GAMBLING GAMES OF THE NORTHWEST COAST

by

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ABSTRACT

Northwest Coast gambling paraphernalia are found in many museums and are usually accompanied by very meagre catalogue entries. The Accumulation of a number of sources pertaining to this category of material culture was therefore seen as a worthwhile task. Even a superficial examination of these gambling implements suggests that they were associated with a very popular and possibly important activity, at least prior to European contact. This paper is an attempt to construct a profile of gambling on the Northwest Coast and to assess its importance in the culture.

Three main sources of data were drawn upon for this purpose: (1) the material culture itself and the associated records located in museums; (2) the published ethnographic literature; and (3) the published myths.

From these sources the analysis yielded a number of conclusions. The first is that gambling was a very popular activity. Secondly, a large degree of homogeneity can be seen to have existed in the areas considered. With a few exceptions, basically similar games of chance were played throughout the entire area, areal differences being quantitative rather than qualitative. A similar pattern is seen in the themes of gambling stated in the myths: there are a few main themes, but details differ from place to place. A third conclusion is
that gambling usually involved very high stakes; and a fourth is that losing much was considered shameful, especially when a gambler lost other people's property. A fifth conclusion, supported by the data, is that serious gambling for high stakes was considered strictly a man's activity. A sixth conclusion is that cheating was common, expected, and accepted as part of the play as long as it was not discovered. The seventh conclusion is that the data stress the link between the supernatural and games of chance.
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PART I - INTRODUCTION
One of the tasks of a museum of anthropology is to undertake research projects relevant to its collections and to use the results of these projects in exhibits in order to present a specific culture or cultural theme. This involves placing artifacts within their cultural contexts and, in this sense, what is said about an object becomes as significant as the object itself.

This paper is essentially a museum research project, the main purpose of which is to locate, interpret, and communicate data relevant to a category of material culture, a collection of artifacts, housed in a museum. In the opinion of the writer, other theoretical interests could possibly also be served by applying the methodology suggested here to other topics, but it is the museum, with its special functions and problems, which has determined the instigation and execution of this project.

In most museums which contain representative Northwest Coast collections there are objects designated in the catalogues as gambling implements, gambling sticks, gambling bones, etc. Such artifacts are plentiful in Northwest Coast collections, and are interesting in appearance, being of finely polished wood, bone, or ivory, and often decorated. From even a superficial examination of these gambling implements, both their quantity and their quality suggest that they must have been associated with a very popular and possibly important activity.
This paper is an attempt to construct a profile of gambling on the Northwest Coast and to assess its importance in the culture. The profile will reach further than the descriptive level in order to examine some possible relationships between gambling activity and other aspects of Northwest Coast culture. Three main sources of data were drawn upon for this purpose: (1) the material culture itself and the associated records located in museums; (2) the published ethnographic literature; and, (3) the published myths. All of these sources contain information about gambling on the Northwest Coast. In the paper sources (1) and (2) will be considered together under the category of ethnographic sources.

The use of mythology as a source of data might be questioned. However, data from the myths do provide another dimension to the profile. There are certain levels of detail for which one can use mythology (or, rather, portions of it) to supplement and verify ethnographic statements. If this methodology proves successful it should be possible to examine other Northwest Coast topics in a similar way. Such a procedure would be useful as there are frequently insufficient data in the ethnographies to reach beyond the descriptive level. Caution and qualification are necessary, as will be demonstrated, but it is nonetheless hoped that the project may prove to have a wider anthropological significance.

Its main utility and relevance, however, is in the consolidation of source material relevant to gambling on the Northwest Coast.
and in the subsequent patterns which tend to link this activity with other aspects of Northwest Coast culture.
PART II - ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCES
The logical point from which to start construction of a profile of gambling is a search of the ethnographic literature for references pertaining to the topic. As gambling seems not to have held the attention of most ethnographers of the Northwest Coast for very long, it is necessary to draw upon many diverse references -- from missionaries' accounts to geologists' reports -- and thereby to compile a composite picture of gambling for the area and time period under consideration. This is, of course, fraught with many dangers, the greatest of which probably is the differing abilities of the various observers to record accurately what they saw. This problem, however, is not new to the discipline of anthropology and should not prove too serious as long as due qualification precedes the appropriate statements. Therefore every attempt has been made to evaluate the details which comprise this section of the paper. This section draws heavily upon Culin's (1907) monumental survey of North American Indian games. Because his work is very well documented, therefore facilitating authentication by referring to the primary sources, and since there has been little recent research into games, this reference remains the major source of ethnographic data concerning the descriptive aspects of gambling on the Northwest Coast.

One of the most interesting features of the descriptive data considered as a whole is the degree of homogeneity which exists
throughout the whole Northwest Coast. As the data are considered this will be seen as a major theme recurring many times.

Many social activities on the Northwest Coast were often accompanied by the placing of bets; however, there were a number of specific activities designated solely as gambling games. Such games of chance were known in every part of the Northwest Coast and were widely distributed over most of the North American continent. The terms for these games were suggested by Culin (1907) and have since been adopted into general usage, and for the sake of continuity the same terms will be used in this paper. Before progressing, a word should be said about definitions. Roberts, Arth, and Bush make the point that over the years a wide range of activities has been designated "games" and they therefore limit the definition by stating that "a game is defined as a recreational activity characterized by: (1) organized play, (2) competition, (3) two or more sides, (4) criteria for determining the winner, and (5) agreed-upon rules." (Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1959: 597.) Such a definition has the advantage of being narrow enough to exclude activities such as top-spinning or string-figure making, relegating such activities to the category "amusements." This is useful in the present paper because games were the major medium for gambling.

There are, of course, many types of games. In the paper referred to above a three-fold classification is developed. The general
category "games" is divided into: (1) games of physical skill, (2) games of strategy, and (3) games of chance.

Games of physical skill ... must involve the use of physical skill, but may or may not involve strategy or chance; examples are marathon races, prize fights, hockey, and the hoop and pole games. In games of strategy, physical skill must be absent and a strategy must be used; chance may or may not be involved. Chess, go, poker, and the Ashanti game of wari are examples. Finally, games of chance are so defined that chance must be present and both physical skill and strategy must be absent; examples are high card wins, dice games, and the moccasin games. (Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1959: 597-598.)

Most of the gambling games on the Northwest Coast fall within the third category, games of chance.

Generally, three games of chance were played prior to contact. These were (1) dice games, (2) hand games, and (3) stick games. A brief description of each follows.

The essential characteristic of dice games is that a win or a loss was determined by the fall of an object or objects. This procedure co-incidentally resembles European dice games. Culin (1907: 45) reports that the dice game, or some variety of it, was present in all of the 130 tribes from which data were recovered. His use of the term tribe is not defined but seems to coincide with linguistic groupings. However, what is significant is that the incidence of dice games was very widespread in North America.

On the Northwest Coast two types of die were common. One type, characteristic of the northern groups (Tlingit, Tsimshian, and
Haida), is chair-shaped, and only one is used at a time. (See Appendix A, Figure 1.) These were carved out of wood, ivory, or bone, and the play was determined by what face of the die showed when it fell. The second type of die, characteristic of the southern groups, and much more prevalent in museum collections than the first type, is crescent-shaped, and two or four are used at a time. (See Appendix A, Figure 2.) The most common of these are beaver teeth marked on one side with lines and/or nucleated circles (usually, half of the dice in a set would be marked with circles, the other half with lines). All of the other forms of the crescent-shaped die appear to be copies of beaver teeth, and so will be designated "beaver teeth dice" regardless of the material used. These were usually made from wood, bone, or ivory, and the play was decided by the pre-determined combinations which showed when the dice were thrown. This second type was sometimes associated with bone counters. (See Appendix A, Figure 3.) Small leather mats were used in conjunction with the chair-shaped dice game, functioning as platforms upon which the dice were thrown. (See Appendix A, Figures 4 and 5.) In terms of distribution, the interesting fact about these two forms is that the chair-shaped die has been found exclusively in the northern area and the beaver teeth variety has been found only in the south. As will be shown below, dice games seemed to be considered a minor activity on the Northwest Coast, and were generally referred to as women's games.
The essential characteristic of hand games, the second category of games of chance on the Northwest Coast, is that the lots were held in the hand (or hands) during play. Culin (1907: 267) found that hand games were present in eighty-one tribes from twenty-eight linguistic groups. Again he does not specify just what is meant by a tribe or a linguistic group. However, the generalization can be made that hand games were very widely distributed. In explanation of this, Culin suggests that the fact that hand games could be played entirely by gesture meant that they could be highly portable. This point will be discussed below. On the Northwest Coast the form of this type of game is highly homogeneous. The most common lots consist of pairs of bone cylinders, two to three inches in length. (See Appendix A, Figures 6 and 7.) One piece in each pair was distinguished by some form of marking, usually a thong or cord tied around the middle. While wood was sometimes used for the cylinders, bone was the most common material, and, therefore, these implements of the hand game are designated "bones".

Generally, the object of the hand game was to guess the location of one of the bones. Counters were used to keep score. These usually consisted of sharpened sticks stuck in the ground between the players. (See Appendix A, Figure 8.) Apparently a great deal of variation existed in the number of counters used, but twelve seems to have been the most common number. The hand game was played by both
men and women, but separately. The players sat on the ground in two rows facing one another, with the stakes between them. (See Appendix A, Figure 9.) The number of players also varied greatly; anywhere from two to many could play. Although each side had only one key person, who held the bones or guessed their location, the other players sang, shouted advice and bet on the outcome of the game. The players handling the bones sang and beat rhythm on drums and planks in front of them. (See Appendix A, Figures 8 and 10.) The guesser indicated his choice by motioning with his hand or arm; if he correctly guessed the location of the bones they were passed to the other side. Today the hand game is the most common traditional game played on the Northwest Coast and is found throughout the whole area, replacing most of the other games of chance.

Stick games, the third category of games of chance on the Northwest Coast, were also widely distributed. Examples can be found from all groups on the coast. The essential characteristic of stick games was the dividing of the lots into piles, one of which contained a "trump" stick. On the Northwest Coast these piles were usually concealed under shredded cedar bark. (See Appendix A, Figure 11.) The object of the game, in its most common version, was for a player to guess in which pile the trump stick was located. There were two basic types of lots. The first consisted of a number (anywhere from twenty to over 100) of dowels usually from four to six inches in length and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. (See Appendix A, Figures 12
These were typically made from some variety of wood; hence, the designation "stick" game. Bone and ivory were also used. Almost universally on the Northwest Coast these sets of sticks were contained in leather pouches with long flaps and thongs with toggles attached. (See Appendix A, Figures 14, 15, and 16.)

The sticks exhibit markings of various types, the most common being series of red or black lines around the center of each. There is, however, much variation in embellishment, as will be shown. In some cases each stick in a set is named (see Appendix B), a number of sets exhibit incised or burnt motifs (see Appendix A, Figures 12 and 17), and many sets contain sticks inlaid with abalone shell (see Appendix A, Figure 13). There are usually about four sticks in each set which function as trumps and which are clearly distinguished from all the other sticks in the set. Regardless of the quality of embellishment, each set of sticks is highly polished, uniform in length and diameter, and demonstrates a high level of technical skill in wood craft.

All forms of the stick game were played between two persons, although many spectators were usually present. Unlike the hand game, there was no singing associated with the stick game as it was played on the coast.

Many variations of the stick game existed and will be more fully discussed below. The stick games were also played with small wooden disks marked on the edges (see Appendix A, Figure 18), the second type of lot. The essential elements of this version of the game...
were the same. Sets of disks (each set consisting of from ten to about 100 disks) have been collected only from the southern groups, being completely absent from the northern area. Sets of sticks, however, were found in every area of the Northwest Coast. The stick game was one of the games which was replaced by the hand game; some possible reasons for this will be discussed below.

Although betting was carried on in association with many activities, these three games of chance were the only activities which consistently exhibited the placing of wagers as an integral characteristic. The essential features outlined above remained the same over most of the Northwest Coast although details differed from place to place. An examination of these finer points of the games will accomplish two things: (1) expand the profile of gambling by the addition of areal details; and (2) provide details which are comparable between areas on the Northwest Coast. This closer examination of details constitutes the second phase in the construction of the profile of gambling. For this purpose the various groups which comprise the Northwest Coast culture area will be considered in turn from the north to the south. Data from some of the adjacent Plateau and Mackenzie/Yukon groups will also be presented for comparative purposes.

Among the Tlingit, dice were of the chair-shaped variety characteristic of the northern coast. Only one die was used and was called kitchu or ketchu meaning "buttocks-shape," referring to the
curved side of the die (Swanton, 1908: 445). (See Appendix A, Figure 1.) Among the Tlingit these dice were about one inch high with a base of approximately three-quarters by one-half an inch. The upper front half was cut out in a concave curve leaving a narrow flange with which the die was held between the thumb and forefinger and flipped into the air with a twist of the fingers (Emmons, n.d.: ch. XII: 8).

The Tlingit dice were made of wood, bone, or ivory and were sometimes ornamented with incised parallel or cross-hatched lines. Some also have been bored with a number of holes which have then been filled with lead (as in the lower die illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 1). The existence of these "loaded" dice may suggest that cheating was present at least in post-contact play, as such lead plugs would certainly have affected the manner in which the die fell. As cheating played an important part in other games of chance on the Northwest Coast it is also not unreasonable to assume that it was present in the early Tlingit dice games, although there is no other ethnographic reference to support the assumption.

The game was played by two persons seated opposite one another with a flat, smooth surface between. The dice were usually thrown upon a thick tablet of leather about eight inches square which was sometimes incised with a motif (as in Appendix A, Figures 4 and 5). Apparently, ten or more counters were used to keep score (Emmons, n.d.: ch. XII: 8). These were placed in a pile between the two players.
According to the reports of a number of observers the means of scoring appears not to have been very consistent; in fact Emmons states this as a characteristic of the game (Emmons, n.d.: ch. XII: 8). Emmons recorded the following system of scoring at Sitka: the die sitting up scores two; back down scores two; front down scores one; concave face down scores one; and either side scores nothing. If the die fell on either side it was passed to the opponent without gain. The game ended when one player had won all of the counters (Emmons, n.d.: ch. XII: 8). Culin (1907: 131) reports that Boas had informed him that the counts were: either side scores nothing; back or front down scores one; concave face down scores two. Finally, Drucker (1950: 201) has recorded yet another series: sitting up scores two; on back scores one. He further states that among the Tlingit the game was played for ten or twenty-four points. This tends to support Emmons' statement about arbitrary scoring techniques. The implication of this is that the method of scoring which was to be used had to be decided and agreed upon prior to play. It is possible that such a system would greatly increase the opportunities for cheating.

Both Emmons (n.d.: ch. XII: 7) and Culin (1907: 130) refer to the Tlingit dice game as mainly a women's game, played more for amusement than for gain. This would lead one to the assumption that the stakes would not be very high in dice games.
Swanton (1908: 445) and Culin (1907: 131) each state that the type of dice used among the Tlingit was also used among the Haida. Culin also suggests that the Kwakiutl shared the same form of the dice game. It will be shown below that such, indeed, was the case.

Drucker (1950: 269) in his listing of culture element distributions for the Northwest Coast states that the chair-shaped die was made from a small bone, possibly the astragalus, of the deer or caribou. Emmons (n.d.: ch. XII: 8) supports this and adds a further dimension, stating that "the primitive dice was the astragalus of the deer, which was also used to foretell success in hunting." Here is a link between Tlingit gambling paraphernalia and the supernatural, a theme which reappears many times on the Northwest Coast in both descriptive data and mythology.

The hand game as played among the Tlingit was very similar to the game throughout other areas of the Northwest Coast. Emmons (n.d.: ch. XII: 6-7) describes the Tlingit version of the hand game in a fair amount of detail.

The guessing game of odd or even, known generally throughout the coast as le hal but also to the Tlingit as ne han came from the south in the first half of the last century and superseded the earlier stick game, as it was simpler in material and play, a number could take part, and it was more suited to the excitable temperament of the people with the accompanying noise of song, stick and drum beat. The whole outfit consisted of two ivory or bone toggles less than three inches long that could be easily concealed in the hand, cylindrical or slightly larger in the middle and tapering to the rounded ends, one plain (na han) that gave its name to
the game, the other (na gan) grooved and blackened around the middle or tied with hide. The game was played by like number on two sides, each having a leader who handled the toggles and made the guess, although at any time another might be substituted. They sat in two lines opposite to each other, about three feet apart, the leader in the middle. The stakes were placed between the sides, also the counters, ten or twenty in number, consisting of small split sticks about ten inches long. The leader commencing the play, took a toggle in each hand extended to the opponent, then closing the hands and shifting the toggles from hand to hand in the open, behind his back or under a blanket across his knees, sometimes tossing them in the air and catching them, during all of which the two leaders looked directly into each other's eyes as the side playing sang to the accompaniment of beating sticks and drum. At a word from the opposite, the player brought his closed hands stretched out in front where the guesser looking the player directly in the eye for the slightest movement might say 'I can see it in this or that hand,' then straightening his arm with extended forefinger he would point to one hand, saying 'that one,' when the hand would be opened and if the plain or selected toggle was shown the play passed to the opposite side, but if mistaken the winning side took one counter from the central pile and the play continued until one side had won the whole number of counters. Others than the players made bets with each other, putting up equivalent stakes which were subject to the same conditions as those of the players. The songs were of a few words long drawn out and repeated and more often in Chinook or another language. In June 1892 when a number of Canadian sealing schooners manned by Vancouver Island natives were seized in Bering Sea and brought into Sitka, the crews and the Sitkans inaugurated a season of gambling for several weeks, playing daily from morning until evening, although they did not speak each other's language and could communicate with each other only in a few words of English or Chinook. But they played the game without difficulty. The Sitkans sang in Chinook:

'We have a good heart,
You cannot catch us.
We will not cheat you.'

(Emmons, n.d.: ch. XII: 6-7.)
Emmons identifies the hand game played among the Tlingit as *lehal* (its Salish name) or *nehan* (its Tlingit name). The term *nehan* also refers to the unmarked bone, *nagan* to the marked bone. From Emmons it is not clear which one of the bones is being sought. His phrase, "the plain or selected toggles" would lead one to conclude that possibly there was no definite rule regarding this, but that which bone was to be guessed for would be determined before the play began. However, both Swanton (1908: 444) and Schwatha (1885: 70) state definitely that it was the marked bone which was sought. Drucker (1950: 200), on the other hand, reports that both of his Tlingit informants stated that it was the unmarked bone and that two pairs of bones were used.

What can be concluded from these various accounts is that the rules must have been flexible and were probably agreed upon prior to play. Such a procedure, as with the dice games, would provide many opportunities for cheating.

Most discrepancies in the descriptive literature concern the system of scoring the game. Emmons states that a correct guess resulted in the bones changing sides. That is to say that if side 'A' had possession of the bones, and side 'B' was guessing and guessed correctly, the bones were passed over to side 'B' and side 'A' would become the guesser on the next round. If, however, side 'B' did not correctly guess the location of the trump bone, side 'A' took one counter from the central pile and remained in possession of the bones for another
round. Play continued until one side had all of the counters. The assumption which must be made here, as it is not mentioned by Emmons, is that at some point the central pile of counters will be depleted. And, assuming that each side will have at least a few counters, at some stage of the play the winning side must start taking the counters from the other side.

Swanton's description differs from Emmons' in that he makes no provision for the bones changing sides. He states, in effect, that if side 'B' guesses correctly it obtains one of the counters and if it guesses incorrectly, it loses a counter. The side obtaining all of the counters wins. It should be emphasized, however, that one of the essential characteristics of the hand game on the Northwest Coast as outlined above was the alternating of sides in possession of the bones -- the bones changed hands (i.e., sides) on the event of a correct guess. This is such a universal characteristic of the hand game on the coast, as will become apparent when other groups are considered, that a charge of incomplete description must be levelled at Swanton for over-looking this vital point in the play.

Schwatha (1885: 70) reports that a game would last from half an hour to three hours and that the stakes were usually high: "they wager the caps off their heads, their shirts off their backs, and with many of them, no doubt, their prospective pay for the trip was all gone before it was half earned." A procedure for doubling-up the wagers was also described by Schwatha:
Whenever the game is nearly concluded and one party has gained almost all the willow sticks, or at any other exciting point of the game, they have methods of 'doubling-up' on the wagers by not exchanging the bobbins, but holding both in one hand or leaving one or both on the ground under a hat or apron, and the guesses are about both and count double, treble, or quadruple, for loss or gain. (Schwatha, 1885: 70.)

Concerning wagers, Swanton says: "sometimes a man would wager a $50 canoe, value the game at $10 each and make his opponent win five times before getting it." (Swanton, 1908: 445.) High stakes, then, were another feature of the hand game played among the Tlingit.

As demonstrated for the Tlingit dice game, certain aspects of the hand game are linked with the supernatural. Culin (1907: 288-289) describes a set of bones which formed part of the paraphernalia of a shaman. (This set is illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 19.) This is significant because it adds support to the theory that games of chance are exercises in supernatural control. (See Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1959, for a statement of this theoretical issue.)

This gaming renders them serious and melancholy.
-- de la Perouse
(in Culin, 1907: 246.)

They lose at this game all their possessions, and even their wives and children.
-- von Kotzebue
(in Culin, 1907: 246.)

The game which was played for such high stakes and had such a profound affect upon the psyche was the Tlingit stick game, called alhkar or cis. Emmons (n.d.) gives the following account of the Tlingit stick game.
The stick game ahl-kar was played with an indeterminate number of small cylindrical sticks from 25 to 80 odd, beautifully fashioned of the finer grained, harder of the local woods, as yew, maple, crab-apple, alder and birch. They were all of one wood in a set, averaging five inches in length by 5/16 inch in diameter and absolutely true in circumference, as in their making each one was tested to barely pass through one hole in a bone gauge. See Appendix A, Figure 20. They were smoothed with the native sand paper — dog fish or equisetum stem (horsetail) — and hand polished. The ends were rounded, dull pointed, nipple shaped, flattened and sometimes hollowed out and inlaid with haliotis shell. All or most all were painted in red or black encircling lines, bands or spirals which were given names of animals, articles of wear or use, natural objects, etc., See Appendix B, and in a set there might be several alike. The names of like marks which were largely of birds and fish were commonly recognized in different sets, but others seemed to be at the will of the owner. The marks and corresponding names simply identified the stick but gave it no value in play. The marked sticks were called scheest (painted), the plain ones wu-de-shutch yar-ka (washed clean). One or more sticks in every set is known as naq (devil fish) although, as used here, it means bait, for as the devil fish is used as bait in halibut fishing so this, the trump stick, is the bait on the game. The exceptionally fine sticks particularly those carved and burnt in animal designs and those most elaborately inlaid with haliotis shell are of Haida workmanship. All bone sticks and the equally slender ones of maple are from the Interior, particularly from the Camer people of the upper Skeena and Babine.

A complete gambling outfit contained and carried in a hide bag, "al-kar takar quelth", consisted of several sets of sticks in skin pouches with extension flaps often painted on the inner side, which wrapped around confined the sticks and was secured by a string with a toggle in the end. See Appendix A, Figures 14, 15, and 21. A bundle of finely divided inner cedar bark in a roll of the leg skin of deer or caribou with the hair intact on the inside [Appendix A, Figure 22]. A square of stiff flat leather generally cut on the face in animal design [Appendix A, Figures 4 and 5]. This in later years was procured in trade from Europeans, but originally was of the heavier hide of the neck of the moose traded from the Interior. The paint stick with which the
sticks were colored in black and red was often in the pouch. This was sometimes carved but ordinarily was a three-inch pencil-like stick pointed at either end. The two colors were from an oxide of iron which burnt gave off both red and black by being rubbed on a stone with crushed salmon egg and saliva. See Appendix A, Figure 23 for an illustration of this painting equipment. A bone gauge with several graduated circular holes through one of which a certain set of sticks was required to pass. Appendix A, Figure 20. A set of counters, "al-kar kah-khartsee" or "ku-nee na" (tied together) were simply small unfinished split sticks less than a foot in length pointed or flat at the ends.

The game was played by two men, seated opposite to each other, three feet apart, with a mat between and the implements of play close at hand. Each one has his own sets of sticks and he plays with one or changes to another as he thinks his luck requires. The stake of blankets, furs, etc., are placed in the to one side, and friends and others, standing back of the players make individual bets and place their stakes opposite to each other, which are governed by the same regulations as those of the players. The counters are bunched to one side of the middle in easy reach. Each player arranges his sticks with one or more trump sticks, "naq", on his left and a corresponding number in sets of three painted sticks, "scheest", on his right when the game commences. The player takes one "naq" and three "scheest" and wraps each one in cedar bark and makes four piles in front of him which he may constantly change the position of. The opposite player watches every move and when finally placed he points with his right forefinger with arm extended to one pile, saying "There is naq". The dealer then takes fifteen to twenty sticks from the main pile, holding them end up in his left hand, and takes the covered stick selected and inserts it through the bark wrapping in the middle of the other sticks and rolls the sticks around with the right hand. The opponent then signifies another pile and this is likewise forced into the bundle. The player then draws out of the bundle one stick at a time and throws it down on the square of leather in front of him and should one of the scheest occur it is put aside and the other sticks already thrown down are gathered up and manipulated as before and cast down and should the other selected stick be a scheest it is placed by the other one and the player wins one counter, which he places on his left side and holding the bundle of sticks waits for his opponent to select.
one of the remaining two piles in front of him, when the same operation is gone through with, and should the third scheest be produced, the player wins another counter and takes up the fourth bundle which contains the "naq" casts it down on the leather, but in this second selection should the naq be first displaced the deal passes. When one player has accumulated all the counters but one, three piles are made, containing two scheest and one naq and the sticks are manipulated as before but the opponent guesses two piles at once which gives him an advantage of two out of three. If he loses the game is finished but if he wins he takes the play. The game is differently played with some when in the odd and even guessing only one scheest and one naq are used in two piles instead of four and again towards the end of the game the loser is given a three to one chance in guessing.

For success in this game a gambler would drink a swallow or two of salt water and eat the bark of the devil's club every morning for a month and would fast four days before playing. (Emmons, n.d.: ch. XII: 1-5.)

Culin (1907: 245-246) quotes Emmons as stating that gambling sticks were common to all the Tlingit peoples, but were more generally found among the more southern Tlingit groups. Sets of sticks have been found among the Haida and Tsimshian as well as the Tlingit and Culin suggests that they existed down the coast to the southern point of Vancouver Island. The Tlingit were, apparently, the most northerly people to use them. These statements are all verified by an examination of the occurrence of sets of gambling sticks from both the published sources and from the collections of the Provincial Museum in Victoria and of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. Moreover, it appears that Emmons underestimated the distribution of gambling sticks generally, because the stick game is reported from Plateau and Mackenzie/Yukon groups as well as from the coastal areas.
According to Swanton (1908: 443-444) the name of the stick game among the Tlingit was \textit{cis}, and the game was similar to those of the Haida and Tsimshian. Swanton also states that the number of sticks varied widely because a number of sticks were held in reserve, to be used when the player wished to change his luck. This is a similar idea to the western concept of dealing out a different pack of cards if one feels that the pack in play at the time is unlucky. The Tlingit gambler had certain favorite sticks and sets of sticks which seemed to him to have more power than others, and with which he would be more lucky. Swanton gives the maximum number of sticks as about 180, although none of the sets examined consisted of this many. As does Emmons, Swanton gives the name of the trump stick as \textit{naq}, but translates it only as "devilfish," with no reference to the secondary meaning "bait." As Emmons states, Swanton also says that only one trump was used at a time, although a set of sticks may contain any number (usually about four). The \textit{naq} was clearly distinguished from all the other sticks.

Drucker (1950) gives the following account of the Tlingit stick game.

The stick game was known as: \ldots kalkiteqa \textit{among the Sanyakwan} (and) kadoqitca \textit{among the Chilkat}. A "set" of sticks ran to 40 or 50, in which there were usually 4 "aces," and the rest "blanks" in suits of threes (each suit being marked or decorated in a distinctive manner). The player selected one "ace" and one "blank" (or 1 ace and 3 blanks, or 2 pairs), displayed them, rolled them up in bark underneath his mat (if 1 ace and 3 blanks were used, 2 sticks were in each bundle;
with 2 pairs, each was rolled up separately). Then he laid
the bundles out. The guesser sometimes had the privilege of
saying whether he was guessing for the ace or the blank.
The dealer unrolled the bundle, throwing the stick selected
out on the mat before him. A miss scored for the "dealer,"
a hit won the privilege of "dealing" (as in Lahal). With 2
pairs, the guesser made one guess for 1 stick, not both.
(Drucker, 1950: 268-269.)

Although both Emmons and Drucker refer to suits of threes in a set of
sticks, an examination of approximately 100 sets from the northern
area located in the Provincial Museum at Victoria and at the Museum
of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, has failed to
give material evidence to this observation. There is the possibility
that many sets are now incomplete.

Emmons and Swanton do not agree on the form of the play al-
though the general features are similarly described. Both writers state
that only two persons played at a time, seated opposite one another
and handling the sticks alternately. They also agree that three ordi-
nary sticks (which Emmons calls scheest) plus one trump (naq) were cho-
sen and wrapped in shredded cedar bark. From here, however, their ob-
servations are different. Whereas Emmons reports that four piles were
made, Swanton describes only two. According to Swanton, the guesser
chose one of these two piles and if the trump was in that pile, it was
his turn to shuffle. If he missed, the guesser tried again (apparently
after the dealer re-shuffled). And if the guesser kept choosing the
pile that did not contain the trump, he continued until either the
tenth or eighteenth time, depending on the version of the game being
played. Swanton reports that the game in which ten was the crucial number was called Kune', the other, Daxk'u'ts. At either the ten or the eighteen count the dealer made three piles, of which the guesser chose two (if he wished). The objective of this play was for the guesser to choose the pile which contained the trump. If he missed, he lost the hand. It is not clear from Swanton just what a loss or a win at this stage meant. His only statement concerning scoring is that the Tlingit probably counted like the Haida, i.e., each successful guess counted one, and the opponent had to score it off by a corresponding successful guess and then count ten or eighteen wins more. This being the case, it is understandable that such games would continue for hours.

All writers agree that names were attributed to the sticks in a set. There is general agreement that among the Tlingit the trump stick was called naq, translated "devilfish." However, as shown above, Emmons refers to a secondary meaning of naq. He states that as the term is used in the Tlingit stick game its meaning is "bait." Swanton, on the other hand, does not attribute this meaning to the trump stick. He does make the point, however, that among the Haida the trump stick is called djil and means "bait." Both writers point out that devilfish formed the principal bait for halibut. It is difficult to explore the significance of these terms without undertaking a linguistic analysis, a project not within the scope of this paper. With reference to these
terms and their meanings it can only be stated that a link exists be-
tween the stick game as played among the Haida and the Tlingit. Both
writers agree that there is a category of 'ordinary' sticks which
Emmons calls scheest and translates "painted." According to Emmons,
this term refers to all of the marked sticks other than the trumps.
Emmons also isolates a third type of stick which is plain and he calls
wu-de-shutch yar-ka, translated "washed clean." Most writers agree
that in most of the sets of sticks, each stick has a name. These ap-
pear to be quite inconsistent from set to set, and it is not known
just what significance these names had, if any. It appears that in
those sets of sticks which exhibit crest motifs the names reported for
the sticks relate to these designs. (Appendix B contains lists of
names recorded from different sets.)

Among the Tlingit, then, dice games, hand games, and stick
games were all played at some time. From the published material, and
from an examination of artifacts associated with gambling found in the
Provincial Museum at Victoria and in the Museum of Anthropology at the
University of British Columbia, most attention seemed to have been de-
voted to the stick game among the Tlingit. This generalization is sup-
ported by the discussion of mythology which follows in Part III of this
paper. It is also supported historically, as it is recorded that the
hand game replaced the stick game in later times. There is some evi-
dence of a link between gambling and the supernatural among the Tlingit
based on three types of data: (1) gambling paraphernalia associated with a shaman's equipment (Appendix A, Figure 19); (2) the use of gambling to predict the outcome of an important undertaking such as hunting; and, (3) the ritual preparations which have been mentioned as preceding a game.

The games of chance reported from the Tsimshian include the hand game and the stick game. The dice game appears to have been absent; at least there is no mention of it in the ethnographic references consulted. Culin does not give any examples of dice games from the Tsimshian, nor does Boas (1895) include it in his list of Tsimshain games of chance. Boas' list includes the following games.

**Leha'l:** the guessing game, in which a bone wrapped in cedar-bark is hidden in one hand. The player must guess in which hand the bone is hidden.

**Qsan:** guessing game played with a number of maple sticks marked with red or black rings, or totemic designs. Two of these sticks are trumps. It is the object of the game to guess in which of the two bundles of sticks, which are wrapped in cedar-bark, the trump is hidden. Each player uses one trump only.

**Matsqa'n:** About thirty small maple sticks are divided into four or five lots of unequal numbers. After a first glance one of the players is blindfolded, the other changes the order of the lots, and the first player must guess how many sticks are now in each lot. When he guesses right in three, four, or five guesses out of ten -- according to the agreement of the players -- he has won.

(Boas, 1895: 582-583.)
The data concerning games of chance from the Tsimshian are indeed scarce, and appear to be a reflection of ethnographic incompleteness rather than an index of social reality. Drucker's (1950) Tsimshian informants state that the hand game was of recent origin; two pairs of bones were used; the unmarked bone was guessed for; play was either ten or twenty points; ten tally sticks were won twice; and the tally sticks were placed in the center. They also state that it was a man's game and that singing and drumming were associated with the play. Referring to the Tsimshian stick game, the informants said that it was a man's game; play was for ten points and there was special play for winning points — "when one player had won all but two points necessary for a game, he put in an extra blank, making three bundles, and play was for two points" — (Drucker, 1950: 269).

Judging from the large number of sets of gambling sticks from the Tsimshian area found in the Provincial Museum at Victoria and in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, it could be concluded that games of chance were much more prevalent than is suggested by the ethnographic literature, at least with regard to the stick game. Also, the fact that the dice game is reported from every other area on the Northwest Coast as well as from adjacent areas would suggest that the Tsimshian might well have shared in the practice, although all three of Drucker's informants agreed that dice were absent. The fact that gambling played such a major part in the mythology of the
Tsimshian; as will be shown, would also point to a much more frequent use of gambling paraphernalia than is suggested in the ethnographic literature. A partial explanation of this apparent lack of recorded gambling activity among the Tsimshian may well be that this particular group came under some of the first serious missionary contact on the coast.

There is evidence from the Tsimshian that the supernatural was linked to forms of gambling, especially the stick game. In the Provincial Museum at Victoria there is a shaman's necklace with the following catalogue designation:

P.M. cat. No. 10656  
(C.F.N. cat. No. 1656)

Shaman's necklace -- circular twig frame covered with fringed skin to which are attached 35 bone pendants (old gambling sticks), 1 long scratcher (13" long), 1 circular nose piece, 3 curved pins, 1 bone ring, and 1 carved whale, 3 otter, 1 gull, 1 raven head. 11½" diameter.

Apparently C.F. Newcombe obtained this item as part of a collection he purchased from an individual named Jelliman at Masset. The catalogue attribution is Haida, but the Provincial Museum ethnologists state that this is questionable. The necklace closely resembles other shamans' paraphernalia known to be of Tsimshian origin. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that the thirty-five bone pendants are old, gambling sticks as stated in the catalogue. Firstly, they are thicker than any
of the sticks examined or described in the literature. Secondly, they are all pointed at one end, a feature not found on any other of the sticks examined. Thirdly, another characteristic which has not been seen on any of the sticks examined is the presence of small holes bored near one end through which the pendants are strung. However, these bone objects are incised with series of encircling lines, identical to those found on gambling sticks. It is possible that these pendants were made specifically as part of a shaman's equipment and were embellished with gambling stick markings. Here again the association of gambling with a shaman's paraphernalia constitutes evidence for the linking of games of chance with the supernatural world.

All three games of chance are reported for the Haida, differing little from the Tlingit and Tsimshain patterns. As on the mainland, the hand game is said to have been a more recent introduction from the south. There are also indications that the stick game was introduced from the mainland. It is among the Haida that one finds the most elaborate sets of gambling sticks and the most profusely embellished paraphernalia. (See, for example, Appendix A, Figure 17.) This is probably due to a different level of craftsmanship generally rather than to a greater degree of importance placed on gambling, although at this stage it is not possible to say with certainty.

Swanton (1905a: 59-60) gives an account of a Haida dice game. As among the Tlingit, the Haida played the chair-shaped die
version and the game followed the same pattern as seen among the Tlingit. Swanton gives the name of the game as *gu'tgi q'a'atagan* which he translates as "they throw the q'a'atagano ('thing thrown up') to each other" (Swanton, 1905a: 59). Culin (1907: 189) states that C.F. Newcombe reported that the name of this game, as played among the Haida, was called *gadegan* (apparently a simplified transcription of Swanton's term *q'a'atagano*), and that it was played among the Kwakiutl as well as the Tlingit. (Again there is no mention of its occurrence among the Tsimshian.) The "thing thrown up" was a chair-shaped die as described above for the Tlingit and illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 1. According to Swanton the die was made from wood, bone, or ivory and was about three inches high, a larger object than that used on the mainland. The die was held by the flange, with the thicker part up, and flipped. Scoring was determined by how the die fell. Here again observers are not consistent in their recording of scoring systems. Swanton states that if it fell on either side the opponent took the die; if it fell on its back or on its concave side it counted one; if it fell on its bottom, it counted two; and if it fell on its front a score of four was awarded. However, Culin quotes Newcombe as giving the following winning positions: the die on its back scores one; on its bottom scores two; and on its front scores four. It is not clear in Culin what score was obtained from a concave side position, as the illustration is missing from the source. Newcombe further states that
a player continued until the die fell on either side. At this point
the die changed hands. Counters were used to keep score, ten being
placed in a central pile. These were made of wood splints or bird
bones. The objective of the game was for one player to gain all of the
counters. When the central pile of counters was exhausted, counters
were then taken from the pile of the losing player. According to New-
combe, this was either a man's or a woman's game. Swanton states that
it could be played individually or in groups. He also reports an
interesting variation in that the winner, in some cases, had the pri-
vilege of smearing the loser's face with soot. Curtis (1916: v. XI:
133) states that this was a woman's or boy's game, and that a score of
one was made for any position of the die other than sideways. With
each successful throw the player put a spot of charcoal on his face.
When the die fell on either side it changed hands.

The hand game is also reported for the Haida, although not
in much detail. Curtis states that it was called lehal, its Salish
name, and indicates that it was learned by the Haida from "alien sources"
(1916: v. XI: 132). Apparently two pairs of bones were used. Culin
(1907) quotes George A. Dorsey who describes an interesting pair of
bones. One of the bones was a 'false' one which could be made to show
as either a marked or an unmarked bone. (This set of bones is illus-
trated in Appendix A, Figure 24.)
The false bone is made in two pieces, one of which slides on a shoulder over the other. When they are partly slipped apart, this shoulder, wrapped with dark thread is revealed, giving the appearance of the marked bone. (Dorsey in Culin, 1907: 318).

The occurrence of such an artifact would suggest that cheating was an important aspect of the game. This fact is given much attention in the mythology from all of the northern groups, as will be seen in Part III of the paper.

Swanton (1905a: 58-59) presents the most complete account of the Haida stick game, describing it as the principal gambling game of the Haida. He states that each set of sticks was divided into sets of from two to four by various markings. The method of play was similar to that of the mainland groups. At the beginning of the game a set of sticks would be laid out in front of the player who would be dealing first. Henry Moody, Swanton's informant, states that one suit of sticks having similar markings was picked up and shuffled along with the trump. These sticks were then made into two piles under shredded cedar bark. (Moody says that only a skillful player would divide his sticks into four piles instead of two, the opponent therefore being entitled to choose two piles.) The opponent had to guess in which pile the trump was located and, if successful, it was his turn to deal. If he was unsuccessful, his opponent scored one point and played as before, apparently selecting another suit from the set of sticks. A successful one resulted in the opponent gaining one point. After each
guess the sticks were thrown out onto a piece of hide in front of the players.

Moody states that sometimes a player might lose continually, and his opponent gain up to seven points. These points were given special names distinct from the ordinary numerals, first, second, third, etc. The sixth point was called ma'gan; and the seventh, go'ngu. After a player had reached go'ngu, an eighth count, called sqal, had to be scored. The play for this score differed from the general form of play. Four piles were made of one stick each (one trump plus three others). The guesser was allowed to choose three of these, and lost only in case the fourth pile contained the trump. Otherwise they began all over again; and, as Moody states, on this last count the chances were so greatly in favor of the guesser that they are said to have played all day without either side winning.

Another factor which contributed to the length of game was the fact that a player had to equal his opponent's score before he started to count for himself. For example, after one player had made three points, the other was obliged to make ten instead of seven -- three to score off his opponent's plus seven to win the game.

A mainland origin for the stick game is indicated by its Haida name hsin which has been translated "birch" by Curtis (1916: v. XI: 132), although no birch is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands (Swanton, 1905b: 56). It is suggested that the Haida word hsin is
the same as the Tsimshian word for the stick game, Xsan or Qsan. A parallel case in Haida ethnography is the use of the frog as a crest and a common design motif although there are no frogs on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Curtis (1916: v. XI: 132) states that a set of gambling sticks consisted of forty sticks: four trumps (djil); and thirty-six sticks divided into twelve suits of three each. As noted previously, however, an examination of sets of sticks from the northern area in museum collections has failed to establish such consistency.

According to Swanton, cheating was accepted as part of the game. "If one could conceal or get rid of the djil temporarily, so much the better" (Swanton, 1905a: 58). Stakes were high: myths tell how entire families and even villages were staked in gambling games. There are also stories, according to Swanton, in which it is stated that whole villages would take part in gambling sessions.

A complete Haida gambling stick outfit was very similar to that of the Tlingit. Swanton says that the gambling kit contained several sets of sticks each contained in a leather pouch (as in Appendix A, Figures 14, 15, and 16); a skin upon which the sticks were laid out (a possible function of the long flap attached to the leather pouch); a mat upon which the gambling was done (usually made of woven cedar bark); a thick piece of hide about a foot square upon which the sticks selected by the guesser were thrown out so that all could see
them (Appendix A, Figures 4 and 5); 'pencils' used to mark lines on the sticks (Appendix A, Figure 23); a stone which was used to grind up red and black pigment (Appendix A, Figure 23); and a large hide bag to contain all of the above. Curtis also reports that each player had a box containing "several or many bundles of rods" (1916: v.XI: 132), a fact supported by the large number of sets of sticks now in museums.

Again the sticks had names, mostly those of animals. The sets which were carved with crest designs (such as the set illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 17) had representations of the beings whose names they bore (see Appendix B). As has been pointed out for the mainland groups, this naming seems to have been at the discretion of the owner rather than part of an over-all pattern. This is especially true in the named sticks which do not exhibit crest motifs, as shown in Appendix B.

Curtis' account of the Haida stick game differs slightly from Moody's. Curtis reports that after eight consecutive failures the number of sticks was reduced from four to three, and if the guesser still missed, he lost his wager. Also, Curtis mentions the use of an inclined board upon which the chosen sticks were rolled. Other elements of the game remained the same.

There is no reference to the use of counters in the Haida stick game. The only indication of how score was kept was mentioned by Swan: "The winner takes one or more sticks from his opponent's
pile, and the game is decided when one wins all the sticks of the other" (in Culin, 1907: 261). It is not known if the sticks referred to here are the gambling sticks or some form of counter. If, in fact, the sticks from the gambling set were won by another player this might explain why existing sets in museums do not appear to be in suits of threes, and would account for a great number of incomplete sets.

There is no precise indication of the stakes involved in the Haida stick game. All that can be said is that the stakes were high. "The gambler frequently loses his entire property, continuing the play till he has nothing whatever to stake" (Dawson, 1880: 129). Dawson also writes that the Haida stick game was frequently played. "Gambling is as common with the Haida as among most other tribes, which means that it is the most popular and constantly practised of all their amusements" (Dawson, 1880: 129). This is supported by another observation: "Surgeon Roblet remarked that the natives of Cloak Bay have a sort of passion for gaming. They are seen carrying everywhere with them thirty small sticks" (Marchand, in Culin, 1907: 262). And again: "the time and attention which the natives of Cloak Bay give to this game prove that it has for them a great attraction, and that it warmly excites their interest" (Marchand, in Culin, 1907: 262). The degree of skill involved in playing the stick game among the Haida was considered fairly high. Swan (in Culin, 1907: 261) states that "the ceremony of manipulation and sorting the sticks under the bark tow gives
the game an appearance of as much real importance as some of the skillful combinations of white gamblers."

There is evidence from the Haida that games of chance were associated with the supernatural. Curtis (1916: V. XI) observed that bathing and fasting preceded the stick game (p. 132); that gambling equipment (as well as hunting and fishing paraphernalia) was kept away from any possible contamination by too close proximity to a menstruating woman (p. 126); that devil's club bark was chewed by gamblers to give them power to see through the shredded cedar bark in which the sticks were hidden (p. 139); and that

Just before a corpse was placed in its coffin, all the men in that part of the village not separated from the house of death by running water laid their gambling, fishing, and hunting implements outside their houses. When the cover was lashed down, they took them back inside. The thought apparently was that if these articles remained in the house, as the corpse was in its house, their supernatural parts, without which they were valueless, might be confined with the corpse and be carried away with it. (P. 127)

This suggests that a man's gambling paraphernalia was a special category of object, ranking with such basic subsistence equipment as hunting and fishing gear. Possibly the key variable here is that all of these objects were used personally and frequently, therefore much care was devoted to their purity. On another level it could be stated that only important objects were given this type of attention and only important events were preceded by ritual bathing, fasting, and chewing devil's club bark.
Another possible link with the supernatural can be seen in the use of fragments of aprons or other ceremonial garments as a material for gambling stick bags. Edensaw’s gambling stick bag illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 21 was probably made from a ceremonial apron or shirt, as the partial design tends to indicate. Such a procedure might have involved a concept of the transfer of power originally found in the complete garment to the gambling stick bag, and to the sticks themselves. This is not unlikely as Susan Davidson (personal communication) describes a Tsimshian shaman’s apron in Hazelton which consists of strips of cotton cloth sewn alternately to fragments of an older shaman’s apron. Davidson’s Tsimshian informant told her that the new garment had just as much power as the older one because the act of sewing transmitted the power of the old apron to the new material.

Haida games of chance were similar to those of the mainland groups. The Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida form a homogeneous gambling area, sharing characteristics which are different from most other areas. At this point it would be useful to summarize these northern characteristics before moving on to an examination of gambling in some adjacent areas.

Dice games were reported from the Tlingit and Haida but not from the Tsimshian. One chair-shaped die was used, made of ivory, bone, or wood. The game was called ketchu among the Tlingit and gadegan among the Haida. The dice from the Haida may have been generally larger than
the Tlingit version, although there were not enough examples reported to state this as a rule. The dice reported from the Tlingit were about one inch high and those from the Haida about three inches high.

Scoring appears to have been arbitrary, no two writers seeming to agree on any one system. If this was true, it would correspond to other Northwest Coast gambling games in that the specific rules should have been agreed upon prior to play. This might have provided one opportunity for cheating -- an opportunity which, apparently, was seldom ignored. Counters may or may not have been used generally in the northern dice games, although it is known that they were used in some cases. Leather tablets about eight inches square, frequently incised with crest motifs, were used as platforms upon which to throw the dice.

In the northern area the dice game was known generally as a woman's or boy's game although men are also reported to have played it. The dice game was considered a minor diversion rather than a major undertaking as was the stick game or the hand game. This fact is illustrated by the observation that men and women and boys could all play at one time, no sex or age barriers being imposed. This was not the case with the other two games. The relatively minor status of the dice game is also indicated by the fact that informants report that the dice game was played more for amusement than for gain, and when played for gain, the stakes do not seem to have been as high as in either the hand game or the stick game. Sometimes, in fact, stakes were not
involved at all, but a loser's face was smeared with soot, or the winner of each roll counted one point and put a spot of charcoal on his own face.

Hand games were reported for all the northern groups -- Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida. Either one or two pairs of bones were employed. These were usually made from bone but ivory and wood were also used. If one pair of bones was used, one of the bones would be marked, usually by a band around the middle. If two pairs were used, two bones would be so marked.

The hand game was reported by all writers to have been a recent introduction from the south, and the Salish name lehal was used in all areas. In other areas of the Northwest Coast the bones were distinguished as either male or female. Although such a distinction is not made specifically for the northern area, reference is made to the set of bones being called "king" and "queen" (Schwatha, 1885: 70). It is not really clear from the literature just which bone was to be guessed for. There are reports which state that a player guessed for the marked bone and other reports stating that it was the plain bone. Once again it could be assumed that the specific form of play and method of scoring were decided prior to play, as writers present conflicting data about these points. Men and women both played the hand game in the north, but the games were always separate. Singing and drumming were associated with the game, stakes were high, games were usually very long, and cheating was accepted as part of the game.
The stick game was reported for all northern groups. It was apparently a game of ancient origin on the mainland but was introduced into the Queen Charlotte Islands at a later time. The stick game involved the use of a kit which contained a number of sets of sticks and other associated paraphernalia. There is little doubt that the stick game was the principal gambling game among the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida, at least in earlier times. This is supported in the mythology which will be discussed in Part III.

In order to present an areal perspective of gambling in the northern area it is necessary to show how gambling among the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida differed from other groups. For this purpose, ethnographic accounts of gambling and games of chance from other Northwest Coast groups and from some Plateau and Mackenzie/Yukon groups will be presented.

Among the Kwakiutl the northern form of the dice game, i.e., the chair-shaped dice game called e'bayu; and the beaver teeth dice game, the southern version, called metale, have been reported but there is a certain amount of confusion. On the one hand, Boas (1966: 396) states definitely that the Kwakiutl did not play the beaver teeth dice game (metale) but describes the chair-shaped game as being played. On the other hand, Culin reports that C.F. Newcombe informed him that "after very careful inquiry he is unable to find this game, the chair-
shaped dice game among the Kwakiutl" (Culin, 1907: 197). The evidence suggests, however, that both dice games had been played at some time. The evidence is mainly in the form of both chair-shaped and beaver teeth dice which have been recovered from the Kwakiutl area. Furthermore, in view of the fact that the Kwakiutl have traditionally blended northern and southern traits, for example, a combination of matrilineal and patrilineal kinship, and the presence of both southern and northern design features in art, it is highly probable that both types of dice games were played.

Data about the Kwakiutl dice games are meagre. The only additional information about the chair-shaped dice game is that the fingers were wetted before the die was flipped. Scoring was reported as: either side scored nothing; front scored one; back scored one; and bottom scored four. The beaver teeth dice game was apparently played with four dice; two marked with circles and two with straight lines. According to C.F. Newcombe (in Culin, 1907: 196) this dice game (metale) "came from the Stick Indians (Tahlkan) /sic/;" and was obsolete when Newcombe investigated. The only reference to how this dice game was scored among the Kwakiutl is reported by Culin who states that when all four beaver teeth fall showing their marked sides a score of two is obtained. The game was designated as a woman's game.

Among the Nootka the only dice game reported to have been played was that played with marked beaver teeth (Culin, 1907: 196).
(A set of Nootka dice is illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 26.) The game was called *eis* or *todjik*. Among the Nootka four dice were used, two marked with circles and two with straight lines, as among the Kwakiutl. The circled dice were called *culkotlith* ("dotted teeth"); the lined ones being called *chihlichicotl*. Sometimes one of the circled dice was further distinguished by means of a band of black yarn around the center. This was known as *quisquis* ("snow"). The pair with circular designs was sometimes referred to as the women and the pair with lines as men. There are also references to one of the four dice functioning as a trump. This may have been the die which was wrapped in yarn, although the information is not clear on this.

The scoring of this game among the Nootka was somewhat inconsistent. Usually, however, the following seems to have been the norm: all marked sides showing scored two (*dhabas* "all down"); all plain sides showing scored two (*tascoas* "without marks"); and one pair showing (either lines or circles) scored one. All other combinations usually counted nothing, although there are some reported exceptions. Scoring could be affected if a trump die was used. For example, in one reported case if all marked dice showed a count of four was made, and if only the trump die showed face up a score of four was again made. This seems only to have been the general pattern. As with the other groups considered, flexibility seems to have been a recurring characteristic.
A set of counters (small bones, wood splints, etc.) was usually used with which to keep score. There does not seem to be any set number of these; some sets of ten counters and others of thirty have been recorded by Culin. The game was played in such a way that the dice were shaken in the hands and then thrown down upon a mat or blanket. The winner was he who obtained all of the counters. It was commonly known as a woman's game.

Culin (1907: 198) describes an interesting set of dice from the Nootka (illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 27) which tends to support the general hypothesis linking games of chance with the supernatural. Along with the dice a set of counters was contained in a cotton bag in which was also kept a charm or medicine (called koi) apparently used to secure success in gambling. The medicine consists of a dried fungus which was rubbed on the hands, and the tooth of a small rodent. There are also references to ritual bathing and washing with hemlock by Nootka gamblers (see Curtis, 1916: v. XI: 34).

Among the Coast Salish groups (including the Straits Salish, Puget Sound Salish, and Bella Coola) the only dice game played was the beaver teeth dice variety. It was known throughout the area as smitale and was recognized as a woman's game, although Boas (1891) states that men also played. Characteristically four dice were used, usually beaver teeth, although some sets consist of wood and bone copies of beaver teeth (see Appendix A, Figure 25), especially among the Bella Coola.
Two dice have nucleated circle motifs on one side while the other two have incised straight lines. The circled dice were known as "women" (sla'nae smetale'); and the lined dice as "men" (suwe'ka smetale'). Usually one of the four has a piece of string tied around the middle and was called ihk'ak'e' sen.

Scoring the dice game in this area appears to have been more systematized than in any of the areas considered thus far. The counts were as follows: all marked sides showing scored two; one pair showing and one pair blank scored one; one trump showing face up and three blanks scored four; trump face down and three marked sides showing scored four; and all other combinations scored nothing. This may be misleading, however, as it is based on a limited number of reported cases. In order to say definitely that a system of scoring existed throughout the area, many examples would have to be studied.

About thirty or forty counters were used to keep score. When a player won a counter he continued playing. If he lost, the dice changed hands. When a player won all of the counters the game ended, but three games were usually played in a series. Boas (1891) reports that when men were playing women must not be present and that it was only during large inter-tribal games when their presence would be tolerated. Singing and waving the arms up and down were associated with the dice game. He also refers to the men and women of the winning side painting their faces red. It is not known just what significance
can be given to this face painting. Typically, cheating was present during most games. The trump die, for example, was sometimes placed in the hand in such a way that when the dice were thrown down the trump could be retained and allowed to fall in a predicted fashion (Culin, 1907: 158).

Among the Plateau groups, which include the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet, the common dice game was that played with beaver teeth. Four were used. The game naturally had a close affinity with the Salish game and differed little from it. The scoring may have been different, however. Teit (1900: 272) records the following counts based on a four-piece set which included one "man" (straight lines with sinew wrapped around the middle), one "woman" (circles), and two others with chevron motifs (this set is illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 28): all marked sides showing scored two; all plain sides showing scored two; one chevron and three blank sides scored fourteen; a "woman" and three blanks scored eight; a "man" and three blanks scored four; and all else scored nothing (and the dice changed hands). This, however, is only one case and many would need to be examined before any reliable statement about a scoring system could be made.

As elsewhere this was considered a woman's game. The only additional information about dice games to be gleaned from the Plateau area is Teit's (1900: 272) observation that if a die fell on its edge it was taken up and let fall again. Apparently when Teit recorded his
data (1900) some women still played this game, although not to the extent that it was played in about 1890.

In the Mackenzie/Yukon area different varieties of the dice game were played. According to Morice (1895: 81) one type was played with "buttonlike pieces of bone" but was no longer in use. He gives the name of this game as *atiyeh*. Another dice game was described by Alexander Mackenzie.

The instruments of it consist of a platter or dish made of wood or bark and six round or square but flat pieces of metal, wood, or stone, whose sides or surfaces are of different colors. These are put into the dish, and after being for some time shaken together are thrown into the air and received again in the dish with considerable dexterity, when by the number that are turned up of the same mark or color the game is regulated. If there should be equal numbers the throw is not reckoned; if two or four, the platter changes hands. (Mackenzie, 1801: 142.)

Information about dice games from this area is meagre, but it is clear that it is an area exhibiting different influences from the major areas which are the concern of this paper.

The above examination of dice games from non-northern groups points to significant differences from the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida games.

The hand game (*lehal*), reportedly concentrated among the southern groups of the Northwest Coast, is homogeneous throughout the area. Its basic features appear similar and the literature is fairly complete in descriptive material.
Among the Kwakiutl the hand game was called *alaxwa* (*ale* meaning "seek"; *xwa* meaning "gamble"; and *xak* meaning "bone"). Two pairs of bones were used, referred to as *alaxwaxin*. The counters were called *kwaxklawi*. Two of the bones were marked with a central band and were called *kilgiuiala*. The other two were unmarked and called *kegia*. These unmarked bones were the ones guessed for in the Kwakiutl hand game. According to Newcombe (in Culin, 1907: 321) there was no sex distinction applied to the bones. Boas (1966: 391-392) has presented one of the most complete descriptions of *lehal* on record and the reader is referred to this account. Because the form of the hand game is so standardized throughout the Northwest Coast it will not be discussed in detail here. As the main area of emphasis of the present paper is the earlier indigenous forms of gambling the hand game will be mentioned only to explain some of the possible reasons why it displaced the older stick game in the northern area.

One feature of the hand game which could possibly have contributed to its high degree of portability was its ability to be played by means of gesture, without the need for verbal communication. In fact, this is suggested by Emmons (n.d.) in the passage quoted on page 15 of this paper where he describes a hand game which was played for three weeks without either side being able to understand the language of the other.
Another feature which could have aided this process is the lively singing and drumming associated with lehal which was not present in the stick game. There is a further factor emphasized by Drucker (1965: 67) which could also have influenced this displacement, and that is the difference in odds between the stick and hand games. As has been pointed out for the northern area, in the stick game the score might range back and forth for hours at a time. Play was slowed down by the fact that only the holders of the sticks could win points. A successful guess won no points, but only the possession of the pieces. Lehal, on the other hand, with its two-to-one odds against the guesser, made it possible, in theory at least, for a lucky team to tally the usual twenty points in a relatively short time. This resulted in a faster game than the stick game. Even so, a lehal game could take the better portion of a night to complete, and there were usually a number of games played in a series. Three factors, then, -- the general portability of lehal through the use of gesture, lively singing and drumming, and two-to-one odds -- can be considered major causes contributing to the rise in popularity of the hand game on the Northwest Coast.

The Nootka version of the hand game was known as soktis. Here the bones were distinguished definitely as either male or female. The marked bones were called chokope ("men") and the unmarked, hayop ("female"). (See Appendix A, Figure 29 for an illustration of a set of Nootka hand game bones.) It was the female or unmarked bones which were guessed for. The count was kept with twenty counters (called katsak). (Dorsey, in Culin, 1907: 322.)
Among the Salish the sexual dichotomy was emphasized in the \textit{lehal} game. The plain bone was referred to as female, and the marked bone as male, and again the plain bone was the one guessed for. \textit{Lehal} is reported to have had a very ancient origin in this region (Densmore, 1943: 67). One factor of the game which is brought out strongly in Densmore's paper is the important role of song and rhythm in connection with the play. Only the side in possession of the bones sang and beat time on planks, the purpose being apparently "to baffle and confuse the opponents, for which the rhythm is admirably adapted" (Densmore, 1943: 72). However, Gibbs suggests another purpose of the songs and drumming which could link \textit{lehal} to the supernatural.

The backers of the party manipulating keep up a constant drumming with sticks on their paddles, which lie before them, singing an incantation to attract good fortune....Each species of gambling has its appropriate...patron spirit, whose countenance is invoked by the chant and noise....It would seem that this favor is not merely solicited during the game, but sometimes in advance of it, and perhaps for general or continued fortune. (Gibbs, in Culin, 1907: 299.)

One must be cautious, however, of assuming too much from these data. Gibbs has linked two observations in a relationship which is not necessarily valid. The observation that singing accompanied the hand game is not necessarily linked to the fact that each form of gambling had its own patron spirit which was invoked by the songs. Although this possibility exists, the singing and drumming certainly was geared to confuse the guessing side.
Lehal was played outdoors or indoors (Densmore, 1943: 65). Among the Plateau groups the hand game was played by both men and women, with the women having different songs from the men. In the Plateau area many lehal players wore knuckle covers of leather to conceal the bones more easily during play (Appendix A, Figure 30). In the Mackenzie/Yukon area there does not seem to have been any difference in the form of play from the Plateau groups.

The hand game played on the northern Northwest Coast can be seen to have differed little from the southern groups. In fact, of the three games of chance considered, the hand game appears to have been the most homogeneous, regulated, and widespread. However, such was not the case with the stick game played outside of the northern area.

The Kwakiutl stick game was known as le'bayu and its form was similar to the northern version. Boas (1966: 392) indicates that the game was a more recent introduction to the Kwakiutl area as it was generally agreed that it was not played in former times. It was apparently learned from the northern Northwest Coast groups about 1860. Little can be done at this time to verify this statement although, as will be seen, indications from other sources tend to support it.

Boas' (1966) account of the stick game among the Kwakiutl is very complete and the reader is referred to it for details. The trump sticks were called ga'ke of which there were apparently five to
a set, while all of the other sticks reportedly had animal names.
Some Kwakiutl sets have burnt designs although the most common have the
black or red band decorations.

The Nootka area exhibits an interesting version of the stick
game. Instead of sticks, disks were used. (See Appendix A, Figures 18,
31, and 32.) The name of the Nootka game was given as sacts-sa-whaik
("rolls far") by Dorsey (in Culin 1907: 264), and as hulli-a-ko-bupt
by Swan (in Culin, 1907: 264-265) for the Makah. Apparently this was
the most common game played by the Makah. It was a man's game and
differed from the northern stick game in the singing and drumming which
accompanied the play. Essentially this version of the stick game was
very similar to its northern counterpart. It was played with sets of
ten disks (huliak), the count being kept with about twelve sticks
(katsake). The disks are about two inches in diameter and about
a quarter of an inch thick, made of wood (usually alder, maple, or ha­
zel) and highly polished. Distinguishing marks are found either on the
edges or on the surface near the edge. The most common embellishment
is black and/or white paint around the edge. Usually one disk has a
completely black edge and was known as chokope ("man"). Other disks
have completely white edges and were called hayop ("female"). Appar­
ently the object of the game was to guess for the "female".

Swan (in Culin, 1907: 264-265) gives the following account
of the stick game among the Nootka. Two persons played at one time,
each having a mat before him with the end next to his opponent slightly
raised so that the disks could not roll out of reach. Each player had ten disks which he covered with shredded bark and then separated into equal parts, shifting them rapidly on the mat from hand to hand. The opposing player guessed which pile contained the trump disk, and when he made his selection the disks were rolled down the mat so that each piece was exposed. It is not known what system of scoring was utilized for this game. Swan only states that a correct guess was a win, and an incorrect one a loss. However, if the game resembled the northern stick game it could be suggested that a similar form of scoring occurred. That is, a correct guess gave the guesser possession of the sticks and an incorrect guess counted one point for the dealer.

The Salish and Bella Coola groups have been treated together so far because both shared common cultural elements. This is not true for the stick game, however. Only the northern version was known to the Bella Coola. It was called xsani and was, in fact, the northern game. Among the Salish, however, both versions of the stick game (i.e., stick and disk) were played. As with the Nootka, the Salish distinguish some of the disks on the basis of sex. The black-edged disks were referred to as "women" (slani) and the white-edged disks were called "men" (swaika). Apparently the Salish guessed for the black (female) disk. Among the Nootka the black disks were called "male" and the white ones "female".
Evidently the disks were made from a shrub of the genus *Viburnum* called *set-ta-chas* (Cherouse, in Culin, 1907: 253). The cut disks were boiled for three or four hours and when dry were scraped with grass until shaped, polished, and naturally colored. Other types of wood were also used.

Singing was associated with play, as was face painting. Players painted their faces with different colors and designs which apparently represented the spirit which they invoked for success (Culin, 1907: 254). Boas (1891: 571) also reports the use of face paint.

Gibbs refers to an interesting aspect of the disk game in the Salish area:

> These disks are made of yew, and must be cut into shape with beaver-tooth chisels only. The marking of them is in itself an art, certain persons being able by their spells to imbue them with luck, and their manufactures bring very high prices. (Gibbs, in Culin, 1907: 250.)

Another link with the supernatural is reported by Eells (in Culin, 1907: 256-257) who states that another form of the disk game was played and was called the *tamanous* ("spirit") game. Only those persons who possessed a *tamanous* took part in the game. While one person was playing, the other members of his party were beating a drum, clapping their hands, and singing.

In the Plateau area the usual stick game was played, although a variation was observed in which the dealer divided the set of sticks into two lots, holding them in his hands. The opponent had to guess
which hand held the most sticks. If he guessed wrong, the dealer won the stake.

The form of the regular stick game was similar to the northern game. It differed, however, in the singing that accompanied play and in the use of a specially carved pointer (illustrated in Appendix A, Figure 33). Teit (1900: 273) reports that as well as a trump, a man chose a stick which represented his guardian spirit with which to play. The sticks were also given names.

Additional data associated with the Plateau stick game are provided by Teit (1909: 475). In referring to the means of decorating the sticks Teit states that the root of *Lithospermum angustifolium* dipped in hot grease was used principally for painting gambling sticks. This was blood-red when applied, but with age changed to a purplish shade.

Gamblers in the Plateau area are said to have used the following guardian spirits: natural phenomena (including creek, spring, stone, dawn of day); animals (including horse, muskrat, marmot, rabbit, sheep, goat, buffalo, caribou, porcupine, various birds, frogs, some insects, and wood worms); feathers; parts of plants (including fir branches, pine cones, and fir cones); and such miscellaneous objects as sweat houses, tools, moccasins, red and black paint, and dentalia. (Teit, 1900: 355.)

Teit also mentions that:

Some gamblers' wives took an elongated stone, or oftener a stone hammer, and suspended it by a string above their husbands' pillows. If a woman knew her husband was having bad
luck in his game, she turned it rapidly around, thereby reversing his luck. Another would go to the water and bathe herself, to bring back her husband's luck. Some, to secure success to their husbands while gambling, drove a peg into the ground near their pillows, or sat on a fresh fir-branch while they played. (Teit, 1900: 371.)

In his description of the Shuswap, Teit refers to gambling as a "profession" which required special training and a guardian spirit (1909: 588). Apparently part of this training included cutting the tongue and swallowing the blood, the expressed purpose being to make the aspiring gambler lucky (Teit, 1909: 590). Such training was usually carried out only in those activities which were considered important by the group; thus one might make the assumption that gambling was an important activity.

The following advice was given to one who aspired to be a good gambler among the Shuswap.

'...If you desire to be lucky at gambling, always invite women to watch you playing; and if you win much, give them some presents. As long as they watch you playing, you will win; but if no women watch you when you play, you will lose. Do as I direct you, and you will always be successful at gambling and with women.' Thus this man obtained as his guardian spirit the deer who had changed into a woman, and he has generally been very successful in gambling, and has had several good wives. (Teit, 1909: 606-607.)

The game which this advice refers to is lehal and differs from the coastal version in concept by suggesting that women could be spectators.

Teit also refers to the significance of face painting with regard to gambling. Apparently a gambler had two boys as his guardians.
They appeared to him, and told him, whenever he lost at playing lehaly to hold his right hand at his back for a while, and to paint a red stripe down from each corner of his mouth, and another red stripe across the bridge of his nose from ear to ear /see Appendix A, Figure 34/. If he followed this advice, he would always be lucky. Whenever he had bad luck at playing lehal, he did as he had been directed, and invariably his luck changed so that he won. (Teit, 1909: 608.)

The northern form of the stick game is recorded by Culin (1907: 236-237) for the Mackenzie/Yukon area and was called atlih (atle meaning "gambling sticks"). Information concerning the game in this area is meagre, but the indications are that the gambling sticks were of a more crude variety than on the coast; also, the markings appear to be only plain bands around the sticks. From the sources, therefore, all that can be said is that the northern Northwest Coast version of the stick game was played in the Mackenzie/Yukon area.

From the ethnographic literature upon which this section is based it can be seen that the northern region, represented by the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida, can be considered as a relatively homogeneous section of the Northwest Coast as far as games of chance are concerned. It has been shown that this area is unique in a number of features: (1) the chair-shaped dice game; (2) absence of beaver teeth dice; and, (3) an area of concentration for the stick game, possibly suggesting that the game originated here, or at least reached its climax in this region. On a more general level, a link has been suggested and some ethnographic evidence presented which tends to demonstrate a connection between the supernatural and games of chance.
However, there are large gaps in the ethnographic literature. For example, there is no information about gamblers themselves, whether gambling was discouraged or encouraged, what the stakes were, and so forth. In fact there is not enough data to undertake any type of functional analysis of gambling on the Northwest Coast. It is possible to pursue some of these questions and to develop a fuller profile of gambling by examining the theme of gambling as it is recorded in the mythology of the different groups under consideration. It is this task which constitutes Part III of this paper.
PART III - MYTHOLOGY
As has been demonstrated in Part II it is possible to develop only a very basic profile of gambling on the Northwest Coast using the ethnographic literature. Data are lacking for a functional examination of gambling. This is a lack which is common to many topics when dealing with Northwest Coast ethnography. Part II was basically descriptive and no surprising data were uncovered which could be relevant to a study of more theoretical questions. Any attempt to suggest some of the implications of heavy gambling based on the data from Part II is destined to failure, or at least to a charge of invalidity.

Some indicators of the role of gambling in its Northwest Coast setting, as well as information about gamblers, social restraints, etc. are found in the mythology of the area. It is true that making generalizations from myth cannot be a direct process, but given proper qualification, significant data may be uncovered, and to some degree the profile can be rounded out. It is suggested that myths contain references to stereotyped behavior, behavior which has been generalized over time and which is accepted as normal within the context of the myth.

Much has been said about the nature, form, and content of myth. As mythology is used here, however, it would not be relevant to pursue any type of structural analysis. Rather, what is needed is a general statement of the forms which the myths take on the Northwest Coast, especially where they contain themes of gambling.
For the purposes of defining and tracing themes it is useful to conceptualize a myth as an amoeba. Levi-Strauss discusses this particular model for myth. Referring to myth he states:

From whatever viewpoint we look at it, it is seen to develop nebulously. Like a nebula it never brings together in a durable or systematic way the sum total of the elements from which it blindly derives its substance. Yet we are firmly convinced that the real serves as its guide.

As our nebula spreads out, its nucleus condenses and becomes organized. Sparse filaments are soldered; lacunae are filled; connections are established; something resembling order is visible behind the chaos. As though clustering around a germinial molecule, the sequences which have been ranked in transformation groups are incorporated into the initial group and reproduce its structure and determinations. A multidimensional body is born whose central parts reveal a pattern or organization, though uncertainty and confusion continue to rule on the periphery.

Here, as with the optical microscope which cannot reveal matter's ultimate structure to the observer, our only choice is between certain enlargements; each manifests a level of organization whose truth is relative; each, while in use, excludes the perception of other levels.

The process is very much like that of those primitive organisms which, although they are already enclosed in a membrane, maintain a capacity to move their protoplasm within this envelope and to distend it extraordinarily in order to emit pseudopodia. Such behavior is a good bit less strange once we have verified that its object is to capture or assimilate foreign bodies.

(Levi-Strauss, in Georges, 1968: 201-203.)

Such a model is useful for this paper because it demonstrates the capacity of myth to absorb and reject certain elements. It also shows the theoretical possibility of isolating nucleii. Furthermore, it emphasizes the fluid character of myth, i.e., something in process and always
changing. It is important, however, not to push this organic analogy too far.

Data about gambling contained in the mythology tend to fall into two main categories. Firstly, there are data which are situational. That is to say that passing reference is made to an aspect of gambling. For example a statement that a certain myth character left his house to go to another for the purpose of gambling may not be vital to the central theme of the myth. However, for this paper such a statement may be relevant in that it may add to the profile of gambling. Secondly, there are those data which constitute major themes in the mythology. Rather than being a passing, incidental reference, some aspect of gambling is the vital element of the myth. Here the fortunes or misfortunes of a gambler may be recorded in a fair amount of detail and may provide useful information (lacking in the ethnographies) about such things as social controls applied to gambling, supernatural intervention in gambling games, etc. It must be stressed again that data from the mythology in both categories must be presented as such and not as recorded observed behavior.

Referring to the model outlined above it is possible to classify the myths from different areas which contain main themes of gambling by isolating and focusing on their nucleii. Such a classifying task is not seen as a worthy pursuit in itself. Leach's blue butterflies are brought to mind: "... you can arrange your butterflies
according to their colour, or their size, or the shape of their wings according to the whim of the moment (but) ... the creation of a class of blue butterflies is irrelevant for the understanding of the anatomical structure of lepidoptera" (Leach, 1961: 3-4). Levi-Strauss also cautions against classifying for its own sake:

The study of myths poses a methodological problem if only because such study cannot follow the Cartesian principle of breaking the difficulty down into as many parts as are required for its solution. No term proper to mythic analysis exists; nor is there any secret unity which one can seize hold of at the end of the analysis. The themes can be subdivided endlessly. When we think we have unravelled one from the other and can maintain them separately, we soon find that they are blended together as though under the pressure of affinities we had not foreseen. Consequently, the myth's unity is tendentious and projective; it never really reflects a state or a fixed moment of the myth. It is no more than an imaginary phenomenon implicit in the effort of interpretation. (Levi-Strauss, in Georges, 1968: 204-205.)

Both Levi-Strauss' and Leach's statements are well-taken; however, the isolation and classification of themes need not be a wholly futile task. It is only so if such a procedure is carried out as an end in itself. If classification is useful for the expressed purpose of a task and if it clarifies and illustrates certain concepts, or if it opens new areas of exploration, it is seen as a proper conceptual tool. As will be shown below, this task of classifying nuclei or themes has pointed out some interesting theoretical aspects of gambling on the Northwest Coast.

At this point, before beginning the survey of myths, a typology relevant to the second category of data, pertaining to major themes,
will be outlined. This will facilitate discussion about the themes when other areas are considered. On a very general level the myths in which gambling is a major theme fall into one of two categories. (This appears to hold true for all of the areas considered.) These categories of the nuclei of myths may be summarized as follows: (Type A) those myths in which gambling games determine significant events; and (Type B) those myths in which gamblers receive supernatural aid.

It must be emphasized that these types of gambling themes are general and that their usefulness lies in the fact that they allow one to look at similar types of myths from different areas. The survey of the mythology, both for additional details of gambling and for more general themes of gambling, tends to support some of the conclusions presented in Part II and illustrated by the ethnographic literature. These general features, based on data from the myths, include the following: (1) there is a general homogeneity in the mythology, both within an area and between different areas; (2) gambling themes appear to be more common in the north; and (3) the mythology from all areas demonstrates the involvement of supernatural forces and special powers in gambling. Hence the link between the supernatural and games of chance is illustrated strongly in the myths. This may, however, be a reflection of the nature of myth rather than the nature of gambling, but the assumption of the usefulness of myth is based on Levi-Strauss' statement quoted above that "...we are firmly convinced that the real
serves as its \textit{i.e., the myth's} guide" (Levi-Strauss, in Georges, 1968: 201).

With this in mind, mythology from the northern area will now be examined for data pertaining to gambling. As in Part II the northern area will be considered first with a fair amount of detail from the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida. The other areas will be used mainly for comparative purposes. Relative to other areas there is a high concentration of gambling data to be found in the mythology of the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida. Among the Tlingit the mythology makes reference to a number of gambling features which will be pointed out as the myths are surveyed. First there are a number of myths where gambling is mentioned just in passing and is not really relevant to the main plot. In two of these (Swanton, 1909: 247 and 444) it is stated that men left the house early in the morning for the purpose of gambling. These references also suggest that it was the stick game which was played and that it was a man's game. The observation that men left their houses early would suggest that much time was spent gambling. One myth also states that "when persons came to gamble with him he shouted out as people do when they are gambling." The stick game was certainly an occasion for excitement -- a fact remarked upon by many earlier chroniclers of life on the northern Northwest Coast. Also within this first category of data from the mythology is a reference to 'fixing' the outcome of a game: "The two young men replied: 'Don't tell about us. If you keep it to yourself we will pay you ten slaves."
We will let you win ten slaves from us in gambling.' And they did so'' (Swanton, 1909: 135). Two important implications are contained in this reference. One is that game 'fixing' was an accepted practice; and the other is that slaves could be included in the stake.

Another myth (Swanton, 1909: 165-169) initially equates gambling with a non-productive, lazy life: "...she disliked her son-in-law very much because he was a lazy fellow, fond only of gambling." However, it is soon made explicit that he was not lazy at all, but was a most productive individual who enjoyed gambling. The implication of this reference is that gambling could be associated with laziness and therefore initially held up for public criticism but in a majority of cases this was a temporary condition. As shown in this myth, gamblers are usually presented ultimately as basically productive and valuable members of society. In fact, the gambler referred to here was transformed into the monster Gonagade't who brings good luck to those who see him. His wife is also an omen of good luck, as are their children "the Daughters of the Creek" who live at the head of every stream.

This myth certainly does not have the form of a tool of social control, such as would warn people of any dangers inherent in excessive gambling. It is more correct to say that, in this case, over-indulgence in gambling appears as being a potentially negative activity, but not as a definitely negative one.
caution against gambling when it is taken to extreme. However, this only seems to apply when the gambler is losing, so it may reflect only the negative reaction to losing rather than to gambling generally.

Swanton (1909: 135-139) has recorded a very interesting Tlingit myth which is included in the 'Raven cycle.' It will be quoted in detail here because of the important references to gambling it contains. Raven's travels took him to Tan-tfu (the southern end of Prince of Wales Island) where he saw a man named Qonalgi'i. The myth continues:

Raven said to him, "What are you doing here?" "I am a great gambler," he said. "I love to gamble." Said Raven, "You are a gambler but you can not win a thing. If you eat forty devil's clubs and fast many days you will become a great gambler. You will win everything you wish. But why do you want to learn gambling?" The man said, "I have been gambling steadily and I can not win any thing. A person won from me my wife's clothing and all of my food and property. Since I have so disgraced myself, I have left my town and have come here to die." Said Raven, "Gambling is not very good. There will always be hard feelings between gamblers, yet I will show you how. One of the sticks has a red mark around it. It will be named naq (devilfish). You will see the smoke of naq. When you get the devilfish, you are lucky. As long as it keeps away from you, you are unlucky." Then he said to the man, "Make a house for yourself out of devil's clubs first and stay inside while you are fasting. After you have fasted four days, Greatest Gambler (Alqa'-s'a't) will appear to you."

When the man had fasted for three days, living on nothing but devil's clubs, he started to look for more. Then he found a devil's club, as big around as a large tree, covered with scars, and he took the bark off in eight different spots. Then he went to sleep and dreamed that a man came to him. He said, "Do you know that I am Greatest Gambler? You took the bark off from me in eight spots. It was I standing there." Then Greatest Gambler said to him, "When you leave this place, look around down on the beach and you will find something. When you reach your own village, do the same thing again, and you will find something else."
Next morning a real person came to him and said, "I want to see your gambling sticks." So he showed them to him, and he gave them their names. He gave all of them their names at that time. Each stick had a certain mark. One was named devilfish and the others were called after other kinds of animals and fish. They are the same today among both Tsimshian and Tlingit. /Swanton's note: It appears from examples that no such uniformity really exists./ The two principal sticks besides the devilfish are tuq (a small bright fish found in the sand along shore) and anca'dji (a small gregarious bird which seems to feed on the tops of trees).

After Greatest Gambler had showed him how to gamble he prepared to return to his people . . . .

When at last he entered the village everybody made fun of him, saying, "Aya'Qonalgic" (said to be Haida words meaning "Come and let us gamble, Qonalgic"). When they first heard him speak of gambling they made fun of him, thinking to beat him as before, and the same one who had before won all of his goods sat down opposite. He was a fine gambler and therefore very rich. When they started to play, the poor man began to go through all kinds of performances, jumping up, running about, and saying funny things to his opponent, so that the latter became confused and could not do anything. The poor man began winning his goods and, when he got tobacco, he would treat the crowd about him with it. Finally the poor man said, "That is enough. I am through," but the rich man answered, "Stay and let us gamble more," thinking that he would get all of his goods back. The poor man, however, said he was through but would be willing to gamble with him the next day, and he left his opponent sitting there feeling very badly. The same day, however, his opponent went over to him again and again asked him to gamble. "Oh, let us wait until tomorrow," he said, and he spoke kindly to him. Finally they began again. Whatever words the poor man used against his opponent at this time, people use at this day. By and by he said to the chief, "let us gamble for food next. I want to feed my people." Then the rich man was angry, sat down, and began gambling with him for food. Again his opponent won everything and said, "That is enough. We have plenty of time to gamble. We will gamble some other day." So they stopped, although the chief would have persevered, and the poor man invited all of his friends in order to give them the food he had won.

Next day the chief again brought over his gambling sticks, and they recommenced. Whenever the poor man saw that his
luck was turning, he would jump up, run around the circle of people, who were watching him closely, run to a little creek near by, wash his hands very clean and return to gamble. He did that over and over again while he was gambling. Sometimes he would run off and chew upon a piece of dried salmon. Then he could see the devilfish smoke much better. This time they staked slaves, and he won quite a number, after which he jumped up, saying that he had gambled enough. The chief begged him to continue, but he said, "No, we have gambled long enough. I will gamble every day with you if you desire, but this is enough for to-day."

Next morning they gambled again. A big crowd always followed him to the gambling place because the way he acted was new to them. He would jump up, call certain of his lucky sticks by name and say, "Now you come out." Before he began gambling he mixed his sticks well together and said, "The asq'anca'dji sticks will come out." So they came out, flew around and around his head and settled among the other sticks again. He was the only one who could see them.

By this time the chief opposing him had become fairly crazy. He had nothing left but his house, his sisters' children, his wife, and himself. He wanted to stake his sisters' children, but his opponent said that he would not gamble for people. Then the chief caught hold of him and begged him, and his own friends came to him and said, "Why don't you gamble and win those friends of his? You are very foolish not to." "I do not want to gamble unless I can win something," he said. "What good will those people be to me? I can not do anything with them after I win them." "You will have the name of having won them. Remember what he did to you. He did not have pity on you. When he won your wife's clothes did he give them back?" Then the poor man moved a piece of painted moose hide, called ck'lutele', around in front of the chief. It made him very angry, but he dared not say anything. The chief lost his nephews, his house, and his wife's clothes and offered to stake his wife, but his opponent refused until his cousin said, "Go on and get everything he has. If you do not want them you can give them back." So he won his wife also. Then he put his gambling sticks away, refusing to gamble for the chief himself, because he knew that there is always trouble at the bottom of gambling. But his friends said, "If he is foolish enough to stake himself and his wife, go on and gamble. After a while he will feel it in his face (i.e., be ashamed)." So he played once more and won his opponent also.

Then he said, "Since you have staked everything and I have won, I suppose that this is all. Do you remember how you
won everything from me? You were very hard on me. You even won my wife's clothing, and you did not give me anything back. You left me in such a condition that I could not do a thing to help myself and my wife. You know that I have won you. You belong to me. You might be my slave, but I will not be that hard upon you. I have won you and your wife, but I don't want to claim you. Take your wife also. She is yours and I don't want to claim her either."

It is from Qonalgi'c...that the gambling sticks have different names and that there are different kinds of naqs and different sorts of cicts. These cicts are lucky gambling sticks, but the lucky medicine that a gambler obtains is also called cict. In order to get it he has to fast, remain away from his wife, and keep what he is doing secret. At that time he wishes for whatever he desires. This medicine also makes a person brave and is used when preparing for some important action. The name cict is said to have come from a wolf which had something stuck between its teeth. When a certain man got this out, the wolf said, "I will show you my cict. I will tell you what it is."....

People who cheat have gambling sticks like birds that are able to fly away, and they keep the names of these sticks to themselves.

It is since the time of this first gambler, too, that people have had the custom of saying to a gambler, "Why don't you give a feast with the food you have won?"

Gamblers claim that when the sticks move in a certain way while they are gambling, it means death in the family. If they keep the rules of their cict it will tell them what animal they are going to kill when they are out hunting.

(Swanton, 1909: 135-139.)

This myth was quoted at length because it is unusually rich in details pertaining to many aspects of Tlingit gambling. The very fact that it is included in the Raven cycle means that the activity has more than routine importance. Much attention is given to ritualistic details such as fasting and eating devil's club as well as to the more mechanical aspects of play. It is interesting to note here that
a successful gambler always heeded the prescribed rituals prior to and during play; an unsuccessful gambler did not. But the major significance of this myth lies in the link which is emphasized between the supernatural and the game itself.

The attention to the details of gambling is a characteristic of the northern area relative to the other areas considered. Such a fact suggests a number of things. On one level, it could be said that this attention to detail in the mythology is a characteristic of northern mythology generally and does not reflect anything else. It may also be a reflection of the ethnographer's attention to details and care in recording when considered against the myths recorded from other areas. These factors must, of course, be taken into account. But, when seen against the data from Part II, it is felt that more is involved here. As the mythology from the Tsimshian and Haida is examined, and later that from other areas, it will be shown that there is in the mythology as there is in the ethnographic data a traditional concentration of the stick game in the northern area. Furthermore, it will be seen that gambling with the stick game achieved its highest level of cultural importance among the northern groups.

The recording of myths has been most complete for the Tsimshian. Boas' monumental volume, *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) constitutes the single most valuable reference source, although the notes of Marius Barbeau, not available to the writer, may prove to be even fuller. Barbeau's *Totem Poles of the Gitksan* (1929) also contains some valuable
information. In Tsimshian Mythology not only are Tsimshian myths re-
recorded by Henry Tate, but they are also compared by Boas with similar
myths from other groups. Furthermore, there is a description of Tsim-
shian society based solely on data taken from the myths. In this, Boas
has approached certain data as constituting ethnographic statements.
While Boas himself is aware of the dangers of the use of myths for this
purpose, his description appears consonent with observed behavior from
the Tsimshian and adjacent groups. As suggested above, mythology is
rooted in, and guided by, the real world. This being the case, it can
be stated that myths provide indicators of and justification for actu-
al behavior.

Boas gives the following account of Tsimshian gambling based
on data from the mythology.

Many men pass their time gambling. Generally the game played
with a set of gambling-sticks /Boas' note: The sticks, 50
or 60 in number were made of bone or maple, and each was
painted with its own mark. Each has a name/ is referred
to. The gamblers sit on the beach or in a house in which
they assemble day by day. They paint their faces to secure
good luck. Some men play until they have lost all their pro-
perty. They will gamble away even their wives and parents,
although it is not clear what this means, since the relatives
certainly retain their liberty. Visitors are invited to
gambling games or the people visit a neighbouring village to
gamble there. (Boas, 1916: 409-410.)

The general features of gambling mentioned by Boas are supported by
the ethnographic data. The popularity of gambling, the stick game as
the main vehicle of gambling, face painting, high stakes, the sticks
themselves, their naming and decoration, and spectators are all observed
characteristics.
Boas' description can be supplemented by information recorded by Tate in the myths. The paint used was red ochre which was kept in a small leather pouch which formed part of the gambler's kit (Boas, 1916: 217). From the same myth there is also a reference to the use of a gambling mat.

Barbeau's *The Downfall of Temlaham* (1928) is in part fictional. However, the writer has accepted it as worthy of use. In it Barbeau refers to the fact that all "men on earth" must master the stick game (p. 201); that the stick game would be played with enemies from another village (p. 201); and that over-indulgence in gambling was considered "unruly and rash" (p. 206). There are also suggestions in Barbeau that certain villages and individuals were characterized as pathological gamblers.

Gambling games used to determine the outcome of significant events comprises the theme of a number of Tsimshian myths. Two of these are incidents in the travels of the culture hero *TxA'msem*. As a quarrel soon developed in a game between the culture hero and Gull, *TxA'msem* threw gull on his back and stepped on his stomach, forcing Gull to vomit olachen. In another myth told as part of the *TxA'msem* series (Boas, 1916: 69-70), the result of a gambling game (in this case, a shooting match) is that "the olachen will come to Nass River twice every summer... and the salmon of the Skeena River shall always be fat." In this instance *TxA'msem* meets the man named *Lagobola* and they decide to gamble on an archery match. *TxA'msem* cheats by saying
that his arrow hit the target when actually it was Lagobola's. 

TxH'msem persists, however, until Lagobola finally concedes the game.

Each of these myths employs the concept of cheating as a means leading to the outcome. The cheating "pays off," and there is no way in which these two myths could be considered as containing a negative response to cheating in gambling.

A number of myths which contain gambling data as part of the content tend to link gambling with the supernatural. One of these (Boas, 1902: 32-33) tells about TxH'msem arriving at a house in which there were many people gambling. The name of the house was "Supernatural Place" or "Tabooed Place." Another myth (Boas, 1916: 157) tells how a supernatural agent ("the woman of the lake") gave her husband gambling tools and a set of sticks and sent him to the south. "He always shook his gambling-sticks, and he always won and became richer than all his fellow men as the woman of the lake had said." One implication of this myth may be the possible northern origin of the stick game. The reference in the myth to the gambler's being sent southwards may refer to this historical event.

Another supernatural aspect of gambling is illustrated in a myth (Boas, 1916: 78) in which TxH'msem correlates his losing at gambling with his wife's supposed infidelity. "I have been gambling every day, and at one time I was always gaining; but now I am losing everything I have. So I know that some man is visiting you." The predictive potential of gambling games is a common theme in myths throughout the northern area, and is mentioned in the ethnographic data from Part II as well.
In The Downfall of Temlaham Barbeau illustrates how gambling can be used to determine the outcome of significant events. In one case the lands and forests of a certain area are staked and played for (pp. 73-74). In another, a gambling game leads to an argument and eventual full-scale warfare, with the ultimate extinction of one of the opponents and of their entire village (pp. 212-215). The following passages show the link between gambling and the supernatural in their examples.

"A Gambler am I, a Gambler, because Gurhsan is my name. 'He who always gambles,' the foremost hereditary title in my lineage. I tossed the gambling sticks in my hands, meanwhile ascending upwards like the Sun at dawn, clearing with my feet the clouds amassed in my trail, the clouds on both sides, as I went on pacing gloriously. This happened in a dream of the air on high."... (p. 73.)

"A gambler am I, tossing the markers from side to side, ascending upwards in a dream, and sweeping the clouds off my path, like the sun; a Gambler, whose dream is vision-like, merging into day-light reality."... (p. 74)

The Sky-born brothers produced their own rsan set of walrus ivory and abalone pearl insets, a mystic treasure from the hands of their grandfather above. They drew their crests on their faces in paint, red, yellow and black. And fortunes changed sides from that moment. The earth-children swiftly lost all their stakes... (p. 213)

Two further myths of another type are recorded from the Tsimshian in which gamblers receive supernatural aid. One, called by Boas (1916: 207-214) "The Town of Chief Peace," relates to the story of how the son of a chief loses all his property in gambling and is shamed into leaving the village; he is then taken into a stranger's canoe and transported to another village where he receives supernatural aid. Some of the details in this myth amplify some of the factors involved in northern
gambling. Firstly, the gambler in this case is of high status, a chief's son. Secondly, he was an habitual gambler: "Every day, he would go to the gambling-house, and he would join the gamblers" (Boas, 1916: 207). Thirdly, his wife "was downcast because her husband was a great gambler" (p. 207). Fourthly, when the gambler eventually lost too much he was shamed into leaving the village:

... and he gambled and lost all his property, and he lost all his father's property - his costly coppers, his large canoes, and his slaves, - and he lost also his father and his mother and his wife and his little boy....Then the young man's heart was full of sorrow. He arose and went to bed and lay down there. He thought that he would not be able to endure the shame of staying at home. Therefore he decided to leave the house while the people were asleep. (Boas, 1916: 207-208.)

Here it should be emphasized that it is the element of shame which is important and which forces the gambler into physical and social isolation. In other words, gambling is to be tolerated only as long as one is winning.

Another interesting factor illustrated in this myth is that, regardless of how much the gambler had lost in the past, regardless of how much he was shamed, he is welcomed back into the community on his return if his luck changes.

A similar series of events from a different myth is also recorded by Tate.

...Two years after the canneries had been established on Skeena River, not many years ago, a young man of the upper Skeena River was gambling with another one. He lost all his goods, and also those of his wife and his two children.
Therefore he was very sad, for his wife had nothing to wear, and they had no food for their children. Therefore the young man went away from his empty, lonely house. He wandered about in the mountains. (Boas, 1916: 101.)

The gambler then receives supernatural aid, returns to his village and is welcomed back. Here again, the gambler loses, is shamed into isolation, gets supernatural aid, becomes lucky, and returns to his people where he is welcomed.

As one would suspect, the Haida and Tsimshian myths contain many similar references to gambling. However, there is some additional information to be gained about gambling in the northern area that is not mentioned in either Tsimshian or Tlingit myths. For example, there is reference to Haida gambling paraphernalia being carried on the back:

...people with feathers on their heads and gambling-stick bags on their backs... (Swanton, 1905b: 113)

The next morning, very early, after they had again eaten the three kinds of food /i.e., salmon, cranberries, and the "inside parts" of a mountain goat/, they took their gambling-stick bags upon their backs and went off (p. 114).

This second reference also supports other data stating that men rose early in the day to gamble. It is not clear from the myth whether or not there is any link between the menu of three foods and the fact that these people were gamblers.

As among the Tsimshian, Haida myths show gambling games as a cause of wars and raids. One such myth (Swanton, 1905b: 170) relates how a charge of cheating during a stick game between a Haida village people and people from Metlakatla led to armed conflict which lasted for two days. A second myth (Swanton, 1905b: 341-344) explains
that the beginning of the Tsimshian/Tlingit wars was perpetrated by a stick game. It is interesting to note that this is a Haida myth referring to non-Haida events. The fact that the Tsimshian had the reputation of being ardent gamblers, in Haida eyes, may point to this area as being a center of gambling activity. A third Haida myth (Swanton, 1905b: 305-307) describes the massacre of the men and enslavement of the women and children of an entire Haida village as the outcome of a gambling game.

Haida myths also describe gamblers who receive supernatural aid. One such myth (Swanton, 1905b: 281) tells of a gambler who lost all of his own property as well as that of his relatives and friends. He was shamed and left the village; encountered a supernatural agent; returned; again he gambled, but now he won and eventually paid back all his debts.

This theme is used again in a myth which describes how the Seaward Sqo'ladas obtained the names of their gambling sticks (Swanton, 1905b: 322-324). A chief's son gambled and lost all of his and his father's property. Shamed, he put his gambling bag on his back and left the village. Eventually he arrived at a strange house where he met an old man who named the sticks which belonged to him.

... [The old man said] "Let me see your gambling sticks," and he gave them to him...he cut around the middle of one of them with his finger nail. It was red. And he said to him, "Its name shall be Coming-out-ten-times." And...he cut around on another of them near the end. The end of it was red. Then he said: "Its name shall be Striking-into-the-clouds." As soon as he brought out his gambling sticks to him, he named

The gambler then returned to his people where he played against the Tsimshian and won all their property. He was then honored by his people. Although this myth suggests that specific names for gambling sticks were an inherited privilege belonging to a specific family, no such conclusion is supported from other sources.

This myth also refers to a number of other characteristics which have been previously noted as relating to gambling in this area. These include eating of medicine (probably devil's club) and subsequent purification by defecation, ritual purification by bathing, and face painting.

Another Haida myth recorded by Swanton may be used to add further details to the profile of gambling. Swanton (1905b: 52-53) entitles this myth "Sounding-Gambling-Sticks." It follows the familiar pattern. A chief's son gambles, loses all of his property, all of his father's property, his slaves, his father's town, his father, his mother, and his sisters. All of the people of the village are eventually lost to his opponent, and were therefore claimed and taken away. The gambler is then left alone. Eventually he travels until he finds himself in the house of an old man who teaches him how to gamble.

...Then [the man] made it [i.e., "Raven's-berry" bushes] into gambling sticks, and when he had finished them he touched two with coals. He put a figure of a sea otter on one and he put
the figure of a young sea otter on the other. Then he had designs made on five large clam shells. They had figures of cumulous clouds....And he also gave him tobacco seeds. "When you begin to gamble, put the stick that has the figure of a sea otter upon your right shoulder. Put the one that has the figure of the young sea otter upon the left shoulder. Divide the tobacco seeds equally among those who come and sit on both sides of you to watch you. They might say that you did not play fair, but the tobacco seeds are so sweet that they will not say it." (Swanton, 1905b: 54.)

Following these instructions the gambler returned to his people and gambled again with the opponent who had previously won. Eventually he won back all that he had lost.

The Haida myths follow the same general pattern as those from the Tsimshian and Tlingit, with possibly more emphasis on warfare as a result of gambling among the Haida than among the other groups. There are not enough myths from each of these northern groups to undertake an analysis of specific 'tribal' styles, but it is possible to group them and refer to gambling in northern mythology as sharing certain characteristics and details.

The northern myths in which gambling forms a main theme fall into two categories: (1) gambling games determining significant events; and (2) gamblers who receive supernatural aid. In the northern area on one level, each myth appears different; on another, the basic framework is similar to other myths found in the area. A similar pattern can also be seen to exist when one considers the data presented in Part II, i.e., the basic form of the stick game is similar wherever it is played, but specific rules vary greatly and do not seem to follow an areal pattern.
As one would expect, the same basic framework outlined for the northern groups is also found in the other areas under consideration. There are, of course, changes in detail to accommodate the local situation, but there is a great degree of homogeneity with reference to gambling in the mythology. Accordingly, rather than repeat the plot themes for more myths, only some of the illustrative common characteristics will be presented. The bibliography contains most of the references needed to pursue an examination of the non-northern mythology in detail.

Gambling is not mentioned as frequently among the southern and interior groups as it is in the north. Many of the myths which contain gambling themes in the north do not contain such themes in the south. Such facts indicate a number of things. They could be a reflection of general richness in the mythology of the northern groups relative to other areas. They could also reflect a variable interest on the part of the recorders of the myths and/or on the part of the informants. Thirdly, such facts could also be used as a rude index of the relative traditional importance of gambling in different areas. Even if the first two possibilities apply to some degree (and it is assumed that they do) there still remains a wide gap. It is suggested that this strong northern emphasis reflects an actual historical concentration of gambling, especially by means of the stick game, in the northern
area. It may also point to the possibility of the stick game diffusing from the northern area. Both of these statements appear to be supported by the evidence from this section of the paper. They are also given support by data in Part II, such as the great number of gambling sets from the northern groups. A third general characteristic of gambling reflected in the mythology of all areas is the involvement of supernatural forces and special powers in gambling.
PART IV - CONCLUSION
The profile of gambling on the Northwest Coast as constructed from data retrieved from the ethnographic literature and from the mythology suggests a number of conclusions pertaining to this activity in earlier times. The first conclusion is that gambling was a very popular activity. Secondly, a large degree of homogeneity can be seen to exist in the areas under consideration. With few exceptions, basically similar games of chance were played throughout the entire area, a real difference being quantitative rather than qualitative. A similar pattern is seen in the themes of gambling stated in the myths; there are a few main themes, but details differ from place to place. A third conclusion is that gambling usually involved very high stakes. Connected with this is a fourth conclusion: losing much was considered shameful, especially when a gambler lost property belonging to other people. Also, serious gambling for high stakes was considered strictly a man's activity; women and children did gamble, but their games were thought of more as amusements. This may suggest that women and children did not have the property with which to play for high stakes. Cheating was common and accepted as part of the play as long as it was not discovered. The seventh conclusion is that data from all sources stress the link between the supernatural and games of chance. The data, however, are not complete enough to specify any more precise relationships between this activity and the conceptualization of the supernatural world. What can be presented, though, is a number of ritual and other details such as bathing, fasting, chewing of devil's club bark, and face painting.
Separate from the mainstream of gambling activity is a possible relationship between gambling and shamanistic activity. Some of the material culture certainly would point to such a relationship. Gambling implements are frequently found and designated as belonging to a shaman's ritual paraphernalia.

It was possible to go beyond the basic descriptive dimension in examining gambling, but only by using parts of the mythology. The mythology permitted the pursuit of various dimensions of a cultural activity not represented in the ethnographic data, an important aid in an area weak in ethnographic data concerning certain topics, but rich in recordings of myths.

This project has illustrated the first task of a museum ethnographer: the gathering and interpretation of data relevant to a specific cultural activity represented in the museum's collections. The second task would be the communication of certain aspects of this cultural activity to a public by means of the materials associated with it. However, it is not within the scope of the present paper to consider the material phase, beyond the use of the photographs which accompany the text, as it involves a set of problems not directly linked to the primary task.
Barbeau, Marius
1928 The downfall of Temlaham. Toronto, Macmillan.

Boas, Franz

Culin, Stewart

Curtis, Edward S.

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Desmond, Gerald R.  

Drucker, Philip  


Emmons, George  

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Georges, Robert A. (ed.)  
1968  Studies on mythology. Homewood, Dorsey.

Hill-Tout, Charles  

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1801  Voyage from Montreal. London.

Morice, A.G.  
1895  Notes on the Western Denes. Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Vol. 4. Toronto.


Sapir, Edward  
Schwatha, Frederick

Swanton, John R.

Teit, James

Willett, Frank
1961 A set of gambling pegs from the North-west coast of America. Man LXI: 8-10.
PART VI - APPENDIXES
APPENDIX A - ILLUSTRATIONS
Edenshaw's Gambling Stick Bag.
Fig. 1. -- Chair-shaped dice. Haida. Ivory. Approx. 3 inches high. From Swanton, 1905a: 59.
Fig. 2. -- Beaver teeth dice. Salish. IVory. Approx. actual size. Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C. Cat. No. A 8176.
Fig. 3. -- Counters for beaver teeth dice game.  
Salish. Bone.  
Approx. 3 inches long.  
From Culin. 1907: 156.

Fig. 4. -- Mat used in chair-shaped dice game.  
Tlingit. Leather.  
Approx. 7 3/4 inches high.  
From Culin, 1907: 130.
Fig. 5. -- Gambling mat. Tlingit.
Leather. Approx. 8 inches high (?). From Boas, 1955: 228.

Fig. 6. -- Hand game bones. Kwakiutl (Fort Rupert). Bone. Approx. 2 3/4 inches long. From Culin, 1907: 319.
Fig. 8. -- Hand game at Harrison Hot Springs, 1938. Associated Press Photo.
Fig. 9. -- Hand game at Fort Rupert.
From Culin, 1907: 320.
Fig. 10. -- Kwakiutl hand game.
Fig. 11. -- Shredded cedar bark.
Museum of Anthropology.
Fig. 12. — Gambling sticks. (Part of a set.)
Tsimshian (Sitka). Wood (wild apple). Approx. 5 inches long.
Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C.,
Raley Coll. Cat. No. 7.
Fig. 13. -- Gambling sticks. Haida.
Wood (with abalone inlay).
Approx. 4½ inches long.
Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C.
Cat. No. A 7104. This is part of a set contained in the gambling stick bag shown in the Frontispiece and in Figures 14 and 21. The catalogue notes that this set "belonged to Edenshaw."
Fig. 14. -- Gambling stick bag. Haida.
Leather (with ivory toggle).
Approx. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 4 3/4 inches (closed):
flap = 24 inches; thong = 28 inches.
Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C.
Cat. No. A 7104. "... belonged to Edenshaw."
Fig. 15. -- Gambling stick bag. Tsimshian (Port Essington). Leather (with ivory toggle). Approx. 6 x 6 inches (closed); 12 inches long (open); thong = 22 inches. Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C. Cat. No. A 149. Contains a set of bone sticks.
Fig. 16. -- Gambling stick bag. Tsimshian (Upper Skeena). Leather. Approx. 7 x 6 inches (closed); 16 inches long (open). Museum of Anthropology. U.B.C. Cat. No. A 1640.
Fig. 18. -- Disks for the southern stick game (from 4 different sets of 10 each). Nootka (Makah, Neah Bay). Wood. Approx. 2 inches (a): 1 3/4 inches (b): 1 7/8 inches (c): 2 1/4 inches (d). From Culin, 1907: 264.

Fig. 19. -- Hand game bones. Tlingit. Bone. Approx. 1 7/8 inches long. From Culin, 1907: 289. "Collected by ... Emmons ... who describes /them/ as part of the paraphernalia of a shaman."
Fig. 20. -- Gauge for gambling sticks.
Bone. B.C. Provincial Museum.
B.C. Government Photograph.
Fig. 21. -- Gambling stick bag with painted design on inner flap (slao showing partial reconstruction of design). This is the same bag illustrated in Figure 13. Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C. Cat. No. A 7104.
Fig. 22. -- Shredded cedar bark rolled in leather and fastened with ivory toggle. Tsimshian (Lakalzap, i.e., Greenville, on Nass River). Approx. 8 inches long (closed). Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C. Cat. No. A 4480.
Fig. 23. -- Equipment for painting gambling sticks (including: double-pointed paint stick, approx. 3 3/4 inches long; ochre; and perforated stone upon which ochre was rubbed). Tsimshian (Lakalzap, i.e., Greenville, on Nass River). Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C. Cat. No. A 4480.
Fig. 24. -- Hand game bones (one false).  
Haida (collected from a Haida at Rivers Inlet). Bone.  
Approx. 2 1/8 inches long.  
From Culin, 1907: 318.
Fig. 24. -- Ivory copies of beaver teeth dice. Approx. 2 1/4 inches long. Museum of Anthropology, U.B.C. Cat. No. A 3592. Raley Collection.
Fig. 26. -- Beaver teeth dice. Nootka (Clayoquot). Ivory. Approx. 2 - 2 1/2 inches long. From Culin, 1907: 196.

Fig. 27. -- Dice set (including: 4 beaver teeth dice, approx. 2 inches long; 30 bone counters, approx. 4 1/2 inches long; cotton bag which contained the set; charm, koi, used to secure success - consists of dried fungus, and the tooth of a small rodent). Nootka (Makah, Neah Bay). From Culin, 1907: 197.
Fig. 28. — Beaver teeth dice. Thompson. Ivory. Approx. 1 1/2 inches long. From Culin, 1907: 157.

Fig. 29. — Hand game bones. Nootka (Makah, Neah Bay). Bone. Approx. 3 inches long. From Culin, 1907: 322.
Fig. 30. -- Knuckle cover for hand game player. Thompson. Leather. Approx. 6 inches long. From Culin, 1907: 303.
Fig. 31. -- Disks for southern stick game.
Salish (Vancouver Island). Wood.
Approx. 2 inches in diameter.
Portland Art Museum. Rasmussen Collection. (William Reagh photo.)

Fig. 32. -- Disks for southern stick game.
Salish (Clemclemalats, Kuper Is.).
Fig. 33. — Gambling stick set. (Including:
22 sticks, approx. 5 5/16 inches long; gambling mat, approx. 31 inches long; and pointer representing a crane, approx. 26 inches long).
Thompson. From Culin, 1907: 255.

Fig. 34. — Gambler's face painting.
A set of gambling sticks obtained by Lieut. G. T. Emmons, and now in the possession of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, contains, among others, the following-named sticks, as ascertained by him. The writer has added the phonetic equivalents and introduced one or two minor changes in translation that seemed to be required by the accompanying Tlingit word. A large fish called tän, eel (lità!), robin (cuq!), dead brush (teàc), flounder (dzà'ntì), porpoise (teítc), sea-lion head (tan cā'yi'), sea lion (tan), salmon eye (xāt wa'gē), dog (kēl), mosquito (tì'q'la, literally "biter"), red paint (lēq!), sea-lion bladder (tan yū'wu), red devilfish (lēq! nāq), silver salmon (gūt), halibut (teítc), beaver (s!Agé'dì), a sacred plant, probably blue hellebore (s!īko), red snapper (lēq!), a deep dish (k'akanë'), culachon (sák), earring (guk dājā'c), hide snare for catching bears (da's!A), osprey (cayā''), red-flicker feather (kūn tla'wu), Bear people (xūts! qowu'), grizzly bear (xūts!), red flicker (kūn), star (qotxa'na'xà), spring (tāku'tì), the king salmon after ascending into fresh water and turning red (q!āk), blue jay (q'lcq'!), intestine of sea lion (tan na'si), male grouse (nukt), salmon trap (cāl), deer (qowakā'n), hawk (kidju'k), spruce-gum sticks for kindling fire (tō), a large dog (sawa'k), mountain sheep (tāwu'), squirrel berry (tīnx), hemlock (yën), land otter (kā'cta), shark (tūs!), a berry of blue color (kanat'la'), burnt trees after forest fires (kag'ntì), sun (gāgā'n), rain (sī'wu), [chief that wears] a dance hat (candaktuq! [s!a'tì]), mailard (kūndatā'nōt'), club (k!us!), grouse devilfish (kāq! nāq), humpback salmon (teis!), [man] sitting in it (Atu'tAa,.perhaps the name of an arrow), elderberry (yēl!), moon (dis), fire (q!an), deer devilfish (qowakā'n nāq), devilfish (nāq).

A second set, obtained by Lieutenant Emmons at Kake, contains the following names: A large dog (sawa'k), sea-pigeon’s neck or a savage bear (sakī'), black bear (s!īk), raven (yēl), red snapper (lēq!), grizzly bear (xūts!), burnt stick (kag'nta, or possibly a sea bird called kē'gan), stone ax (tāyī's), robin (cuq!, a nāq), raven (yēl), island (q!āl), crab (s!ā-u), hawk (kidju'k), crow (ts!āxwē'd'), a Tlingit (ling'īt), the constellation of the Great Dipper (Yaxto'), woman (cāwa'?), red-winged flicker (kūn), salmon (xāt), and petrel (ganū'k).

Swanton, 1908: 444.
HAIDA. Skidegate, Queen Charlotte islands, British Columbia.
(Cat. no. 37808, Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania.)

Set of forty-eight sticks, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and three-eighths of an inch in diameter, marked with bands of black and red paint.

Collected in 1900 by Dr C. F. Newcombe, who describes them under the name of sin, or hsin:

The following is a list of the names of the sticks and the number of each:
- Shadow, hiké haut, 3;
- Red fish, skeltkadagan, 3;
- Black bass, xásâ, 3;
- Mirror (of slate, wetted), xaus gungs, 3;
- Sea anemone, xàngs kodans, 3;
- Dance headdress, djilkiss, 3;
- Puffin, kóxânâ, 3;
- Black bear, tân, 3;
- Devil fish, nóh kwun, 3;
- Guille-mot, skàdôn, 3;
- Large housefly, ìdùn, 3;
- Halibut, xagù, 3;
- Humpback salmon, tsítân, 3;
- Dog salmon, skâ'gi, 3;
- Centipede, gotâmegâ, 1;
- Chiefs who kiss, i.e., rub noses, skunâgitlhi, 1;
- Supernatural beings of high rank, dîl or djiil, 4.

The last are trumps.

Newcombe, in Culin, 1907: 259.
Taku. Taku inlet, Alaska. (American Museum of Natural History.)

Cat. no. E 777. Set of fifty-seven cylindrical polished maple sticks, 4¼ inches in length, in leather pouch; all marked with red and black ribbons.

These were collected by Lieut. George T. Emmons, U. S. Navy, who gave the following designations of the sticks:

Eight are designed as kite, blackfish; one as tiessa sah, starfish; four as kah, duck; ten as late-in-ta, sea gull; four as norh, sunfish; four as shuaku, robin; four as hew, fly; three as kar-shish-show, like a dragon fly; three as tceko, black bear; three as gowh, surf duck; four as larkar; three as yah-ah-un-a, South Southerlee [sic]; three as hik-ek-kohn, cross pieces of canoe; two as kea-tih, dragon fly; one as tis, moon.

Culin, 1907: 244.
Cat. no. 707. Set of sixty-six cylindrical polished wood sticks, 4\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches in length, in leather pouch. Twenty-seven of these sticks are marked with red and black ribbons; thirty-eight are plain, of which some show old bands, obliterated but not removed, while two are inlaid with a small rectangular piece of black horn (plate iv, k), and one with a small ring of copper wire.

These also were collected by Lieutenant Emmons, who gave the following description of the twenty-seven marked sticks:

Three are designated as tuk-kut-ke-yar, humming bird (plate iv, a); three as kark, golden-eye duck (plate iv, b); three as dulth, a bird like a heron without topknot (plate iv, c); three as kau-kon, sun (plate iv, d); four as kite, black-fish (plate iv, e); three as sarish, four-pronged starfish (plate iv, f); three as kok-khatete, loon (plate iv, y); three as ars, stick, tree (plate iv, h); two as ta-thar-ta, sea gull (plate iv, j).

Culin, 1907: 244-245.
Culin, 1907: PLATE IV.
A SET OF GAMBLING PEGS FROM THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA*

by

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3 The set of gambling pegs here described and illustrated was presented to the Manchester Museum by Mrs. B. Richards at some time before 1941. It was described in the museum register as a 'skin bag of praying pegs,' but there can be no doubt that they are in fact gambling pegs of the type described by Stewart Culin in his monograph 'Games of the North American Indians'; pages 227 to 266 deal with stick games, and he describes the method of playing with this type of peg as follows (p. 227):

The implements for the stick game are of two principal kinds. The first, directly referable to arrow shaftments, consists (a) of small wooden cylinders, painted with bands or ribbons of color, similar to those on arrow shaftments; (b) of fine splints, longer than the preceding, of which one or more in a set are distinguished by marks; (c) of sticks and rushes, entirely unmarked. The marks on the implements of the first sort are understood as referring to various totemic animals, etc., which are actually carved or painted on some of the sets...

The number of sticks varies from ten to more than a hundred, there being no constant number. The first operation in the game, that of dividing the sticks into two bundles, is invariably the same. The object is to guess the location of an odd or a particularly marked stick. On the Pacific coast the sticks are usually hidden in a mass of shredded cedar bark... The count is commonly kept with the sticks themselves, the players continuing until one or the other has won all.

On the Northwest coast the sets of sticks are almost uniformly contained in a leather pouch, with a broad flap to which a long thong is attached, passing several times around the end. The latter is slipped under the thong as a fastening.

He illustrates (on Plate V) eight sticks from a set of 32, which were collected in 1884 by J. Loomis Gould from the Haida Mission, Jackson, Alaska, and are now in the United States National Museum, Cat. No. 73522. They are 4½ inches long and half an inch in diameter, and are comparable to the Manchester Museum set, but they appear to be less well carved. As the Manchester Museum set is in fact the most elaborately carved that I have been able to trace, it is here illustrated in extenso.

As will be seen from Plate D, the pegs are 28 in number, and are cylinders 5½ inches long and approximately three-quarters of an inch in diameter, with ends in the form of a truncated concave cone. The degree of elaboration varies from piece to piece, several being almost sculptures in the round, whilst in a number the decoration is merely incised. In all the pieces, however, the carving is extremely skilful, and demonstrates the mastery of line which is a characteristic feature even of late carvings from the North-West coast of America. Twenty-one pieces are further decorated with inlays of Haliotis sp. (Venus' ear or abalone) shell. An impression of the objects is best conveyed by the photograph, but the line drawings of the unrolled patterns are provided to amplify the descriptions. The style of the carving suggests that they were carved by a Haida, probably during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The identification of the animals, which are often incompletely represented, is always difficult, frequently ambiguous, and sometimes quite impossible. The following identifications, however, seem probable:

1. A dragonfly. The body is segmented, the wings ascend on each side; the tail is shown below the head. Cf. J. R. Swanton, 'Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida,' Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Whole Series, Vol. VIII (New York), 1905, Plate XX, 5. There is a broad band of red paint round the lower end.

2. A fisherman kneeling on the back of a frog. The eyes of the fishes on his back are inlaid with black rings. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate III, 3, where the figure is of a woman.

3. An animal with his legs flexed and a 'copper' on his back. There is a broad band of red paint round the lower end.

4. A sculpin with Haliotis inlays to nostrils, eyes, backbone and spines. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate XX, 15. There is a broad band of red paint round the lower end.

5. Footprints, probably of a bear. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate VII, 1, where the bear is represented as well as similar footprints. The other side has three triangular Haliotis inlays, four fine bands of black and two narrow and one broad band of red paint have been drawn round this peg.

6. A kneeling man holds a cane which is inlaid with Haliotis. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate III, 7. The head is frog-like. Swanton (ibid., Plate VIII, 2) shows a similar unidentified figure said to come from the Tsimshian. The upper end above the carving is painted black.

* With Plate D and two text figures
Fig. 2. DETAILS OF NORTH-WEST COAST GAMBLING PEGS

(7) A sculpin with Haliotis inlays in the eyes and between the spines. The lower end of the peg has been painted red.

(8) A bear with Haliotis inlays in the eyes, forepaws and down the front of the body.

(9) This probably represents a man with the hands on the abdomen.

(10) A toothed sea animal, perhaps a scalion, with Haliotis inlays in the eyes and on the back.

(11) A killer whale with eyes inlaid with Haliotis. This peg bears two bands of black paint, one wide and one narrow.

(12) A sea monster, probably a sea bear, with the body, dorsal fin and tail of a killer whale and the head and paws of a bear. The eye and gills are inlaid with Haliotis.

(13) A woman wearing a Haliotis labret in the lower lip. The hands have five fingers, but the feet have only four toes.

(14) This appears to be the head-on view of a dogfish or a clam. Cf. Swanton, ibid., fig. 19. The eyes are inlaid with Haliotis, and the peg has three fine bands of red paint.

(15) Parts of probably two animals. Paws, eyes and ears can be distinguished. One small disc of Haliotis has been inlaid. Cf. No. 24. It is marked with three fine bands of red paint.

(16) A hawk with Haliotis inlays in wing, claw, eye, nostril and head plume.


(18) A raven and a bear. The bear's teeth are Haliotis inlays. The peg is painted with four fine red bands and one broad black.

(19) The identification of this piece is uncertain. It may be a devil fish (cf. Swanton, ibid., fig. 28 (25)) or the moon conceived as a bird (ibid., fig. 12, a). There are Haliotis inlays in the eyes, and two others at the ends. The peg is painted in red with one broad and two narrow bands, and two ovals resembling thumb prints.

(20) Two animals, the upper one with wings; both have paws. There are faint traces of three fine bands of red paint.

(21) Resembles No. 20, but has a small triangular inlay of Haliotis and traces of three fine bands of red paint.

(22) A sea mammal. Cf. No. 17, which it resembles also in its painting.

(23) A sea mammal. Cf. No. 15. It has a smaller Haliotis inlay, and its three fine bands of black appear to have been black.

(24) Probably represents a whale. The eyes are inlaid with Haliotis. There are three narrow bands of black paint behind the head and one red and two black broad diagonal strokes on the back.

(25) Perhaps represents the sun. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plates XIX, 8, and XXXI, 3. There are inlays in the eyes and at each end, and one fine and one broad band of black paint at each end.

(26) Parts of animals. Traces remain of three fine bands of black paint.

(27) Parts of animals.

In addition to the bands of paint mentioned in the descriptions, which resemble those on uncarved sets of pegs, many of the pegs have had the details of the sculpture picked out in red or black paint. The set is in its original leather case, 8½ inches wide, 6½ inches deep, 2¼ inches thick, with an ample flap secured by a thong two feet long, furnished at the end with the claw of a large bird, perhaps an eagle.5

Notes

1 Registration No. 0.5933.


3 The Manchester Museum also possesses an example of the more common type, a completely undecorated set of 55 pegs in a leather case (No. 6.8580), given by the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. Of these pegs 44 are five inches long and 0·15 inches in diameter, whilst the remainder are of the same length but only 0·2 inches in diameter.

4 One, however, is lost.

5 I should like to record my thanks to Mr. Adrian Digby and Dr. Marian W. Smith for their advice in the preparation of this account.

Willett, 1961: 8-10.
A few of the sets of gambling-sticks referred to before (see p. 58) were decorated with designs representing animals. It seems that in all the sets of gambling-sticks the individual sticks bore the names of animals. This custom also prevailed among the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island and among the Thompson Indians of the interior of British Columbia. Figs. 26-31 represent the designs on a set of gambling-sticks from the Queen Charlotte Islands collected by J. W. Powell. The illustrations represent the gambling-sticks developed on a plane surface, so that the designs can readily be seen. The identifications of the figures were obtained by me from Charles Edensaw in 1897. It will be noticed that while many of the designs were identified, the Indian artist hesitated to identify many others for which an explanation might seem obvious; while others the form of which seems to be very indefinite were identified without any hesitation. This fact indicates the great amount of individuality of each artist in combining the details of his designs.

* Nos. 1 and 2 represent the trumps of the game, both characterized by three black lines and two figures, evidently representing parts of an animal, but not identifiable.

* Nos. 3-9 were identified by Edensaw without hesitation as representations of the killer-whale. No. 3 is also a trump of the game, and bears three indistinct red lines in the middle, and two black lines near one end. The two designs were interpreted as parts of the tail of the killer-whale. No. 4 was said to be a complete representation of the killer-whale the two ornaments over the head representing the dorsal fin, and the large black curved line under the eyes representing the lower jaw. The identification, however, seems somewhat doubtful, since I do not know of any representation of the killer-whale which has paws with two toes, such as are found in the present specimen. Nos. 5-7 are other representations of the killer-whale tail. The decoration on the right-hand side of No. 8 was declared by Edensaw to represent the head of the killer-whale, the circle with attached point back of the eye being interpreted as the blow-hole. The beak on the opposite end was considered by him as the tail of the killer-whale. In No. 9 we have again the head of the killer-whale on the right-hand side, its tail on the left-hand side.
"Nos. 10 and 11 were not definitely described as killer-whale designs, although Edensaw was inclined to interpret them in this manner. In No. 10 the design on the left-hand side was interpreted as the dorsal fin, that on the right-hand side as the tail. He believed that No. 11 represents the stomach of a killer-whale.

"No. 12 was explained by him as the dog-fish. I am doubtful, however, whether the appearance of the mouth with depressed corners, and the ornament over the forehead, may not have misled him. It is difficult to reconcile the legs with three-toed feet and the hands with the five fingers with the interpretation given by him. The three designs in the middle of the body evidently represent vertebrae.

"No. 13 was said to be a dead whale floating on the sea. The whale’s head, with the tongue, the dorsal fin, the ribs, and the tail, will readily be recognized.

"Both Nos. 14 and 15 were explained as ts’an sk’agit (sea beam of house?). The identity of the two designs is quite evident, the animal being represented in No. 14 in profile, while in No. 15 it is shown from the dorsal side, the head being laid all around the stick. The four paws, a fin in a peculiar position, and the vertebrae, will be recognized. I suspect that No. 4, which was explained as a killer-whale, is really identical with the design shown here.

"Nos. 16-23 all represent the sea-bear, which is characterized by a bear’s head and by a fin or flipper attached to the hip. In Nos. 16 and 17 the bear’s head is distinctly shown. The peculiar lobe just above the nose was interpreted as the breath of the monster. Under the head is shown the arm with the hand, while the left-hand side of the stick is occupied by the leg with claws, and with the flipper attached to the hip. Nos. 18 and 19 are quite similar in type. In No. 20 the monster is shown in a somewhat different form, resembling very much the representations of the killer-whale. In No. 21 the sea-monster is shown in still another shape. It evidently resembles the killer-whale. The hand-like
design in front of the head was interpreted as the nose, but at the same time as the hand, of the monster. Just back of the eye is the ear, while the design on the extreme left was interpreted by Edensaw as the tail. When I called attention to the position of the paw on the left part of the stick, which would indicate that this was meant as a head, Edensaw objected, saying that the tongue and lower jaw should not be missing if this were meant as the head. Nevertheless it seems to me doubtful if the explanation given by him would meet with the approval of the artist who painted the stick. No. 22 evidently represents the same animal as we found in No. 21. The hand in front of the head, and the peculiar tail, are shown in the same manner. The added design over the tail was interpreted as the dorsal fin. In No. 23 we have still another representation of the same sea-monster. The face in the centre of the stick represents the shoulder-joint. Attached to it is a fin running to the right. Below it extends the arm, with hand curved back and a fin attached to its upper part. On the left-hand side are the leg and the hip-joint. The design attached to the hip-joint was explained by Edensaw as the tail. If this explanation is correct, Nos. 16 and 17 might as well be explained as representing the bear, because there is no other indication of the animal belonging to the sea.

"In No. 24 we find a design quite similar to the series Nos. 16-19, but explained as the bear. The form of the head is quite similar to that of the sea-monster, but no fin is indicated in this case.

"No. 25 represents the devil-fish, the large design to the right being the head, and the lines consisting of circles with dots in the middle, to the left, representing tentacles.

"In No. 26 we have a typical representation of a halibut. No. 27 was explained as Gitga'lgia, the child of Property-Woman. This design is rather indistinct, but face, body, and feet may be recognized. No. 28 was explained as the crane, leg, wing, and crest being shown. The explanation of No. 29 is somewhat peculiar. The whole design was interpreted as the mountain-goat, the black design in
the centre being the nose, the eyes on the two sides representing the eyes of the animal, and the pointed designs at each end being the horns. No. 30 was explained as the crab. The head will readily be recognized on the right-hand side. The fore-feet are attached to the head. The hind-feet are on the left-hand side. The ornaments on the back, which look like a pair of wings, are not quite in favor of the explanation given.

"The series Nos. 31-34 represent the raven. In No. 31 the wing is shown on the right-hand side, the foot on the left-hand side. The same combination, with the foot on the right and the wing on the left, is shown in No. 32. The hachure on the leg was said to be characteristic of the raven. In No. 33 we have the wing on the right, and the tail on the left; while in No. 34 the foot is on the right, and the head on the left. Edensaw was rather inclined to consider the design on the left as intended to represent the raven’s wing, because it has no tongue, and because it is not the proper form of head belonging with the foot on the right.

"In No. 35 he recognized a series of three dorsal fins, without, however, being able to tell to what animal they belong. In the same way he explained No. 36 as a shoulder on the right and a tail on the left, without being able to identify the particular animal. No. 37 may represent the mosquito, but the explanation did not seem to satisfy him.

"No explanations were given by Edensaw of the remaining designs. A comparison with the preceding series suggests, however, a number of explanations. Thus No. 38 resembles almost in every detail No. 20, and may therefore also be assumed to represent either a sea-monster or the killer-whale. No. 39 and No. 12 are almost undoubtedly the same. No. 40 is difficult to explain, and I do not venture to give a definite explanation.

No. 41 resembles No. 13, which is explained as a whale. No. 44 is closely allied to the series of raven designs on the one hand, but also to the sea-monster designs, which are characterized by the peculiar head-like design at
one end, with a number of dots accompanying the lower outline. It may therefore well be that we have here one of the raven sea-monsters. No. 45 is very much like the sea-monster series Nos. 16-18. It seems hardly possible to give explanations for the remaining numbers. Attention may, however, be called to the peculiar eyes with attached hands in Nos. 56, 59, and 67, which may perhaps be related to the sea-monster design of No. 22. There are similar forms in which claws appear attached to the eye designs; for instance, Nos. 58, 60, 64, 68, and 72. It seems fairly evident that in all these cases what is apparently an eye is simply an elaboration of the knee-joint or hip-joint. The symmetrical designs shown in Nos. 53 and 54 must be compared with the killer-whale tails Nos. 6 and 7, while in No. 52 we have apparently a full front view with strong distortion of some animate being."

Swanton, 1905a: 147-154.
The following tables are reproduced from Emmons (n.d.) and refer to sets of gambling sticks which he had "old Tlingit men" identify.
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<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Feet</th>
<th>Tail</th>
<th>Skin</th>
<th>Beak</th>
<th>Down</th>
<th>Hair</th>
<th>Beige</th>
<th>Quills</th>
<th>Tail Feathers</th>
<th>Hairs</th>
<th>Strips</th>
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The identification of these twelve sets of wooden gambling sticks by old Tlingit men in South Eastern Alaska shows many

The names of most of the sets recognized by all, particularly the bird's heads by the Gull, Hawk, Osprey, Father, and others. These follow unusual, and delicate forms objects of use, the "rog" (bad), and the

The sticks (painted) particularly delicate in play were of no fixed name or marked but were taken at will by the players.