulate wealth or which could reduce the uncertainties attached to wealth accumulation were of strategic interest. Two important factors
in the accumulation of wealth were the management of natural resources and the control of manpower, the second of these perhaps being most critical since, without the cooperation of followers few men could ever hope to accumulate sufficient wealth by themselves. Tsimshian chiefs were assured of a stable labour pool. Nootka chiefs were not. They could attempt to attract a stable labour pool indirectly by appearing to control supernatural techniques which would ensure success and wealth with its reflected glory for everyone. In both examples the authority of shamans was restricted to areas of concern which did not threaten the basis of chiefly authority. This is probably true even in terms of the wealth shamans were popularly supposed to acquire. Drucker suggests that in fact, because cures were infrequent and because payment was not substantial, shamans, as such, could not have accumulated much wealth. Even supposing that they did, unless they could acquire rank prerogatives by inheritance, they could not hope to increase their rank position substantially.
CHAPTER IV
SOUTHERN KWAKIUTL SHAMANISM

Data for this presentation was derived primarily from Boas' *The Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1930), and *Kwakiutl Ethnography* (1966), edited by H. Codere, because they were the most detailed sources I could find, with a wealth of case examples. Drucker (1955, 1965), Spradley (1963), and C.S. Ford (1968) were consulted for the more general information they give. I have found the Boas material somewhat confused and difficult. Partly this is due, I think, to the fact that Boas relied for so much of his information on George Hunt. Hunt was affected by the changes going on within Kwakiutl society at the time, by his own position in Kwakiutl society, and by his special personal and professional relationship with Boas. With the scepticism of whites, the proselitizing of missionaries, the devastating attacks of diseases such as smallpox, syphilis and tuberculosis, one of the changes likely to have occurred in Kwakiutl society was a change in attitudes toward shamans. In addition, the unprecedented opportunities for travel, plus the combining of fragments of different groups, allowed the chance to discover that shamans in other areas, claiming the same powers and spiritual authority used different techniques for essentially the same ends: putative cause and effect relationships could therefore be seriously questioned: George Hunt, more than most, was subjected to these forces for change. He was in repeated contact with
whites, particularly with those of an objective scholastic tradition, and he travelled extensively, both among the Kwakiutl and to other parts of the continent. In the course of his relationship with Boas, he spent many hours in personal contact and many years in exacting correspondence, collecting information and answering and confirming a series of searching questions. It must surely have affected his attitudes and values quite profoundly. That these attitudes and values did change is indicated by Boas himself, who wrote:

"Still another difficulty in obtaining truthful statements is based on the relationship between Indian and white. The Indian likes to appear rational and knows that shamanistic practises are disbelieved by whites. So he is liable to assume a critical attitude, the more so the closer his contacts with the whites...."

This accounts for the critical attitude exhibited in my principal informant's account, "I desired to learn the ways of the shaman" (Boas 1930:1), in which he takes the position that his only object was to discover the frauds perpetrated by the shamans. At other times, when in a more communicative mood, his belief in his own experiences stands out very clearly (1966:121).

For these reasons I think that Hunt's attitudes towards shamans were uncommonly critical and unrepresentative. For example, I suspect that white contact may have affected Hunt's definition of fraud; that his definition of fraud was opposed to that of traditional Kwakiutl. In the 1925 account, "I desired to learn the ways of the shaman" (approx. 30 years after his initial encounter with Boas), we are told that Hunt, as a shaman, totally discredited another shaman. But if we examine the text we find this is so not because the people
discover that the seemingly miraculous power of the shaman's cedar bark ring to hang vertically from a post is due to a well-hidden nail (this was only revealed to Hunt secretly) but because Hunt demonstrates his mastery of sickness much more dramatically by appearing to actually extract, before everyone, a bloody, wriggling "worm" and curing the patient whom the other had failed to cure. It seems to me that Hunt defined the shaman a fraud because his 'miraculous' performances were staged whereas the community defined him a fraud because his claims of mastery had been publicly exposed as inferior to Hunt's.

Kwakiutl ideas about the nature of the universe, of man and the other creatures inhabiting it, and of their relations to each other, were broadly similar in essentials to those of other Northwest coast groups with the difference that a special elaboration of the concept of supernatural power provided the basis for a dichotomy which almost completely structured religious life and ritual to an extent not found elsewhere. Creatures, objects, and seasons in which supernatural force predominated were clearly differentiated from those without power. The Kwakiutl ascription of power to some entities and not to others is not unique. What is different is the elaboration of divisions drawn on the basis of power. Religious life largely centred around these divisions. A sacred season was distinguished from a secular; those infused with supernatural power (the initiates and performers in winter dances and shamans) were distinguished from the uninitiated and, in the sacred season, conformed to an entirely different structure of social relationships; sacred prerogatives were distinguished from secular.
Although perhaps theoretically almost any number of spirit entities might affect man, in practice only a limited number of spirit patrons commonly entered into the guardian spirit relationship. The vast majority of winter dancers received their powers and prerogatives from the two spirits, Warrior-of-the-World and Cannibal-at-the-North-End-of-the-World, and from one or two others. The spirits of shamans were only slightly more varied.

Supernatural entities were primarily important to men for their bestowal of the power to perform particular winter dances and for their bestowal of shamanistic powers. They were also important but of much less concern insofar as they affected man's physical well-being; his health, prosperity and technical mastery of the environment.

As with other Northwest coast groups men could seek to manipulate the supernatural by propitiation and persuasion, by magical techniques deemed automatically effective, and by visionary contact with the spirit. Spirits could be flattered, cajoled or appealed to. They were known to tolerate the ritually pure but were likely to kill the impure. They avoided menstrual blood and other impure substances but could be approached after ritual purification. Boas (1930), recorded a rich collection of prayers; prayers of supplication, of praise, and of thanks, prayers by hunters or fishermen to animals or fish, prayers to berries, to the elements, for success in a particular endeavour, for health, for protection, and so on. Propitiation or
persuasion, in fact, seem to have been the most usual methods for attempting to ensure everyday objectives by supernatural manipulation. The First Salmon Ceremony was performed to honor the salmon and ensure that they would continue to come in abundance. Ritual purification, involving isolation, purging, fasting, bathing, avoidance of contaminating substances and so forth, was practised to make oneself pleasing to the supernatural. It was necessary before any approach to the supernatural could be attempted.

Compulsive ritual was apparently less important in everyday life than it was among the Nootka and even the Salish. There were apparently no specialists similar to the Salish ritualist who could recite a formula believed to be automatically effective for some specific objective. Herbs and combinations of plant substances were used to cure certain ailments but there does not seem to have been the same extensive use of 'medicines' for ensuring all manner of everyday objectives that there was, for example, among the Tlingit and the Haida. Although medicines or compulsive ritual may not have been used much to ensure everyday objectives, their anti-social use was feared. Sorcery, involving the special treatment of personal effects of the intended victim, was apparently often suspected. Charlie Nowell, a Kwakiutl Indian who recounted his autobiography in 1940, remembered several incidents of suspected sorcery (Ford, 1968:95-97, 98), and believed himself to have been bewitched by a woman who wanted him to marry her (Ford, 1968:145-147). Ideas concerning the compulsive power of words, actions,
or objects, to manipulate the supernatural were certainly present among the Kwakiutl but they were not used extensively for the fulfilment of everyday objectives.

In terms of spirit contact there were two types of 'direct' association with the supernatural; shamanistic, and that gained through initiation as a winter dancer. In religious terms the several winter dance societies comprised all those individuals who were inspired by a specific patron spirit. The Hamatsa dancers, for instance, were supposed to have been inspired by the spirit Cannibal-at-the-North-End-of-the-World, the warrior dancers by Warrior-of-the-World. In theory these patron spirits were supposed to possess the eligible initiates and carry them off until, by the efforts of experienced members of the society, they were brought back and gradually returned to a normal state. Boas writes:

Spiritual beings capture and initiate men and women of the tribe and the object of the ceremonial is to recapture those taken away and imbued with the qualities of their captors and to restore them to a secular condition (1966:173).

In practice, the initiate disappeared from public view for several days, usually to the seclusion of some inner room, where he or she was taught songs, (composed by an experienced song maker), and the rights and prerogatives associated with the particular society he or she was to join. At a predetermined time initiates then appeared before the public, apparently in a state of supernaturally inspired frenzy, where they were gradually calmed by the songs, cries and actions of other dancers.
Initiation into a society (the right to be seized by a particular spirit) depended upon inheritance or acquisition of the right through marriage, or murder or enslavement of the original owner. The right was supposed to have devolved from some mythical ancestor (Boas, 1895:418). Thus the initiation process was a re-enactment of what the initial mythical experience was supposed to have been.

The winter dance initiations were extensively planned and staged. Prospective initiates were schooled well in advance by their sponsors. It is easy to overlook the religious significance of the winter ceremonial in favour of its dramatic, theatrical, social and economic implications. However, the nearness of the supernatural powers was a theme constantly impressed on all members of the community during the winter ceremonial season and initiation was likely to have had profound significance for winter dance initiates. It is quite possible that during their several days of seclusion, with the heightened fears and expectations of their public display to come, initiates may have felt visionary or near-visionary experience.

Whether or not winter dance novices underwent visionary experience their initiation was based on an hereditary association and it involved their restoration to a normal state. Shamanistic initiation was not necessarily hereditary and it involved recognition of what was in some sense a permanent (or at least indefinite) breach from the community. While the winter dance novice was helped to a state of calm by others of the community, the shaman had to come to terms with
the spirit largely by his own personal effort. That shamans and
winter dancers were thought in some sense similar is suggested by
the fact that among the Southern Kwakiutl "the participants are
called shamans (paxala)" and among the Bella Bella "both the shamans
and the winter ceremonial are called 'ts!equa'" (1966:172). How­
ever, a shaman retained his shaman's name at all seasons of the year
where winter dancers retained theirs only for the ceremonial season.

In many respects the distinction between shamans and others
was vague. They were associated with the power to cure but not all
shamans could cure. Shamanistic initiation was distinguished from
that of a winter dancer but upon what basis is not clear. It is
not clear that one might differentiate shamans from others on the
basis of their esoteric knowledge of the supernatural; winter dan­
cers were also supposed to have had direct visionary experience.
Similarly, not all shamans could clearly have been called master of
spirits, as the experience on one woman, who defined herself a sha­
man, indicates:

Now for four nights the Magic-of-the-Ground of the Magic­
of-the-Earth came singing....Now I had become a shaman.
I never saw him as the real shamans say, when they say
that they see the one who makes them shamans, and I do
not cure the sick, for I was only helped by the Magic­of-the-Ground of the Magic-of-the-Earth (Boas, 1930:53).

Since those who could not cure were still associated with the ability
to diagnose sickness or, at the minimum, to direct the operations
which would allow some supernatural agent to cure the sickness, we
can only suggest that shamans were those who were recognized as having acquired the supernatural power to aid the sick. The critical difference between the shaman and the winter dancer, is that the former acquired power which could be directed in the service of others.

I have found it difficult to come to a clear understanding of what shamanistic initiation involved. Although Boas himself points out that there was an important difference between the ideal and the practical aspects of initiation, and indicates how Hunt's 1925 account, "I desired to learn the ways of the shaman", contradicts his 1897 and 1900 accounts, he himself makes no clear distinction between the ideal and the practical in the other examples he offers. In 1897 and 1900 Hunt apparently described his experiences as if they had been entirely visionary while in his 1925 account he does not mention a visionary encounter at all and claims that he became a shaman at the invitation of others. It seems clear that most, if not all, novice shamans were initiated with the encouragement, or active support, of other shamans in the community; that they learned from other shamans a large body of dramatic techniques to impress patient and audience, that they relied on special informers for information concerning the health and well-being of members in the community and that the shamans of an area cooperated and exchanged information among themselves. In fact, I am struck by the similarities between the association of shamans within a community and the winter dance secret societies. Underlying the staged techniques of
both winter dance and shamanistic performances was the principle that the performers derived their ability by the grace of supernatural aid.

According to conventional, standardized accounts of shamanistic initiation, the prospective novice shaman fell sick. Either he or she induced debilitation through fasting, purging and deprivation of one sort or another, or an individual who happened to fall sick later became initiated. A supernatural being, killer-whale, wolf, black bear or what have you, appeared in the form of a man and gave instructions. The novice began to utter the shaman's cry of "H h h!", signalling his visionary contact to members of the community. He was then dressed in clean clothing and placed in the isolation of a newly built, purified hut at a distance from the community. After four days (during which time the novice was supposed to be becoming better acquainted with the spirit), the experienced shamans of the community were sent to look after him. They circled the hut singing their songs. Usually the new shaman answered with his own newly acquired song and the established shamans returned with this information to the community to direct the purification of the house (presumably the communal house of which the new shaman was a member), in preparation for the new shaman's appearance. At dark people assembled in the house, all having washed to purify themselves, and the new shaman was heard singing. People beat time and
after beating time three times the novice entered. He sang his sacred song, mentioning the identity of the spirit which initiated him. The powers of the new shaman were displayed by having him go round those assembled and point out the sick. If someone was sick he was expected to perform a cure. The father of the new shaman was asked for the names of any previous shamans in his family and one of these was given to the novice. Four days later the father gave a feast in payment to those who had witnessed the initiation (Boas, 1966:133-4). Boas notes that the initiation of the shaman was analogous in all details to that of participants in the winter ceremonial (Boas, 1966:135). Although the new shaman was given a name that coincided with the name of a former shaman in his family (if he happened to have one), ostensibly he was granted the use of this name by the spirit helper. It is interesting to note that Hunt reports that after they had witnessed his first cure among the Koskimo and his first among the Fort Rupert tribes, he gave away one hundred and two hundred dollars respectively, that they might know his name as a shaman, Qaselid (Boas, 1930:18, 30).

Many of the examples given by informants of their own experience emphasized the visionary experience without any suggestion of staging or help from other shamans, although closer examination leads one to suspect that staging was practised. Clearly, then, in addition to formal public announcement and acceptance, shamanistic initiation, at least in ideal terms, required visionary initiation. It
suggests that the association of the shaman with the spirit world was of some symbolic importance whether or not individual shamans actually felt visionary experience.

In 1900 Hunt gave an account of his initiation similar to other idealized accounts of visionary experience (Boas, 1966:122). For several years he had been subject to fainting fits and sometimes found himself naked in a graveyard. He told his father-in-law about these experiences, and they deduced that "the supernatural powers were certainly trying to get" him. One day he dreamt of a killer whale who came to him and told him that the next day he would perform his first cure. The killer whale instructed him on how to make the cure and warned him to keep certain ritual restrictions.

The next day he proceeded with the cure, apparently in a highly emotional and disturbed state of mind:

When I tried to enter the house I felt as though something was pushing me out again. It was in my mind that I needed red cedar bark, and the boy's grandfather gave me a head ring, neck ring, wristlets, and anklets and covered the rings with eagle down....As soon as the down touched me I felt as though I had been hit over the head. Later on the people told me that at this moment I had run back into the woods. I did not know what was happening. Soon I came back singing my sacred song, and as soon as I entered the house I came back to my senses....(Boas, 1966:122).

Thereafter he completed the cure. Subsequently his spirit helper advised him on further cures.

In the 1925 account he makes no mention of the visionary experience at all, although at one point we can construe that the
training schedule imposed on him by the shamans would certainly have encouraged such experience. Briefly, he reports that he was taken to a secret house in the woods "which (was) not known to all the uninitiated men, the secret ways of the shamans" (Boas, 1930:6), where all the Seymour Inlet shamans were gathered. He was shown "the fainting, the trembling of the body, always at night; the singing of two sacred songs for healing the sick; the singing of two sacred songs for trying to catch the soul of the sick one who is nearly dead" (Boas, 1930:7). He was taught when someone walks behind a shaman "the shaman at once falls on his back and trembles with his body. Then he bites the edge of his tongue and he sucks out the blood and pretends to vomit" (Boas, 1930:8). He was told by Fool, the senior shaman, "Now friend, you will lie down among the graves every night, always so that they may believe that you are a shaman" (Ibid.). And it is evident by this remark how important is the appearance of spirit contact. Hunt recalls:

I went to the graves and I sat down and was waiting for those to wake up who belong to the Kwakiutl. As soon as I saw one man walking along I arose so that he should see me. Then I started and went home. Now that man talked about seeing me among the graves (Boas, 1930:11).

In the earlier account he had spoken of waking up in the graveyard as if unconscious of how he arrived there and he had reported that it was these incidents that had convinced his father-in-law that the supernatural powers were certainly trying to get him. He makes no mention
of his father-in-law's predictions here, however, but goes on to re­
port his first cure without suggesting that he experienced a visionary
encounter before, in which he was forewarned of the cure and instruc­
ted in how to proceed. In this 1925 account he also tells us about
the "dreamers" or informers. The dreamer:

...listens all the time for the sayings of the sick people
...and all this is found out by the dreamers and they go
to tell all this to the shamans of their numaym. For
this reason I call the dreamer the eyes of the shamans,
for as soon as he finds out everything about the sickness
of a sick man, he at once calls secretly all the shamans
to go into the woods. As soon as all the shamans are
seated on the ground the dreamer speaks (Boas, 1930:9).

From the various accounts it seems clear to me that pro­
mising individuals (however perceived) were noted by the established
shamans of the community. Subsequently some may have been approached
directly and encouraged to become shamans while others, at some pre­
cipitating event such as illness or accident, may have been convinced
by a shaman's diagnosis that they were acquiring spirit assistance.
Shamans, in cases of sickness sometimes specifically diagnosed that
the patient was "made sick by the supernatural power which has entered
his body" (Boas, 1966:132), and in most of the accounts reported, the
shaman directed the proceedings of building a seclusion hut and so
forth. It seems clear that whatever their experience in visionary
terms novices commonly required for their public acceptance the appro­
val, cooperation and instruction of other shamans in the community.
It is interesting that at least two shamans of repute, George Hunt and
Fool, claim to have been skeptical and openly hostile toward shamans before they themselves became shamans (Boas, 1930:5 and 1930:41, respectively). The question occurs to me whether shamans sought to co-opt their most vocal and intelligent opposition.

Hunt noted:

The killer-whale is the shaman-maker of the shamans...of the numaym Sisenle of the Nakwaxdax....Magic-of-the-Woods is the shaman-maker of the shamans of chief Owner-of-Throwing-Away (Property)...of the numaym Chief's group....Warrior-of-the-World is the shaman-maker of the shamans of chief Potlatch...of the numaym Great-ones....(Boas, 1930:10).

This seems to indicate clearly that all the shamans of a "numaym" were initiated by the same spirit, i.e. that shamanistic spirits were associated with "numayms". "Numaym" was the Kwakiutl term for the 'lineage'-local group, a group comprised of followers, usually people who claimed kinship ties to the leader who inherited his position. Perhaps tentatively we can conclude that the shamans of a lineage were united by the fact of acknowledging the same spirit helper and chief. I have been unable to ascertain whether the "shaman-maker" was the same as the crest animal or not.

Sickness, spontaneous or induced, was the most common way to acquire (or claim to have acquired) visionary experience and the acquisition of shamanistic power. But power could also be transmitted. The great shaman, Fool, transferred his powers to his son when he was too old to practise himself. Boas also records an example of an individual who claimed to have acquired power by killing a supernatural being (1966:131).
In most of the standardized accounts informants claim to have received a song, a name, and instructions from the spirit helper. But curiously, apart from the initial instructions we hear little of ongoing 'communication' and 'interaction' with the spirit. (Nootka shamans, for example, continued to receive nightly visits for many months after initiation and maintained regular 'contact' with the spirit.) From the Kwakiutl data it seems that the shaman's relationship with the spirit was not the primary preoccupation. One woman recounts:

For ten months I did not live in my house, for fear of contamination, and I was continent during this time....I had to wear rings of red cedar bark, sleep on a bed of hemlock branches, and protect all my belongings against defilement. When I obeyed all these instructions, the woman appeared to me....Four times she appeared to me and increased my powers....Later on my father made me marry again, and then I lost my shamanistic powers (Boas, 1966:130).

From this account it would appear that the spirit was not a constant guide and instructor. It conferred personal power and a set of instructions on ritual aids to maintain these powers which it was then up to the shaman to preserve. This might explain those cases in which an individual claimed to have power by virtue of killing the supernatural, and those cases in which power was transmitted: the individual concerned in each case acquired personal supernatural power. Shamans were thus, to varying degrees, masters of power rather than masters of spirits. They differed from ritualists in that their ability derived from an internal, personal condition rather than the use of automatic formulas. I am by no means suggesting there
was no spirit guidance among Kwakiutl shamans, rather, that shamans did not perform their services by direct spirit aid. Their techniques of operation differed from those of Haida or Tsimshian shamans, being less concerned with symbolic activities aimed at summoning and directing spirit beings or enacting journeys to the underworld, than with controlling and manipulating supernatural force.

Ritual prescriptions clearly emphasized the shaman's aloofness from ordinary people. Apart from the usual period of continence (varying from several months to many years), shamans were not allowed to laugh or to sing love songs. They could not wail the death of a relative. One shaman who disobeyed this last injunction suffered fits (Boas, 1966:137). Death could be the penalty for breaking one of these prescriptions, voluntarily or involuntarily. The death of one novice who was in the process of initiation was attributed to the fact that menstrual blood had been placed under the seclusion hut by an enemy (Boas, 1966:128). The maintenance of these various restrictions must have imposed considerable constraints on others of the community. For example, the injunction against laughing must also have had a sobering effect on those near a shaman at any social gathering.

Unless the data is lacking for other Northwest coast societies, Kwakiutl shamans would seem to be unique in the extent of their corporate action. According to Hunt, the Seymour Inlet shamans; nine in all including two women, met secretly in a house in the woods, to discuss their affairs and to discover from the "dreamers" about the
health of those in the community. It was these shamans who showed
Hunt the techniques of shamanism and who helped him to train. He
reports a similar arrangement for the Koskimo (Boas, 1930:20-22).
After he had shamed the four great shamans of the Koskimo in a cure,
they induced him to come to their secret meeting place, a cave.

Boas reports that there were several classes of shamans,
those who had "gone through" everything, meaning those who claimed to
have "seen" the spirit in direct confrontation, and could both cure
and cause disease, those who healed but could not throw disease, and
those who had "been cured by the supernatural power that appeared to
them, but who have not received the gift of healing" (1966:120). The
great shamans, the ones who had "gone through" everything and could
throw sickness, were respected and feared for their powers. Such
shamans were associated with lineage chiefs and were expected to
provide protection for their chief. They were called upon to cure
those of the highest ranks. Shamans who could cure but could not
throw disease were likely to be called upon by those of lower rank,
while the shamans who could not cure but could diagnose disease might
be called upon for diagnosis (perhaps before deciding which of more
powerful shamans to call in), or they might aid in curing by praying
for the curing shaman or by directing operations for cure by a sup-
ernatural being, and subsequent initiation.

The ability to cause or cure disease (including the counter-
action of sorcery and disease thrown by other shamans), and the asso-
cated abilities of being able to forecast sickness or death, were the most important powers attributed to shamans. They were not expected to ensure economic ends by determining the movements of animals or fish, for example. If they were expected to control the weather it was at least not an important enough function to have received note. They did not, as shamans, have any specific role to play in the winter dance ceremonials although they could be called upon to revive a sick or injured performer. They were predominantly concerned with curing. They were apparently not clairvoyant in the sense of being able to forecast epidemics or discover the whereabouts of lost objects or persons. Boas mentions a seer who had the gift of foretelling the future but affirms that he was not a shaman (1966: 147).

Sickness was normally attributed to object intrusion or to soul loss (occasionally, as one example of initiation indicates, it would be attributed to intrusion or possession by a supernatural agent). Curing ceremonies, at least for people of wealth, were relatively elaborate affairs, rich in dramatic effect. From the evidence collected by Hunt, much of the procedure was conscious imposition on the part of shamans to impress audience and patient with the mastery of their power (Boas, 1930:7, 8, 10, 31-33). Cures were public. All old people were present while young men and women or others who might have incurred the impurity associated with sexual or menstrual fluids, were not allowed. Singers and beaters were
present to aid the shaman. The shaman entered, impressively dressed in his sacred paraphernalia and carrying his rattle. Shamans of different areas had their common stock of techniques and in addition each shaman had his own slightly different style, incorporating a wealth of detailed symbolic ritual. Otherwise, in bare outline curing techniques were similar. For soul loss the shaman endeavoured to attract the soul onto his purification ring of hemlock branches by singing a sacred song. Of the many souls which were attracted by this song he then singled out the soul of the patient and shook off the others, and then carefully returned the soul to the patient. For object intrusion the shaman tried sucking out the object. If the trouble was caused by an infusion of "green matter" he massaged the body, working the "green matter" toward the rectum so that it could be expelled. The Seymour Inlet shamans impressed onlookers by appearing to suck out a bloody worm from the infected area, which was, in reality, a piece of eagle down rolled up and bloodied when the shaman bit his tongue or sucked his gums. Some of these curing ceremonies could be, in a very real sense, as much display performances as the winter ceremonial dances. For example, Hunt describes the curing display of Aixagidalagilis, or Fort Rupert, "the great shaman of the numaym of Those-Having-a-Name of the Great Kwakiutl" (1930:24-28). Aixagidalagilis invited all the four Kwakiutl tribes, with their women and children, into his house to witness his mastery. He came in with his
rattle, his head ring and neck ring of cedar bark and addressed the audience to the effect that in his dream he had been told by his spirit helper to hold the performance. Finally he circled the room and called "I am very hungry". His interpreter indicated that this was an invitation to anyone sick to present themself and he would cure them without charge. One did so and he started the cure. He appeared to suck out a white substance which he claimed was the sickness, and then he pretended to show how strong the sickness was by wiping it on his cedar bark ring, hanging the ring (attached by a well-hidden nail) to a smooth post and claiming that the sickness was biting the post. Finally he pretended to swallow the sickness. Thereafter he proceeded with a second cure with the same impressive showmanship. (Subsequently he tried to cure a woman who claimed he was not effective. Hunt then tried and the woman claimed to have been cured by his different technique of 'extracting' a bloody 'worm', thus shaming Aixagidalagilis.)

It is difficult to determine the expense of a curing ceremony. With respect to paying the shaman Boas records:

For four years after their initiation, shamans are not allowed to accept payment for their services. They are not supposed to set a price for their services but to accept what is given to them. This is contradicted by the incidents in stories in which the shaman refuses to proceed with the cure until he is promised the coveted supernatural gift (1966:137).

He also reports that for a cure of moderate difficulty the shaman "may receive a payment of about ten blankets if the patient is of noble
birth" (1966:144). The "dreamers" apparently received "one quarter of the amount paid the shaman" (1966:124), and we might expect that any other helpers, singers, announcers, and so forth, would also receive material recognition of their service. Hunt gives very little information about payment for his own services but he tells us that, after his inaugural cure he was given the neck ring of a cannibal dancer and the name Qaselid (Boas, 1930: 13). After another cure among the Koskimo, the patient's father gave a feast at which were present the "six chiefs of the various numaym of the Koskimo" (1930:19). We might expect that the higher the rank of the patient the more costly and elaborate the cure and the more prestigious the shaman.

It is worth noting that the shaman himself could not have gained much by his profession in material terms. Apart from his own expenses, cures were apparently not very frequent. One shaman, for example, practised for four years and cured twelve people (1966:132).

The structural aspects of Kwakiutl shamanism can be discussed from many points of view but, from the data presented, it is interesting to examine the interrelation of the shaman as member of a lineage and the shaman as member of a secret society. Shamanism was clearly affected by these two aspects of Kwakiutl society. Without a great deal of time it is difficult (and I hope unnecessary) to go into a detailed description of the winter ceremonial secret societies. Drucker
claims that there were three; what he calls the Shaman Society (no connection with the regular shamans I have been discussing), the society termed Those-who-descended-from-the-Heavens, and the Dog-Eater society (1965:162). Boas writing of the Southern Kwakiutl claims:

The dancers (or societies) are arranged in two principle groups, whose names among the Kwakiutl proper are the seals and the quequtsa. The former embrace a number of dancers and societies of dancers -- the hamatsa, hamsham-tses, kinqalala, nontsistalal, qeqoaselal, qominoqa, nane, nulmal (In McFeat's Indians of the North Pacific Coast, 1966:182).

Since the members of these various smaller groups believed themselves to have been initiated by the same spirit patron and shared secrets in common, and since we are dealing with the Southern Kwakiutl it seems appropriate to follow Boas. In brief, these societies centred around the maintenance and transmission of shared ritual knowledge and ceremonial prerogatives: the object of the societies, in theory, was to insure the initiation of novices and uphold society traditions. The initiation of novices has already been briefly discussed. Each society was ranked with respect to the others (the Hamatsa society being foremost), and was treated according to precedence, at feasts, for example. Each society had its own insignia, songs, dances, names and masks. Each had its secrets of costume and theatrical techniques. Each had different roles in the performance of the ceremonies; the role of members of one society, for example, was to attempt to entice
the Cannibal dancer by holding a corpse out to him. Different societies, therefore, were interdependent in the performance of the winter ceremonies (apparently why Drucker regards the performance of this particular sequence of ceremonies as one society). Ceremonials required the participation of a wide range of dancers, officers and other participants. Secret society membership cross-cut kin (lineage) and even community ties, as with the four tribes of Kwakiutl at Fort Rupert. Membership was inherited and since each lineage would have only a few positions to distribute among its members, people of different lineages were united by their shared membership in a society.

It can be seen from this brief description that in many respects the shamans of an area (e.g. the Seymour Inlet shamans or the Koskimo shamans) constituted what might be called a secret society. They controlled the technical training of novices and commonly, if not always, directed their initiation, an initiation analogous in every detail to that of the winter ceremonial secret societies. They maintained a secret body of knowledge regarding techniques of performance, and kept a secret meeting place where they planned and discussed and exchanged information. They cooperated in public curing ceremonies, to ensure that the uninitiated continued to remain ignorant of their staged techniques. Boas writes of the Koskimo shamans that it was reputed they were organized into two societies, and that members of these societies "decide among themselves who is to cure each particular patient and that they divide the payments among them-
selves" (1966:145). The Koskimo were apparently extreme in the extent of their corporate action but other groups also showed these tendencies. Perhaps a critical question is, did they have a shared sense of group identity, and, were they regarded by outsiders as groups? It is impossible to be dogmatic but at least in post contact times when, with travel the awareness of different techniques must have spread, the shamans who practised the same techniques (e.g. the 'extraction' of a bloody 'worm' among the Seymour Inlet people) must have been distinguished from those who practised alternative techniques and must have so distinguished themselves. Hunt talks of the Koskimo shamans and of the "shamans of the Denaxdax and of the Awailala" who used the sign of the cross during their cures and prayed to the sun (Boas, 1930:53). An item which may or may not detract from the view of shamanistic associations as secret societies is that rivalry between shamans was by no means unknown. Boas writes: "I have heard of many contests of shamans who tried each other with their power, but I have never seen any" (1966:145), and Hunt reports: "All the four shamans of the Nakwaxdax have secret helpers, each one man... for they always try to overcome one another, healing the sick or playing against one another" (Boas, 1930:272). It is possible that shaman rivalry could be related to lineage affiliation. As nearly as I can make out the four senior shamans of the Nakwaxdax were of different lineages.
Among the Southern Kwakiutl the tribe was comprised of those
groups who inhabited the same winter village and thereby acted on many
occasions, as in war or ritual, as units. The people of Seymour Inlet
constituted a tribe and their ritual interdependence is reflected in
the association of their shamans. The named groups within these win-
ter villages Boas called numayms, here termed lineages. Lineages
were the basic social, political and economic units of society. A
lineage retained its own territory and other material property plus
its own stock of names, crests and ranked positions which were inheri-
ted by specific members. Although membership in a lineage was obtained
through both the mother and the father, accession to a name or a posi-
tion depended largely on patrilineal affiliation and primogeniture.
Each lineage had its own tradition of founding ancestors and ances-
tral associations with supernatural beings from which derived the
hereditary crests and ceremonial prerogatives. Each lineage also
had its stock of winter ceremonial secret society positions and,
on the evidence of Hunt, the shamans of a lineage shared the same
"shaman-maker". Shamans, particularly the senior shamans were said to
belong to the chief of the lineage -- "the chief owns the shaman"
(Boas, 1966:146).

Full shamans, who have the power of curing and of throwing
disease, have a definite position in the political organiza-
tion of the tribe. Each shaman is subordinate to the chief
of his numayma...The chief is present at the meeting of
shamans and advises them what to do....
The chief's shaman protects his master by throwing disease into his enemy, while the shaman of his adversary's chief tries to counteract the attack (Boas, 1966:145-46).

A point to note is that it was Fool, shaman of chief Trying-to-Invite of the Sisenle who transmitted his powers to his son. The position of chief's shaman, therefore, could have been, or tended to be, hereditary.

If seen in the light of lineage affiliation, the disgrace and shame of the shaman Aixagidalagilis becomes more dramatic. He was a shaman of one of the lineages of the Fort Rupert tribes (all of which were invited to his ceremony) and undoubtedly his success or failure would have reflected on the prestige of his lineage.

To summarize, shamanism was closely tied to the lineage structure. Shamans were not only united by initiation from a common "shaman-maker" but they owed allegiance to their lineage, the most senior among them actually being counted chief's shaman. Since the most powerful shaman was supposed to be aligned with the chief of his lineage, shamanism tended to uphold the political status quo. We would also expect that it was the duty of the senior shaman of a lineage to uphold the prestige of the lineage in shamanistic competitions. In addition, shamanism as an institution shows strong similarities to the organization of the winter ceremonial secret societies. As noted by Boas, the two sets of initiation were almost analogous in every detail. In contrast to other Northwest groups, Kwakiutl shamans appear to be unique in the extent of their corporate action.
Shamans of an area (generally coterminous with a tribe), despite internal differentiation due to lineage affiliation, shared a body of secret knowledge, maintained some, perhaps total, control of recruitment of members, and shared professional techniques of curing which differentiated them from the shamans of other areas. The ideological framework of shamanism seems consistent with Kwakiutl notions of the supernatural in general and with the way these ideas were used. Shamans derived 'powers' rather than ongoing spirit assistance from their spirit helpers just as lineages received crests and privileges and winter ceremonial secret societies acquired dancing powers.
McIlwraith's *The Bella Coola Indians* (1948) provided the main source of information for the following analysis. McIlwraith obtained his information in 1923 when many of the traditional beliefs and activities were still practiced although radical changes, brought about by decreases in population and increases in trade and travel and so forth, had already occurred. McIlwraith himself was adopted into the traditional kinship structure and came to learn something of the language. His information concerning religious beliefs and practices is particularly rich. Information concerning economic activities is much less detailed and his description of social organization is somewhat difficult to understand.

The Bella Coola differed from other groups most obviously by the importance they accorded their supreme being Alquntam. Unlike other groups (who, if they believed in a supreme being at all regarded him as a somewhat vague and distant figure), they believed that Alquntam was intimately concerned with the affairs of men, "Powerful though he is he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created" (1948:38). Alquntam and his advisers were believed to decide who would be born, who die, who become a winter dancer. The souls of all who died were believed to return eventually to the home of Alquntam. Alquntam was called by different names, de-
pending on the circumstances, and it is interesting to note some of them: the word Alquintam itself was said to derive from "ixquintam", meaning "foreman" or chief; another was "The Story Man", creator of myths; another, "Smaiałotla", meant "From Whom Come and to Whom Belong all Myths". Most of these names emphasized the dependence of men on the final authority of tradition established by a creator in a golden past.

Although ideas about the supernatural coloured everyday activity in innumerable ways, a dominant concern of supernatural beliefs related to a preoccupation with ancestral rights and privileges. McIlwraith described what he called an "ancestral family", the members of which believed themselves to be the direct descendants of some mythical ancestor. "A man's most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed" (1948:36). An individual's economic and social status and security depended on his hereditary claims to the lands, resources, names and ceremonial prerogatives associated with particular descent groups. Real or supposed events of the past, recounted and kept fresh in memory by myths were the legitimation of all significant contemporary relationships. Alquintam created men, as he created everything, and sent them down to specific locations, to which their descendants had claim through the ownership and recounting of myths. Belief in Alquintam and the founding ancestors thus legitimized
and affirmed the correctness of the present. The supreme authority of the myths derived from the supreme power of Alquntam, creator of myths as of all things. Ideas and theories about the supernatural were coloured by the sacredness of the past. The mythical ancestors were believed to have been in much closer contact with Alquntam and the world of supernatural beings. Much of their contemporary knowledge, they believed, was a result of the experiences of their ancestors.

Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. He accepts the hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion (1948:513).

The Bella Coola perceived supernatural intervention in many aspects of everyday life while they constantly hoped to guide these affairs by manipulation of the supernatural in a number of ways. Thus, for example, while Alquntam might decide which individuals were to become winter dancers in the following year, a supplicant might try to affect the decision through prayer. Attempts to manipulate the supernatural involved various means of propitiation -- prayers, the offering of eagle down, purification -- compulsive magic, and visionary contact.

Techniques of propitiation were constantly used. Prayers were regularly addressed to Alquntam for almost any activity. Ghosts
were propitiated by throwing crumbs onto a fire after a meal. Individuals who took the proper precautions to make themselves acceptable to the supernatural could come to the many parts of Bella Coola territory associated with localized supernatural beings, in the hope of achieving specific benefits such as health or courage.

Ritual purification had both compulsory and propitiatory effects. It was believed that if individuals abstained from sexual intercourse for several days and then had intercourse their supernatural power to resist or overcome spirit entities would be increased. The longer the period of continence the greater the power. Purification was an essential preliminary before any important undertaking.

Apart from ritual purification there were other more purely compulsive rituals which might be used to overcome supernatural beings or protect oneself from them. Certain objects steeped in human exuvia (sweat, menstrual blood and so forth), were repugnant to supernatural creatures and could be used to ward them off. Charms derived from a supernatural encounter could be used for any number of diverse ends. A material token was obtained, "from a supernatural being, usually a portion of its slain body" (1948:524). (Killing a supernatural creature so that its body could be made into a charm did not endow the individual with spiritual power as did a visionary encounter with a supernatural being.) After careful preparation the token could be used as bait to catch fish, attract animals or even attract wealth. It could be given away, sold, inherited, divided into pieces and so forth.
without losing its effects, so long as the user was careful to observe ritual chastity. Most families had their own jealously guarded knowledge regarding how best to acquire these supernatural charms but the members of those that did not could buy one from some other. McIlwraith makes no direct mention of ritualists but about 'medicines' he writes that knowledge was handed down as the property of ancestral families. A cure which proved effective when performed by the right person was not adopted by others because "only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully" (1948:699). Individuals known to have the inherited right and ability to cure a specific condition might be called in by the members of a family without such a right, but these occasions would be sporadic. Thus it seems that all the non-inspirational means of manipulating the supernatural were in the control of families rather than individuals and that for the most part families would depend on their own magical resources rather than others.

A word should be said of the "kusiut" or winter dancers. They were believed to have especially close contact with the spirit world during the winter dancing season. Although the spirits were supposed to come close and inspire them to dance, they never actually appeared to dancers (1948: vol.2:2, 6).

Most men sought to achieve the benefits attainable from supernatural beings by indirect means through persuasion or compulsion. Another way to obtain unusual or extrahuman powers was by
visionary association with a supernatural being. Invariably, the power obtained by visionary association was shamanistic power. McIlwraith distinguished two types of spirit power: "supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate", termed "ixlokwaladjut" and shamanistic power. "Aid granted to the unfortunate" was considered exceptionally rare, although common in the past when men were in greater harmony with the spirit world. The supernatural appeared in a moment of distress and thenceforth granted the individual some particular power (e.g. power to gain wealth, or for successful hunting). The reason for assistance was commonly attributed to the spiritual strength or ritual purity of the individual concerned. Power obtained in this way, like shamanistic power, could not be inherited. Unlike shamanistic power, it was of use only to the individual. Shamans were distinguished from those who received supernatural aid as unfortunates by the fact that their powers could be used in the service of others.

The Bella Coola believed in two types of shamanistic power, distinguished apparently by their supernatural source. An individual who obtained power from a "living" supernatural being was termed "alukwala", while one who obtained power from a ghost was termed "askánkots". McIlwraith calls the first a shaman, and the second a "shaman of the dead". He defined a shaman as "a person endowed with mysterious ability and wonderful knowledge, due to personal contact with supernatural beings" (1948:547). Apparently this applied equally
to "shamans of the dead", who have, "abilities and prerogatives almost identical" (1948:577). Apparently, ability to cure or training, were not of themselves defining characteristics, since, of those termed "alukwala" and "askankots", some could cure and some could not, some obtained their powers unsought and others spent years on a quest. Potentially anyone could become a shaman although the menstrual restrictions of younger women tended to preclude them.

Visionary experience was the ideal. The shaman was supposed to have had visionary experience. Public recognition of a shaman depended on the claim to visionary experience and a demonstration of unusual, 'miraculous' power.

Visionary experience and power, from "living" spirit or a ghost, could be sought or unsought. A vision quest usually began in childhood and often took many years before success, if, in fact, success came at all. As with other Northwest Coast groups, the quest demanded continence and avoidance of women, long periods of isolation, bathing and purging with emetics. An individual was more likely to be encouraged and guided if a relative or ancestor had been shaman before him, so for this reason, shamanism tended to run in families. For the most part quests were rare. Because of the dangers involved in being a shaman few people were willing to seek power although if a spirit came unsought they would have to accept it. For this reason, much more common than the long, difficult and sometimes unsuccessful quest was visionary experience during sickness. From McIlwraith's
examples, visionary experience seems to have been more likely for those who suffered very severe or prolonged sickness such as rheumatism. In either case, quest or sickness, the spiritual strength and ritual purity of the initiate himself seems to have been essential for receiving power. McIlwraith mentions that "...a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others" (1948:573). The preparation and initiation of shamans involved isolation and symbolic death.

Visionary experience was fairly stereotyped. A supernatural being appeared, sang one or more songs, gave the initiate a name and then vanished. Different shamans could have the same spirit benefactor although they might receive different powers. For example, the spirit being Tlitcapilina, associated with curing sickness, was a common spirit benefactor but could give other powers besides curing.

Visionary experience alone did not make the individual a shaman. Having achieved spirit contact, the individual might decide to wait, saying nothing, in the hope of attaining further powers. In fact, some apparently waited until they had received three or four. Some actually practised curing privately without being publicly proclaimed as shamans. McIlwraith writes: "To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who had had such an experience and has publicly proclaimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick" (1948:553). To make a public declaration the initiate called together some singers and taught them the words and tunes of the songs he had learned and validated.
his shamanistic name with a distribution of gifts. His subsequent reputation as a shaman rested on the impressiveness of his curing performances or shamanistic displays of miraculous powers.

Different shamans had different powers and, therefore, somewhat different rights and obligations. However, while the rights and obligations of different kinds of shamans may have varied according to their powers, there were some which held generally for all shamans and there were some which even if only relevant for a few individual shamans, were important attributes of the stereotype. It should be noted here that McIlwraith does not indicate which rights and obligations applied to only those who had publicly declared themselves shamans and which referred to those who had had visionary experience but were not accepted as shamans.

As already mentioned, shamans, by virtue of their esoteric knowledge, were considered particularly suited to intercede with the supernatural. Thus before any major undertaking an individual might ask a shaman to seek supernatural aid. Shamans did not have compulsive powers over spirit entities in general but they had better than usual persuasive powers and might perhaps even be asked for help in hunting or fishing and other subsistence activities. Only shamans (particularly shamans of the dead who had received power from ghosts), could see into the land of ghosts or understand the language of the ghosts. If ghosts were suspected of causing trouble a shaman would be asked to discover the cause of resentment. Shamans were the only
human agents who could cure the sick. Even if one shaman tried and failed it could be expected that others might succeed or, if beyond the abilities of the most powerful, that a shaman could most successfully hope to secure the aid of the supernatural being most noted for taking pity on the sick. Only shamans could restore lost souls. No mention of payment was made but it was understood that if the cure was successful the shaman would be rewarded. The shaman put on his shaman clothing and went to the patient's house with a group of singers and interested on-lookers, who helped by drumming and singing throughout the ceremony. The sickness was believed to exist in the form of a material object and the aim throughout was to bring the object to the surface. Methods could involve one or a combination of techniques, including the attempt to ease the sickness out by massaging with the hands, blowing water over the patient, offering prayers and sacrifice, or, occasionally, sucking the affected area.

Shamans could also cause death, both consciously and accidently. Because of his own spiritual force a shaman was potentially dangerous to others and a susceptible individual who approached too closely might fall sick or die just as if he had seen a ghost or some such supernatural entity. Shamans could cause death intentionally by projecting an intrusive object into the intended victim. A shaman might be asked by the society of winter dancers (village members who possessed the right to dance in the winter dance season), to kill one of their members who had misbehaved. In turn, shamans were susceptible
to those unclean materials (e.g. menstrual blood) which could be used to overcome the supernatural and had to avoid all possibility of contact with them. An important prerogative of shamans was the wearing of a distinctive collar. This signalized their status and warned others of their ritual condition and served to set them apart from others. McIlwraith writes that a shaman does not mix with others; he "considers himself to be removed from the ranks of ordinary mortals and refers to the being from whom he has received his power as 'comrade'" (1948:559), thus emphasizing his spiritual superiority and harmony with the spirit world. By publicly proclaiming visionary experience and validating a shamanistic name through property distribution, an individual earned the right to give displays of skill much in the same way as a winter kusiuut dancer, by validating the claim to an hereditary privilege, earned the right to perform a particular dance. The latter was an hereditary privilege while the former was not, but otherwise their prerogatives were similar. A shaman's performance amounted to the display of a 'miraculous' power supposed to have been given by his guardian spirit. McIlwraith observed: "...usually those that cannot cure can perform some other feat; conjuring skills and so forth...to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power" (1948:564). Shamanistic displays were individualistic. The shaman sent out invitations and made certain that singers were prepared. He stood alone in the centre of the room, and sang and danced
and then performed a trick "to impress the uninitiated", thereafter
distributing food and gifts to those present, in appreciation for
their attendance. The tricks were often very elaborate, involving con­siderable ingenuity and dramatic techniques. However, reading some
of the examples, they seem no more dramatic and clever than some of
the displays performed by kusiut dancers, except that they were in­
dividual and idiosyncratic rather than hereditary and traditional.
Unlike the winter dancers, who acknowledged a marshall to coordinate
activities and acted as a group, whatever cooperation there may have
been between shamans was unsystematic and informal. While McIlwraith
can conclude that the people who owned kusiut prerogatives formed a
society he makes no such claim for shamans.

Descent was one of the most important principles structur­ing Bella Coola society. The basic social unit beyond the nuclear
family, what McIlwraith called an "ancestral family", was a descent
group, the members of which believed themselves to be descended,
through either mother or father, from a common founding ancestor.
Rights to resource areas, names, ceremonial prerogatives, and innum­
erable other privileges depended on claims to membership of these
groups (an individual could claim membership in up to eight groups),
as demonstrated by descent. There was a tendency to endogamy within
clusters of these groups so that privileges inherited by successive
heirs would be returned eventually to the original group. According
to McIlwraith "the fundamental concept of the potlatch (was) the in-
viting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an ancestral myth..." (1948:184). Membership in the Kusiut society of winter dancers depended on a "duly validated ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many kusiut dances" (1948 vol. 2:2). It has already been suggested how religious beliefs were consistent with this concern with descent and it is worth attempting to examine shamanism as relating to descent.

A connection which immediately suggests itself is the importance of shamans for communicating with ghosts. So far as I can discover, the Bella Coola were unique in having a specific term for shamans who acquired their power from ghosts. Although ghosts were a concern to almost all Northwest Coast groups the Bella Coola seem to have emphasized their significance rather more than most groups. Ghosts were regularly propitiated by throwing the crumbs into the fire after a meal so that they would not be hungry. They could cause sickness or death if individuals forgot to feed them or neglected them in some other way. Only shamans could understand the language of ghosts and they could also peer down into the land of ghosts to find out what was happening there. They provided a link between the living and their ancestors, a means whereby the dead could communicate their wishes and needs to descendants.

Shamans were intermediaries between two worlds. In Bella Coola terms, the necessity of direct visionary contact would have been the reason why shamanistic power could not be inherited. McIlwraith
explains: "Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death" (1948:575). However there was perhaps another reason. For each family the authority of the knowledge derived by the ancestors and transmitted by myth, were perhaps more important than the authority of shamans. The Bella Coola firmly believed that ancestors and shamans of the past had maintained closer ties with the supernatural than contemporary individuals could ever achieve. The evidence, as they perceived it, could allow no other interpretation. Inheritance of powers would have been inconsistent with the evidence: with inheritance of powers contemporary shamans would have had the same powers as their predecessors. And, on another level, had shamans been able to claim hereditary powers, their authority may have conflicted with that of the myths. So long as there was no hereditary connection between contemporary and ancestral shamans, ancestors rather than shamans remained the supreme authority regarding the supernatural and provided the model of harmonious relations with the supernatural.

A point to note regarding shamanism in relation to hereditary principles is that shamanism was one of the only means, if not the sole means of acquiring the right to give ceremonial displays which was not hereditary. All other ceremonial performances, such as those given at potlatches or the kusiut dances required an hereditary
right. Thus shamanism provided a means for ceremonial expression for those who had no hereditary ceremonial rights. It also represented a very real benefit, as great or greater than the material gain for cures, for shamans who could not cure or for shamans who had no other ceremonial prerogatives as individuals.
CHAPTER VI
COAST TSIMSHIAN SHAMANISM

Boas' *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) and Garfield's *The Tsimshian Indians and Their Arts* were the sources chiefly consulted for the following section. Boas' report is rich and detailed but it does not leave one with a particularly clear picture of the social system and the relation of myth, stories and religious beliefs to social behaviour. Garfield perhaps gives a more concise account of social organization but she leaves many questions unanswered. I confess to remaining somewhat confused on a number of issues, particularly the relation between belief and behaviour, the importance of secret society prerogatives relative to other display privileges, and the functions and characteristics of those chiefs who possessed "throwing" power.

Over and above the spirituality or 'beingness' of all phenomena, certain specific phenomena (spirits, objects, creatures, particular plants and natural phenomena), were believed to have special powers. These special entities, called "nexnox", we may term supernatural beings. Supernatural beings behaved in certain ways and had particular attributes which made them of specific interest to men. They could endow men with extra-human powers or highly prized crests and ceremonial prerogatives, or they could harm men by bringing death or misfortune. Since they conformed to certain laws and principles, by knowing and using these laws men could hope to influence supernatural beings to attain their own ends or to avoid harm.
Supernatural beings were recognised to conform to many of the same motivating forces as human beings. They could be offended, shamed or insulted, gratified, flattered or amused, or moved to pity or compassion. In myth they married, had children, conformed to the rules of rank and gave potlatches. Menstrual blood and various other substances were repugnant to them. Lack of respect and courtesy could anger them, while they were likely to be pleased by those who made themselves ritually clean by eliminating all taint of polluting substances. Secondly, "In the same way as supernatural beings (had) powers not possessed by human beings, so human beings, and things belonging to men (had) powers not possessed by supernatural people" (Boas, 1916:453).

The primary means by which men hoped to influence supernatural beings were propitiation including prayers, purification and sacrifice, and by spirit contact. Medicines or other means of compulsive magic do not seem to have been as important as they were among the Haida and Tlingit, for example. Little mention is made of them by ethnographers or myths. Propitiatory rites were performed for salmon and olachen at the First Salmon Ceremony and First Ola­chen Ceremony to ensure that they would come in abundance and that they would return every year. A host of taboos were maintained for the hunting of various animals and for some time during the first salmon runs. Prayers were addressed to supernatural beings. Sacrifices were also offered to please and placate supernatural beings,
including food, tobacco, bird's down and red ochre. A powerful technique for engaging supernatural aid was ritual purification. Hunters, if they wished to ensure success "counted the days": they spent four days of continence, fasting, bathing and purging, before setting out. Before war or other critical events and before preparation for any ceremonial occasion people were supposed to purify themselves. I am uncertain whether rigorous purification was supposed to make the individual more attractive to supernatural beings or whether it was thought to be compulsive in its effects; or whether it strengthened the individual enabling him to compel supernatural beings. Boas remarks that, "If a special object is to be attained, they believe that by a rigid fasting they can compel the deity to grant it" (1916:545). However it was believed to work, ritual purification was certainly thought to be a very successful way of acquiring supernatural assistance. Children were encouraged from early years to purify themselves regularly by bathing and rubbing the body with various plants, so that they would "grow up well". Adults purified themselves before any important undertaking. And purification was an extremely important prerequisite for any prospective spirit encounter.

There were many forms of spirit contact among the Tsimshian and it is difficult to unravel the various factors associated with them. The Tsimshian had both ceremonial spirit relations and individualized guardian spirit associations: in other words, types of supernatural association which were like those of Kwakiutl and types
which were like those of the inland Athabaskan people where the guardian spirit relationship was non-hereditary and unique for each individual.

The ceremonial spirit relationships were those in which individuals acquired the right, by lineal descent from an ancestor who encountered the spirit, or by descent from a predecessor who acquired the right in some other way (e.g. marriage), or by themselves acquiring the right through marriage or force, to continue the association with a particular spirit. The association was signalized by the performance and display of particular powers, crests, or ceremonial prerogatives, (i.e. particular types of association were indicated by particular types of display privilege). The several types of display included the impersonation of the spirit, performances in which the individual appeared to be possessed by the spirit, and performances in which the individual summoned his spirits. I am unclear as to whether the performances which involved the impersonation of the spirit were supposed to signal spirit contact (as opposed to signalling an association with the spirit). Garfield has this to say:

The principal elaboration on this basic guardian spirit quest pattern developed by the tribes of the northern part of the Northwest coast area, was in the dramatization of the experience, its identification with a lineage, and the use as crests of things the ancestors had heard and seen. The complex of ideas and things became the property of descendants who did not have to go through a supernatural experience again in order to benefit, but needed only to re-enact it by impersonation of the original participants (1950: 42).
She seems to suggest by this that impersonation of the being did not involve initiation or spirit contact but was rather the re-enactment of a standing association between the spirits and the descendants of the particular ancestor who encountered the spirit. But later she implies that the right to impersonate the spirit did, in some fashion, require more intimate association with the spirit:

The Coast Tsimshian and Nisqa initiated very young children into the protective custody of the supernaturals. The throwing dance constituted such an initiation. Each of the invited chiefs who performed this dance sang his song, called upon his power, and indicated its name. Such a name symbolized the guardian spirit acquired by his ancestors and it was used in this fashion only when the spirit was called ....When the power appeared to the chief, he caught it and threw it into the children....After the ceremony, they were ready for secret society initiation or to take part in dramatizations of legends (1950:44).

The ambiguities which arise from these two paragraphs are legion. Did or did not those qualified to perform spirit impersonations and other displays undergo spirit initiation? Was the 'power' of the chief distinct from the 'power' projected into initiates, or were initiates subsequently considered to have spirit power obtained from the same spirit as the chief? Was the chief performing a personal prerogative or was he performing a duty of office, on behalf of the lineage? Again, Garfield does not make clear whether all the members of a lineage were initiated, and whether all the members of a lineage, or all descendants of the ancestor who encountered the supernatural, had a right to perform, or whether only the senior members in the direct matrilineal line had the right. Duff maintains that this "throwing
dance" was a personal prerogative of certain chiefs and was a different complex from the one in which the child impersonates an inherited "nexnox" or supernatural being. At these times the chief threw power, as power, into the child and there was subsequently no connection between the child and the spirit helper of the chief. According to him, those qualified to perform impersonations or other displays did not have to undergo initiation by a chief.

Boas writes:

When a young man advanced in social standing, the time would come for him to acquire supernatural helpers. These were also hereditary in the various exogamic groups, and belonged to certain families, not to the group as a whole (1916:513).

With regard to the qualification necessary for performances, I suspect that, in terms of the lineage, a distinction has to be made between performances which impersonated the spirit and those in which the performer was supposed to be possessed by the spirit. The former, I suspect, were performed to represent the lineage as a whole, and the latter by particular individuals in their own right, who acquired the right through inheritance, marriage, or some other means. Secret society performances were of this second type. Garfield describes the secret society initiations thus:

Novices were coached in every step of initiation, from the preliminary bathing, fasting and purification to the final removal of spirit influence....The appropriate presiding spirit was called by the songs and symbolized by the dances of the members of the society. The spirit which was in

---

1. This information was acquired in a personal communication with Duff.
the society dancers seized the novice and he vanished to
the accompaniment of whistles....The state which overcame
him corresponded to the vision or hallucinatory experience
of a solitary guardian spirit seeker. Society members then
enticed the novice, through his spirit, to return to the
house where they captured him....When his ecstasy or frenzy
had been brought under control, he danced for his spirit
power....Each initiate received an individual dance, song,
name and symbol from the tutelary (1950:45).

According to Garfield, membership in the Dog-Eater and Dancer socie-
ties "was open to any Tsimshian who had the wealth necessary for the
initiatory ceremony" (Ibid.), but, "Cannibal, Fire-Thrower and Destroyer
dances were acquired as personal, hereditary prerogatives" (Ibid.).
As Boas indicates, besides spirit associations signified by secret
society dances, there were other hereditary spirit relationships ac-
quired by individuals. He gives a list of various chiefs and the sac-
red names which they acquired, signifying their associations with
various supernatural helpers. For example, Legex, most senior chief
of all the Eagles, had the sacred names Txagaksem*laxha,Hanatana,
and Gagulikagax. "Every individual had to acquire every supernatural
helper through an initiation. With the acquisition of the helper,
the individual was supposed to have attained also certain powers,
which could be 'thrown' upon or into other people" (Boas, 1916:514).
Thus Legex had the power to initiate young people and even children
by calling upon his supernatural helper, Txagaksem laxha, and "throw-
ing" power into the children. Boas reports his Tsimshian informant:

Then the people would call for Txagaksem laxha, the super-
natural helper of Legex, to initiate several of the young
people. His helper was used 'only for youths of high rank
(1916:514).
The supernatural power of chiefs to initiate others was a relatively important aspect of Tsimshian ceremonial and religious life. According to Duff, such chiefs were known by a special term "naxnagam halait", as opposed to shamans who were "swensk halait". Chiefs were masters of spirits as much as shamans in that they controlled a number of spirits who invested "powers" of public importance.

To summarise, the Tsimshian recognized a class of spirit associations which were formalized, transmissible, and exclusive in the sense that they were confined to certain classes of people on the basis of specific criteria (e.g. wealth, inheritance, lineage membership). Accession to spirit relationships of this kind required public, dramatized initiation and the distribution of property which marked all formal exhibitions of entry to a particular status. A number of these spirit relationships were specifically associated with lineage affiliation. Initiation commonly marked the lineage affiliation and/or rank of the individuals involved. Most manifest benefits derived from such associations was the ability to display ceremonial prerogatives.

Besides those spirit relationships, usually hereditary, which conferred powers of a ceremonial nature, the Tsimshian also believed in individual guardian spirits. It was believed that for almost any activity, greater success could be achieved by acquiring power from visionary confrontation with a spirit. By entering a guardian spirit relationship, individuals could acquire the power to become great hun-
ters, to fish, to gain wealth, or to gamble, to weave blankets or to build canoes, and so on. Guardian spirit powers apparently substituted for the compulsive magic techniques which were not a marked feature of Tsimshian society. Shamans were those who acquired the power to cure. They differed from others in that their supernatural helpers were thought to be both more dangerous and more powerful than usual, having the power both to cure sickness and to "send" sickness into another person. Both the power to cure and to "send" sickness appear to have been linked together, unlike the Kwakiutl, who distinguished between shamans who could cure and send sickness and shamans who could only cure (Boas, 1966:120).

Shamans, like the chiefs who had several spirit helpers and could throw power, were controllers of spirits. According to Professor Duff, the term for shaman, "swensk halait", meant "supernatural blowing", in reference to his ability to cure by blowing sickness away. "Naxnagam halait", referring to chiefs, may be translated literally as 'spirit supernatural performance', meaning, I think, master or colleague of spirits which bestow rights to supernatural performances. The Tsimshian, themselves, then, seemed to have defined the shaman on the basis of his power to cure. Like the individual guardian spirit powers, and in contrast to the ceremonial initiations, shamanistic initiation was commonly, if not always, solitary. Acquisition of shamanistic power could be sought or unsought. Myths tell of individuals who actively sought supernatural encounters and of others who had their powers bestowed on them. Sought or unsought, the visionary
experience necessary for initiation entailed considerable hardship and suffering. Visionary experience left initiates physically and emotionally exhausted. As evidence of the heightened emotional state the novice generally suffered, "vomiting of blood (was) a sign that a person (had) attained supernatural power" (Boas, 1916:474). Upon recovery, the novice generally publicized the event by describing his visionary experience to assembled shamans, kin and co-residents, singing the special songs given by his helper, and finally, by completing a cure. Mayne concluded that shamanistic novices were:

...for the most part, those who have themselves been visited by some serious sickness, and have recovered; or else have been, at some time in their lives, exposed to great peril, but have escaped uninjured...for it is believed that, during the period of unconsciousness, supernatural power and skill were vouchsafed them; and also, by their recovering, it is concluded that they have successfully resisted the efforts of bad medicine, or the evil workings of some malevolent being (Mayne, 1862:289-95, as cited by Boas, 1916:560).

Garfield and Boas each cite accounts by separate informants of initiatory experience. Garfield records the account of a Nass River novice. As a young man he wished to become a good hunter and, finding that the good hunters he knew were invariably shamans, he decided to become a shaman. He asked a Nass River shaman for guidance in training. The Nass River shaman agreed and advised him to seek a Bella Bella chief who could give him dancing powers. He did so and the Bella Bella chief further advised him to see two other men for more dancing powers. He then returned to the Nass shaman who sent him to

2. As it was reported to her by William Beynon of Port Simpson.
a shaman who specialized in making symbols of supernatural power for other shamans. This shaman made him the knife he wanted and showed him the techniques of operating it so that it would appear when he put it in his mouth that blood gushed out. He then returned to the Nass River and that spring became ill. The Nass River shaman knew by this that he was now possessed by the supernatural and instructed him to summon all the shamans who had helped him. He now became a shaman and gave his performance, showing his symbol of supernatural power (Garfield, 1950:47). This account is interesting for the way it indicates the extent to which shamans knew of each other and co-operated with each other and for the way in which it suggests that prospective shamans depended on the aid and teaching of other shamans. It indicates that while there was a large element of faith involved and apparently genuine visionary experience, Tsimshian shamans also used theatrical techniques analogous to those used by ceremonial performers. It also suggests that although there was co-operation and exchange between shamans, there was no necessary close association between shamans in terms of tribal or clan affiliation.

Boas records the experience of Chief Mountain, also a Nass shaman. As a youth:

The supernatural beings were pursuing him all the time. One day a beautiful girl appeared to him, and he fainted. She taught him her song, which enabled him to make the ola-chen come in spring....One night she took him through a fire, and after that he was able to handle fire with impunity....Later on he saw four other supernatural beings....They taught him to foresee sickness....When he was called
to cure disease, the four supernatural men appeared to him and helped him....His helpers pointed out witches to him and enabled him to see ghosts (Boas, 1916:563). According to Chief Mountain "only a man whose father was a shaman could become a shaman" (1916:562). Apparently Chief Mountain's experience was an example of an unsought vision in the sense that the supernatural encounter was sudden. But he could not have been unprepared, if, as a youth, "the supernatural beings were pursuing him all the time". The account again suggests a considerable period of training and learning, presumably at the direction of his father.

Although we might assume by these two accounts that shamans commonly underwent considerable training and teaching under the direction of other shamans, according to Garfield "A Tsimshian who desired to become a shaman could carry out his own training and quest" (1950:47). The evidence seems to indicate that shamanistic initiation among the Tsimshian combined elements similar to those characteristic of the Kwakiutl and those typical of the interior Athabaskan people. In myth, and according to Garfield, prospective shamans could seek shamanistic power and initiation alone. In practice, most acquired direction from an experienced shaman. Similarities to Kwakiutl initiation are the frequency of illness as the precipitating factor in visionary experience, the presence of shamans at the public announcement of the novice's new status, the use of theatrical techniques for curing ceremonies and the importance of formal technical training. Similarities to Athabaskan initiation are the degree of individualism and infor-
mality present. Novices of the same lineage apparently did not receive their powers from a common lineage "shaman-maker", their techniques of practise apparently could be quite idiosyncratic, and they had considerable independence of choice in their selection of instructor.

A shaman normally acquired several helpers, each of which gave different powers. The relationship between a shaman and his supernatural helpers appears ambivalent. On the one hand the shaman was supposed to be able to send his helpers to kill his enemies, or search for lost souls, and to call upon his helpers for aid and advise whenever necessary. On the other hand, he might die if he disobeyed the orders of his helpers or if his helpers were attacked and defeated.

The myth called "The Deluge" (Boas, 1916:346), reveals something of the shaman's relationship with his helpers. The hero acquired a number of supernatural helpers with different kinds of power. His helpers were Grizzly Bear, Thunderbird, a mythical monster named Mouth-at-Each-End, Cuttlefish and Lightning-with-Hail. He became a famous shaman.

When enemies tried to kill him he:

...sent his supernatural helpers Mouth-at-Each-End and Cuttlefish who killed those who tried to murder their master; or, if a shaman came through the water, Mouth-at-Each-End and Cuttlefish would go into the water and destroy him; or, if a shaman with his supernatural helpers came overland, the Grizzly Bear would fight him and destroy him; or if a supernatural power came up flying through the air, Thunderbird and Lightning-with-Hail would destroy him (Boas, 1916:348).

At last two shamans, with the power Blood, attacked him and destroyed all his supernatural powers so that he was killed. His brother, also a shaman, survived and "sent forth his own supernatural helpers, Blood
and Martens, who killed the two shamans...." (Ibid.). The brother took
over Mouth-at-Each-End, Grizzly Bear and so forth and "conquered all the
supernatural powers around." The myth illustrates the considerable
danger shamans were supposed to face and the dependence of shamans on
their spirit aides, and it states unambiguously that the shaman "con­
quered" spirits and that he directed them to do his will.

In addition to the ability to diagnose and cure sickness,
depending on the nature of their spirit helpers, shamans acquired other
kinds of power. Chief Mountain, for example, could make olachen come
in spring, foretell sickness, detect witches, see ghosts and handle
fire. Others could discover the whereabouts of lost people, or predict
the movements of animals or fish.

There is not much specific information about the customary
rights, privileges, obligations and liabilities entailed by becoming
a shaman. Since shamans could send disease they were feared, and since
they were masters of spirits they were respected. They often appeared
to be very successful men. Boas mentions, with tantalizing brevity,
that "The shaman wears stone and bone ammulets, and does not cut his
hair. His appearance is the same as that of the Tlingit shaman" (1916:
563). At death shamans were not, like other people, cremated, and the
bodies of shamans were buried in caves or in the woods. These very
brief descriptions indicate that shamans were aloof from society. Their
status and ritual condition were signified by dress and by the long
hair and their privileged position with respect to the supernatural realm
was marked by the general success which they achieved.
In terms of services, the duties of a shaman were both private, on behalf of individuals, and public, on behalf of the community at large. Among the most important of public duties was officiating at important ceremonies, such as the First Salmon and Olachen ceremonies. On such occasions, the shamans of a community, in cooperation, performed the rituals associated with the removal and cleaning of the first fish and ensured that the requisite taboos were kept by all. Shamans also performed community services when they attempted to predict or control the movement or appearance of animals, fish or plants for communal hunting, fishing or gathering. One of the myths recounts a case where, when there are many sudden deaths in a community "the shamans may go to make war on the Ghosts in order to recover the souls of the deceased" (Boas, 1916:475). It seems quite clear that shamans were in fact called upon by the community at large to perform certain services for the entire community. In contrast to their private services, they do not appear to have been paid directly for their services, although Mayne asserts, "A canoe's crew will often give a third of their first haul to the 'fish-priest' to propitiate him and ensure good luck for the rest of the season" (Mayne, 1862:259, as cited by Boas, 1916:562).

When a person fell sick, a near relative offered property, apparently to any shaman who cared to attempt a cure. There is little information about the relationship of patient to shaman in kinship or tribal terms. For a curing ceremony (Boas, 1916:558), which generally lasted several days, or perhaps even weeks, the principal shaman first
prepared himself by rigorous purification. He then assembled all his colleagues, sometimes as many as 10 to 18, to help him. He wore full dress, including red-ochre on the face, eagle down on the head, and a crown of grizzly bear claws, and with eagle tail in the left hand and rattle in the right hand he started the cure. He called upon his supernatural helpers. His companions beat time and repeated the calls. He then sang his supernatural songs. After a while he rested and told the surrounding audience his visionary diagnosis of the patient's condition and the cause of sickness. Subsequent curing action depended on the disease. Disease might be due to soul loss, object intrusion or sorcery. For soul loss the shaman performing the cure called upon his colleagues and they moved out to the graveyard where he then tried to catch the soul. When they returned the shaman put "the soul of the patient in his own head to give it strength" and returned it to the patient four days later (Boas, 1916:563). If sickness were due to object intrusion the shaman tried to suck it out or incise the area. Particular shamans had their own particular dramatic techniques for cure. In myths there are numerous references to dramatic special effects. Boards for beating time appeared to run in by themselves and lay themselves down on each side of the fire. Weasel batons and skin drums beat themselves. These may be mythological wonders or they may represent the theatrical tricks and sleight-of-hand employed by particular shamans to enhance the impressiveness of their cures.
It would seem that curing ceremonies must have been, at least for people of high rank, costly. The shaman was paid if he completed a successful cure but was supposed to return everything if he failed. Ceremonies were long and elaborate, involving the aid of sometimes as many as 18 other shamans as well as singers and other officials. If a prestigious shaman had been called in from outside the community, messengers would have been sent for him and would have to be paid. We can perhaps infer that curing ceremonies were expensive from the fact that shamans were relied upon after other means, such as herbal medicines, had failed. Although shamans may have been called in to treat anyone sick enough, one of the myths observes "A shaman is called in to treat the sick chiefs and princes" (Boas, 1916:475).

From a structural viewpoint it is interesting to examine shamanism in relation to the lineage and tribal structures of society and to compare the position of shamans with that of lineage chiefs, who were also spirit masters, and with other people who had guardian spirit power but were not shamans. From this viewpoint, the evidence seems to suggest that shamanistic organization tended to correspond to the increased emphasis among the Tsimshian on tribe and cross-tribal associations as opposed to the lineage-local group.

A 'tribe' comprised a number of ranked lineages, usually of two or more clans, who shared ownership of a common winter village site, and owned certain property including the house of the 'tribal
chief', a man acknowledged as prime community leader by the members of all lineages. I use the term 'tribe' in this instance, in agreement with Drucker and in contrast to others who prefer the term 'village' because I suspect it may have some significance. Tribe here, in contrast to village, has a political implication in that, in contrast to many village communities in other areas, lineages were not completely autonomous but acknowledged a tribal leader and paid tribute to him. I wish to oppose tribe to lineage as a political grouping, although the links between the neighbouring lineages of a clan were probably an important factor in furthering cross-tribal associations.

Evidence tends to suggest that shamans, as such, were not commonly linked to matrilineages. In theory, at least, shamans were supposed to receive their powers in a solitary encounter with the spirit, after a period of rigorous purification and training, which involved long periods of isolation or only the company of a few close companions. According to Garfield:

It was more usual for young men to attach themselves to shamans who were paid to teach them. Usually, the young man's maternal uncle, less often his father, paid the pedagogue. Older shamans also took their own sons, nephews, or nieces as assistants and supervised their training (1950:47).

This indicates that there was no necessary obligation to apply to matrilineal kin for teaching. She also states that, "A novice could receive aides from a supernatural who had assisted an ancestor or from any of the numerous mythical creatures who revealed themselves
to human beings" (1950:46). She does not mention whether the ancestor was on the mother's side but even supposing that only matrilineal ancestors were meant, the novice might be initiated by any number of other spirits not associated with the matrilineage. From what Garfield says, then, it would not appear that shamans relied on matrilineal kin or spirits for training and initiation any more than one might expect from the fact that in individual terms matrilineal associations were stressed more than paternal connections. The example she gives of a Nass shaman indicates that novices applied to shamans for direction in training on other than kinship criteria. He asks "the foremost shaman on Nass River" to help him. His teacher then sends him to a Bella Bella shaman, the Bella Bella being famous for their shamanistic powers. He is then sent to two other shamans, in different communities, for dancing powers and to a fourth shaman in another community, "who specialized in making symbols of the supernatural for other shamans" (1950:47). Boas' informant, Chief Mountain, stated categorically that "only a man whose father was a shaman can become a shaman" (1916:562). Although this conflicts with Garfield's information, it does suggest that shamanistic initiation was not linked to the lineage but, on the contrary perhaps, opposed to it.

The shaman's position with respect to the lineage may perhaps be better understood if we review some of the differences mentioned previously between chiefs ("naxnagam halait"), and shamans
("swensk halait"). Both shamans and chiefs could direct spirits, and acquired several. But whereas shamans did not necessarily inherit theirs, the spirit helpers acquired by chiefs were traditional, hereditary associates. I suggest that differences in the names of spirits associated with chiefs and those associated with shamans express a difference in type of spirit and type of community relationship with the spirit. In the myth Boas calls "The Deluge" we learn of a shaman who had the helpers Grizzly Bear, Thunderbird, Cuttlefish, Mouth-at-Each-End, and Lightning-with-Hail. Two shamans with the power Blood attack and destroy him and in turn are destroyed by the brother of the first who had the powers Martens and Blood. The fact that the brother and the enemy shamans both had contesting helpers which they called Blood (the Blood power of the brother was instrumental in destroying the Blood power of the two shamans) suggests that the spirits of shamans were not thought to be necessarily the spirits of particular animals or monsters but that they had characteristic properties for which they were given descriptive or symbolic names. One of the supernatural helpers of the brother was not called Marten, but Martens, and the being Lightning-with-Hail presumably had powers which suggested the properties of lighting and of hail. These names seem to me, at least for this myth, metaphorical. In contrast, the names of the spirits of lineage chiefs were more like titles; modes of address or designation as opposed to modes of allusion. They were more formalized and suggest a more formalized relationship between the chief with his people and the spirit. The identity of a shaman's
spirit can only be inferred by the general public from the allusion provided by the metaphorical name, whereas the identity of a chief's spirit is known. Lineage chiefs used their powers primarily to ensure that members of the lineage acquired supernatural protection.

According to Garfield:

Lineage prerogatives also included guardian spirit powers revealed to the ancestors.

All these property rights were under the supervision and administration of the male head of the lineage (1950:23).

The exercise of supernatural prerogatives acquired by chiefs, then, was predominantly within the lineage, and expressed lineage membership and rights. The exercise of shamanistic prerogatives was much more independent of lineage contexts. In curing, for example, on the basis of myths, Boas observes:

A renowned shaman is called by people in need of his services. Three messengers are sent to fetch him. When his fame spreads all over the country, he is travelling about all the time with his attendants, and people assemble to witness his practices...When a person is very ill, the shamans of all the tribes are called in to cure him (1916:476).

Again, the ritual prescriptions which regulated a shaman's relationships with others applied equally to everyone. In short, shamans differed from lineage chiefs by the fact that the derivation and exercise of their powers was, or could be, independent of lineage affiliation.

Shamans differed from others with personal non-hereditary guardian spirit powers not simply by the nature, strength and ability of their helpers but by the public significance of their power and by
the symbolic significance of their ritual status. The hunting, gambling or weaving ability of ordinary individuals may have brought personal esteem or wealth but was not particularly to be regarded as a public resource. The shaman's ability to cure, was.

It does not seem unfair to suggest that shamanistic organization was consistent with the Tsimshian emphasis on tribe and cross-tribal associations. Among the Tsimshian, the tribe was much more important as a unit of concerted action than it was among any of the other Northwest Coast tribes. Garfield in particular emphasizes the power of the tribal chief. The Tsimshian tribal chief was apparently not simply the head of the highest ranking lineage in a town but had authority over other lineage heads who owed him tribute. By his control of greater resources and by increased ability to give patronage the tribal chief apparently also had some power to enforce his authority. Drucker observes:

The difference between these tribes and the so-called tribes of the Tlingit is that the localized segments of the clans, that is, the lineages, were more firmly integrated. While each lineage had its own chief and owned certain properties, the lineages of each tribe were ranked relative to each other, and the chief of the highest-ranking lineage was the recognized chief of the tribe. It appears that the tribe as a whole held certain properties, including the winter village site. In recent times, at least, each tribe acting as a unit has built the house of its chief, and considers the structure tribal property....The tribe as a whole usually participated in both ceremonials and warfare in former days (1955:118).

In this light the fact that shamans performed duties for the community as a whole, for example, conducting the First Salmon Ceremony
and ensuring that everyone maintained the taboos at this time, seems perhaps significant. As far as I can determine, nowhere else on the Northwest Coast was this a regular procedure.

Regarding cross-tribal contacts, the fact that shamans could, and were, asked to cure members of other tribes is consistent with the tendency among the Coast Tsimshian tribes to maintain associations. Matrilineal links between lineages of a clan in different tribes (villages) were instrumental in this regard. The tribes of the Skeena River moved annually to the olachen fishing grounds on the Nass River where they built up regular associations with host tribes and met other tribes also in the area. Again, as Drucker observes:

The nine tribes who wintered along Metlakatla pass seem to have been approaching a still more complex type of political organization....The tribes moved their winter villages there, and formed a loose sort of confederacy, although the individual tribes never quite gave up their old autonomy (1955:118).

In summary, it is difficult to be dogmatic but the evidence seems to suggest that there were two main types of spirit association among the Tsimshian, those that were primarily ceremonial in significance and largely associated with lineage rights and prerogatives, and those which were of pragmatic significance. Each of these types seem linked to different principles of social organization.
CHAPTER VII
HAIDA SHAMANISM

A major source of data for the following was J.R. Swanton's *Haida Texts and Myths* (1905b) and the myths and stories reported in his *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* (1905a). As already stated, I have tended to select from the myths and stories that information which agrees with what has been found for other Northwest Coast groups, or which is directly corroborated by Swanton or Murdock. The myths and stories are an extremely rich source of information although it is difficult to determine from them what was the typical. Swanton is very brief in the ethnographic descriptions he gives. Murdock is equally brief. In addition, Murdock was chiefly concerned with the theoretical implications of the data he collected, particularly as it related to social organization. He was very little interested in shamanism or other religious beliefs and practices and is very perfunctory at these points. In the following section, therefore, I have tried to indicate when conclusions have been derived from myths and stories and when they have been given by Murdock or Swanton.

According to 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....As animals, they might be hunted, or given as food to men by another animal who was a supernatural being; as supernatural beings themselves, they might entertain men in their towns, intermarry with them, help or harm them (Swanton, 1905a:16).

In addition to animal and fish spirit beings, an indeterminate number of other spirit personalities were believed to populate the land,
sky, and ocean. So frequently were supernatural entities identified with areas of concern to the Haida, that they mirror the prevailing preoccupations of living: the dangers or difficulties of subsistence activities, the fear of disease, the desire for wealth, or reknown and esteem at some special talent. There were beings associated with significant geographical localities, for example, the Creek Women who lived at the head of each creek; beings more broadly associated with the cosmic realms of air, sea and land, controlling some aspect of these environments; and yet others associated with particular talents, events, qualities, or activities of concern, such as Master Carpenter, Property Woman, Pestilence, Spirit of Strength, and so forth.

The welfare of men was deemed inextricably dependent on the behaviour of these beings. They could harm or benefit man. They controlled the extra-social forces which guaranteed fortune or misfortune, particularly in economic pursuits. The Ocean People (the Herring people, Salmon people, Halibut people, Killer Whale people, etc.), were for this reason especially important to the Haida:

As custodians of the principal food-supplies, especially as the dispensers of whales, these Ocean-People were, of all supernatural beings, the most constantly on the thoughts of the Haida, and the oftenest called upon and sacrificed to (Swanton, 1905a:17).

In many respects all these spirit entities (animals and fish, ghosts, mythic beings) were similar to men. In other respects they differed, being subject to certain laws and patterns of behaviour which did not apply to men. Like men, supernatural beings were all either
Ravens or Eagles. They lived in towns, married, produced children, and potlatched. They could be pleased or placated by the offering of oil, tobacco, or flicker feathers. Alternatively they were repelled by urine, menstrual blood or anything associated with these. Just as supernatural beings were invisible to ordinary men, at least some human elements were invisible to ordinary supernatural beings. For example, they could not detect intrusion by man-made objects. In short, although men could be helped or harmed by supernaturals and were constantly dependent upon their good will, supernatural beings were susceptible to flattery or force. Numerous Haida myths indicate this relative balance of power between men and supernaturals. For example, one story relates how a man shoots a supernatural being full of arrows and then refuses a cure until the being promises his daughter in marriage (Swanton, 1905b:179). Several stories recount how a human hero, bathing for strength, meets the Spirit of Strength and masters him (Swanton, 1905b:190, 210). Again, human recognition was important to supernaturals so that much of their contact with men was motivated by a desire for recognition.

There were three principal techniques of manipulating the supernatural; persuasive or propitiatory ritual, compulsive magic and spirit contact. Propitiation involved primarily, the offering of materials deemed pleasing to the supernaturals. Fire and water were the mediums of transmission. Ghosts were offered food by sprinkling crumbs into the fire. Tobacco was commonly taken before a shaman's
ceremony to enhance communication with the spirit world. A man might hope to calm the sea by dipping flicker feathers or oil onto the water. As already mentioned, the Ocean-People were "the oftenest called upon and sacrificed to". Bathing for power was a technique which involved both propitiatory and compulsive aspects. Swanton writes that whether one was successful or not in a vision quest one "could increase power and success by ritual abstinence" (1905a:40). Besides increasing one's general ability by ritual bathing and continence there were 'medicines', as Swanton called them, which could be successfully used for a multitude of purposes. They involved the ritual preparation and application of ingredients largely symbolic in their significance. There were medicines for curing sickness, for hunting, for gambling, for killing an enemy, or for sorcery. Medicines for the most part required application to something, usually to people or to man-made objects, but the Haida also had songs, or perhaps spells, which seem to have involved a compulsive principle. One myth tells of a man blown about in his canoe by the wind who repeats a special song, "a song supposed to have power in calming storms" (Swanton, 1905b:25).

Finally, supernatural beings could be influenced through visionary contact. Swanton gives little information about the generality of spirit contact among the Haida. The myths and stories suggest that at least theoretically spirit contact was possible for ordinary men but that guardian spirit relationships, in which an individual maintains a recurrent and lasting association with a spirit, were
uncommon. Several stories tell of men who trained for strength and subsequently mastered the Spirit of Strength; innumerable stories tell of encounters with supernaturals, journeys to the homes of supernaturals, marriage to supernaturals and so forth. However, it seems significant that Swanton does not specifically mention a spirit quest in any other connection than shaman. Although Garfield could say of the Tsimshian that spirit power was considered essential for every free individual (1950:39), I suspect this was certainly not true of the Haida. Perhaps medicines and ritual purification were considered sufficiently effective for most everyday requirements.

Swanton described the Haida shaman as:

One who had power from some supernatural being who "possessed" him, or chose him as the medium through which to make his existence felt in the world of men. When the spirit was present the shaman's own identity was practically abolished. For the time he was the supernatural being himself (1905a: 38).

According to both Swanton and Murdock, the position of shaman was normally inherited by a man's maternal nephew or a woman's daughter (Swanton 1905a:38; Murdock, 1934:258). Of the several nephews normally eligible, the one most suitable, (presumably showing most interest or promising signs), was chosen and "to him the older shaman teaches his secrets and transmits his paraphernalia" (Murdock, 1934:258). Before the old shaman died, "he revealed his spirits to his successor, who might start with a comparatively feeble spirit and acquire stronger and stronger ones" (Swanton, 1905a:38). Evidently spirits were not automatically inherited; a novice had to be introduced
to the spirit. Swanton described the ceremonies after the death of a shaman. At death, the nephew of a shaman was susceptible to supernatural influence and likely to receive power.

If the shaman had a nephew the latter ran around on top of the house shaking a rattle, and calling on the shaman's supernatural power. Then the "power" was apt to come through him for a short time. He became temporarily a shaman. Sometimes he remained one; and at any rate, the supernatural power was most apt to come through the nephew of the dead shaman than through anyone else (Swanton, 1905a:53).

Thus, while the position of shaman could be termed hereditary in that it was normally reserved for individuals of a specific kinship category, the role of shaman was achieved. The term 'hereditary' is perhaps misleading because it ignores the fact that the novice had to qualify for the position or he became one who had been merely a temporary shaman. Although the position of shaman normally passed to nephew from maternal uncle, Murdock makes the interesting observation that "some of the most powerful medicine-men do not inherit their position" (1934:258).

At this point it may be of interest to examine some of the myths and stories as these relate to the process of initiation. The story of Big-Tail, which Swanton considered "one of the most important for an understanding of shamanism among the Haida" (1908:303), begins:

Mouse-Woman adopted him. Presently, after she had lived at Skidegate for a while, supernatural powers began to try him. After some time he began to be a shaman. By and by he became a real shaman (1905b:296).
After fasting and drinking sea-water for some nights, "the supernatural power came through him". The spirit, speaking through Big-Tail, asked the community to guess his identity:

Then he asked them for his name. "What kind of supernatural being am I?" he said. Then they guessed at his name. By and by an old man said: "Great shaman, you are Supernatural-Being-at-Whose-Voice-Ravens-Sit-on-the-Sea." Then he jumped up and ran around the fire four times. And he named himself as follows: "I am he grandson. I am he" (1905b:296).

Subsequently, Big-Tail's reputation as a shaman was established.

The story of the shaman, Gandox's father, is supposed to be factual. Swanton writes that Gandox's father was, "well known to all Skidegate Haida, and many other stories are told regarding his predictions" (1905b:314). It begins:

Gandox's father was making a canoe inland from one end of Seagrass Town. One evening, when he came home, he dropped dead on the sand at the end of the town. Then they ran to him, and carried him over to his house. Qoldaiyek spoke through him first...He did not tell his name. Instead he turned about around the house. After they had taken him in and come to know that it was Qoldaiyek, they began to sing a song for him. After they had carried him around the fire four times he began turning around (1905:311).

Another story tells how a woman became a shaman:

Some women went across Naden Harbour to get cedar-bark. While there the youngest came to a tree on which there was a great deal of gum, which she collected and chewed. Then she became a shaman, and her companions found her lying insensible. They took her to the town where a shaman's costume was put on her, and she began to act....When she sang the crab's song, great multitudes of crabs came round (1905a:224).

These stories suggest that visionary experience was necessary for becoming a shaman. They also suggest public knowledge of the
spirit's identity was important. It would seem that the occasion at which a shaman became publicly acknowledged was after an announcement of the spirit's identity and a display of spirit possession validating the shaman's position as spirit mediator, whether, as with Gandox's father, this was during the initial traumatic encounter, or whether it was sometime after the individual's initial encounter, as with Big-Tail. The shaman's position as spirit mediator for the community is suggested by the fact that in all stories the shaman was mentioned as belonging to some particular community.

The idea of a spirit quest does not seem clearly emphasized by these examples, but mention of the woman chewing gum, and of Big-Tail fasting and drinking sea-water for some nights suggests that visionary experience was sought by at least some, and that ritual strength and purity were deemed critically important. One story mentions that two brothers, at the town of Skedans fasted for many years to become shamans before one of them, breaking a taboo by going with a woman, died (1905b:294). Swanton noted that before a spirit entered a man had to be "clean". "To become 'clean', a man had to abstain from food a long time" (1958:64).

Most of our understanding of the shaman's relationship with his spirit and the spirit world must be inferred from myths and stories. Although the shaman served as a means of communication between human and spirit worlds, he was not a passive instrument of the spirit, however much at times this may appear to have been the case. At
performances he appeared to be altogether the instrument of the spi-
rit; it was the spirit acting and talking, apparently, not the shaman.
The spirit Qoldaiyek, speaking through Gandox's father "turned around
the house" and Saqaiyul "walked about entirely on the ends of his
toes". In the story of He-who-got-supernatural-power-from-his-little-
finger (1905b:247), little or no condemnation or responsibility was
attached to Many-Ledges who tried to kill his son-in-law because his
mind was made hostile by hostile spirits. However, if we can accept
the stories describing visionary encounters as accounts of what is
believed to happen or believed possible, the shaman emerges as a far
from passive vocal instrument. Let us return to Big-Tail, the story
Swanton regards as so revealing of Haida beliefs. Big-Tail asks his
spirit helper where to look for whales. The spirit shows Big-Tail,
who then directs the hunters. They find the whales are not where
Big-Tail believed he had seen them and that therefore he had been
tricked by the spirit.

Then he became angry, because he (the spirit) kept fooling
him. Now he put tobacco into his mouth. After it he put
in calcined shells. Then he went down to the house of
Supernatural-being-at-whose-voice-ravens-sit-on-the-sea
(1905b:296).

He confronts the spirit and the two bargain. The spirit offers Big-
Tail a number of different powers and Big-Tail rejects them. Then
the spirit gets angry and threatens to destroy Big-Tail who replies
by threatening him with the shame of being laughed at by human beings.
Finally, Big-Tail is given the power he wants.
The story of Big-Tail clearly suggests that the power of the shaman (his spiritual force, ritual purity, or whatever the factor) is of critical importance. This strength of personality or spiritual force determined the degree of control a shaman could exert over his spirit and thereby his degree of power (a factor of the extent and directions in which he could induce the spirit to help him.) Lack of personal spirit force would explain why those who were believed to be possessed by malevolent spirits were not always held accountable. In other words, an essential qualification for being a shaman as opposed to being a sorcerer was the retention of control over the spirit.

The individual could increase his power by inducing or extending further visionary experience. Several stories describe incidents in which the shaman makes a special journey to the realm of the supernatural and returns with increased power. Some of these stories concerned shamans who had lost their powers. For example, one (Swanton, 1905a:241-2), tells of a man who, "performed for some time; but at last his powers left him, and all his people also left him". He put out in a canoe and putting his arm around a stone, sank himself into the sea. When he returned, his powers as a shaman were renewed and increased.

In ritual and social terms, as elsewhere on the Coast, the shaman was aloof from ordinary men. Murdock reported that the shaman "distinguishes himself from his fellows...by abstaining from seaweed
and whale blubber and by never combing, washing or cutting his hair lest...he lose his power" (1934:257). For ceremonial occasions, apparently at the instructions of the spirit, most shamans also wore additional ritual paraphernalia such as apron, rattle, feathers or a dancing hat, and drum. Shamans were vulnerable to the polluting elements that repulsed spirits. Even more than other men they were susceptible to menstrual blood, and other polluting substances, so that their relationships with others were always shaped by ritual prescriptions. Not only was the shaman differentiated from others in everyday life, he was buried differently. Normal people were cremated and the ashes were placed with the remains of other close kin. The shaman's body was placed, uncremated, in a small, slightly elevated burial hut, isolated from others, usually out on a headland. However, in other respects the life of a shaman was not much differentiated from others. He hunted and fished for his livelihood and was subject to the same kinship and status rights and duties as other individuals of similar rank and kin positions. Despite stories of the acquired wealth of shamans, only those who were high-ranking in their own right could ever hope to acquire the wealth needed for a potlatch.

The range of possible powers, malevolent and benevolent, attributed to shamans was quite diverse. Certainly, the powers regularly attributed to them extended beyond curing. According to the stories of Big-Tail and Gandox's father, an important ability of shamans was to travel in the supernatural world. Shamans could cause sickness,
and in stories, some were suspected of prolonging or increasing the sickness of those they were called in to cure for the purpose of acquiring more prestige and property (e.g. Swanton, 1905a:242, 247; 1905b:179, 238). One story tells of a shaman who regularly bewitched others as a source of income (Swanton, 1905a:247). If he cured them he got paid for his services and if they died he officiated as undertaker since shamans frequently acted in this capacity. Several stories illustrate how a shaman's personal abilities may bring wealth and success, because they have hunting power or supernatural fishing bait, and the like. Most of the stories seem to reflect or to foster the image that shamans were able and successful individuals and that this success could sometimes be at the expense of others in the community. They were evidence of the success which derived from association with the supernatural and, as prime examples, reinforced beliefs in the supernatural as source both of sustenance and danger.

An important part of the shaman's role was what we, as outsiders, might call display performances, in that they were dramatic enactments of contact with the spirit. There seems to have been two kinds, those in which the shaman behaved in a spectacular or unusual fashion, apparently possessed by the spirit; and the occasions when the shaman entered a trance and appeared to make the spiritual journey to the realm of the supernatural. The story of Gandox's father seems to give examples of both these activities. The description of how different spirits (the shaman) behaved when they each possessed Gandox's father (one "began turning round", another "walked about en-
tirely on the ends of his toes"), suggests that these occasions must have been primarily display performances of the first kind. Then, the story-teller recounts an occasion when Gandox's father publicly entered a trance and experienced a vision:

Afterward Saqaiyul again spoke through him. And, after the dancing had gone on a while longer, he wanted to sleep.... When they agreed they made a sail house for him in the corner. And just at evening he went in and lay down. Next day...he awoke. After that they again came in dancing. When they stopped dancing he had me sit near him. Then he began to tell me quietly (what had happened) (Swanton, 1905b: 313).

Both these types of behaviour appear remarkably similar to the classic spirit possession behaviour and spirit journeys of Siberian and Eskimo shamans and, so far as I can determine, they were not repeated elsewhere on the Coast. Elsewhere on the Coast shamanistic displays seem to have been more stylized, more of a consciously articulated dramatic performance.

Spirits also gave proof of their existence by their aid in economic pursuits. Of the spirit Lagua we are told that he "made the water smooth for some time. All that time they fished for black cod" (Swanton, 1905b:305). Lagua directed his human medium to go fishing with the other men and he then located the iron wreck of an old ship, which they brought home for trade with other Haida groups. The shaman Cloud Watcher had the son of the chief of salmon speak through him and "then the salmon came like a strong wind" (Swanton, 1905b:308). The people of Fin Town were near starvation when a shaman
performed several days and then brought up a whole whale, thus preserving them from starvation (Swanton, 1905a:224). If we can assume that the kinds of duties shamans fulfill in myths and stories are the same as those they perform in everyday life, that the real or expected activities of shamans provides the material for stories, an important part of the shaman's function was to ensure economic ends. I think they reflect at least the ideal that great shamans could help to ensure economic ends and provided insurance against famine.

Shamans were also supposed to be able to reveal the whereabouts of lost objects or people (Swanton, 1905a:253), divine cause, or explain the mysterious. One story describes a man who was surrounded by killer whales: "When they got home the shamans did not say anything good about him. They said he had better not go anywhere on the ocean for four years" (Swanton, 1905b:88). The story of the shaman Djun describes divination. The town chief's son was sick and numerous shamans were called in without success. One, Djun, who was able to detect the cause of sickness, warned that the beak of her rattle would be missed and the one upon whom it was found would be the one causing sickness. "Then they began to whisper that Aqanaqes was the author of the trouble" (Swanton, 1905a:248). After this indirect accusation Djun was urged by her uncles to kill Aqanaqes but she did nothing until "her powers told her it was time...", when she finally confronted and defeated him. Shamans accompanied every war party. They were supposed to kill the souls of the enemy and divine the most auspicious time for attack.
Shamans were called in to cure only when other means (medicines, or purification) had failed. At the time he was asked to come the shaman was given presents to secure his good will (Swanton, 1905a: 42). He and the patient's relatives fasted and swallowed emetics for four days. For the ceremony the shaman then dressed himself in his special clothing. The shaman had an assistant who sang his spirit songs. Kinsmen and interested neighbours looked on and helped with the singing and drumming. The shaman then attempted to divine the cause of sickness. If he was able to see it he waited until he had been offered enough property before he cured the patient. Ceremonies must have been profoundly impressive. The patient was normally seriously ill (other methods having failed). Preparations for the occasion had required four days fasting and purification by both shaman and the patient's kin. All the symbols of contact with the supernatural were present. Uncertainty about the cause of illness and perhaps about the integrity of the shaman might also be present and perhaps tension as to suspected cause, if sorcery was suspected. Murdock seems to imply that sorcery was the most commonly expected cause when he writes that the shaman was called "only when a patient does not respond to ordinary treatment and sorcery is suspected" (1936:259). Unfortunately, it is difficult to estimate how dominant was the theme of sorcery in curing. It was certainly important among the Tlingit, where shamans, by the apparently unchallenged authority of their accusations, were strategic figures in factional struggles. Among the Haida, despite
Murdock's statement, sorcery was not the only cause of disease. The story of Gandox's father attributes sickness in one case, to soul loss (Swanton, 1905b:311). In another story the shaman ascribed the sickness not to one individual in particular but to the general evil nature of most people in the town (Swanton, 1905b:242). Can we say that the curing functions of shamans went beyond providing medical and emotional support in a moment of crisis to expressing or manipulating political alignments? I think that the evidence is suggestive rather than conclusive. If tensions were present a shaman might have expressed these but perhaps the very fact that the ethnographers do not appear to have been overly impressed by the incidence of sorcery accusations or by evidence of fear of sorcerers or of being accused of sorcery, may indicate that sorcery fears and accusations were not in fact very prominent.

Bearing in mind what we have already inferred about the shaman's position in relation to others of the community and society, we may now attempt to explore this relationship further.

Haida society was organized primarily on the basis of a series of matrilineal divisions. Matrilineal affiliation in large part determined the rights and duties of individuals and provided an organizational framework for corporate groups. All Haida belonged to one of two exogamous moieties, the Ravens and the Eagles. Besides limiting the choice of marriage partner and providing individuals with the right to certain crests, moiety affiliation affected the ceremonial life of individuals. At every life crisis ceremony, the individual relied on
members of the opposite moiety for the performance of particular crit-
ical functions. Matrilineal affiliation determined lineage member-
ship and provided the basis for residential units. The lineage was
the basic economic, political and social unit. As Drucker explains:

There were two great moieties among the Haida, the 'Ravens'
and the 'Eagles', each with its set of crests and origin
traditions....Each moiety consisted of a large number of
named, localized segments, sometimes incorrectly referred
to as clans. Each segment was a lineage, which held title
to its lands of economic importance, occupied a separate
village consisting of one or more houses, had its own chiefs
and lesser chiefs. Each lineage waged war or made peace,
staged ceremonials, and tended to its various affairs in-
dependently of any other (1955:112).

Each Haida village had a chief, who held that position by
virtue of being the highest-ranking member of the lineage,
and one or more house chiefs....Each village was economi-
cally independent, owning its own village site, salmon
streams, cod and halibut grounds, berrying and hunting
tracts, and of course the camping sites that went with
them (1955:113).

The shaman was both part of this system and aloof from it. As we
shall see, his position was the focus of a number of self-balancing
principles.

Apart from the fact that they most usually inherited their
positions, there is little specific information about the kinds of
people who became shamans. Men and women could be shamans although
few women were great shamans. Some of the greatest shamans did not
inherit their powers (Murdock, 1936:258). In terms of rank, we may
suspect that shamans often tended to be medium or lower rank. Swan-
ton referred to a Haida carving which depicted a shaman who "belonged
to the Gweandas, a low branch of the Gitins-of-Pebble-Town" (1905a: 138). The story of the shaman, Djun, tells us that the opposing shaman, Aqanaqes, "abused her, saying that she had no parents; that he had been brought up like a noble, but she like a slave..." (1905a: 248). Gandox's father was a canoe maker, normally a position of respectable, but not elevated, status. A number of stories, perhaps by convention or perhaps reflecting a social reality, indicate that those who become shamans are sometimes social isolates. Djun was an orphan. He-who-got-supernatural-power-from-his-little-finger was poor and lived with his grandmother at the end of town. Closely related to the question of who became shamans is the question, why did they become shamans. Presumably, for those who inherited their position, family expectations and encouragement would be the decisive factor. Otherwise, the myths and stories suggest that for some, deprivation may have been a factor spurring them to visionary experience. There were some poor and unpopular (e.g. Swanton, 1905b: 58, 1905b: 247), and some provoked by shame or loss of esteem (Swanton, 1905a: 241, 242, 246). In short, shamanism was usually inherited but some of the greatest shamans did not inherit their powers; those who became shamans were usually of respectable if not elevated rank but some were of low rank; and at least some of those who became shamans had been deprived of some element of normal social life, perhaps kinship ties, esteem, or social security.
The shaman's strong identification with community and kinsmen (Haida residential units were lineage villages) is reflected by his functions, particularly those with economic implications. War was a lineage responsibility and when shamans accompanied war parties they acted on behalf of the lineage as a whole as a public service. When Lagua brought in the iron shipwreck (Swanton, 1905b:306), Those-born-at-Saki traded it to groups who came by. The community seems to have acknowledged its obligation to Lagua for providing black cod for we are told: "Every time they came in from fishing those who handled the lines gave him two black cod. His wife had a great quantity" (Ibid.). "Stories invariably identify the shaman with some community or lineage. For example, Gandox's father and Cloud Watcher came from Seagrass Town. Many of the stories suggest real interdependence between shaman and community. When Gandox's father dropped unconscious, "they ran to him, and carried him over to his house". However, a number of stories also indicate fear of shamans and suspicion that they could work at the expense of others. Most, if not all of the stories which express suspicion or hostility toward the shaman appear to refer to shamans who have come in from outside the community. It is possible that if shamans were closely identified with lineages (and the evidence strongly suggests this), and relations between lineages were hostile or distant (and they often were), because of their dangerous powers shamans not related to one by close ties of kinship might well have been viewed with suspicion."
Shamans were aloof from ordinary men and women. This aloofness was symbolized by burial but it was also constantly emphasized by the shaman's appearance and by the ritual restrictions and avoidances entailed. The shaman's ritual state, apart from his power, could be a danger to the community; he could prove fatal to anyone polluted who approached him and conversely he himself was susceptible.

The supernatural realm itself was opposed to the human. Many stories play on the reversed abilities of human and supernatural. Human heroes can see the humanly caused injuries to supernaturals which are invisible to supernatural beings themselves. Supernatural beings give themselves away when, as is their habit, they beach their canoes bow first. One story in particular expresses the way human and supernatural shamans may depend for their cures on the opposing attributes of the human and supernatural realms (Swanton, 1905a:223). The human hero attacks a supernatural being who cannot discover what is ailing him. He calls in many supernatural shamans to cure him but none are successful. At last a particularly powerful shaman arrives and discovers the cause. He makes a bargain with the human shaman saying that if the human desists he, the supernatural shaman will speak through him. They also agree that each of them will cause sickness so that people and supernaturals respectively will come to be cured and they will grow rich in their respective worlds. They set up an alliance to help each other, being able to discern what neither ordinary supernatural beings nor humans could perceive, because, by their shamanistic powers they each could operate in both worlds.
The supernatural realm was source of both sustenance and danger in the established way, and of change, and therefore, disorder or new order. Several shamans introduced change within the traditional context by claiming the authority of their spirit. Both Lagua and Gandox's father reinterpreted the new in terms of the old, Lagua when he interpreted salvage rights of the shipwreck in terms of hunting rights to the carcass of a whale, and Gandox's father when he advised the people to modify their house design on the authority of a spirit helper which he claimed was a white man's spirit.

The very basis of the shaman's position depended on a trans-cendence of the human order and identification with a system at some moments the reverse of the human and at other moments (particularly with regard to its dimensions of time and space) altogether different from the human, while being at the same time dependent on the human world. I think all the oppositions inherent or at least sometimes present, in the shaman's position are consistent with this dual alignment with the opposing forces of human and supernatural, order and disorder, fortune and misfortune. Logically consistent with the view that the extent of the shaman's ability depends on his alignment with the forces of the supernatural realm is the view that his powers are likely to be further increased, for better or worse, the more attenuated his ties are with the human world. And the most fundamental of all human ties was kinship. I suggest that that is why some of the greatest shamans never inherited their powers and why shamans
from other communities tended to be feared or suspected. It may be
that the fact that shamans were often low-rank individuals meant
that their innovations could be adopted or rejected, depending on
prevailing attitudes, without threat to the stability of a system
based on rank. It is tempting to suggest that there were two kinds
of shamans among the Haida; ordinary shamans, who seldom receive more
than a mention by the myths and stories, and 'great' shamans such as
Big-Tail, Gandox's father and Lagua, who functioned as the chief
innovators, integrating old and new ideas and providing a basis for
new modes of adjustment. It would be interesting if we were then
able to draw correlations between these 'great' shamans and those
shamans who did not inherit their powers and shamans whose ties with
the social order were reduced. Unfortunately this is not possible.
All we can say is that in the stories the shamans most often mentioned
are heroes and that in the stories shamans who have been deprived,
poor, isolated, orphaned, shamed, humiliated have also been mentioned;
conventional shamans and conventional modes of initiation, training
or what have you, are seldom mentioned.
The major sources for the following were Swanton's *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), Krause's *The Tlingit Indians* (1956 English translation of the original 1885 publication), and de Laguna's "Tlingit ideas about the individual" (1954:172-191). In addition to the large time differential between these three publications, from the point of view of shamanism each had a different focus and so my information is somewhat patchy and incomplete. In addition, they worked in widely different areas. Krause visited a considerable extent of territory but most of his experience concerned the groups near Chilkat, in the northern part of the area. De Laguna obtained most of her experience from Angoon, a village not far from Sitka, in the Central portion of the area. It is not clear where Swanton obtained most of his data, but after his experience with the Haida, it is likely that some considerable part of his information pertained to the southern Tlingit. Because there is not sufficient information concerning any one specific group or area, at the risk of ignoring real differences, I am forced to regard any information about one group as applying, to a greater or lesser degree, to other groups unless there are obvious contradictions.
Information on the ideological system is meagre but such as there is confirms that in broad appearance Tlingit ideas about the forces of the universe, about the nature of man and spirits, and about the nature of man's relationship to this physical and spiritual environment, are similar to those of other Northwest Coast groups.Briefly, they believed that the universe was pervaded by spiritual forces, that man and these spiritual forces stood in a more or less balanced relationship to each other, each dependent on the other in certain ways, and that specific techniques were effective in controlling the spirit elements of the environment for the fulfilment of human ends. All living creatures, animals, fish, men, and perhaps plants, had their spiritual element and, potentially, supernatural power. There is little mention in any of the sources of such mythical beings as Property Woman, Pestilence, Master Carpenter, and so forth, as among the Haida.

Spirit beings were personified. There were Raven and Wolf spirits and high ranking and low ranking spirits. They could be angered, pleased, deceived and cajoled. And they could be manipulated by the use of specific substances, (such as menstrual blood and urine), and ritual formulas.

The stock techniques by which men attempted to manipulate the supernatural can be classed as propitiatory or persuasive, magical, and visionary, although the distinction between propitiatory and magical is not always clear. Ritual purity was a necessary condition for
those who wished special success in hunting, for those who sought
shamanistic power, or for any others who wished the particular favour
of the supernatural. Apart from ritual purification, Swanton and de
Laguna make no mention of prayers, sacrifice or other propitiatory
rites and Drucker mentions that the First Salmon Ceremony, elsewhere
a propitiatory ceremony of some significance, was much less important
to the Tlingit (1955:156). All mention the importance of medicines
(substances symbolically combined with ritual care), charms, and
other magical means of a compulsive nature. De Laguna tells us that
many of the desirable traits as well as success could be secured
through medicines, amulets, and magical "exercises":

By observing at the times the proper purifications and ab­
stentions (bathing, purging, fasting, thirsting, avoidance
of certain foods, chastity, refraining from speech or work
or other activities, avoidance of contact with the contami­
nating, etc.)....Similar magical means are also relied
upon to secure health and longevity for oneself and one's
relatives, to ward off witchcraft and other sources of evil,
or to influence such phenomena as the weather. In addition,
disasters of various kinds can be avoided by observing the
proper taboos (1954:174).

Swanton specifies that there was medicine for hunting, fishing and so
forth, medicine for killing men, medicine that made one win, medicine
for curing sickness, for wealth, for inducing another's love and end­
less other objectives (1908:445). Sorcery involved obtaining something
of the intended victim and subjecting this to the same treatment as it
was intended the victim should suffer. Since none of the ethnographies
suggest that the guardian spirit relationship was common, and none sug­
gest the extensive practise of propitiatory rites, it is possible that
use of these medicines provided the majority of Tlingit with sufficient means for manipulation of supernatural resources.

Spirit contact was the third means of manipulating the supernatural. Apparently, spirit-derived power was not the monopoly of shamans because de Laguna writes: "Whereas the full shaman ideally cuts eight tongues and thus obtains eight helpers, other men, we believe, may obtain lesser power from a single tongue" (1954:181). None of the ethnographies suggest that the vision quest was a general practice, however, and shamans emerge as by far the most knowledgeable in dealings with the spirit world.

De Laguna suggests the way in which shamans were differentiated from others when she writes that ideally they cut eight tongues. The cutting of the animal's tongue seems to have been the ultimate symbol of control. And eight, as she indicates in her paper, symbolized ritual completeness (1954:176). By acquiring eight tongues the shaman established his thorough acquaintance with the supernatural world and a unified competence in the exercise of supernatural power. Swanton considered that, "taking the people of the north Pacific coast as a whole, shamanism reached its climax among the Tlingit. At all events, their shamans were more powerful and influential and more dreaded than those among the Haida" (1908:464). He saw Tlingit shamanism almost in juxtaposition to "witchcraft", emphasizing the very strong relationship between these two characteristics of Tlingit society. Thus,

1. See the note concerning the use of the terms 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery' in Chapter I, p.
although he made no such equation among the Haida he writes:

It is quite natural to find, along with the prominence of shamanism, a widespread belief in witchcraft. In fact this notion had so taken possession of the Tlingit mind that natural sickness or death was barely believed in (1908:469).

From all accounts, full recognition and acceptance as a shaman seems to have depended upon visionary experience plus the inheritance of knowledge, powers, and paraphernalia from a maternal uncle (Swanton, 1908:466; Knapp and Childe, 1896:138), or father. (Swanton claims that inheritance by a son was possible if no suitable matrilineal kin were available; Krause claims inheritance by a son or grandson.) Since, ideally, a full shaman controlled eight spirits, the process of initiation involved a series of visionary initiations, followed eventually by a public initiation directly after the death of the old shaman. Visionary experience was, for the most part, sought. Ritual preparation included the usual purifications and abstentions and, according to Krause, isolation in mountains or forests for a period of a week up to several months:

The shorter or longer period in the wilderness depends on the appearance of the spirit. When he finally meets the spirit he can count himself lucky if he gets a land otter ... The land otter goes directly to the would-be shaman who ... kills him (1956:195).

I confess myself to feeling a little confused by this description. Is the land otter or other animal a corporeal reality? At what point was the vision experienced? I infer that the first animal to appear after the vision which was of the same species as the visionary animal was the one considered to be the manifestation of the spirit and the
one from which the novice tried to extract the tongue. If the novice's quest was unsuccessful (in terms of visionary experience) he could spend the night by the grave of a shaman (Krause, 1956:195), or handle the skull of a dead shaman (de Laguna, 1954:176). This seems to indicate that novices had certain clear expectations about visionary experience and that once the vision was experienced the rest was assured.

The next major step in becoming a practised shaman came at the death of the old shaman. Krause's vivid description of one initiation he witnessed personally is worth direct quotation:

All the adults of the Raven clan fasted for four days, the children only two days, while the new shaman fasted eight days....The whole tribe was assembled in the house of the dead shaman and in the evenings ceremonial dances were executed in the light of the blazing fire, accompanied loudly on the drum. The participants, men and boys, stood around the fire....In the background, and along the left wall from the entrance squatted the women with the small children, while the rest of the space was crowded with spectators.... Two old shamans, recognized by their long, unkempt hair and fantastic headgear were also present...[There was singing, drumming and stamping the floor. At the fourth song:] During the wildest part, a young Indian...plunged forward suddenly almost through the fire toward the wooden drum and fell to the ground unconscious....For a time he remained apparently unconscious, while the song continued as though nothing had happened. When he gained consciousness he withdrew into the rows of spectators and soon thereafter the ceremony ended (1956:202; my brackets).

Public initiation, then, clearly expressed the shaman's identification with a lineage. The group, presumably lineage "participants", was fully involved in the ceremony, summoning (by the singing, drumming, and dancing) the spirits of the dead shaman to come to his successor, while "specta-
tors", presumably members of other lineages in the community, witnessed the event.

There is a strong suggestion that the spirits passed on to successive shamans were associated with lineages or clans. Swanton mentions that the spirits that came to Raven shamans were distinct from those that came to Wolf shamans. Further, he recounts of one clan that it was so high ranking that their "spirits had very high names". The greatest of these spirits, named Unseeable, first presented itself to an old clan shaman, named Big-Killer-Whale, many years ago:

Subsequently shamans in this family acted like Big-Killer-Whale, and Unseeable was always the first spirit which they saw. The shaman had to be very clean when Unseeable was going to come to him, nor would Unseeable allow any filthy person in the house (Swanton, 1908:466).

This example also seems to indicate that the rank of the spirit was related to the rank of the clan, or at least, that high ranking clans claimed that their spirits were of high rank.

In short, Tlingit shamanistic initiations seem to have been highly formalized, clearly expressing group structures and group status. The position of shaman was clearly an hereditary lineage office.

The relationship between a shaman and his spirit helpers may be termed compulsive; it seems to have been based on mutual force. The shaman differed from those who, when possessed, became the instrument of spirits, by the fact that he controlled them. In turn, the shaman, if mastered by other spirits or if he lost control of his own,
might die. He summoned his helpers by putting on a special mask for each one, and by drumming, singing and using a rattle. (I would assume that this use of masks to summon the spirit would be one reason why inheritance of paraphernalia would be deemed critical.) He maintained his control by maintaining ritual prescriptions. Krause comments that, "if he does not maintain a proper rapport with these spirits, they may kill him" (1956:196), and de Laguna comments, "something of his power resides in his long hair....If his hair is shorn he will die because he has lost his powers" (1954:176). Presumably, contact with such contaminating substances as menstrual blood would be equally fatal.

The shaman's powers derived from his control over the movement and abilities of spirits. It was not the shaman himself who saw the cause of sickness, divined the right time for a raid, or determined the movements of animals, but the spirit; the spirit could direct the shaman by allowing him to perceive phenomena through its own eyes. The shaman could command his helper on journeys or he could cause it to animate an image. Because the shaman's abilities were determined by those of his spirit helpers, the extent and degree of powers depended on the number of spirits he was able to master and on the 'rank' of the spirit. It was noted that at least some of the shaman's spirits were acquired from his predecessor and that in this way certain spirits tended to be associated with certain clans and that there was a possible tendency for the most powerful spirits to be associated with
certain clans. Several questions arise from this. For example, given that initiation usually involved, as a symbolic indication of control, cutting the tongue of the animal, how did the novice indicate mastery of the spirits of his predecessor? Perhaps 'inheritance' was possible by the very fact that the shaman passed on the "tongues" of the spirits as well as other paraphernalia. Again, land otters were believed to be the most powerful spirit helpers. If land otters were the most powerful shamanistic spirits were they associated with high ranking lineages or acquired only by the highest ranking shamans? There is little or no information that would answer such questions. It is perhaps possible, however, that a shaman from a low ranking clan could increase his reputation by acquiring the tongue of a land otter. Thus the correspondence between strength of spirit and rank of lineage would not be as close as Tlingit themselves might claim. Again, were land otter spirits 'inherited'?

The three-way relationship between a shaman, his principal spirit helper and the clan is expressed by the arrangements made for the shaman's death (as distinct from initiation of a new shaman after death). Swanton reports:

When the shaman was in his last sickness his spirit would come to him and say, "You will die so many days from now". And when he was dying it said, "My master, you must be taken to such and such a place to be left there (for burial)". Then it would tell his clan what to do and where to live. The shaman's body was accordingly carried to the point indicated and left there without having been burned (1908:466).
Aside from the functions or services performed, there were a number of attendant rights, privileges, duties and hazards involved in being a shaman. Some of these have already been mentioned. A shaman, upon risk of death, had to preserve his hair long. As illustrated by Krause's description of an initiation ceremony, shamans stood out from the majority "by their long, unkempt hair and fantastic headgear". Burial practices likewise symbolized the shaman's aloofness from ordinary men. Whereas the ordinary individual was cremated at death and his remains placed in a grave box and deposited in a special burial ground, the shaman was not cremated. For four nights the body was kept in the shaman's house or a clan house, during which time all the inhabitants of the house had to fast. Then the body was placed complete in a little grave house totally isolated from burial grounds or other houses (Krause 1956:194). An important privilege of shamans was the right to give ceremonial displays of powers which, in their appearance and time of presentation resemble the privileged winter secret society dances further south. Krause reports:

The great shamanistic performances are given only in the winter during a new or full moon. The shamans call ceremonially upon their spirits so that they may bring luck and ward off illness for the village, for the shaman himself, and for his relatives during the coming year (1956:198). Before the performance the "relatives" helped the shaman by fasting and purifying themselves. At sunset all went into the shaman's house, singing and beating drums. After putting on all his paraphernalia, carved bone spikes, face mask or hat, rattle, drums, dancing leggings,
and skirt, a necklace of bones (Krause, 1956:194), the shaman started moving around the fire: "Suddenly he stands still, looks at the upper side of the drum and screams loudly...since the spirit which has entered him is about to speak" (1956:198). After the conclusion of this display the guests are served tobacco and food until dawn, just as if they were guests at a feast or potlatch being rewarded for witnessing the display of some social prerogative.

Apart from the tremendous respect and fear accorded shamans and the necessary ritual avoidances and circumscriptions entailed by them and by those around them, the everyday life of shamans was not very different from that of other men. They were involved as much as anyone else in the usual subsistence activities, were part of the rank and kinship structure with the same rights and obligations in these spheres as other individuals of approximate rank.

The services performed by shamans were varied and extensive. In one respect, the winter shamanistic displays were the validation of a privilege. In another, quite apart from invoking good fortune and warding off sickness, they provided drama and entertainment. It is perhaps interesting to speculate how much the shamanistic performances took the place of winter spirit dances or secret society dances as dramatizations of religious beliefs. It is perhaps also worth wondering, since shamans were associated with lineages, whether these displays may have expressed group identity. C. McClellan (1954:75-96) indicates how the formalities of the potlatch and feasts clearly expressed
the basic social units of Tlingit society, moiety, clan, lineage and house-group. We might also expect, then, to find that these units were again expressed by the shaman's display. Some differentiation of groups might be predicted simply from Krause's comment that before the occasion his "relatives" participated by fasting and purifying themselves, and from the fact that if there was an audience there would have been differentiation between lineage and non-lineage members. Shamans were certainly closely aligned with lineages in times of war (a lineage, on most occasions, was the unit of warfare, since the lineages of a town were by no means obliged, or even likely, to combine and co-operate). A shaman accompanied every war party. The shaman fasted prior to the planned attack and "all of his spirits watched until at last he said, 'We shall see a canoe to-day', or, 'We shall kill someone to-day'. After that he began to eat" (1908:450). In economic terms, shamans could help to reduce uncertainty or encourage success. They could induce good weather and attract large fish runs. However, none of the reports indicate that these economic functions were particularly important. It seems that, in contrast to the Haida, the shaman's economic functions were not extensive or were not viewed with such critical concern.

Except possibly for the displays of spirit power, from what I can infer, curing ceremonies, with their sorcery accusations or fear of sorcery accusations, were the occasions which most dramatically expressed the shaman's power and which had the broadest social implications.
Shamans were called in when medicines had failed. The cause of sickness, at least for that serious enough to require a shaman, was commonly attributed to sorcery: so commonly, in fact, that several writers go as far as to claim it was the only cause. Jones (1914:125) claimed that all sickness and death was attributed to 'witchcraft' (here considered synonymous with sorcery). Krause comments that "witches...are supposed to be the cause of illness" (1956:283), Swanton that, "Sickness was usually attributed to witchcraft" (1908:464). Sorcery included the attack by an evil shaman who could project spirits into inanimate objects and send them to attack the intended victim, or it could refer to the use of special learned techniques which involved obtaining something intimately associated with the intended victim and subjecting it to the treatment intended for the victim. Since there were medicines which could quite legitimately be used for killing those defined as enemies, sorcery was the anti-social use of medicines to kill men and therefore its recognition was dependent upon whose definition of 'anti-social' was accepted. Since war or feud as expressions of hostility were perfectly legitimate between lineages, as were the 'power' fights between shamans of hostile towns, it must have occurred within or between groups that could not easily admit open hostility, possibly between the members of a lineage or the co-residents of a town.

It may be that, in fact, shamans were called in after suspicions of sorcery had developed, hence the unanimity among ethnographers
that sorcery was the common explanation of illness offered by shamans. I say this because de Laguna mentions that the Tlingit had "rubbing" doctors, individuals (usually women as opposed to shamans who were usually men), who, like shamans, "could cure by manual manipulation of the patient's body" (1954:177).

Swanton explains simply that:

The friend of a person who was ill would go to a shaman ...the shaman went to the sick person and performed over him. Then he told who had bewitched him (1908:469).

Knapp and Childe describe a method of divination in which the shaman:

...fills his hat with water and calls three witnesses to see the reflection of the witch's face. Either they are the shaman's accomplices or very much afraid of him, and rarely fail to support his statements (1896:134).

Krause explains at greater length that the sick person sends a messenger to the shaman who is supposed to call through the door four times: "The shaman allows these words to be repeated four times while he tries to recognise in the voice of the messenger the voice of the one who has bewitched the patient" (1956:200). Next day he performs and then "he goes to the relative of the patient and accuses him of witchcraft....". Krause's comments seem clearly to indicate that the shaman was approached on those occasions when suspicions had already been roused. It also seems to indicate that accusations were within the lineage, those accused being kinsmen ("relatives") of the alleged victim. It further indicates with great directness that the shaman relied, for his divination of the victim, on what he could
determine of people's opinions. The shaman, at least to some extent, expressed hostility of factions within the group, possibly within the lineage group.

The curing ceremony, then, involved an attempt to restore the patient and an attempt to fix the agent of blame. Curing techniques were much like those found elsewhere on the Northwest Coast. The ceremony was public, spectators and kin becoming involved and therefore partners to the responsibility of curing and divining cause. The shaman cured by blowing away the sickness or sucking out the intrusive object, massaging or rubbing the affected area or passing over the afflicted parts with ritual objects (amulets?) supposed to have power.

Actual accusations of sorcerers were apparently not uncommon. Sorcerers were universally detected through dreams or by shamans, no one ever having heard of a sorcerer caught casting a spell (Oberg, 1934:154). This again suggests that the accusation of sorcery was an expression of conflict and hostility which could not be expressed more openly (and since hostility could be expressed more openly between lineages and larger social units we may expect it to have been within the lineage or sub-lineage).

A number of specific instances are reported. Jones (1914: 157-8) reports that "a young girl...after severe torture was compelled to admit that she had made witch-medicine" and he also mentions a boy who was accused. Krause reports that "two shamans tried in the winter
of 1881-1882 to arouse the people to a witch hunt" (1956:204). He also heard of two girls who, in 1878, were tortured and two Chilkat women in 1882 who "themselves seemed to be convinced" of their own guilt (1956:203). All these examples concern less socially eminent people -- a boy, girls, and two women (the Tlingit are a matrilineal society but administrative power was nevertheless in the hands of men). And interestingly enough Jones remarks that, "The one settled on as the witch was generally some unimportant member of the community, an uncanny looking creature, a slave or someone who had the ill will of the doctor or the relatives of the patient" (1914:156). Krause notes: "In the instances brought to our attention the accused were always women" (1956:203). There may be a connection here between matriliny and the accusation of women.

When were sorcerers accused and who (aside from the shaman) accused them? Apart from the vague statement that sorcery was suspected if the illness was of a lingering nature or if it did not respond to other treatment, we get a tentative idea of other reasons why people might suspect sorcery, from Oberg. He writes:

If by some chance a man of very high rank was caught stealing, he was said to be bewitched. Then a shamanistic performance was held over him to discover the sorcerer who had forced him to steal in order to injure his social position (1934:149).

He also mentions that individuals could pay shamans to accuse others of sorcery: "Rivals were often exterminated by paying the shaman to name them as sorcerers" (Ibid.:155). Since it would be
those of high rank and great wealth who could best afford to pay for
a shaman's service, we might expect that in this respect shamans func­
tioned to preserve the political status quo. An argument that might
be raised at this point is that for most of the Northwest Coast full
shamans were, for the main part, called in to cure the rich and high
status rather than the commoners. There is very little evidence to
support this hypothesis one way or another but in the few instances
where the status of the patient is mentioned, he is invariably a chief's
son or some such. I have not come across any information discussing
the cost of a curing ceremony to the host (Drucker mentions that sha­
mans themselves receive far less than they are popularly believed to)
but it is difficult for me to believe that the host would not dis­
tribute food at least to those spectators who witnessed the cure.
It was the common custom on the Northwest coast to show appreciation
for any service rendered, no matter how small, and in most curing
ceremonies I would suspect that song leader, drummers, singers and
any others participants would all receive something. As the customs
concerning homicide, revenge, and war, indicate, a high status indi­
vidual was much more of a loss to the local group than a commoner.
In cases of revenge only an individual of equal status to the slain
was considered adequate compensation. Therefore, it is possible that,
with limited resources, expensive curing ceremonies might have been
reserved for those of highest status within the lineage while those
of lesser standing relied on medicines. Yet another reason why shamans
might have been called more frequently for those of high rank is that people of high rank, by their very prominence might be deemed more liable to attack from jealous rivals. This is more than likely to have been a factor among the Tlingit.

The impression emerges that in general the 'flow' of sorcery accusations ran from high rank to low rank, particularly if the prestige or esteem of the high status individual had been threatened. Indeed it is difficult to imagine that accusations of sorcery directed from low to high rank would be taken seriously. Accusations between individuals of equal rank would have been impossible, since as we have argued, sorcery was, or likely to have been, an expression of conflict within a lineage, and members of a lineage were ranked individually. Perhaps grievances by those of low rank against high rank kinsmen could be expressed indirectly in other ways by refusing to fulfil the various courtesies and signs of respect normally due those of high rank. A point to note of real significance in this respect, I think, is that the Tlingit system of rank was not stable. Questions of rank were of consuming concern to the Tlingit. Maintenance of rank depended on giving potlatches, however, property rights were such that an individual of high rank could not be sure of controlling resources and eliminating competition. Thus Krause writes:

Even the rank of chief is tied up with the possession of wealth, largely the ownership of slaves....The power of chief is very limited and the direction which it takes depends on the personality of the individual. Only in cooperative undertakings and in council is he a leader; in everything else every family head is entirely free to do anything which is not counter to custom and which does not interfere with the rights of others (1956:77).
And McClellan explains:

Although the ramifications of rank are many, the system is not so rigid but that those of strong character or special talents may manipulate it to their advantage....This works both ways, for an inherited high position can equally well be lost (1954:93).

The system of etiquette and concepts of honour and shame associated with rank were extremely elaborate. Any suggestion of shame, an accident, insult, physical blemish, had to be eliminated by the individual concerned. Thus questions of rank were always ones of great sensitivity but they may have been particularly so in historic times when the abolition of slavery would have reduced the ability of wealthy men to display their wealth and to maintain their wealth (assuming that slaves performed the dual function of increasing an individual's wealth and giving evidence of wealth). Thus the relatively high incidence of sorcery accusations in historic times may have been a reflection of increased ambiguity regarding rank. Ambiguity about rank may have increased the threat to those in high rank positions and induced them to seek reinforcement of their prestige by indirect means rather than openly admit the possibility of ambiguity by direct enforcement.

An important reflection of the power of shamans was the reaction to accusations of sorcery on the part of the accused, his or her kinsmen, and the community. Jones writes that the shaman's judgement was undisputed even by the accused's relatives. Punishment was, in fact, usually initiated by near relatives of the sorcerer, and if the sorcerer escaped punishment he or she was totally ostracised
Knapp and Childe report that those accused often did not deny the accusation "either because they were so completely under his control that when denounced by him they doubted their own innocence, or because they foresaw the uselessness of denial" (1896:133). Krause agrees with Jones that the relatives of the sorcerer were supposed to kill him or her. The authority of the shaman's decision, then, by all accounts was well nigh total. However, we might remember that the authority of the shaman would have been more severely tested if the accused were of high status. None of the ethnographers describe instances where "relatives" of the accused refuse to accept the validity of the accusation. We might speculate, however, that lineage fission could have arisen as the result of polarization of support over sorcery accusations.

Superficially, at least, Tlingit social organization was similar to that of the Haida and Tsimshian. The social units were again derived from a series of matrilineal divisions. The society was divided into two exogamous moieties, the Ravens and Wolves, each with their own crests. Each moiety contained a number of ranked clans, the members of which shared a series of crests and believed themselves to be related through descent from a common ancestor. Each clan contained one or more ranked, localized lineages. The lineages of a clan were politically and socially autonomous, having their own lands, house names, crests and so forth, and were in effect little different from the Haida lineages. However, unlike the Haida where, with lineage
villages, kin and residence units were one and the same, Tlingit major residence units were towns and house-groups, the house-group being the basic social and economic unit. A town comprised one or more lineages from one or more clans of each moiety. Lineages, as a rule, coincided with house-groups, but occasionally a lineage became too large and, before fission, there might be two or more house groups or sub-lineages of a lineage within the same town. Drucker writes:

Tlingit socio-political organization was quite like that of the Haida. The most important difference was that the Tlingit house group, in cases where a lineage was of considerable size and had a number of houses each occupied by a sub-lineage, was somewhat more important than the comparable unit among the Haida (1955:116).

The Tlingit residential units, towns, thus differed from the Haida and from the Tsimshian towns. Among the Haida a single principle, lineage affiliation, unified residents, and among the Tsimshian, tribal organization and loyalty to a single tribal chief unified residents. Neither tribal nor lineage affiliation unified the members of a Tlingit town. The differences in shamanistic practises between the three groups may, in some part, be explained by these residence differences and the concomitant differences in concepts of rank, property ownership, and power. Thus, if the lack of unifying principles such as lineage membership and tribal affiliation served to accentuate rank differences and house-group identification within the community, this may explain the elaborate public initiation of shamans among the Tlingit which stressed the shaman's alignment with his house-group, and it may explain the apparent association between shamanism, sorcery fears, and rank.
The vagueness of my information aside, the position of shaman reflected Tlingit social structure in a number of ways. As elsewhere, the shaman was mediator between men and spirits and was both aloof from the life and institutions of men and dependent upon them. It is worth examining these twin themes of separation and identification in more detail since they seem to suggest something about the social structure in general. As we have seen, the shaman was in some way spirit mediator in each of the societies we have examined, but in each case the areas of separation and identification have tended to be slightly different; in many cases the differences are consistent with differences in the social organization of each group.

Separation from and identification with men (and the converse with spirits) are expressed by initiation, death, and burial, as well as by the ritual prescriptions of everyday life. Acceptance as a full shaman required both visionary initiation by a spirit, and the public succession to the powers and paraphernalia of a maternal uncle in the presence of the lineage and other (non-lineage) members of the wider community. The first, necessarily required training or ritual removal from the human. Ritual preparation was, essentially, a consistent and progressive separation from the human: the elimination of all body fluids through bathing and purging; the rejection of all elements normally vital for the maintenance of human life i.e. food, water, sleep, shelter, speech, work; and, with sexual continence and avoidance of all possible contact with menstrual blood, abnegation
of the fundamental characteristic of human as opposed to spiritual life, reproduction. This first aspect of shamanistic initiation, then, emphasized separation from the human and identification with the spiritual. The second part, as already described, required identification with the lineage group. Since the position of shaman was normally inherited, it required the affirmation of a basic social principle, kinship, especially matrilineal kinship, and since, it seems, the drumming and singing of the group was instrumental in summoning the spirit helpers of the old shaman, it affirmed the recognition of a basic interdependence between shaman, community, and spirit world.

The themes of separation and identification, alternately with man and the supernatural, are again expressed at death and burial. As quoted, according to Swanton, the spirit helper was supposed to foretell the shaman's death and to instruct the clan as to specific burial arrangements: here, then, the community relied on the spirit world for information and were the means by which the instructions of the spirit world were realized. These arrangements (different in detail according to the 'instructions' of different spirits but in general outline similar) differed considerably from an ordinary burial. (Although I am unclear as to the extent of the difference, particularly as to whether, in contrast to ordinary men, the shaman's body was prepared by members of the same rather than the opposite moiety.) For four nights the body was kept in the house (it would be the house of the shaman's lineage), the first night in one corner of the house, the
second in another, the third in another and the fourth in the last corner, during which time all inhabitants of the house fasted. Thereafter, the body was placed, uncremated, in a small grave house isolated from any others. This contrasted with ordinary men who were cremated and the ashes placed in burial grounds. Thus the themes of separation and identification were interwoven: burial arrangements contrasted with those for ordinary men but their instrumentation required the co-operation of the human community.

The success of the shaman's position as medium clearly rested on maintaining a balance of separation and identification between human and supernatural realms. If he became too identified with the spirit world he would lose his human identity. (This can be viewed in two ways, physically, identification with the spirit world meant death i.e. a transition to a spirit state, while spiritually it meant possession by the spirit.) In structural terms the authority of the shaman depended on association with the spirit world but total rejection of social ties meant that he would become feared as a sorcerer.

As with the Haida, the supernatural realm was opposed to the particular order of the human world. The shaman, then, was identified with the order of the human world and the possible disorder which could derive from the supernatural world: he was the expert in relations with a world of another order — of coping with reversal of order or with disorder. He was thus equipped to cope with sorcery. If, as I have tried to show, the sorcerer was someone who was thought
to have threatened the basic values of the society (by attacking within the matrilineage and by threatening the position of those in high ranking position, i.e. by defying the basic principles, kinship and rank, which gave Tlingit society its shape and meaning) he or she must surely be regarded as epitomizing the reversal of order. The extreme horror evinced by people at the 'identification' of a witch would seem to bear this out. The shaman, who was master of the spirit world in terms of knowledge and of control, but who was also dependent on the human world by virtue of inheritance and initiation was the most qualified to oppose it.
CHAPTER IX

A COMPARISON OF INITIATION PRACTISES

In order to perceive some of the differences and their implications more clearly it is useful to examine initiation practises. Shamanistic initiation, the means by which particular individuals came to be publicly accepted as shamans, reflected many of the principles which structured shamanism generally. Some of the differences in initiation which occurred between groups can be clearly related to differences in social organization and the functions performed by shamans.

Shamanistic initiation among the Fraser Valley Salish almost invariably involved an arduous spirit quest. Training, the development of ritual purity and spiritual strength through rigorous and prolonged isolation and self-denial, was regarded as the critical factor which distinguished shamans from spirit dancers. Both shamans and spirit dancers were likely to experience visionary contact with a spirit, but only prolonged training was likely to enable the individual to achieve the curing powers of a shaman. Training began usually under the encouragement of close kin during early childhood, before the possibility of sexual experience, and commonly continued for many years before a vision was achieved. Individuals were regarded as particularly prone to visionary experience directly after the death of a spouse. Occasionally visionary experience could come after prolonged illness. The spirit appeared to the individual, taught him or her a song and the
ability to cure in a particular way. Most shamans subsequently waited several years before beginning to practise. Writing of the Georgia Strait Salish, Barnett specifically noted that a shaman did not reveal his activities to others but that these could be inferred by his more intensive training, his greater interest in the work of other shamans, and by the fact that he usually sang in his sleep. "The beginnings were entirely informal; there were no induction ceremonies, no initiation into the profession, and no formal public recognition" (Barnett, 1955: 149). Training involved isolation of the individual from the ordinary human world. In the forest, on the sick bed, or in mourning for a spouse, individuals were removed from normal activities. Bathing and prolonged exposure, purging and sexual continence involved a rejection of the elements and processes which permit human life and a corresponding identification with the supernatural.

The informality of initiation seems consistent with the informality of Coast Salish social organization generally. According to Duff, the Fraser Valley Salish "measured social rank in terms of respect" (1952: 81), respect depending on a number of factors, including personal ability, generosity, age, wisdom, wealth and birth. Potlatches were held to validate a claim to high status, not to validate inheritance to a fixed, hereditary position. Property rights, at least those concerning resource areas, were again informal, since, essentially, anyone who needed could gain access to them (Duff, 1952:77). Outside the extended family there was no formal leadership, leaders being those who
could command respect. In fact, there seems a parallel in many respects between the "siem", or 'chief', and the shaman. The "siem" achieved his reputation by a gradual and extending acceptance of his ability and success without any formal announcement or assumption of leadership. The shaman achieved a reputation by the gradual recognition of his curative abilities and of his general success. And, just as the "siem" achieved respect and success largely by the maintenance of harmonious human relationships through 'wisdom' and 'generosity', the shaman was regarded as achieving success through harmonious relationships with the supernatural. It is perhaps significant in this regard that the shaman apparently received his powers as a gift from the supernatural rather than by force.

A spirit quest with visionary experience was essential for Nootka shamanistic initiation but it was not the critical factor distinguishing shamans from others. Individuals wishing to become shamans prepared themselves for months, sometimes years, in advance by practicing secret, family-owned techniques of ritual purification and strengthening. When they finally confronted the spirit they overpowered it by a ritual cry, or were themselves overpowered. At the risk of subsequently losing the spirit and the power it gave, they preserved any material remains left by the spirit as a token of the encounter. Thus far, the novice shaman's experience was analogous with that of others who sought power. Sometime after the encounter, a novice shaman underwent a "fixing" ritual whereby his control over the spirit was established. For this ritual another shaman was called in, preferably one
related to the novice, who "made scraping motions over his body, 'gath­
ering the power together'" (Drucker, 1951:188). The "fixing" ceremony
could be performed immediately or some considerable time after, when
the novice felt ready. This stabilizing of control over the spirit was
apparently the factor distinguishing shamans from others since it was
a public indication of the individual's intention to become a shaman.
Following the "fixing" the novice underwent a long period of training
under the 'instruction' of the spirit, during which time he sang and
danced in his sleep, moved out to the forest or whatever else the spi­
rit instructed, and learned the techniques of curing. Finally, when
the spirit decided, after a period of from several months to many years,
the novice asked his chief to give a feast at which his shaman's name
and his readiness to cure were publicly announced.

The shaman emerges as master of spirits, since no one else
acquired the degree of control afforded by "fixing" the power, but he
did not have sole access to spirit power. Chiefs, among others, were
important owners of supernatural power. The shaman's dependence on
and acceptance of chiefly authority was recognized when his name and
status was made public at a feast given by the chief. The importance
of family ties is recognized by the fact that initiates relied for a
successful spirit encounter on secret family knowledge, while broader
kinship ties are acknowledged by the fact that for "fixing" the power
it was considered safest (and less expensive) if the shaman called in
was a close kinsman. The compulsive nature of the shaman's control of
his spirit is consistent with the importance of compulsive magical techniques generally in Nootka manipulation of the supernatural. In terms of 'interaction' with spirits, then, Nootka shamans were acknowledged masters but in terms of the public exercise of control of supernatural forces, their authority was paralleled by that of ritualists and owners of supernatural power such as chiefs and it was to some degree limited or subject to the authority of chiefs. They differed from Salish shamans by the relative formality of their achievement of status (this being explicitly announced twice), and by the fact that they were more explicitly subject to chiefly authority. These differences do, in fact, correspond to differences in Salish and Nootka social organization. Among the Nootka, rank and property ownership was rigidly defined. Various chiefs, by their inheritance of specific positions and privileges, owned title to all resource areas. Lineage members who used these areas did so after acknowledging the chief's ownership (Drucker, 1951:251). By their control of resources chiefs were, in an effective way, leaders of the community. Different positions of rank were accompanied by different rights to control of resources. Ranked positions were precisely and rigidly graded and the assumption of any ranked position always required a public announcement of the right. Shamanistic initiation clearly reflects these factors by its emphasis on public announcement.
Visionary experience was the ideal in Kwakiutl shamanistic initiation. Ostensibly sickness was the most usual way of achieving a visionary encounter, the concept of a quest being less emphasized. Most commonly, the future shaman fell sick or induced sickness by fasting and self-castigation, and was heard to sing and make shaman cries, thus indicating spirit interference. The established shamans of the community then proceeded to direct the activities which would allow successful initiation. When the encounter had been successfully accomplished and the novice had learned the songs, name and other instructions given to him by the spirit, a feast was held at which the new shaman was introduced, his name announced, and his powers evidenced by a cure. According to Hunt, before his public initiation he was taught the shamanistic techniques used by the shamans of his community in a secret meeting place. By the fact that a new shaman was supposed to illustrate his power immediately by performing a cure it would seem that some previous training and instruction must have been common. Also according to Hunt, the shamans of each lineage ("numaym") were initiated by the same spirit. Shamanistic power could also be inherited from a powerful shaman by a transfer of power from father to son, after appropriate preparations by the son.

The Kwakiutl approach to the supernatural was somewhat different from that of the Nootka. The supernatural was of concern primarily as the source of hereditary ceremonial privileges. Hereditary
privileges were also of concern to the Nootka, but of equal importance were the economic benefits derivable from supernatural beings. Among the Kwakiutl, the concept of a solitary guardian spirit quest for non-hereditary 'free-floating' power was of little relevance and techniques of compulsive magic were rare, prayer or propitiation being the everyday means for seeking supernatural aid. This difference in orientation appears to be reflected in shamanistic initiation: there was less emphasis on the control and compulsion of spirits for a diversity of ends. Kwakiutl shamans were concerned with the specific end of curing, hence, perhaps, the importance of sickness rather than a quest as an initiatory experience. Shamanistic initiation was, as Boas pointed out, analogous in detail to the initiation of ceremonial dancers (1966:135), and, as suggested by Hunt's evidence (Boas, 1930:6), the concern with ceremonialism was reflected by the novice shaman's training in dramatic sleight-of-hand techniques for curing. The supervision of the novice's training and initiation by other shamans is remarkably similar to the supervision of winter dance initiates by experienced dancers.

If initiation expressed the affinity of shamanistic practises generally to Kwakiutl ceremonialism, they also expressed the importance of other structural principles, namely the principles of lineage organization, residence, and rank. The importance of lineage affiliation would seem to be expressed by the fact that shamans of a lineage were initiated by the same "shaman-maker" and were called the shamans of the chief of the lineage. Residence affiliation was recognised by the fact
that all the shamans of a community were involved in the instruction and initiation of the novice, while the importance of rank which was a system based on inheritance, seems to have been expressed by the fact that the sons of powerful shamans could inherit the power and position of the father. The most powerful shamans of a lineage were those designated with the duty to protect the chief.

Bella Coola shamanistic initiation, like that of the Nootka and Kwakiutl, expressed the importance of ceremonialism and public validation of status, but it also reflected principles which were characteristically Bella Coola. Visionary experience, with or without the ability to cure was sufficient justification for the claim to shamanistic status. Potentially it could be sought by undertaking a long and difficult quest, but more commonly it occurred after severe or protracted illness. In either case, a successful visionary encounter implied great ritual purity and spiritual strength on the part of the initiate. Individuals could be initiated by living spirits or by ghosts and were designated by different terms accordingly. Visionary experience itself was not sufficient for public recognition as a shaman. Individuals could experience visionary contact and even exercise spirit powers without being considered shamans. Public acceptance as a shaman came after a public announcement of the individual's shaman name and songs and, usually, a display of powers, validated by a distribution of property. Initiation was non-hereditary and any display of power was likely to be idiosyncratic, devised by the individual.
The critical importance of a public announcement of status validated by a distribution of property was consistent with a general belief among the Bella Coola that any significant change of status required public witness. The individualistic nature of the novice's initiation and display of powers was likewise consistent with a system of rank and status which, like that of the Coast Salish of the Fraser Valley, was comparatively flexible. As I infer from McIlwraith (1948:378), rank was not a system of positions with attendant rights and prerogatives through which successive individuals passed, but a system which depended on the relative accomplishments of different individuals at particular moments of time. High status, although manifested by the order of seating arrangements at a potlatch, depended on an individual's wealth and ability to give large displays. Individuals could increase their prestige, "make their name bright", or they could lose prestige. Leadership apparently depended on individual ability and esteem (1948:380).

Coast Tsimshian shamanistic initiation commonly involved a quest, formal instruction, and visionary contact, followed by a formal announcement. The data is not definite and it is possible that there was considerable variation between individuals but it appears that individuals normally sought shamanistic powers. Commonly the prospective shaman started training at an early age usually under the guidance and instruction of an older shaman, preferably but not necessarily a relative, who was paid. He practised rigorous ritual purification and strengthen-
ing through purging, bathing, continence, isolation in the forests, and so forth. During this time he might also learn techniques of curing or sleight-of-hand. Visionary experience itself often came after serious sickness or critical danger. The spirit could be, but by no means always was, one which had been associated with an ancestor. Upon recovery, the novice publicized the event by describing the experience and announcing the songs given by his spirit to assembled shamans, kin, and co-residents. Sickness, by itself could cause visionary experience but the ritual training of a quest was much more explicitly recognized than it was among the Kwakiutl. Shamanistic initiation differed from ceremonial initiation by the fact that it was solitary: it was not a group initiation or induced by group participation in a ceremonial event.

Tsimshian shamanism was, as already indicated, distinct from lineage organization and this separation appears at initiation. The novice did not necessarily depend for his shamanistic instruction on matrilineal kin, neither was he particularly likely to encounter a lineage spirit or a spirit previously associated with an ancestor, thus instruction and visionary experience were essentially independent of lineage affiliation. His solitary initiation contrasted clearly with the group initiations of lineage ceremonial performers. Ceremonialism was a vital interest generally in Tsimshian society (as it was elsewhere), however, and was reflected in the dramatic character of shamanistic techniques and modes of expression. The concern with ceremonial
modes of expression was reflected during initiation by the novice's instruction in dancing, sleight-of-hand techniques, and so forth. Unless the data is misleading, formal instruction in dramatic techniques was more important among the Tsimshian and Kwakiutl than it was among the Salish and Nootka.

Among the Haida shamanistic powers were normally inherited. Non-hereditary acquisition of powers was possible, but rare. This contrasts with the Bella Coola, Salish and Nootka where shamanistic powers were not inheritable, although possibly shamanism could 'run' in families if techniques of training, passed on as family secrets, were considered important for ensuring success. Unlike any of the groups so far, the Haida believed that the shaman's spirit assistant could be inherited. As I understand it, the prospective shaman was usually instructed and guided in his visionary quest by a maternal uncle. His or her initial visionary encounter was likely to be with an insignificant spirit and subsequently he or she was likely to encounter progressively stronger spirits. Contact with a spirit was maintained with only one spirit at a time. Unlike the Tlingit, Haida shamans did not collect a number of spirits which they could direct simultaneously. Visionary contact apparently involved elements of a quest since Swanton affirms that spirits would only possess "'one who was clean'...To become 'clean', a man had to abstain from food for a long time" (1958:64). He also records an example of one individual who became a shaman during a period of serious illness. The individual appeared so "clean" that the spirit
was encouraged to enter (Ibid.). At some point the novice was likely to inherit the spirit helper and paraphernalia of a maternal uncle, or, presumably, some other maternal relative since Swanton and Murdock both agree that the position of shaman was normally inherited by a man's maternal nephew or a woman's daughter (Swanton, 1905:38; Murdock, 1934:258). At death, the nephew of a shaman was susceptible to supernatural influence and likely to receive power. From myths and stories, an important element in the process of shamanistic initiation was the public identification of the spirit by the community. As implied by myths and stories an individual could achieve visionary experience and act like a shaman but recognition as a "real" shaman awaited public identification of the spirit and a display of power, either through the completion of a successful cure or by showing unusual behaviour. Swanton reports somewhat enigmatically that:

Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders did not always deal fairly by those he spoke through. Sometimes he persuaded the shaman that he was receiving his power from some other source....When this fact was discovered, a shaman's reputation was destroyed (1958:64-65).

We may wonder whether this destruction of a shaman's reputation was in any way related to the importance of having the spirit's correct identity known to the community.

Haida communities were generally coterminous with lineages: a community would comprise a core of matrilineally related men plus spouses or dependents. Thus community involvement with a shaman's initiation implied lineage involvement. However, public recognition as
a shaman did not involve a ceremony which explicitly emphasized lineage participation in the event as did the Tlingit ceremony. The community as a whole was concerned.

Without a more comprehensive knowledge of Haida social organization, it is difficult to relate features of shamanistic initiation to the operation of general principles of social organization. We may note, however, that compared with Tsimshian and Tlingit shamanism, Haida shamanism seems to have emphasized matrilineal affiliation more than the former, while in contrast to the Tlingit it tended to emphasize the interdependence of the shaman and community. These differences emerged at the training and initiation of a shaman. Much more than a Tsimshian novice, prospective Haida shamans relied on the instruction and help of matrilineal kin, to the extent of inheriting the paraphernalia and spirit helper of a maternal uncle. The emphasis placed on community identification of the spirit and validation of status by a trance or some other manifestation of possession, was consistent with the general view of the shaman as intermediary between community and spirit world.

As with the Haida, Tlingit shamans normally inherited their position. Full recognition and acceptance as a shaman involved a series of visionary encounters plus the inheritance of powers and paraphernalia from a maternal uncle at a special ceremony following the death of the uncle. The prospective shaman began training for visionary experience by fasting, bathing, purging himself and spending periods of isolation in the mountains and forests. Once he encountered the animal
manifestation of the spirit confronted in the vision he tried to cut out and preserve its tongue. If he were unsuccessful in achieving a vision he could try handling the skull of a dead shaman or spending the night by the grave of a shaman. Ideally he had to acquire eight spirits, or eight tongues. Acquiring tongues seems to have signified mastery of the spirits. Full recognition and acceptance as a shaman did not come until the novice had completed a special public initiation ceremony. At the death of an old shaman preparations were begun for the initiation of his heir. For four days, the body of the old shaman was kept inside the house (presumably the lineage house of which the shaman and his heir were members), while all the occupants, including the prospective heir, fasted. Then, the whole community was assembled in the house and the ceremony began. "Participants", as opposed to "spectators" (Krause, 1956:202), presumably members of the shaman's lineage, began singing, dancing and drumming, calling upon the spirits of the departed shaman. At the height of the activity the new shaman appeared and fell to the ground unconscious. After regaining consciousness he withdrew to a secluded area. Four days later the ceremony was repeated with, apparently, "a great release of tension and excitement on the part of the participants" (1956:202). During this time the novice was supposed to have acquired at least some of the spirits of his predecessor. According to Swanton, some shamanistic spirits were specifically associated with lineages and were the first to appear to each new shaman of the lineage (1908:466).
Tlingit shamanistic initiation, then, expressed considerable emphasis on matrilineal ties. Lineage (or house) members were actively involved in summoning the spirits of the deceased shaman for the public initiation of the new. It would seem clear that, by the division of attendants into "participants" and "spectators" at this time shamans were aligned with a lineage or house group rather than with the community as a whole. The position of shaman among the Tlingit can perhaps almost be regarded as a lineage office, analogous to the office of lineage head. It is interesting to note in this respect that Swanton remarked that, "Tlingit shamans were generally of a higher social rank than those among the Haida" (1908:464). High ranking shamans would appear consistent with the fact that shamans functioned as witch-detectors and preservers of rank stability. We may wonder if there is a parallel here with the great shamans of the Kwakiutl who were supposed to protect lineage heads. Kwakiutl great shamans, it will be remembered, were able to transmit their powers to their sons, so that the role of chief's shaman tended to be, or could be, hereditary.

Several features of shamanistic initiation reflect the emphasis the Tlingit placed on the dead. Potlatches, for example, were held in honor of the dead. Drucker writes that, "The Tlingit viewed the potlatch as a cycle of rituals to mourn the death of a chief" (1955:133). In terms of shamanism, not only was the public initiation of a new shaman very closely tied to the death of the old, but prospective shamans could hope to ensure a successful vision quest by handling the skull of a dead shaman or remaining by a shaman's grave. The continuity
between dead and novice shamans in the process of becoming a full shaman seems to parallel the continuity between dead and novice chiefs.

Other features of Tlingit shamanistic initiation, such as the emphasis on acquiring a collection of spirit helpers, invite interest and speculation but, on the basis of this examination of Tlingit ethnography this must wait.

The preceding section has tried to summarise the data on initiation, in order to indicate more explicitly some of the differences and similarities between groups, and has attempted, where possible to suggest correlations with other aspects of society in each case, which may, at least in part, explain the differences. To indicate some of the similarities and differences more graphically a chart is presented. The chart indicates the presence or absence of specific phenomena and therefore, because critical differences or structural similarities are often relative rather than absolute, it fails to express some of the more involved relationships and comparisons just discussed.

1. The chart owes inspiration to Drucker but the information is my own.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>compulsive ritual techniques common</strong></th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Nk</th>
<th>Kw</th>
<th>BC</th>
<th>Ts</th>
<th>Ha</th>
<th>Tl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>compulsive ritual techniques available to anyone</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>compulsive ritual techniques hereditary family secrets</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>presence of ritual specialists</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>spirit power attainable by ordinary individuals</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>spirit power inheritable</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ceremonial dancing powers assoc. with spirit contact</strong></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ceremonial dancing powers inheritable</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ceremonial initiation and protection by a lineage spirit</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>shamanistic spirit helpers inheritable</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>shamanistic initiation by a lineage-assoc. spirit possible</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>shamanistic power restricted to curing or causing disease</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Since the concept of guardian spirit power is vague, spirit power, as used here, implies those kinds of power derived through direct visionary contact with a supernatural being, which are not considered by native speakers as characteristically shamanistic, and which are not associated with the performance of ceremonial displays.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Nk</th>
<th>Kw</th>
<th>BC</th>
<th>Ts</th>
<th>Ha</th>
<th>Tl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shamanistic training accompanied by formal instruction</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamanistic training accompanied by informal or no instruction</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal public announcement necessary for recognition as a shaman</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public announcement involves lineage participation</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaman dressed distinctively in everyday life</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaman uses a shaman's name</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special burial for shamans</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION

It was stated in the introduction that this presentation sought to review the data on traditional Northwest Coast shamanism from a structural perspective. It has operated on the assumption that a particular cultural domain of activity, in this case that which has been termed 'shamanistic', will vary from one culture to the next in accordance with different patterns of behaviour and belief in related spheres of cultural activity. In this final chapter I shall review some of the characteristics common to shamans as individuals, some of the differences and similarities regarding the position of shamans in society, and some of the features associated with the shaman's position in relation to the symbolic order.

The Shaman as Individual

The rank of shamans:

There is not much precise information concerning the initial rank of those who became shamans. So far as I am aware, few ethnographers have specified the average rank of shamans in the communities they have dealt with. Such information as there is seems to suggest that when shamanistic powers were inherited, initiates tended to be of higher rank than those who did not inherit shamanistic powers. Drucker observed for the Nootka, who could not inherit shamanistic powers, that "almost all of the shamans whose lives and miracles were recounted to
me were of low rank; commoners, or the younger sons of chiefs" (1951:181). Among the Salish of the Lower Fraser Valley and the Bella Coola, where visionary shamanistic powers could not normally be inherited, theoretically anyone could become a shaman (Jenness, 1955:65; McIlwraith, 1948:547), perhaps even slaves, since among the Fraser Valley Salish they acquired spirit dancing powers (Duff, 1952:83; Jenness, 1955:41) which were quite closely related to shamanistic powers. From myths and stories, there is some suggestion that, among the Haida, at least some of those shamans who did not inherit their powers were initially of low rank. The stories, "Tc!aawunk!a" and "He-who-got-supernatural-power-from-his-little-finger", mention that the hero in each case was poor and despised (Swanton, 1905b:58, 247). Among the Haida and Tlingit, where inheritance of shamanistic powers was usual, Swanton reports that, "occasionally a shaman united the civil with the religious power by being a town or a house chief also" (1960:522). Boas' informant, Chief Mountain, apparently inherited his shamanistic powers since he claimed that only a man whose father was a shaman could become a shaman (Boas, 1930:270-277). Perhaps we may infer that throughout the Northwest Coast shamanism was a possible avenue to increased prestige for those of low rank. We may also infer that where it was hereditary, it tended to become associated with positions of higher rank.
The benefits of becoming a shaman:

According to Drucker, the material gains a shaman was likely to achieve were relatively slight, particularly when compared with the amount of wealth required for hosting a potlatch (1951:183). This would seem to be more or less true for shamans in other parts of the Northwest Coast. For the Nootka Drucker gives examples of payments for cures worth between 4 and 10 dollars (1951:204) and estimates examples of property exchange during a potlatch as amounting to 200, 300 or 500 dollars. Boas reported that a Kwakiutl shaman might receive about 10 blankets for curing a patient of noble birth (1966:144). At the same time he reports property worth the equivalent of 4,000 blankets in connection with a potlatch (1966:92). I have been unable to find similar figures for other groups but it would seem unlikely that shamans elsewhere received significantly more.

Again, it seems doubtful that shamans as such could hope to advance substantially in rank, since, among most groups, rank was primarily determined by birth, and even where rank may have depended largely on wealth, it is unlikely that shamans ever achieved sufficient wealth to support claims to rank prerogatives.

Perhaps one of the major benefits of becoming a shaman was the advance in status involved. Status, as distinct from rank, could perhaps be roughly defined as a position meriting a particular degree of prestige. By all accounts, shamans invariably received keen respect for their powers, and sometimes fear. They were a focus of interest or
concern to those around them. Drucker maintains that the desire for prestige and respect, rather than material gain, was the main motivation of Nootka shamans (1951:183).

As already mentioned, throughout the area there was a common stereotype that shamans were wealthy and successful individuals, although, as we have seen, the material gains from curing could not have been particularly great and many shamans were not initially wealthy or of high status. As a rule, status was closely associated with wealth, all formal changes of status being marked by a distribution of property. It is possible that through curing shamans acquired items of wealth which could most efficiently be converted into prestige, or, if status came to be regarded as synonymous with wealth, it is possible that informal increases in status were conceptualized in terms of wealth.

Apart from a rise in prestige shamans also acquired personal benefits such as the opportunity for artistic or ceremonial expression. Throughout the Northwest Coast individual shamans had their own specific details in curing techniques, clothing and paraphernalia, performance, and so forth, usually attributed to the instructions of the shaman's spirit helper. They may also have derived considerable satisfaction for the attention they received at curing ceremonies and on other occasions. Perhaps a point to note is that among some groups they were afforded considerable freedom from the restraints of conventional behaviour. Among the Nootka, novices, and perhaps established shamans, were allowed to dance or sing at all hours of the day or night
on the supposition that they were acting on the instructions of the spirit. Among the Haida, shamans supposed to be possessed by their spirit performed bizarre unconventional activities or retreated into solitary isolation.

The Shaman and Society

For some understanding of the shaman in relation to society it seems important to examine something of the shaman's involvement in the structure of authority. It is important here to distinguish between power and authority; the two are related but not synonymous. Beattie writes:

In a very fundamental sense power is human power, and human power is the ability to produce intended effects, that is, to carry out one's will on oneself, on other people, or on things....

Unlike power, authority implies right: a robber may have the power to rob, but he has no authority to do so (1964: 141).

On the Northwest Coast power derived not so much from the threat of physical force as from the control of supernatural, economic, social and ceremonial resources. For the most part, power and authority were closely associated. Much of the power of chiefs, for example, derived from their authority, as senior kinsmen of a kinship unit and as high ranking individuals, to mobilize the support and productivity of lower ranking kinsmen, or from the inherited right to allocate or withhold the use of resources (the rights of chiefs to allocate or withhold re-
sources were limited by the traditional rights of others, of course, but even so, chiefs often inherited a considerable stock of property for personal disposal. Shamans, as such, were powerful to the extent that they controlled supernatural resources and were accorded authority insofar as they controlled these resources for ends which were perceived to be legitimate.

It would seem that the shaman's sphere of authority (i.e. the legitimized power of shamans) varied in some part according to the authority and powers of chiefs. Control of supernatural power was a very important source of civil power. And, although almost everyone sought to control supernatural power (by ritual techniques or other means), chiefs were especially concerned with its control, particularly with types of control which were significant in reinforcing authority and control over people. Thus Nootka chiefs sought ritual powers which established their rights over territory and were likely to attract a stable following, and they sought powers to perform impressive ceremonial displays. Kwakiutl chiefs acquired supernatural power to dance in the most prestigious secret society ceremonials. Tsimshian and Haida chiefs could acquire the ability to "blow" power into others. For the most part the supernatural powers controlled by chiefs tended to be distinct from that controlled by shamans. This must have been true for the Tsimshian, Haida and Tlingit, I infer, if certain individuals could be identified as both chief and shaman. That shamanistic power was distinct from the supernatural power of chiefs is clearly indicated by the
fact that, so far as I can determine, chiefs, in contrast to shamans, were not feared as sorcerers. In short, the supernatural powers acquired by chiefs tended to be benign -- legitimized powers which would reinforce chiefly authority. The powers attributed to shamans were more ambiguous: they were both legitimate and illegitimate; they could cause benefit or harm; complement or uphold the authority and power of chiefs or oppose it; preserve the social order or threaten it. With respect to shamans the division between power and authority was distinct. Their authority was seldom concerned with matters of daily routine or recurring interest such as subsistence or ceremonial activity, but was more likely to concern moments of life in which unpredictable or catastrophic supernatural intervention was suspected. For example, sickness was a prime symptom of unpredictable and catastrophic supernatural intervention and throughout the area shamans were curers.

Shamans could both threaten chiefs or reinforce their power and authority. They might indirectly threaten the prestige of chiefs by their own wealth (or reputation of wealth) and success, or they might be suspected of attacking the person or prestige of chiefs by sorcery (for example, gross misbehaviour by a chief, as well as sickness, might be attributed to the work of some malevolent shaman). On the other hand, they could directly uphold the power of chiefs by working on the chief's behalf, while, by the fact that chiefs could employ shamans to wreak supernatural retribution, shamans removed chiefs from the responsibility of the anti-social use of supernatural powers.
In terms of the authority structure, therefore, shamans occupied an anomalous position. They tended to possess status beyond that merited by rank and power beyond that accorded their authority. This seems to have been true to a greater or lesser degree throughout the area. However, there is some data to suggest that where the position of a shaman tended to become an office, involving specific responsibilities associated with the maintenance of the political structure, the shaman's potentially anti-social power to kill was likely to be legitimized for directing against those who threatened the social order. The power to kill of a Kwakiutl chief's shaman, for example, was legitimate to the extent that it was directed against enemies of the chief. The killing powers of Tsimshian, Haida and Tlingit shamans who accompanied the warriors in a war party were legitimized for direction against the enemy.

The use and misuse of supernatural power:

It is of some interest at this point to regard some of Mary Douglas' hypotheses regarding the use and misuse of supernatural power. In her book *Purity and Danger* she explores the ideas of order and disorder. In the section "Powers and Dangers," she particularly seeks to examine the relationships between those who are a source of disorder and the authority structure. She points out:

Granted that disorder spoils pattern; it also provides the materials for pattern....That is why...we do not simply condemn disorder. We recognise that it is destructive to existing patterns; also that it has potentiality. It symbolises both danger and power (1966:94).
She considers two polar types of spiritual power, the first, "exerted on behalf of the social structure", the second, disapproved powers "sup-posed to be a danger to society" (1966:99). She suggests that:

Where the social system explicitly recognises positions of authority, those holding such positions are endowed with explicit spiritual power, controlled, conscious, external and approved powers to bless or curse. Where the social system requires people to hold dangerously ambiguous roles, these persons are credited with uncontrolled, unconscious, dangerous, disapproved power--such as witchcraft and evil eye.

In other words, where the social system is well-articulated, I look for articulate powers vested in the points of authority; where the social system is ill-articulated, I look for inarticulate powers vested in those who are a source of disorder (Ibid.).

With respect to sorcery she writes:

On the argument we have been following, sorcery ought to be used by those in control of key positions in the social structure as it is a deliberate, controlled form of spiritual power. But it is not. Sorcery is found in the structural interstices where we have located witchcraft, as well as in the seats of authority (1966:107).

She suggests that sorcery is likely to be found in societies where positions of authority, although clearly recognized, are open to com-petition, that "sorcery beliefs really serve as instruments for self-promotion" (1966:108). Thus, if I interpret her correctly, she is sug-gest ing a correlation between spiritual powers and authority which may be roughly schematized thus:

articulate, legitimized authority: articulate, legitimized spiritual power
tenuous but legitimized authority: legally and morally neutral powers of sorcery.
'negative authority' ("dangerously ambiguous role"): illegitimate power.

This extremely brief summary of her rather detailed exposition serves to provoke a number of considerations with respect to shamanistic and chiefly authority and power on the Northwest Coast. Much of the Northwest Coast material serves to substantiate her hypotheses, particularly her contention that legitimate and specific spiritual powers will be invested in those who hold explicitly recognized positions of authority. It is more difficult to reconcile her views concerning witchcraft or sorcery with the position of shaman. The shaman, in many respects, could be regarded as one of those people required "to hold dangerously ambiguous roles", whom she would expect to be credited with "uncontrolled, unconscious, dangerous, disapproved powers -- such as witchcraft and evil eye". Instead, shamans were credited with controlled power and the potential danger of this power was accepted and to some extent legitimized. Again, although there is very little specific information concerning sorcery fears and accusations on the Northwest Coast, such as there is tends to suggest that when shamans were involved, if their behaviour was not simply attributed to spite, they were more likely to be viewed as the intermediaries in a power struggle, representing particular factions, rather than as primary participants. Since succession to positions of authority was hereditary, shamans, as such, could not hope to acquire authority by the defeat of an opponent. Thus shamans clearly do not appear to have conformed fully to Douglas' views concerning witches or sorcerers al-
though they conformed to some of the characteristics of both. And yet there is one factor to note which seems to support her argument on the distribution of powers. Where the position of shaman was identified as an office, more or less explicitly tied to the authority structure, the potentially anti-social powers to kill came to be most clearly legitimized insofar as they were directed against those who threatened the social structure. For the most part, the shaman's authority was that of an intermediary, aligned with human and non-human. In a sense we can say that the shaman occupied an explicit, institutionalized "intersticial" position, neither explicitly aligned with nor opposed to the prevailing points of authority. In this capacity he had dual supernatural power -- power which could be both beneficial and harmful, approved and disapproved. But perhaps we can suggest that shamans could potentially occupy several positions on the continuum between articulate, legitimate authority and 'negative authority'. Shamans, occupying an office more or less aligned with the prevailing point of authority, were attributed with legitimized powers. Shamans suspected or accused of 'sorcery' for reasons of malice may perhaps have approached Douglas' witchcraft end of the continuum, attributed with "dangerous, disapproved" powers even if they were not completely "uncontrolled" or "unconscious". And as intermediaries, relatively neutral or aloof from the seats of authority they were associated with dual supernatural powers. The shaman accused or suspected of sorcery by virtue of his involvement in a factional power struggle perhaps could
be viewed as similar to Douglas' sorcerer, since, although not a primary agent, he was party to a competition for authority. From another point of view, however, that of the shaman’s allies, he might perhaps be regarded as using legitimate power on behalf of the prevailing social order. Mary Douglas' postulated distribution of spiritual powers cannot altogether be satisfactorily applied to the Northwest Coast because it proposes too rigid a dichotomy between explicit, articulated authority and "dangerously ambiguous roles" and because it too rigidly identifies articulate legitimate powers and "unconscious, uncontrolled" powers with these two. Her views of controlled and uncontrolled or conscious and unconscious do not appear to have much relevance for the Northwest Coast although they might if we had more data about so-called sorcery beliefs up and down the Coast. She does not consider the possibility of a legitimate, institutionalized "dangerously ambiguous role". As a suggestion, perhaps we can crudely schematize a distribution of powers as found on the Northwest Coast thus:

1. articulate, legitimimized authority (chief): articulate, legitimate spiritual power

2. legitimimized authority (chief's shaman): legitimate spiritual power

3. non-aligned authority (shaman as intermediary): dual spiritual power

4. 'negative authority' (shaman as malevolent sorcerer): illegitimate, disapproved power.

I infer that by "articulate" Douglas means powers or authority which are clearly specified and bounded and fitted within a social system.
The shaman as spirit intermediary:

At various times it has been stated that shamans were intermediaries between a human and spirit realm. In Chapter I the shaman was defined in terms of his relationship with spirits. We may conclude with some observations concerning the shaman as spirit intermediary.

In general outline, the religious postulates of Northwest Coast groups were similar. All groups distinguished between two states of existence, what we might term spiritual and material. The laws and principles governing the one were distinguished from those governing the other. Men could accomplish in spirit what was impossible in body. Supernatural power pertained to the former. Most, if not all material phenomena had spiritual existence, but not necessarily supernatural power. Supernatural power could be possessed by the spirits of animals, plants or various natural phenomena, and by other spirit entities such as human souls, ghosts, and various monsters, deities or disembodied spirits. The particular characteristics attributed to spirit entities, and the laws and principles postulated to govern their existence differed somewhat from one group to the next but in each case, it was knowledge of these characteristics and laws which allowed men to manipulate spirits with their supernatural power, for the fulfilment of human ends. Compulsive ritual techniques, for example, operated on the principles that the activity of spirits could be determined by the action of certain words, spells or substances.
In many respects spirits possessed characteristics which were like those of living men. They could be appeased, cajoled, angered or flattered, or they might conform to rules of rank. But in other respects they differed considerably. Among the Haida, Tsimshian and Tlingit (and perhaps other groups) they were governed by a different time scale, a year in the material, human world corresponding to a day in spirit terms. Supernatural beings often landed a canoe bow first, in contrast to humans. Men and supernatural beings were ordinarily invisible to each other. Among the Bella Coola ghosts spoke a language which was incomprehensible to all men with the exception of those shamans who received power from ghosts. And, of course, spirit beings differed from men in the extra-human supernatural powers which they possessed. In some fashion death seems to have been an important point of linkage between men and spirits (although I am unclear as to the precise relation). Certainly the idea of death seems inherent in shamanistic training. For ordinary men contact with a spirit usually meant death. Throughout the area shamanistic initiation involved symbolic death through removal from normal social life by sickness or quest. Among the Tlingit (and many other groups) novice shamans could seek visionary experience by remaining near a grave site or handling the skull of a dead person. Among the Haida and Tlingit supernatural power was most likely to come to the maternal nephew of a shaman just after the latter's death. It is worth recalling, I think, the remark of a Salish informant who explained that individuals were most likely to
receive supernatural power just after the death of a spouse because "When your wife dies, part of you dies with her, and you are different from what you were...You are more powerful at that time" (Duff, 1950: 95).

The Training of a Shaman

Shamanistic training and initiation, which expressed so much of the shaman's relation to the supernatural order also expressed the conjunctions and oppositions of human and supernatural, since in many respects, the novice sought to become more like a spirit being, independent of his material existence. Training for visionary experience was remarkably similar throughout the Coast. It usually started in early childhood before the danger of exposure to sexual intercourse. It usually involved fasting, purging, isolation, bathing and the avoidance of any contact with menstrual blood or sexual fluids. In other words it implied the rejection of elements intimately associated with the continuance of human physical and social life. De Laguna reports of the Tlingit that ritual purification also required that the individual refrain from speech, work or other social activities. This regimen implied not simply a removal from human elements, but an identification with the spiritual. Menstrual blood, urine, human sweat or sexual fluids were repugnant to spirits. The individual prayed and danced to exhaustion and, as mentioned, he would haunt grave sites or other dangerous or mysterious places known to be frequented by spirits. Upon
visionary experience, often a traumatic experience for a mortal, the initiate became infused with supernatural power and, in this state, was dangerous to others, just as the supernatural being was dangerous to others. Kwakiutl novices were secluded in a specially purified hut. Once the link with the spirit being was established and control had been achieved the novice was able to return to the realm of men and engage in social activities. Established shamans, like others, could marry and have children. The supernatural was both source of order and disorder. Powers derived from the supernatural such as the power to hunt well, to cure or to perform ceremonial displays helped the continuation of order. But supernatural forces could also cause death, famine and other misfortunes. By their alignment with the supernatural shamans might cause either. Their potential to cause harm could be reduced by emphasizing their dependence on the human order. The public initiation of shamans seem to have expressed the shaman's ties to the human, as opposed to his visionary initiation which expressed ties to the spiritual. Among the Nootka, the shaman's ties with kinsmen and with his lineage head were affirmed. First, during the "fixing" ceremony, when he was most vulnerable to attack from unscrupulous older shamans, he relied on kin for securing a reliable shaman (if there were no shamans who were kin available) and for paying for the ceremony. Later, at the formal public announcement to the community and world at large, he was usually dependent on his lineage head for hosting the requisite feast and making the announcement. The public initiation,
then, affirmed several of the principles governing Nootka society, including kinship, rank and mutual reciprocity of payment and counter-payment in the announcement and formal recognition of a status change. Again, the Kwakiutl shaman's initiation invoked a complex of reciprocal relationships. Co-initiates, shamans of the same community and those initiated by the same shaman-maker, directed the novice's initiation and return to the community. Community members were involved in the preparation of a seclusion hut for the novice and, on the day of his return, prepared the house he was to enter and themselves underwent purification. The father of the novice was involved by giving a feast after the initiation at which the shaman's name was announced. Among the Haida, the community and lineage was involved in helping the novice to recover from his visionary trauma and in helping to establish the correct identity of the spirit. Among the Tlingit, lineage members helped to summon the spirits of the departed shaman so that they could enter the new, while members of the community at large were on hand to witness the event. In each of these cases, it seems reasonable to suggest that the particular relationships which are affirmed are those perceived to contribute significantly to social order. Among the Nootka, for example, where flexible residence patterns could to some extent counter the cohesive force of kinship ties, loyalty between chief and followers was an important ethic; followers "helped" their chief who in return cared for their followers. Among the Kwakiutl, in addition to ties of kinship and residence, the ties formed by mutual
initiation by a particular spirit, as among the secret societies, were a powerful cohesive force.

The shaman and the symbolic order:

It is interesting to note that themes of separation of the shaman from the human order of things seem to have been far more similar in the various cultural groups than themes of identification. Themes of separation which included sexual abstinence, isolation and fasting recurred constantly, whereas actions of identification with the human frequently emphasized principles of social organization which differed in each group.

The shaman can be regarded as expressing, in real or symbolic terms, many of the group's conceptions of cosmic and human order. The process of initiation and the stereotype of shamans as successful plus the creative and destructive powers attributed to them confirmed group conceptions about the nature of the supernatural and of man's dependence on it. The shaman achieved his position and powers by manifestly putting into practise the theories which postulated the supernatural as source of all major social, economic and ceremonial benefits. Public initiation affirmed many of the principles organizing social relationships, for example, kinship and residence affiliation or the general principle which required that any changes of status should be witnessed and validated by a public announcement and distribution of property. The more impressive curing ceremonies associated with patients of high
rank tended to reinforce attitudes associated with rank. In short, shamans expressed group concerns and group theories about how things worked and how things should work.
## APPENDIX

### GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native Term</th>
<th>(Anglicized)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SALISH 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) s?alya</td>
<td>sulia</td>
<td>'guardian spirit' or 'vision'</td>
<td>-the entity that bestowed power on an individual; the term also referred to the vision experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) s?alia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) swiam</td>
<td>swiam</td>
<td>'power'</td>
<td>-strength or ability in a physical as well as spiritual sense; all creatures had swiam and in addition might receive it from other creatures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) siwil</td>
<td>siwil</td>
<td>'prayer', 'spell', 'magical utterance'</td>
<td>-inherited ritual knowledge for which no training was required although its effective application required ritual purification. Useful for a great variety of purposes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) sio?eoa</td>
<td></td>
<td>'priest', 'ritualist'</td>
<td>-a specialist in the knowledge and application of siwil. Different individuals had their own collection of siwil for specific purposes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) sia?wa</td>
<td>seuwa</td>
<td>'fortune-teller'</td>
<td>-individual born with the innate ability to see into the future and to converse with ghosts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) seuwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Versions used in the text have been anglicized.
2. The letters in brackets signify the initial of the author whose notation I have used: these are, (B)=Boas, (D)=Duff, (Dr)=Drucker, (J)=Jenness, (K)=Krause, (M)=McIlwraith, (S)=Swanton.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native Term</th>
<th>(Anglicized)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(J) sx'ne'cem</td>
<td>sxwneem</td>
<td>'shaman',</td>
<td>-individuals who have acquired the power to cure after a lengthy period of training and a visionary encounter with the spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) sxwsalem</td>
<td></td>
<td>'medicine-man'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) sxwsa'lkwl</td>
<td></td>
<td>'new spirit dancer'</td>
<td>-one who has newly received dancing power from a guardian spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) sc'alsx'om</td>
<td></td>
<td>'old spirit dancer'</td>
<td>-an experienced spirit dancer who is able to project power into new dancers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) sie'm</td>
<td>siem</td>
<td>'chief'</td>
<td>-&quot;Those who were most highly respected, the high born and the great and good self-made leaders&quot; (Duff, 1952: 80).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOOTKA**

<p>| (Dr) tcaha        | tceha        | 'beings'         | -a generalized term which refers to a category of creatures which may include &quot;ya'ai&quot;, a particular race of supernatural beings, ghosts, and a large number of other races and individuals which possess supernatural power. |
| (Dr) tciyas'am    |              | 'shrines'        | -localized areas used by ritualists, where they perform their ritual techniques. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native Term</th>
<th>(Anglicized)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>'ritualist'</td>
<td>-individuals, usually chiefs, who had inherited a body of ritual techniques for various purposes, for example, inducing dead whales to drift ashore, or attracting the salmon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dr) lōqwona</td>
<td></td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
<td>-individuals who had acquired the power to cure after visionary experience and the establishment of control over the spirit in a special ceremony. The term also referred to a community initiation ceremony called by Drucker, &quot;Shaman's Dance&quot;, and by others, &quot;Wolf Ritual&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dr) ha'wil</td>
<td>hawil</td>
<td>'chief'</td>
<td>-a formal title of address designating lineage heads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dr)</td>
<td></td>
<td>'commoner'</td>
<td>-a descriptive term referring to those who have no rank prerogatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWAKIUTL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) na'walak</td>
<td>nawalak</td>
<td>'supernatural being'</td>
<td>-the term is most often used as an adjective to indicate beings or objects endowed with supernatural power. It frequently designates a quality, much as Westerners use the word 'electric'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Term</td>
<td>(Anglicized)</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) ba'xwEs</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ordinary', 'profane'</td>
<td>-a term indicating the opposite of na-walāk. It was used to refer to the summer season, to uninitiated people, and so forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) dō'xlsEs</td>
<td></td>
<td>'seer'</td>
<td>-an individual born with the power to see into the future without having to undergo visionary experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) pfxāla</td>
<td>paxala</td>
<td>'initiated'</td>
<td>-the term was used to refer to those who had been initiated as winter dancers, during the winter dance season.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) pfxāla</td>
<td>paxala</td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
<td>-the term also designated individuals Boas calls shamans, those who have a special name, song and power associated with curing from a visionary encounter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) lā'xsa</td>
<td></td>
<td>'great shaman'</td>
<td>-one who has acquired the ability both to cure and to cause disease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) pā'xeEm</td>
<td></td>
<td>'real shaman'</td>
<td>-one who has &quot;seen&quot; the spirit which came to him or her in the visionary encounter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) xa'magame' gi'game'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'head chief'</td>
<td>-senior member of a numaym, or lineage, distinguished from others of high rank who are referred to as &quot;lower chiefs&quot; or &quot;new chiefs&quot; (Boas, 1966:51).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Term</td>
<td>(Anglicized)</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BELLA COOLA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) ixlokwaladjut</td>
<td>'spirit power'</td>
<td>-&quot;aid granted to the unfortunate&quot;: personal power derived from a spirit in a moment of crisis.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) alukwala</td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
<td>-one who acquired power, either to cure or to perform a 'miraculous' performance and to mediate with spirits, from a &quot;living&quot; spirit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) askankots</td>
<td>'shaman of the dead'</td>
<td>-one who acquired power, especially the power to communicate with ghosts, from a ghost.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) snäxom</td>
<td>'seer'</td>
<td>-one who acquired prophetic powers from Alquntam, the supreme spirit being.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) numitl</td>
<td>'chief'</td>
<td>-a man who Has given a fourth potlatch and is accorded a position of eminence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSIMSHIAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) nextr</td>
<td>nexnox</td>
<td>'supernatural'</td>
<td>-the term is used as a noun designating anything mysterious. It implies the agent of supernatural energy and could refer to an individual's inherited spirit associate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) halait</td>
<td>halait</td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
<td>-one who has acquired the power to cure after a visionary spirit encounter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Term</td>
<td>(Anglicized)</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D)</td>
<td>svensk halait</td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
<td>-literally translated, the phrase means 'supernatural blowing' and refers to the shaman's ability to cure by blowing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D)</td>
<td>naxnagam halait</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>sE'mâ'g'id</td>
<td>'chief'</td>
<td>-designates the head man of a lineage, who has the privilege of using certain names and crests, and certain limited political and social rights and duties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>sE'mg'i'a'd</td>
<td>'the real people'</td>
<td>-a descriptive term applied to lineage heads and those of the highest nobility.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HAIDA**

<p>| (S) | sgâ'na | sgana | 'supernatural being' | -a descriptive term which could refer to any number of creatures deemed to be supernatural, for example, killer whales. |
| (S) | sgâ'na'we | | 'supernatural power' | -extraordinary or extra-human ability. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native Term</th>
<th>(Anglicized)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(S) sgā'ga</td>
<td>sgaga</td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
<td>- one intimately associated with supernatural beings and possessed of supernatural power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>'chief'</td>
<td>- senior member of lineage kin living in one large house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>'town chief'</td>
<td>- senior member or senior kin group house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TLINGIT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(K) jēk</td>
<td>jek</td>
<td>'spirit',</td>
<td>- could refer to a shaman's spirit assistants besides other entities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(K) ichick'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ghost'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(K) amkau a niāči</td>
<td></td>
<td>'shaman'</td>
<td>- one who has acquired control of eight spirit helpers and inherited a position from a predecessor, and thereby has the power to cure sickness and detect sorcery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- &quot;chief, gentleman, Mr.,&quot; (Krause, 1956: 240).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY -- GENERAL REFERENCES

BALIKCI, A.

BARBEAU, R.

BEATTIE, J.

BENEDICT, R.

BURRIDGE, K.

CODERE, H.

DOUGLAS, M.

DRUCKER, P.

1965 Cultures of the North Pacific Coast. San Francisco, Chandler.

ELIADE, M.

FIRTH, R.


FORD, C.S.  

HANDELMAN, D.  

LANE, B.  

LOWIE, R.  

McFEAT, T.F.  
1966  Indians of the North Pacific Coast. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.

MORRIS, H.S.  

NADEL, S.F.  

NORBECK, E.  

RADIN, P.  

SUTTLES, W.  


BIBLIOGRAPHY -- ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCES

BELLA COOLA

McILWRAITH, T.F.  
1948  The Bella Coola Indians. 2 vols. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
HAIDA

DRUCKER, P.

MURDOCK, G.P.

SWANTON, J.

KWAKIUTL

BOAS, F.
DRUCKER, P.

NOOTKA

DRUCKER, P.

SAPIR, E.

SAPIR, E. and SWADESH, M.

1955 Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography. Publication of the Indiana University Research Centre in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics. No. 1, Bloomington.

SALISH

BARNETT, H.G.

DUFF, W.
The Upper Stalo Indians. Anthropology in British Columbia Memoir No. 1, British Columbia Provincial Museum.

JENNESS, D.

SUTTLES, W.

TLINGIT

JONES, L.F.
KNAPP, F. and CHILDE, R.L.
1896 The Thlinkets of Southern Alaska. Chicago.

KRAUSE, A.

LAGUNA, F. de

McCELLAN, C.

OBERG, K.

SWANTON, J.

TSIMSHIAN

BOAS, F.

GARFIELD, V.