

THE INTERACTION OF MYTH AND SOCIAL CONTEXT
IN THE VILLAGE OF CAPE MUDGE

The Myths of a People are Bound into
the Total System of Social Relations

by

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ABSTRACT

The problem around which this thesis is written concerns the relation of myth to social organization in a small society. The society chosen for intensive study is Cape Mudge, British Columbia, a Kwakiutl village of the Southern Lekwiltok group on the Northwest coast of North America.

That myth and social organization are bound in together in a total system of social relations has been demonstrated for primitive societies by such eminent anthropologists as Raymond Firth, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Sir Peter Buck for the Oceanic area. The material gathered by Boas for the Kwakiutl of the Northwest coast of North America implies the same for traditional Kwakiutl society. Myths interact with all other elements of social structure and organization, so that the total system of social relations in the society is not to be understood without an understanding of the role of myth in providing a wide frame of reference within which the total social behavior of the members of the society becomes significant. This proposition has been accepted into the body of generalizations about primitive society built up in the field of anthropology. It does not imply a conception of society as an apparatus maintaining the culture as it is, since all cultures are changing by the stresses inherent in social interaction and by the choices

open to individuals. The empirical data brought forward in this thesis to support the assumption that myth and social organization are bound together in a system of social relationships demonstrate that such a system is not closed, but open to adjustment without apparent opposition.

This thesis is an attempt to give fuller meaning to the generalization that the myths of a people are bound into the total system of social relations. The proposition advanced here is that even under conditions of advanced acculturation (to Western European culture) in a small once-tribal society, myth will play a part. Where the old myths fade, new ones will arise to take their places in the changing social context. The alteration of social structure, of social organization, and of the roles played by individuals will create the need for maintaining some ancient myths that underwrite the worthiness of the individual and group. New myths will arise to justify rapidly changing patterns of behavior under the impact of Euro-American culture. This proposition has been tested and supported by the data derived from field work.

Upon the basis of the affirmation of this proposition by data derived in a small society in the process of rapid change, the above hypothesis may be generalized to suggest that in all tribal societies moving rapidly into the orbit of advanced ones, myth will not be lost. Just as social

structure, social organization and the roles of individuals will change but be fitted into new configurations, so myth will not disappear but be transfigured or newly created in order to meet the needs of people for an understanding of their changing existence.

The operation of myth and social context in Cape Mudge society today is discussed in this thesis by reference to the operation of myths in two important areas of social organization: social control and values. The exploration of myth in these areas touches upon most aspects of life in the village.

Intensive field work was of one month's duration in the summer of 1963 when I lived with my husband and three children in the village but casual contacts and interest in the village had extended over a ten-year period prior to the formal study. The contacts made by my husband, two teen-age children and one pre-school child extended the range of social contacts very considerably. The definition of my position as wife and mother was of prime importance to my ready acceptance. The villagers had happily been introduced to anthropologists through Helen Codere who left behind an atmosphere of admiration and trust. The villagers expressed the opinion that other villages were getting anthropologists interested in them and they thought it was high time for someone from the University to come again. The field work

situation could not have been more propitious. I wish to express my sincere regard for the great achievements of these people and my thanks for their generosity and hospitality.

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CHAPTER I

THE COMMUNITY OF CAPE MUDGE TODAY

Before proceeding to a consideration of the data derived from interviews in field work in the village of Cape Mudge and the structural and mythological systems suggested by the data, I would like to offer a brief sketch of the village as it is today.

Cape Mudge is a fishing village of the Weewiakay. It is the southernmost village of the Lekwiltok people, a part of the Kwakiutl Indian group of the Northwest coast of British Columbia. The village is on 1,117.50 acres of Indian reserve land. It is situated on the southern tip of Quadra Island, two miles east across Discovery Passage from Campbell River, Vancouver Island, and approximately one hundred miles north of the City of Vancouver.

The village lies in a shallowly indented bay insufficiently protected from the stormy southeastern gales. Gale winds, together with the six to ten knot tides that flow over the shoals around the cape, have made this whole area a treacherous one for people making their livelihood upon the waters. Sheltered land belonging to this Band lies farther north on Quadra Island but it was never used as a permanent village site. Historically, the need of the Weewiakay was for a strategic position of command at the mouth of Johnstone Straits.

There were two hundred and eighty-three Band members in 1963. There is a rapid increase in numbers in this Band, as detailed in Chapter II on historical background.

There were forty nuclear families living in the village at the time of this study. Seventeen names are shared among all household heads. One of these names represents a household head, married to a Cape woman but not accepted by the Band as a member. Only three names belong to heads of families married into the Weewiakay Band of Cape Mudge from other Kwakiutl bands. Thirteen family names, therefore, "belong" to Cape, i.e., are Weewiakay, or are Waalatsama of Salmon River who have amalgamated with them. Most names are carried by only one or two families in the village but the most important name is represented by six families, and the next most important by four. Everyone in the village is genealogically related to everyone else. In forty nuclear families, only thirteen women have been married in from other bands. The great majority of the men have as mates members of their own Band. Of the women married into the Band, most are high-ranking women from other Kwakiutl bands whose marriages have been arranged by their important families. A few are Salish and without exception the families thus formed are without place in the status ranking of Cape Mudge society. Two women are

White and half-White. The family of the one is ignored; the other family has finally won through to high status in the village. The genealogy of families suggests that village endogamy has been the rule at Cape Mudge since it was first settled around 1845.

The picture is now changing. Some young men are marrying White women and enfranchising. Most young men at the village have delayed marriage, and the young women for the most part are marrying "White" and out of the Band.

At the time of this study about ninety per cent of the Band were resident in the village. Of the four ranked villages of the southern Lekwiltok today, Cape Mudge ranks first. This is agreed to by themselves and the Indian Affairs Branch, but may not be agreed to by the other villages concerned. A great deal of inter-marriage, visiting and position-holding in the four villages tie them together as a conceptual unit in the minds of the Cape Mudge villagers, though rivalry divides them. All Indian bands other than Cape Mudge are spoken of as in some degree inferior.

The homes in the village are built in two rows facing the sea. Right along the beach strung out the length of the village are seven smoke houses for cool-smoking salmon. The homes are set farther back from the sea than is usual in most coastal Indian villages because the last of the big traditional houses were still standing at the time the

"White-man's" houses were built behind them. The changeover to single family dwellings began around 1900 and the last big houses were knocked down around 1910-1915. Now that the ten big houses are gone, their sites are marked by raised hummocks of earth, forty by one hundred feet, on the broad grassy bench above the sea. "White-man" houses were built with logs from the Reserve. They were transported by the men of the village to a mill where the sawing was paid for by giving over half the boards.

The grassy esplanade along the sea front, some two hundred feet wide and about half a mile long is the focus of village life. It serves as a village playground for adults and children alike, though provision for a one and a half acre children's playground with equipment has been made behind the village houses, close to the forested hill which backs the village. Fear of the forest as well as preference for the customary play places near the adults along the front of the village keeps the official playground deserted.

The homes on the front strip near the northern end were the first built in the village. They are occupied largely by households of the most important families in the village, with a tendency for the families of lesser importance to string out toward the southern end of the village. Before the historic changes of status occurred, the important families and their satellites were grouped in definite locations. Now

that some of these families have fallen out of the status reckoning, yet still dwell side by side with rich and powerful neighbors, the pattern of location in the village is not so apparent as it once must have been. As new lots cleared for homes are now available only at the extreme southern end of the village, any pattern of family groups with claims to a certain area will eventually be further broken up. There has been no difficulty over allotment of land to individuals in the village of Cape Mudge.

The homes on the back strip are in most cases occupied by the older, most successful members of the community, some of whom have been able to build a new house there, leaving their old home on the front to a son and his family, generally the eldest son.

There are in all thirty-three homes, eight on the back row. In only seven homes is there more than one nuclear family. In these seven homes it is usually the married children of the owner who share accommodation while they are saving the money to build a home of their own, or a widowed daughter and family, or a family called in to look after ageing parents. With the rapidly accelerating increase of population, there is an overcrowding of space and facilities in most homes. Crowding is especially acute in the homes of poor families, who have the largest number of children. In highly acculturated families, the number of children usually averages three or four per family.

According to the present Chief Councillor and the Indian Affairs Branch, all homes in the village were paid for by their owners, and many were partly or wholly built by them. All homes are of different designs, reflecting only the era in which they were built. Money has recently been accepted from the Indian Affairs Branch to supply a house of standard type for one indigent family. The villagers resisted this move because they did not want the type of house in the village which characterizes so many other Indian villages.

Houses are well spaced on a subdivision layout of lots averaging sixty feet frontage by about one hundred and fifty feet in depth. Some lots are as narrow as forty feet but of greater depth. The roads running in front of houses have been blacktopped this year. A few houses are fenced. Some have lawns, shade trees and gardens, but most rest simply upon a cleared space of natural grass growing upon the village detritus.

About half the houses are over forty years old, with flat board sides and shingled roofs. Well over half of these are painted and in good repair. Of the newer homes, about eight are the stucco sided, duroid roofed homes of about the thirties or forties, and eight are modern ranch style, ship-lap sided and duroid roofed homes built in the last ten years. There are two unpainted one-roomed shacks, one now being torn down. One house is abandoned.

There is practically no litter in this village. A few broken children's toys in the gardens of some homes is about the extent of it. Garbage is disposed of by the fast outgoing tide sweeping past the village.

About half the villagers own cars, mostly new models of standard makes. Every home has electricity and the village is street-lighted. All homes have indoor plumbing, washing machines, and all but two or three have telephones and television. In many cases there are deep freezers, tape recorders and other specialized electrical equipment. The casual attitude of the villagers generally to exterior features of the home, such as paint or steps or lack of them, makes for an agreeable surprise for the visitor who enters the homes. The homes generally are well equipped with standardized furnishings, and are spotlessly clean. In the most affluent of them the furnishings and equipment, especially in the kitchens, are like layouts in slick magazines, excelling any I have observed in the homes of the wealthy in Vancouver City. Excellent housekeeping is the watchword of the women of Cape Mudge. In a few homes in the village no attempt is made to meet these standards and the people live in squalor.

Most households have automatic washing machines and automatic clothes dryers but where the washing is hung out to dry, this is invariably done with pride in the display of

cleanliness and meticulous order.¹ Water is a problem. The wells have sometimes run dry. Two auxiliary wells have been opened about one mile on either side of the village and the water is now piped in to alleviate the problem.

Food purchased by the villagers of Cape Mudge is the same as that purchased generally in the White community. However, this is supplemented by many traditional foods, chiefly salmon, canned or smoked, and deer meat. Since many women learned the proper method of canning salmon in a company cannery, this is the favored method of preservation. Other (Indian) foods such as seaweed, clams, oolachan oil, soap berry, octopus and sea urchin are occasionally eaten. The people of Cape Mudge are sensitive to being stigmatised as eaters of deer and salmon, and the housewife is uneasy about serving food in her own home to White people.

Children and adults are neatly and smartly dressed. Some women are elegantly dressed and emphasis is placed upon beautiful shoes, which are hard to maintain since the village is built upon the black dust of midden deposit. Men usually wear the heavy-weather gear required in their work on the boats, but business suits are worn on occasion. Exceptions to these generalizations occur in the case of several families

¹ According to excerpts from the diary of Mrs. R. J. Walker, wife of the first missionary into Cape Mudge in 1892 and first White woman in the village, the people of Cape were clean in their person. Babies were kept "as dainty and sweet as any White babies."

who do not meet in any way the way of life viewed as ideal by the rest of the villagers. They are conveniently dismissed from the minds of the villagers; and indeed, from the mind of the stranger who soon comes to hold the prevailing views of the village. Some of these families resent the fact that they cannot get recognition in the village status reckoning.

Cape Mudge has had the services of the Methodist and United Church of Canada since 1878. The present church and mission house were built in the nineteen-thirties. They are situated toward the forest behind the village in old abandoned orchard land, the orchard having been once a project of the mission. The village has an old school building, part of the church-mission house complex but for the past five years it has not been used as an "Indian" school since the children have been attending an integrated school at the nearby community of Quathiaski Cove, about five miles from the village. The old school is used as a kitchen where catering is done for gatherings in the new community hall.

The new community hall, valued at approximately \$30,000, is the pride and joy of the villagers. The hall was built almost entirely by men of the village. Materials and extra skilled labor were paid for with Band funds. Some financial assistance to the building was offered through the

Winter Works Program. It is an imposing structure, one hundred and fifty feet by sixty feet and is completely equipped as a gymnasium. It has exhausted the thoughts, time and resources (\$23,082 in 1961) of the Band for the past three years of building. It has contributed tremendously to the self-respect and pride of the community. Since it is the only large hall in good repair on Quadra Island, it is hoped by the Band that all islanders will make use of it for their functions. The women of Cape are willing to cater to wedding parties and other functions. Fees for rent and services have been worked out.

The large baseball and soccer field on the present village site was found unsatisfactory because of the dirty midden soil. The football club has cleared a field of heavy timber three hundred and sixty feet by two hundred and twenty-five feet on the south end of the village, just behind the newly cleared and surveyed lots for new homes running along the beach front. The football club received fifty dollars compensation for their labor. It is the policy of the Councillors to pay for labor on community projects. Some supplementary money is expected from the Federal Government's Winter Works Program.

Towering over the simple Christian headstones in the cemetery is a thirty-foot totem pole erected in 1955 by the Honorary Chief to honor his eldest son, who died in that

year. By traditional sanction which has a good deal of force in the village, he would have succeeded his father as the recognized holder of all his father's chiefly prerogatives and status position. In this same cemetery is the fresh grave of the Hereditary Chief, holder of the highest seat in the Society of Eagles, bearer of the ancestral name, Wiakay. He died in March, 1963.

A good deal of the life of the village centers around the government wharf in front of the community where the Cape fleet of seiners, trollers and gillnetters is tied up. The wharf is protected by a breakwater but the depth of the water immediately off-shore is so great that it cannot be run out far enough into the water to really protect the wharf in storms. Most of the boats tie up in off-season at Quathiaski Cove, the nearest White community on Quadra Island. It is there that the boats are serviced, provisioned and net-lofts made available. The Cape fleet is known for the excellent condition in which the boats are kept.

According to the Chief Councillor, the villagers own around \$300,000 in boats. He implied that seven Cape skippers owned their own seine boats but other villagers explained that while the two newest and largest boats are owned by men of Cape, the other five seiners are company boats chartered for the season. The nets owned by Cape men were estimated as worth about \$4,000 to \$6,000. The two Cape

seiners are valued at about \$40,000 to \$45,000 each. Twenty gillnetters and trollers are owned by Cape fishermen, worth \$1,500 to \$3,000 each.

The Chief Councillor estimates the income of a seine boat owner at about \$15,000 per year. Indians and Whites taken on by Cape Mudge men as crew usually make about \$2,000 to \$3,000 per year.

Every married man who supports a family has a fish-boat that he owns, has a share in, or charters from the fishing companies. Local officials in charge of provisioning the fleet state there is no indebtedness by Indians at Cape to the company. Some men have retired from fishing.

Seine fishing for the most lucrative harvest of sockeye, coho, humpback and other species of salmon takes place in July, August and September under government regulations as to place and number of catch to be taken on the fishing grounds. Gillnetters usually go out at nights in the summer months for salmon, their best season for taking this fish. They go out for cod in February and March. Cape fishermen are fishing, though in an increasingly restricted manner, upon their familiar and traditional grounds. Fishermen claim that at Cape Mudge and elsewhere throughout the Province, Indians have no privileged position under commercial fishing regulations. Their only privilege in this regard is

the right to take fish for food in certain streams and waters when the commercial season is otherwise closed.

None of the Indians of Cape Mudge admits to any other occupation or enterprise but fishing. Some may be forced into the wood to do a bit of logging, especially in a year where a strike in fishing has prevented making enough money to feed the family for the season, but they do not regard themselves as anything but fishermen. It is politically expedient for Indians to make this point clear, since they feel that special consideration should be given fishermen who do not have jobs to go to at other times of the year. Two or three unmarried village women still go to the United States to pick hops each year for fun and profit, but this is frowned upon by sophisticated women. One old woman knits "Cowichan" Indian sweaters for sale.

Regarding investment of earnings at Cape Mudge, some White informants are of the opinion that the Indians have "run through" tremendous sums of money. This opinion is largely due to the fact that a bumper harvest of fish in 1958 left at least one family in the village with \$100,000 for its season's catch, and put \$10,000 to \$15,000 in the hands of even young boys in the village who were crewing on their fathers' boats.

The Quadra Island Credit Union maintains a credit committee in the village with its own Indian directors. The

Children's Credit Union savings, brought to the integrated school at the rate of one cent a day for all children have amounted for the Indian children to a sum of \$3,541.22. This sum has been swelled by large investments on behalf of two children by their parents.

Twenty-six adult members of the Band have shares in the Credit Union amounting to \$2,481.46 and twelve of these also have Endowment Equities totalling \$4,097.50.

These investments have enabled the members involved to borrow some \$11,144.30 from the Credit Union.

No doubt other members of this community use other banking and investment opportunities offered in the Province generally, but no further information was sought in this matter.

No stores or businesses of any kind operate in the village today. At an earlier time one of the Band members was a successful boat-builder with facilities right in the village. No services are now offered by Indians. Periodically bread and milk deliveries are made to the village by White suppliers from the nearby community of Quathiaski Cove. Most of the villagers use their boats to run over to Campbell River on Vancouver Island for their entertainment and supplies.

A Public Health nurse from Campbell River regularly conducts a well baby clinic in the village. She states that

there is no particular health problem distinguishing the village from the surrounding White community. "No active tuberculosis and only two persons with P.H.7--a history of having had it." There has, however, been some reluctance on the part of the men to come for tuberculosis tests. There is some inflammation of the middle ear, "running ears", but nothing like the incidence of it in other bands in this Public Health district, such as Squirrel Cove and Churchouse.

Cape Mudge villagers have taken out their own Health Insurance Plan and consult any of the doctors in the Medical Clinic at Campbell River. Arrangements are still made with the Indian Affairs Branch with the doctors to cover indigent cases or delinquent accounts.

Child welfare is handled by the provincial worker at Courtenay on Vancouver Island, but owing to the pressure of work, the field worker is seldom seen at Cape. Some poor placements of children in foster homes in the village are a problem. Generally, the village is aggressive in taking the initiative to rid itself of problem individuals or families, by expulsion, if the person or persons are not of the Band, or by social exclusion if in the Band. The people of Cape Mudge seem to have adopted the procedures of the pearl oyster in regard to irritants in the social body.

The Cape Mudge Band has the right of use of five disconnected land areas as reserves: four on Quadra Island,

and one near Campbell River on Vancouver Island. They are as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| No. 7 Village Bay, Quadra Island | 11.00 acres |
| No. 8 Open Bay, " " | 9.00 acres |
| No. 9 Drew Harbor, " " | 240.50 acres |
| No. 10 Cape Mudge, " " | 1,117.50 acres |
| No. 12 Quinsam, Vancouver Island | 287.50 acres |

The missing reserve number 11 in this list belongs to the Weewiakum Band on the spit at Campbell River. It is claimed by some at Cape Mudge that this land was lost to the Weewiakay through the potlatching of their Honorary Chief who still resides among them. The records of the Indian Affairs Branch show, however, that the land described as Reserve No. 11 at the mouth of the Campbell River was allotted to the Weewiakum Band in May, 1888 over the protests of the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge. Later, the Weewiakay formally relinquished their informal prior claim in favor of the Weewiakum. All sources seem to agree that before the establishment of the village of Cape Mudge by the Weewiakay, they were settled on the Campbell Riversite in question. After they left for their present location around 1845, the Weewiakum moved in and occupied the land that is now allotted to the Weewiakum as Reserve No. 11.

Three pieces of reserve land are put to use on a lease basis. A lease for one hundred dollars per year is signed with the Department of Transport to provide several acres for the lighthouse site on the point of Cape Mudge,

Reserve No. 10, in operation since 1898. A lease is signed with the Government of British Columbia to provide gravel at five cents a yard for road building on Quadra Island from Reserve No. 9. The Band thinks this return is too low, but they regard this "giveaway" as a deliberate gracious gesture on their part toward the general good of the whole of Quadra Island. Quinsam, Reserve No. 12, has largely been turned over to the Government of British Columbia, Department of Mines and Forests, on a lease basis as a forest nursery preserve.

Quinsam is being deliberately populated from Cape Mudge so that a community there could conceivably prevent the Government from an unwarranted takeover of this piece of land. Five homes have been built there in the past few years, their cost averaging about \$20,000 each.

The persistent myth that the Government will take over any reservation land not vigilantly watched over, is given credence in Cape Mudge thinking by the fact that the Government took over a property once assigned to the Weewiakay at Rebecca Spit, Quadra Island, and used it as a gunnery range during World War I. This piece of land subsequently fell into the hands of a series of private owners, the last of whom recently sold it back to the Government for \$150,000 for use as a public campsite. Land was substituted for Rebecca Spit at the time it was transferred from the Band. This is the Drew Harbor Reserve which adjoins Rebecca

Spit. The Band recently approached the Provincial Government to see what offer might be forthcoming for the Drew Harbor acres. The offer was \$12,000. They decided not to sell this land. The Band feel that they were swindled by this manipulation of land out of a possible \$138,000.

The villagers of Cape Mudge are highly regarded by members of the surrounding White community. Until a car ferry connected Quadra Island with Vancouver Island around 1955, many Whites on Quadra Island were maintaining themselves marginally, farming the thin soil on rocky Quadra Island. The majority were receiving Social Assistance. The men of Cape Mudge by contrast had been successful in competing in the commercial fishing industry; the women were employed in a cannery at Quathiaski Cove which only closed in 1941. The corporate wealth and standard of living is appreciably higher at Cape even today than in the rest of the community on Quadra Island. The Cape is considered by itself and the White community around it to be wealthy. Economic success has brought social respect without informal social mixing. What appears to be a successful ongoing community in White terms is operating with some of the premises and mythical sanctions of Kwakiutl society and a cultural gulf exists between the White and Indian society that is baffling to both. White and Indian marriages have been arranged between the children of the highest ranking families at Cape and those of

the highest ranking families in the White community. This is part of a more formal context of social relations between the Indian and White communities, however.

Because the Cape Mudge community is regarded by the Indian Affairs Branch as the most successful community of Indians in British Columbia, there is a good deal of entertaining for visiting dignitaries. Very little casual social interaction takes place between members of the White community and those of the Indian community. There is, however, employment by Indians of White men for crews on the fish-boats and some lasting friendships are made in this way.

Both Kwakwala and English are spoken at Cape. The older generation, born before 1900, speak Kwakwala fluently, and English haltingly, but successfully. The men and women in their forties who are raising families speak both languages equally well. There seems to be a cut-off at about age forty so that those younger speak English as their first language. The children speak English, understand Kwakwala only a little and use only a few Kwakwala words, except in the case of children who are being raised in the home of grandparents. Kwakwala is spoken on the fishing boats and a single White member taken on as crew may have difficulty for that reason. Skippers use Kwakwala when contacting each other on ship radios. They have even been known to respond to White boat operators who protest this with: "And now,

for you ignorant guys that only speak one language, we will speak English!"

A magistrate with long experience and sympathy and skill in dealing with Indians before his courts, has made the following statement regarding the general law-abiding tendency of the Indian people at Cape Mudge:

Indian boys do get drunk and do get into fights both with Whites and other Indian boys (usually the latter). Occasionally racial comments are made at such times, as one would expect. I still say there is no particular problem with aggression against Whites by Indians in this area, that none of our Indians shows any real tendency towards criminal activities and that Indian respect for the law averages higher than that of White men. Liquor is a problem in certain families and is still more of a problem than it should be among young Indian boys. But we have this problem with plenty of White families and plenty of White boys, too.²

In setting forth here a description of the village and people of Cape Mudge, several bald statements have been made which will receive some substantiation in the following chapters of this thesis. Some suggestive contextualization of descriptive elements may raise theoretical queries which will be explored and perhaps answered in the main body of this work.

² Personal letter from Magistrate Roderick Haig-Brown of Campbell River, dated April 4, 1964.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WEEWIAKAY

The history of the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge is sketchy but enough is known from reports of early navigators and missionaries and the ethnographic reports of Franz Boas and others, to reconstruct the traditional society as of the beginning of the nineteenth century. Much remains conjectural in their history. The Indian people have their own oral tradition regarding their arrival in the territory they now occupy. They experience difficulty in reckoning time by reference to our system of dating. The Weewiakum of Campbell River, only two miles away across Discovery Passage, have somewhat different and frequently opposed views of Weewiakay history.

Some historical account is necessary to this study in order to understand the determinants of their present social structure, their system of values, and the mythological premises upon which at least a part of their present behavior rests.

Boas, in his report to the U. S. National Museum, 1894-5 in The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians¹ sets forth the exceedingly complex

¹ Franz Boas, The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, Washington, U. S. National Museum, 1894-5, p. 331.

structural system of the Kwakiutl. He separates the Kwakiutl into three major dialect divisions of the language mutually shared among them: Haisla, Heiltsuk and Kwakiutl; and within these three divisions, into twenty-seven tribes. Two tribes were Haisla, five were Heiltsuk and the remaining twenty were Kwakiutl, so-called for their most distinguished group which was at Fort Rupert and Turnour Island immediately after White contact. Of the twenty Kwakiutl tribes, fifteen have been referred to by a distinction still recognized by the remaining members, as the Northern Tribes; and five tribes whose territory lay to the south of them as the Southern Tribes. This southern division of the Kwakiutl is known as the Lekwiltok. It is one of the groups of the Lekwiltok, the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge, upon whose history and mythology we are particularly focusing attention here.

Ranked Villages

The Lekwiltok tribes as a group are placed last upon the list of ranked tribes in Boas' report mentioned above. Their only contact with the Northern Tribes seems to have been through trade and skirmishing. On pages 331-2, Boas sets forth the septs of the Lekwiltok as follows:

1. Wi'wēqaē (= the We'qaes) [Weewiakay]
2. Xa'xamatsEs (= old mats, so called because slaves of the Wi'wēqaē). [Hahamatsees]
Recently they have taken the name of
Wa'litsum (= the great ones). [Waalatsama]

3. Kuexa (= the murderers) [Kweeha]

4. Laa'luis

5. Q'o'm'enoX.

It should be noted that Boas' list of the tribes makes no mention of the Weewiakum tribe, though they were established in their present village at Campbell River at the time he wrote. Land was allotted as the reserve of the Weewiakum on May 7, 1888.

In 1894-1895 at the time of Boas' report, the Lekwiltok occupied territory from Knight Inlet to Bute Inlet and on the opposite part of Vancouver Island. Boas makes the point that the Laa'luis, once a separate tribe, have joined the Kue'xa to form one clan, and that the Q'o'm'enoX are extinct. "The event happened during the great war with the Southern Salishan tribes, which was waged in the middle of this century."²

In an earlier publication,³ Boas lists the tribes of the Lekwiltok as follows:

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Cháchãtses | [Hahamatsees] |
| 2. Wíwēqāē | [Weewiakay] |
| 3. Wíwēaqam | [Weewiakum] |
| 4. Kuécha | [Kweeha] |
| 5. Tlaáluis | |

² Ibid., p. 332.

³ Boas, Zur Ethnologie Britisch-Kolumbiens, Petermanns Geograph., Mitteilungen, 1887, p. 131.

One notes that here Boas has included the Weewiakum tribe omitted from the first-mentioned list. The above order of ranking is the same as that recognized by the Weewiakay today as that existing at the time their potlatching was brought to an end by Government intervention in 1922. No mention is made today, however, of the Tlaaluis who are probably subsumed under the title Kweeha. Only six Kweeha remain. The Hahamatsees (or Waalatsama) gave up their last permanent village at Salmon River in the nineteen-twenties and are mainly settled at Cape Mudge with the Weewiakay, and at Comox, Vancouver Island, with the Comox.

Curtis⁴ writing in 1915, lists the tribes of the southern Lekwiltok as follows:

1. Walitsum [Waalatsama]
2. Wiwekae [Weewiakay]
3. Wiweakam [Weewiakum]
4. Kueha [Kweeha].

This agrees with the list Boas drew up in 1887 as mentioned above. The list omits the Tlaaluis, however, who by this time had lost their separate identity by joining with the Kweeha. This ranking of the tribes in 1915 is well recalled by informants at Cape today. They consider it the correct ranking. It corresponds with a written record of a potlatch given at Cape Mudge in 1916, in the possession of an informant at Cape Mudge village.

⁴ E. S. Curtis, The North American Indian, Vol. X: The Kwakiutl, Norwood, Mass., Plimton Press, 1915, pp. 106-113.

The present ranking of today's villages as recognized by informants at Cape Mudge and independently verified by the Indian Agent serving the Kwakiutl area is as follows:

| <u>Tribe</u> | <u>Present Location</u> | <u>Band Membership</u> |
|--------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Weewiakay | Cape Mudge, Quadra Is. | 283 |
| 2. Comox | Comox, Vancouver Is. | 80 |
| 3. Weewiakum | Campbell River, Vancouver Is. | 154 |
| 4. Kweeha | Campbell River, Vancouver Is. | 6 |

Comox village has entered the structural arrangement of southern Lekwiltok villages since Boas' time, when members of the Lekwiltok group moved even farther south than Cape Mudge, and demanded fishing rights and campsites in the Salish village of Comox. They moved in upon the Salish, causing considerable friction, and were from time to time evicted by agents of the Government attempting to maintain the peace, on behalf of White settlers. An attempt was made to force the Lekwiltok back to their northerly villages.

Comox was once the territory of the Salish Pentledge tribe who were assigned some one hundred and seventy acres of land. The Salish Comox were later pushed into that Pentledge area by the southern sweep of the Lekwiltok. An additional one hundred and seventy acres of land were added to the Indian-occupied area of Comox in their name. By 1864 the

Pentledge were extinct and the land was shared by the Comox and Lekwiltok. When the last of the Waalatsama gave up their reserve at Salmon River in the nineteen-twenties, they joined the Comox and transferred three hundred and twenty-nine acres into the Comox reserve. As this was almost as much again as the early Salish and Lekwiltok together already held in land, the Kwakiutl newcomers ranked high.

It is important to note that the Q'o'm'eno of Boas' list of 1894-1895 refers to an extinct sept of the Lekwiltok. It does not refer to the Comox. The Lekwiltok gave the name "Qomoks" to the "Catloltch", a tribe of the Salish forced south by Lekwiltok expansion into the Johnstone Straits area. All now refer to the area into which the "Qomoks" were forced to move, once Pentledge territory, as Comox.

The Kwakiutl group at Comox did not figure in the traditional potlatching group recalled by the informants at Cape Mudge. The traditional potlatching group to operate with Cape Mudge village are designated as follows:

1. Waalatsama of Salmon River
2. Weewiakay of Cape Mudge
3. Weewiakum of Campbell River
4. Kweeha of Phillips Arm, later of Campbell River.

Informants at Cape Mudge who were young men and women in the period from 1895 to 1915 described the summer

potlatching positions of these tribes as within sight of each other on Discovery Passage. The Weewiakay and Weewiakum were in their present positions at Cape Mudge and Campbell River and the others in a position about a mile north (Kweeha), and a mile south (Waalatsama) of the village of Cape Mudge on Quadra Island. The southern position pointed out by informants is a natural protected bay occupied each summer nowadays by squatters: Indian fishermen from Lady-smith. The northern position is, in my opinion, a now abandoned summer village site, upon an embankment with a stream which runs behind the site and forms a natural defensive ravine.

According to Cape Mudge informants, they (Weewiakay) have always been high ranking in all the Lekwiltok villages. This may be disputed in all the other southern villages, as it is amongst the Weewiakum. Weewiakum thought processes roughly parallel those of the Weewiakay though they come to quite different conclusions regarding ranking in the past and present. The Weewiakum consider themselves to have been "highest" at the time of their entry into the Johnstone Straits area. They maintain that their privileges were stolen from them by the Weewiakay and, indeed, that the Quinsam reserve, now the property of the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge (since 1888) was stolen from them. They go so far as to claim that the Weewiakay were once slaves. They claim

that high-ranking individuals of the Weewiakay are really Weewiakum. What is so interesting is not the historical authenticity of rival claims but the pattern of thinking which it reveals. The Weewiakay, in their turn, maintain that the Weewiakum were always lower, and are today; that Weewiakay Reserve No. 11 was stolen from them by the Weewiakum who have possessed it since 1888, as outlined on page 23.

Population figures for the various tribes of the Lekwiltok are interesting for they show a serious decline in numbers between 1835 and 1885. All the usual afflictions that decimated all the tribes: alcohol and diseases, including the disastrous smallpox epidemic of 1862, were experienced to some degree by the Lekwiltok. In this case, however, more than in the others, it was the result of warfare. By the 1840s they found themselves engaged in a contest of mutual annihilation with the Gulf of Georgia Salish. The following figures and the comments expressed in this paragraph are drawn from the work of Wilson Duff.⁵

| | 1835 (est.) | 1885 | 1890 | 1917 | 1939 | 1960 |
|-------------|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Hahamatsees | 500 | 83 | 67 | 17 | 11 | --- |
| Weewiakay | 500 | 125 | 131 | 87 | 136 | 269 |
| Weewiakum | 450 | 84 | 101 | 61 | 73 | 142 |
| Kweeha | 150 | 39 | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | 1600 | 331 | 299 | 165 | 220 | 411 |

⁵ Wilson Duff, Curator of Anthropology, Provincial Museum of Natural History, Victoria, B. C., from a chapter entitled, "The Euclataw (Lekwiltok) Tribes" in a manuscript dealing with the Indian tribes of the Northwest coast and being prepared for publication.

Southern Movement of the Lekwiltok and Its Consequences

All the Lekwiltok tribes maintain a myth of their entry into this area from their traditional northern villages, between Knight and Bute Inlets on the mainland of British Columbia, at the time of the "Flood". That they are a fairly recent intrusion into traditionally Salish territory, which they now occupy, is suggested by village place names which are Salish. It is also confirmed by archaeological survey work.⁶

The only village on the southern tip of Quadra Island at the time of discovery by Captain George Vancouver in 1792 was a Salish (Catloilch = Qomoks) village. According to Menzies' Journal,⁷ the dividing line between Lekwiltok in the north and Salish to the south at the time of Captain Vancouver's visit was Nymph Cove on Vancouver Island, some twelve miles north of Cape Mudge as the crow flies.

Boas, writing in 1887, assigns to the southern movement of the Lekwiltok a more ancient date than would most archaeologists familiar with the area today. A translation of a pertinent paragraph from his material of this date follows:

⁶ Herbert C. Taylor and Wilson Duff, Field notes, August, October and November, 1954, manuscript by Herbert C. Taylor.

⁷ C. F. Newcombe (ed.), Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. V.

I had no success in differentiating the territory of these five tribes because they all live in each village, except the Wiweaqams. Nowadays they populate the entire territory of the Catloltch, Chaacite and T'atpoos. The two latter tribes have died out, and the Catloltch considerably dwindled in consequence of the lengthy wars; they left their old country some 130 years ago and settled on the territory of the Pentlatsch who also were decimated through fights with West Vancouver tribes. In consequence, the Lekwiltok expanded further towards the south and are at present occupying the whole length of the narrow waterway down toward Cap Mudge. Tribes of the same language on the mainland and on Vancouver Island are now separated by their own southern advance. The people of Qautschin call the Lekwiltok: Yukwiltok.⁸

Boas' reference to their "expanding further toward the south country" (some 130 years ago) would place the start of the southern migration back about 1757; and as mentioned previously he placed "the great war with the southern Salishan tribes" in the middle of the nineteenth century. He evidently felt that the southern migration had covered a period of about one hundred years. Recent archaeological survey work in the area does not show an occupation for southern Lekwiltok villages of much over one hundred years for the Johnstone Straits area, so that the southern movement may have been a very rapid sweep in the middle of the nineteenth century. It may be that Boas set the time of the commencement of this southern thrust too far back. The southern movement of the

⁸ Boas, Zur Ethnologie, loc. cit.

Lekwiltok was probably part of a pre-contact phenomenon, involving a southward shift of the whole Kwakiutl, but the last southern thrust of the Lekwiltok from their mainland villages to Johnstone Straits was fairly recent and rapid and was no doubt accelerated by the possession of fire-arms in the post-contact period.

According to informants with whom Mr. E. Meade⁹ has worked, the tribes moved south because of pressure put upon them by northern neighbors. Raids by northerners were made into their villages on the mainland and some of these northerners are described by informants as "Kingeome". This may be the explanation of an open dislike for the people of Kingeome by the Cape Mudge people today. It may be that a low status or perhaps famished condition of the Lekwiltok obtained all through the historic period for they were never included in the potlatching at Fort Rupert. Indeed, the Honorary Chief is said to have spoken of terrible raids of the Fort Ruperts upon them even at their fortified village of Cape Mudge, and on one occasion, around 1890, he recalls forty-two great canoes of the Fort Rupert enemy appearing off their village.¹⁰

⁹ E. Meade, Curator of the Campbell River, B. C. Historical Museum, personal communication, August, 1963.

¹⁰ D. M. Dickie, "Christian Indian Chief's Great Work Over Fifty Years," Daily Colonist, January 31, 1954, p. 11.

Taylor and Duff¹¹ in their paper on the southern movement of the Lekwiltok fixed the approximate date of the movement of the Weewiakay into their present village of Cape Mudge at 1840-1845. Historical and archaeological data were used in the above paper to support this assumption.

At the time that the oldest man today living at Cape Mudge village was born, around 1874, the Weewiakay had been in their present position for only about thirty years. The dramatic events of the early days of Cape Mudge as told to this man and his contemporaries by their fathers are well remembered. This older generation were born at Cape in the big houses of their parents. Some lived up to thirty years of their lives in the old houses. In their lifetime they have encompassed the changeover from Kwakiutl society hostile to Whites, to a modern Kwakiutl village competing successfully with White society on White society's own terms, and co-operating with White society on Kwakiutl terms.

All the brotherhood villages at the time of their establishment at the mouth of Johnstone Straits maintained a myth of their entry into Discovery Passage after their dispersal from the northern villages following the Great Flood. All agree that the Lekwiltok tribes were saved together at a point known as Tikya, a village at Topaz Harbor in Jackson Bay on the mainland. Historical reconstructions by Taylor,

11 Taylor and Duff, Field notes, loc. cit.

Duff, Meade and others establish that the tribes travelled by different routes and charted their progress from one invaded and occupied Salish village to another until their present locations were reached. "We were all together" at some certain spot, an informant will say, recalling to mind the translations from Boas quoted on page 30, "they all live in each village, except the Weewiakums." According to E. F. Meade, Curator of the Campbell River Historical and Ethnographic Museum to whom I am indebted for much of the data and interpretation of movements of the Lekwiltok people which he has obtained by years of research with Weewiakum informants, the reason for the exclusion of the Weewiakum might be that their original village in Jackson Bay was a long way from the Weewiakay and other groups, and in this early period they may have been regarded as inferiors. The Weewiakum came to their present site at Campbell River via the conquered Salish villages from their main village at Green Point Rapids.

The Kweeha, as a group, arrived on Campbell River Spit from their village on Phillips Arm some time after the Waalatsama of Salmon River, the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge and the Weewiakum of Campbell River had formed a potlatching group in Discovery Passage.

At first the Waalatsama maintained their village at Salmon River, and only moved down to join the others in

the potlatch and other gatherings. The present Salmon River informants at Cape Mudge maintain that when they arrived from their mainland village to occupy a site at the mouth of the Salmon River, Vancouver Island, they found the Hahamatsees already established in a village farther upstream on the river. This is why they referred to them as "old, old, . . . [in that place]."¹² As the two groups were both Lekwiltok peoples, they soon intermarried and the Hahamatsees moved down to the mouth of the river to join the Waalatsama and they became one people. The Waalatsama (Salmon River) informants at Cape Mudge do not recollect any time at which the Hahamatsees were "lower" than the Weewiakay, and regard the people of Salmon River generally as having always been the "highest" of the Lekwiltok people.

Once the southern Lekwiltok tribes moved into Johnstone Straits and established their villages at Campbell River and Cape Mudge, they constituted a bottleneck for shipping at the mouth of Discovery Passage. According to Curtis,¹³ the Lekwiltok tribes harrassed all shipping through these narrow straits, with the intention of taking plunder and slaves. He reports that passage through Johnstone Straits could only be undertaken after nightfall and many ships were

¹² Compare with Boas' list given on pages 22-23.

¹³ Curtis, op. cit., p. 105.

wrecked attempting to navigate these difficult waters in the dark. As Fort Victoria was established at about the same time as Cape Mudge, 1845, there was a strong attraction for Indian people to move south to visit Victoria. Getting through Euclataw (Lekwiltok) Rapids, now known as Seymour Narrows, and past Cape Mudge was a hazardous undertaking for small boats. Thomas Crosby has this to say:

Cape Mudge was not only noted for its stormy weather but for its fierce and bloodthirsty people. The Cape Mudge, or Yuk-wil-tow people lived there. The people of the whole northern coast, after they got through Yuk-wil-tow Narrows or past Cape Mudge, felt themselves comparatively safe as they had passed what they called the 'death hole'.¹⁴

Apparently Indians all up and down the coast feared the Lekwiltok people. They were referred to sometimes by the White authorities as "the Ishmalites of the country."¹⁵

In comparing Lekwiltok warfare with that carried out by other Kwakiutl groups, Helen Codere remarks that:

They raided with greater frequency and with greater enthusiasm than other Kwakiutl. There are almost as many narratives of their wars as there are for all the rest of

¹⁴ Rev. Thomas Crosby, Up and Down and North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship, Toronto, The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914.

¹⁵ R. C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island, London, 1862, p. 730.

the Kwakiutl put together and, in these, a zest for war and greater destructiveness of life are conspicuous features. Their version of war was apparently an exaggeration of the usual Kwakiutl version.¹⁶

The Lekwiltok continued their warfare longer than other groups of Indians on this coast and were said by R. C. Mayne to be "by no means disposed to yield, as Indians generally do, to the mere exhibition of force."¹⁷ They had to be compelled by gunboat to recognize that the White authorities were actually in control of their activities. Several battles took place at or near Cape Mudge. In 1860 a "lesson was administered to them" according to Mayne which took the form of firing on the canoes upon the beach, and finally upon the stockade of Cape Mudge village from the gunboat "Forward". A party of men passing by in a ship had been attacked and robbed and the purpose of this punitive expedition was restoration of stolen goods. After several Cape men were killed in the action, the Indian people were forced to come to terms.

Mrs. R. J. Walker, wife of the first resident missionary at Cape Mudge, says:

¹⁶ Helen Codere, Fighting with Property, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, no. XVIII, New York, J. J. Augustin, 1950, p. 104.

¹⁷ Mayne, loc. cit.

Our work . . . was among the Euclataw people of the Cape Mudge Mission. These Indians had been noted as wild and bad, clinging to their old heathen ways and apparently unwilling to listen to any Christian teaching.

.
The Indians of the Euclataw tribes have held on to their old ways and customs with far greater tenacity than the Northern tribes It has been most difficult to gain any hold over them at all. They evidently thought that when we first went to live among them, that we were to teach school and preach, care for them when sick, and help them generally. Beyond that, we were to leave them alone. But they were soon undeceived and found they could do no wrong in peace.¹⁸

As mentioned before in reference to the population figures for the Lekwiltok on page 28, they engaged in outright war with the Coast Salish. In this regard they were an atypical Kwakiutl group. The warlike spirit of other Indian groups expressed itself mainly in quick hit-and-run raids by a small trained warrior group out to maintain their reputation for ferocity. Lekwiltok skirmishes with their Kwakiutl neighbors and other Indians to the north are largely of this sort. It is in relation to the Salish people lying to the south of them that they came to have a reputation for widespread, frequent and exterminative war. They raided the Musqueam at the mouth of the Fraser River and forayed farther south into Puget Sound. They raided up the Fraser River as far as Yale and twice attacked the fort at Langley. At one

¹⁸ Mrs. R. J. Walker, Excerpts from unpublished diary, 1892.

time nearly the whole of the Coast Salish were engaged in a cooperative attempt to stave off the attacks of the Kwakiutl, particularly the Cape Mudge people. With greater and greater pressure from White authority, which included the frigate sent to fire upon the village in 1860, the Lekwiltok finally were forced to give up warfare. They continued to potlatch in an even more rivalrous way for the purposes of social prestige that could be even more fully expressed in potlatching than had been possible in warfare.¹⁹

Ranked Numayms

In Kwakiutl social life, rank was the most conspicuous feature. Not only were the villages ranked as we have seen, but the people in every village were attached by birth, marriage or association to one of several ranked numayms or household groups within the village. Most villages seemed to have had between four and seven numayms.

An understanding of the structure and function of the numaym is central to an understanding of the traditional social organization of the Kwakiutl. Boas considered the numaym the fundamental unit in Kwakiutl society. The numaym was a household group composed of a number of families connected by patrilineal descent and occupying one or more big houses. All members of a numaym claimed their right to

¹⁹ Codere, op. cit., p. 128.

belong by virtue of descent from one mythical ancestor. Numayms were ranked in importance by virtue of their richness and numbers, and this was claimed as a demonstration of the superior supernatural power of the ancestor in the mythological hierarchy from whom they claimed descent. Every numaym staked out and maintained its rights to special hunting, fishing, and berrying grounds, and these sites were passed on for use to the younger generations of the lineage while remaining the property of the numaym as a whole.

The most important numaym of the Weewiakay at Cape Mudge was the one claiming descent from the mythical ancestor, Wiakay. The holder of the leading position in this numaym was recognized as the highest-ranking man in the village.

All positions held by individuals in the numayms were named and ranked in order of prestige. The position an individual occupied depended initially both upon the social position secured to him by his father and the use of crests, names and the private knowledge necessary for their validation passed on by his mother. Both men and women occupied important positions, though the heads of numayms were almost always men. Both men and women aspired to maintain and improve the ranked positions they occupied. Positions were recognized publicly as a receiving order at the time of the potlatches and other ceremonies. The lower-ranking seats had little differentiation of status and those occupying them

were regarded as little better than slaves. Slaves were sheltered and fed in the great communal houses of the numaym but did not have a place in the status reckoning and did not receive in the potlatch.

Members of the numaym produced a great surplus of goods which was re-distributed through the potlatches of their most distinguished members in order to maintain and improve the status of their whole group. They sought advantageous marriages for their young men with women in higher numayms within the village and in the numayms of other higher villages with a view to bringing into their own family group women who could bring with them great ceremonial names and prerogatives to add to the accumulated incorporeal wealth of the numaym. The young women of the numaym were married by arrangement to men of as great importance as possible in the other numayms, taking with them names and privileges to be distributed amongst the members of the husband's family and their prospective children, a generous gesture for which the numaym of the husband was expected to make a suitable acknowledgement. Women thus introduced into the essentially patrilineal family groups acted as a force binding together by social obligation the various numayms of the village, and numayms in other villages.

The numayms, then, were mainly patrilineal and patrilocal with, however, double descent recognized and

incorporeal wealth passing through the female line. The numayms tended to be exogamous and the disintegrative effect of numaym rivalry was counteracted by lateral kindred crossing numaym lines. The head of each numaym represented and embodied the power of the mythological ancestor from whom the family was said to have sprung and this headmanship or seat was passed down from father to son or daughter to grandson. In the case of a potlatch between different villages the head man of the numaym of greatest prestige would represent his village. The head man had influence but not great power.

According to Boas' list of tribes,²⁰ the numayms (clans) of the Weewiakay are as follows:

1. G.ĩĩg.lqam (= those who receive first) [Gyĩgyĩlkũm]²¹
2. G.ēksEm (= the chiefs) [Gyĩhsũm]
3. ?
4. Wĩwēaqam (= the Wē'qaēs) [We'wēkũm].

Boas comments that in all cases where the clan name or the tribal name is a collective form of the name of the ancestor, we may assume that the group formed at one time a single

²⁰ Boas, The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, op. cit., p. 331.

²¹ Orthography used throughout the text and shown here in square brackets is that of Curtis, op. cit., p. 308. For Curtis' complete list see page 42 of this thesis.

community. The We'wëkūm numaym must therefore have formed the original stock, which the other clans joined in the course of time.²² We'wëkūm is a collective term formed by reduplication of part of the name of the ancestor, Wiakay. It was apparent in Boas' time that honorific names were being coined and groups bearing these names were likely to be recent in origin. The Kweeha, one of the tribes potlatching with the Weewiakay also had a numaym We'wëkūm as well as two other numayms bearing honorific names. Boas does not give information on the numayms of the other Lekwiltok tribes.

Curtis, in his 1915 record of Kwakiutl social structure, lists the numayms of the Weewiakay as follows:

1. We'wëkūm (another plural of Wiakay)
2. Gyígyílkūm ("crawlers")
3. Gyíhsūm ("chiefs")
4. Awíkyím

The We'wëkūm listed as the first numaym of the Weewiakay by Curtis in 1915 does not appear as a numaym of the Weewiakay in a manuscript record of the potlatch that was given for the tribes in 1916. This record is in the possession of an informant at Cape Mudge. Weewiakay informants today no

²² Boas, The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, op. cit., p. 333.

longer acknowledge the Wewékum as a numaym of the Weewiakay, neither do they acknowledge the Awíkyim. It may be that the members of Wewékum and the members of Awíkyim fell out of favor and are no longer "remembered" when informants recall the numayms of the Weewiakay.

The history of the structural changes that took place in the numayms of the Weewiakay is blurred at this point in time. Information from informants is conjectural and fuzzy and filled with contradictions that seem to have arisen as a result of reviewing their own numaym connections in a constantly favorable light. It seems certain, as Curtis has recorded, that the Wewékum numaym was once highest at Cape Mudge. Members of the Weewiakum Band at Campbell River today speak of members of this household group at Cape Mudge as belonging to their tribe, even while they occupied a big house at Cape Mudge. Presumably, villagers at Cape who had previously lived together in a Weewiakum village, formed the numaym. While occupying a geographical site at Cape Mudge, it is possible that members of this numaym felt a closer association with their Weewiakum neighbors at Campbell River than they did with the rest of the villagers in the numayms of Cape Mudge. The separation of Indian people into bands soon after White contact may have obscured this kind of allegiance. Some great rivalrous crisis may have arisen for the Chief of the Wewékum numaym pulled down his great house at Cape Mudge and moved his entire group over to the Weewiakum

village on the Campbell River Spit. This was the historic period (1915) when in any case the great houses at Cape were razed and the logs ceremoniously floated out to sea. The We'wëkūm may have been holding out for traditional housing against the tide of enthusiasm for "White man's houses" at Cape Mudge. This had been led by the family of the Hereditary Chief, who built the first "White man's house" around the turn of the century and paid dearly for his departure from tradition both in humiliation and money, according to the diary of Mrs. Walker, referred to on page 37.

The move to replace the big houses with "White man's houses" was later followed up by the families of the Honorary Chief who organized the demolition in 1915 and led the village in a dramatic gesture of renunciation of the old way of life. Weewiakum still accuse Weewiakay of being overanxious for White approval of their affairs. Some Weewiakum informants hold that the great potlatch of 1916 held at Cape Mudge celebrated the departure in triumph of the We'wëkūm numaym from Cape Mudge.

The Weewiakum today say that powerful men at Cape Mudge, particularly the Honorary Chief, received their privileges by successful potlatching and arranged marriages with high-ranking members of the We'wëkūm. The great "chief" of the We'wëkūm numaym who gave the potlatch of 1916 was father-in-law to the Honorary Chief at Cape Mudge (through

one of his early marriages), and it is claimed that the Hereditary Chief at Cape was also a Wewékūm, one whom the Honorary Chief secured as his son-in-law.

Perhaps because of the bitterness that resulted from the loss of real and incorporeal property at these potlatches, the Wewékūm is "not acknowledged" when informants at Cape discuss the numayms.

The numayms of the "brotherhood" villages potlatching together in the manuscript record of the potlatch of 1916 are set forth below. This manuscript uses an orthography that may be attributed to Reverend Alfred Hall who began the first Protestant teaching at Cape Mudge in 1878 from the Methodist Church Missionary Society headquarters at Fort Rupert.

| A. Salmon River [Waalatsama] | | B. Wewaykay [Weewiakay] | | C. [Weewiakum] | |
|---------------------------------|----|----------------------------|----|---------------------|----|
| Eagles | 23 | Eagles | 21 | Eagles | 26 |
| Geeksum | 36 | Gigalqam [Gyigylkūm] | 18 | Weewaykam [Wewékūm] | 26 |
| Gīgāḷqām | 14 | Gesām [Gyihśūm] | 33 | Auwi [Awikyim] | 15 |
| Lakaām | 3 | | | | |
| Total ranked seats: | 76 | | 72 | | 67 |

Though the "chief" of the Weewiakum tribe gave this feast to the tribes, the names of the Weewiakum are listed. There is no break in the numbering of seats from the highest seat in the highest numaym in the highest tribe, Waalatsama of Salmon River to the lowest seat in the lowest numaym of the Weewiakum.

The Auwī numaym of the Weewiakum of the potlatch manuscript may well be the former Awikyīm numaym of the Weewiakay. It may have been the lowest numaym at Cape Mudge because its members were made up of persons associated with the Kweeha tribe, lowest in the Lekwiltok ranking. If so, they may have left Cape Mudge at the time the Wewēkūm did and their remnant have become the six Kweeha individuals living nearby the Weewiakum at Campbell River today.

There were in all two hundred and fifteen named seats in this potlatch in 1916. Some persons held several seats but most held only one. Children, slaves and non-ranking persons do not figure in the numbers listed as engaged. Yet this minimum population count of two hundred and fifteen is greater than the official population figure (page 28) of one hundred and sixty-five persons.²³ That the seventy-six Salmon River persons of ranked status, plus all their children and other attached but unranked persons should be recorded as seventeen instead of seventy-six plus, in the 1917 official figures, suggests that the Indians themselves counted statuses rather than persons, and retained their identification through the numayms of themselves as Salmon River people, living in varying villages, rather than as Weewiakay, simply because they dwelt at Cape Mudge with the Weewiakay.

²³ Wilson Duff in his chapter in which the population figures referred to here are set forth, makes clear the great disparity in population figures that has been suggested for the various Kwakiutl tribes at varying periods.

It is important to note that the potlatch record introduces a new-named group, the Eagles, a group that received ahead of the acknowledged numayms in the potlatch. Boas states that "the noblest clan [numaym] and among them the noblest name is called the 'Eagle' (Kuēk) of the tribe."²⁴ He found it difficult to account for the institution of Eagles, but felt that it might relate to an older order of high-ranking persons whose position in the potlatching had been relinquished but whose reputation and past glory insured an honorary position. Drucker,²⁵ on the other hand, regards the Eagles as newcomers in the social-ranking system. Men with newly-acquired wealth secured positions in the new institution of the Eagles, when they could not have justified or secured a claim to ranking position in the old numaym system.

Informants at Cape Mudge today include the Eagles in their listing of remembered numayms:

1. Eagles
2. Gyigyilkūm
3. Gyihšūm.

²⁴ Boas, The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, op. cit., p. 339.

²⁵ Philip Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950, p. 128.

The general impression received from a study of the potlatch record of 1916 is of a great network of relationships that bound together persons in all the villages. With one or two exceptions only, men held seats in the numayms of their fathers and brothers and in that one numaym only within the village. The names of spouses often appear in the numayms of other villages. Most persons occupied only one position within the whole range of seats, but "Eagles" of Cape Mudge managed to hold several seats in the numayms of other tribes as well as a seat in the Eagles of the Waalatsama of Salmon River. Frequently their wives held seats in the Eagles of the Weewiakum.

The Lekwiltok undoubtedly constitute a special case among the Kwakiutl people but the data suggest that explanations about numayms could not only be made in terms of connection to one mythical ancestor, but also in terms of association through all having come from a certain geographical area and therefore from the same original Lekwiltok tribe.

There are several patrilineal groupings of families in the village of Cape Mudge whose status today rests upon the traditional sanction of their high rank. The highest-ranking seatholder in the village died the year this study was undertaken. He was acknowledged by all the villagers as their Hereditary Chief because he held the highest seat in the Eagles, now regarded as having been the highest numaym of

the Weewiakay. His descendants are regarded as "royalty". The term as it was used by informants suggests that this group was set off from others by virtue of descent from the culture hero, Wiakay. The deceased Hereditary Chief's ceremonial name was Wiakay and he was thought of as the living carrier of the supernatural power of the mythical ancestor. While the supernatural power of Wiakay is transmissible only through a chain of authorized persons, the incidents connected with the unique events in Wiakay's life that are believed to have occurred historically are said to have been experienced afresh in the ritual of the making of a Hamatsa in the winter dance society.

The family which the Hereditary Chief represented is the second largest lineage in the village today. (The "White man's" name adopted by this group as a surname is not the same as that of the Hereditary Chief, for the Hereditary Chief is said to have been "adopted" into this powerful family.) Throughout this thesis, the family of the Hereditary Chief will be referred to as the Second Family Group.

The above group are not the leading family group in the status-ranking of the village today. The head man of the leading family group was deposed from exercise of actual power by a man of lesser position but great charismatic power--the Honorary Chief. The family group of the Honorary Chief has the largest number of families at Cape sharing one

name, as well as the largest number of families associated with them by marriage or past traditional ties. This family will be referred to hereafter as the First Family Group.

The rivalry between these groups is apparent in social interaction in the village today. It was pointed out to me in support of the claims of the family of the Hereditary Chief that they held six of the highest seats and the highest seat in the Eagles of Cape Mudge in 1916. The Honorary Chief, on the other hand, held the fourteenth seat in the Gyihsum, the largest but lower ranking numaym of the Weewiakay. His eldest son, however, held a seat in the Eagles and this may have been a seat previously held by the Honorary Chief. Apparently, the Honorary Chief was a very skillful potlatcher. Through brilliant manoeuvring and force of character, and by advancing the position of his sons and marrying his daughters advantageously, he was able to bring the whole village under his leadership. His position and power were confirmed when the White authorities selected him to represent the village and be responsible to them for the conduct of the villagers. The ending of potlatching in 1922 apparently left him in a high-ranking position which he could occupy unchallenged in spite of the rumblings of protest from the family of the Hereditary Chief, and from the other families in the village not associated intimately with either lineage but supporting the claims of the Hereditary Chief.

These last-mentioned families still support the claims of the Hereditary Chief over those of the Honorary Chief and are bitter over the long years of arbitrary rule by the Honorary Chief. These other families will be considered here as the Third Family Group. Actually, they are families claiming various lines of descent, some from persons powerful in the traditional system. They will be treated here as a group of families not only to make the data pertaining to family association more manageable, but because they are held together by allegiances that will be made clear in Chapter IV, under the heading "Direct Effects of Family Grouping upon Social Control". The status of the Third Family Group is lower than that of the First and Second.

There are several families in the village who are regarded as failures and who are not acknowledged by the particular family groups to whom they logically belong by virtue of the known lines of descent in the past few generations. They regard themselves as associated with one of the three family groups and will not be treated here as constituting a separate group.

Social Classes

Franz Boas in his early work and other ethnographers of that period analyzed Kwakiutl society as a structure made

up of three social classes: nobility, commoners, and slaves. Such a formal model, taken from Western European society and imposed upon Kwakiutl social data is not a good fit. Boas in his later papers had begun to modify his rigid early classification. He states that, "a sharp line between nobility and common people did not exist, that rank was determined by the seniority of the lines of descent."²⁶ The concept of class does not fit a social organization in which there is a continuous hierarchy of positions from the highest seat in the highest numaym of the leading tribe to the lowest seat in the lowest numaym of the lowest status tribe. A better analogy with an element of the social structure of our own society would be that of the ladder system of matching opponents in a tennis tournament, where the contest for position raises or lowers an individual's place on the ladder without escalation of individuals into superior social teams of other social groupings.

Boas contended that the highest position holders in the various numayms formed the nobility. We know that there was a certain amount of ceremonial privilege extended to these personages such as invitation to special ceremonies held, for instance, upon the death of a great chief. There

²⁶ Boas, "Numayms and Transmission Privileges," American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920, pp. 111-126.

was, as well, consultation amongst heads of numayms with the highest status man acting as spokesman for the village in inter-village affairs. Yet each of these head men had closer association with the members of his own numaym in all their activities than he did with the heads of other numayms acting as a group. The basic social structure of Kwakiutl society was vertical segmentation into numayms, with a range of seats in each one; rather than horizontal stratification into social classes. Boas recalls a tale of the Kwakiutl in which it is even stated that the youngest of five brothers "was not taken care of by his father and was like a slave or a dog."²⁷ Clearly, this family did not all qualify as members of a social class but rather were individuals separately ranked within their own numaym. Boas uses this tale in corroboration of his own changing views with regard to Kwakiutl social structure.

So far as we know slaves and those left in the position of slaves fulfilled no role as a group, with common organization, functions and aspirations, and could not be seen as a class with common ideology or material situation. They are better conceived of as alien attachments to and drop-outs from the vertically structured numayms.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

CHAPTER III

MYTHOLOGY

Validating Myths and Their Variation in Response to Changing Situations

Myth is the expression in symbolic patterns of the social existence of a people. It is a shared body of belief distilled out of the past experiences of the social group, not requiring historical authentication. Myth is generally felt to be the primeval reality relevant to the destiny of the society. As such, it motivates and initiates behavior consonant with it.

We know from anthropological research in other areas of the world, for example, in the work of Sir Peter Buck,¹ that in primitive society myths are constantly being reworked to validate changes in the social structure wrought by migration or other causes. In the case of the Kwakiutl, major changes have been brought about by White contact as well as by immigration and conflict.

Today, as must have always been the case in the past, many shared beliefs from mythical sources of Kwakiutl life animate behavior and are in turn moulded by changes in individual behavior and social organization. These may be

¹ Sir Peter Henry Buck, "Anthropology and Religion," Terry lecture at Yale University, Kroeber Press, 1939.

shared myths which glorify the past, validate present behavior, or determine the future course of their lives. Myth may be based upon the true experiences in the history of a people, as independently verified from other sources.

In spite of the adoption of most aspects of Euro-American material culture by the Indians of Cape Mudge, there is a considerable retention of belief, traditional patterns of thinking and the structural arrangements traditional in this society.

In view of the fact that changes were forced so quickly upon the Kwakiutl people by an encroaching White society and vigorous missionary activity, these changes can only be justified to the Kwakiutl on their own terms. The man who built the first "White man's" house and tore down his great house at Cape is glorified now, not as church documents would have it for having led the way out of a pagan past into an egalitarian society against the pleading and pressures of his contemporaries, but because he voluntarily "threw away his great name", he "gave himself to down". Kwakiutl myth validates this deed of destruction which adds to his prestige.

The myths that follow suggest that the enigma of the abrupt volte-face of Kwakiutl to White culture is not to be found in the speed with which it took place for, in fact, it has not altogether taken place even now. The apparent quick

change in material culture can be explained from the fact that Kwakiutl culture favored a taking over from others anything that might be held to add to their own lustre: boats, houses, liquor, money, guns, and any institution that could be exploited for gain, such as trade and prostitution and any symbols such as flag and cross that could conceivably bring honor to their holders. While the goals of the two societies that were interacting were not necessarily the same, the processes of acceptable procedures to attaining those goals were. The tone of the acceptable procedure in both cultures was pragmatic.

Some myths will be mentioned to suggest how Kwakiutl myth legitimized goals and established a climate for culturally approved behavior for reaching them. It is important to bear in mind that no explanation of goals and means to them can possibly be an explanatory mechanism for the prevailing behavior of all members of the village. The present social structure at Cape Mudge does not give opportunity for all members of the community to reach the generally-approved goals. Some families have not even accepted the most obvious community goals as their own. With this caveat in mind, field work study at Cape Mudge bears out the assertion of Raymond Firth, paraphrased here as "the myths of a people are bound into the total system of social relations."²

² Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization, London,

Myths are told today in the village of Cape Mudge not as tales of long ago but as explanatory truths that justify present beliefs and behavior. New constructions of myth have been necessary to underwrite the rapidly-changing social order.

Myth No. 1: The Myth of the Origin of the Tribe

"Do not harm us, we are Haisla, off Wiakay's rope."

The general outlines of the myths of the ancestral hero of the Lekwiltok, who was called Wiakay, was accepted with minor variations by all the tribes of the Lekwiltok. Apparently, the myth of some ancestral savior at the time of the Flood is of more general application, being found as an explanation of the origin of some of the Tsimshian and northern Kwakiutl tribes as well.

According to Mungo Martin, a chief of the Nimpkish tribe at Alert Bay, Wiakay, the supernatural ancestor of the Lekwiltok tribes, lived for a time at the mouth of the Nimpkish River before he moved farther south to the ancestral home of the Weewiakay at Tikya on Jackson Bay where he saved the tribes at the time of the Flood.

Wiakay was represented at Cape Mudge until his death in the spring of 1963, by his direct mythical descendant,

Watts and Co., 1951, p. 230. Speaking of a god in Tikopea with superhuman attributes, Firth says: "These beliefs, with their strong emotional content, do not stand isolated in vague concepts. They are bound into a system which has as one of its vehicles of expression and concrete representation a set of tales or myths."

the chief seat holder in the old society of Eagles. His family and those grouped around this family in the village today have the ascribed status of "royalty". The term "royalty" is used by informants, and seems to suggest that a special aura of respect surrounded this family of highest descent in the village because of a presumed biological connection with the ancestral hero.

This supernaturally powerful ancestor is believed by the Weewiakay to have come down to the people at Tikya, near their village at Jackson Bay in Topaz Harbor on the mainland of British Columbia.³ As this has been established as the village near the actual launching point in Jackson Bay of the Lekwiltok southern thrust, which may have extended over no more than a few years, ending with their arrival at Cape Mudge around 1845, it is likely that all the elements of the myth of origin were already formulated by the Lekwiltok before they left Tikya. It is probable that the myth is very old, and has been re-interpreted over the longer period of the whole southward movement of the Kwakiutl people; and at each point in time, some specific place along the route was chosen to be remembered as the place of the descent of the culture hero. In this case, the place of descent was at the

3 Franz Boas, "Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in Mythology," American Folklore Society Memoir 28, 1935, p. 133.

foot of a great rock face of Mt. Tlakutsan in Topaz Harbor, the "Kwawkewlth Ararat".⁴

In August 1963 I recorded the origin myth of the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge as told to me by Chief Billy Assu, Honorary Chief of the Weewiakay, who was born around 1873 and is now in his nineties.

The Weewiakay came from the north, Jackson Bay in Topaz Harbor. A great mountain, Tlakutsan, overlooked the harbor. Something told Wiakay that there was going to be a flood. He told my people 'make canoes now, not cedar shakes for houses.' People laughed at him--said he was always hearing voices.

Wiakay started to get limbs of cedars to twist into rope. He climbed the mountain, attached the beginning of his woven rope to the top of the mountain, and wove the rope all the way down to the village. All the people tied the ropes which were attached to their canoes onto Wiakay's rope.

One canoe broke away when the Flood came. This was the Kitimat people. They made it to safety. These Haisla people can be understood by us to this day. As they passed Cape Mudge in the old days they used to call out to us, 'Do not harm us, we are Haisla, off Wiakay's rope!' [laughter]

One canoe load reached the United States. These are the Makahs.

In a slightly fuller rendering of this myth of the great ancestor of the Weewiakay and the origin of the tribes, the village "historian" who was born in 1898 told me that as

⁴ Reserve Commission Report, vol. II, 1916, p. 416.

the waters rose at the time of the Great Flood (which he said was the Flood mentioned in the Bible), the canoes of the Indian peoples which were secured to Wiakay's rope were set adrift by Wiakay as the tides changed. The first to be cut off were the Kitimat. They were swept north by the tide. Because they came from Wiakay's rope they can be just barely understood when they speak to Cape people today. The tribes were then struck off one by one in canoe loads on each successive tide and populated the territory farther and farther south until the Makah tribe drifted on the Olympic peninsula in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. The four tribes of the Lekwiltok were struck off as a group and drifted southward together being ever afterward considered as brotherhood villages.

It is apparent from this rendition of the myth that the tribes associated with the miraculous power of Wiakay are linked by language. The Haisla division of the Kwakiutl is the most northerly Kwakiutl group to speak a language dialect of the language spoken by the Weewiakay. Both are dialects derived from an ancestral stock known as Wakashan, which has a wider geographical distribution still and includes the Nootka and Makah. The association of the two dialects, Haisla and Kwakwala, would be noted by the Weewiakay. Makah and Kwakwala (the language of the Weewiakay) are not mutually intelligible, though some cognates in the two languages might

be noted by a Kwakwaka speaker who had learned Makah or perhaps northern Nootka as a second language. In this way, some sort of language relationship might have been deduced by the Weewiakay.

The "historian" informant wished the story of the Weewiakay dispersal at the time of the Flood to be known so that any foolish notion of the derivation of the Indian people from the "Japanese" could be countered. He also wanted it made quite clear that the Indian of today is in his homeland. "Where did we come from? We came from right here!" The village historian has not been delegated as such by any formal authority in the village and has not the right of final authority. He is, however, an elder, a man of wide experience outside Cape Mudge in Native Brotherhood affairs, in the Masonic Lodge and other associations; and one is frequently referred to him for accurate information.

The question arises as to who believes this myth today, considering the nearly seventy years of Christian teaching in the village. Apparently, the myth has been little challenged by the church since it harmlessly fitted Kwakiutl mythology into the Christian doctrine of salvation at the time of the Flood.

In The Struggle for Survival, the author quotes the Honorary Chief of Cape Mudge village, from a letter written some twenty years ago to the effect that:

. . . At the first time when God gave land to the people, he gave some to the English, French, Japanese, Chinese, Indians, too. Now the White people change God's work and take our place from us and think we have no place or anything.⁵

Though no attempt was made to determine systematically how many people in the village actually believe this myth today, a random sampling suggests that it is believed by some persons of all ages. I asked a seventeen-year-old boy attending an integrated school and planning to enter the United Church ministry, to tell me where his people had come from, expecting the usual answer about his mother's association with Weewiakay and his father's association with the Waalatsama of Salmon River. He surprised me by answering: "Off Wiakay's rope." Another informant, a woman in her forties, offered this substantiation of the myth when it was discussed with her; that the water found on the top of Mt. Tlakutsan is salt, which proves the Flood story to be true. As would be expected, older people in the village believe this myth to be true.

In the traditional culture of the Weewiakay which is partly retained to this day, this myth of origin functioned in several ways. It served to explain their origin and the origin of other Indian peoples whose lives concerned them.

⁵ Forrest E. LaViolette, The Struggle for Survival, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961, p. 98.

It endowed existence with a quality of peculiar worth due to supernatural intervention on their behalf by the ancestor Wiakay. This sense of social significance and identification would be an integrative factor in village life. The remembered historical record is given sanction by supernatural intention. The myth also determines the extent and character of the bonds between neighboring tribes, expressing concern for the Kwakiutl tribes in the extreme north as the utmost limit of responsibility. The myth defined as a brotherhood the four tribes of the Lekwiltok, struck off at the same tide by Wiakay and floating to their common destiny. It makes logical their association in potlatching and other inter-tribal activities.

The myth of the origin of the tribes has a significant omission in it. It makes no mention whatever of the extensive Salishan tribes who lie between the southern Lekwiltok and their mythically connected associates, the Makah of the Olympic Peninsula. The Salish have no right of ancestral place in Kwakiutl thinking.

Today community identification is strengthened by the myth of origin. The Kwakiutl as a whole are regarded as tolerable. The Lekwiltok as a group are regarded as roughly equal in this context and the Salish are regarded as contemptible.

The myth of origin serves to underwrite the prestige of the family group whose recently-deceased Chief received the power passed down from generation to generation from Wiakay.

Though the Weewiakay are quite aware that in actual fact they hold their present lands by virtue of having seized them at an earlier date from the Salish tribes, after they left the villages at Jackson Bay, the myth has come to provide them with a mystical connection between Band and land which establishes a favorable climate for their claims to outright ownership of Band lands now set aside by the Crown for their use.

Myth No. 2: Myth of Past Glory in Warfare

"We were the Gibraltar of the Coast"

The myth of past glory in warfare is strong among the people of Cape Mudge today. There is no doubt from the historical record that they were ruthless conquerors of the settled Salish whom they replaced during their historic southern expansionist movement. They regard themselves as a race of unconquered warriors. Their reputation for striking fear into their enemies is a source of pride. So is the myth passed down from generation to generation that they held the strategic position at the mouth of Johnstone Straits to demand tribute from all who passed through their waters. "We were the Gibraltar of the Coast," one informant proudly declared.

Informants say that while an amiable relationship has been established with the Salish to the south for ceremonial and political purposes, quarrels break out during drinking bouts when the Indians of Cape let the Salish know that they are nothing but pushovers for the Lekwiltok. Condescension and thinly-veiled contempt for the Salish people are never far below the surface; expression of them is made after two or three drinks.

Aggressive behavior finds its justification in the myth of superiority in warfare. Teen-age boys in the village, poorly provided with the means to fulfill the prevailing community goals of education and acculturation, and bored by life under the surveillance of a vast family network, seek to romanticize their group rebelliousness and lawlessness by reference to the myth of a warrior past.

A few years ago a group of black-jacketed and jack-booted boys from Cape village, self-styled Eagles, were only broken up when one of their members was stabbed to death by a White man who claimed to have felt threatened by them. The White man was acquitted of a murder charge in this case. The people of Cape Mudge feel that the White man got off too easily; that the decision in the case was unfair. As the boy murdered was a member of a family

considered to be without status ranking in the village, the disposition of the case engendered a generalized feeling of dissatisfaction rather than an outcry for justice in this particular case.

A teen-age Cape boy explained that Indian boys are expected to be tough and the White boys always want to fight them. The more scars claimed to be knife scars a boy can show to the other village boys, the better he regards himself. The daredevil mystique supported by the myth of superiority in warfare is shattered by the indifference or ignominy with which boys as individuals are sometimes treated by White young people their own age. The result may be actual or fantasy aggression. An instance of fantasy aggression can be cited from a letter sent to us by a teen-age boy in the village claiming that sixteen boys (Indian) had raped a White girl after a recent dance held outside the reserve on Quadra Island. He stated that all the boys had been variously dealt with before the Court. A check with the local magistrate revealed that nothing of the sort had come to the attention of the Court, and that, in fact, aggression against White people by Indians in this area is practically unknown. The promotion of a romantic image of the Indian as a savage warrior by the boys of Cape Mudge village who have poorly internalized the goals of education held by their parents and who have practically no opportunity to marry (Chapter III, Myth No. 3), may suggest that the problem of

delinquency could profitably be investigated in the light shed upon it by the myth of past glory in warfare.

The myth of conquering warriors is very strong at Cape Mudge for it is recent history enacted within the lifetime of the parents of living members of the community. Little children in the village play Indian warriors as a favorite game. While we were living in the village about twelve or fifteen youngsters under ten years, heads banded with cloth, their dark-skinned faces fierce with red and black paint and grimaces appropriate to the occasion, came chanting in Kwakwaka a demand to deliver up our son, age six. We delivered up our son, holding the hand of his father, and the two made a dash for it to a nearby open field where they were overtaken, fallen upon and "chopped up" by the Indians. Next day we bought a feather headdress for our son and thereafter he was an "Indian" in the games. These games are played everywhere in British Columbia, of course, but in Cape it was given a local twist, for on every little bare chest the children had painted the chiefly copper, ancient symbol of high status on the Northwest coast.

The myth of superiority in warfare is an interactive element in society both providing for a continuing sanction for aggressive behavior in regard to all rivals, Indian and White, and at the same time being further reinforced by the successes of the struggle for "a place in the sun" by

the Indian people of this group. The fact that Cape Mudge is the most successful community in British Columbia in the view of White people most concerned and informed, reinforces the myth.

Myth No. 3: Myth of Slave Descent

"Here comes the Red, White and Blue."

The myths discussed in the last two sections, those of First Descent and the Glory of Warfare could be said to persist from the traditional past society into the present, serving much the same function as they did in traditional times, that of explaining and upholding the social structure and organization and preserving the sense of community worthiness and esteem.

I now deal with a myth newly created by the pressures and needs of acculturation, but having as its rationale the taking of slaves by the Weewiakay in the traditional past. This myth of slavery is difficult to track down in Cape Mudge with information from local informants. They mention the families in the neighboring Indian village at Campbell River who they would gladly let you infer are descendants of slaves. In Campbell River village they do likewise with reference to certain families at Cape. Some informants at Campbell River even go so far as to suggest that all the families of Cape Mudge were "low" at the time the Weewiakay entered the area and even that the Weewiakay people were "slaves".

The idea of the Myth of Slavery was suggested to me by a young White informant who, as brother to the resident missionary, had spent his seventeenth year living in the village and has fished every summer since with one of the oldest and most influential men at the Cape. He assisted me to draw up a rough map of the village before my visit there. On this map of households he ringed around all families who he believed were of slave descent, including the family of the eldest son of the Hereditary Chief. When I pointed out the anomaly of suggesting slave descent in the case of the son of the Hereditary Chief, my informant was mystified himself but declared it to be true nonetheless. He claimed that the Indian people could always distinguish people with slave characteristics. They are darker-skinned and coarser-featured than the more elegant chiselled-featured and lighter-skinned Weewiakay.

The Myth of Slavery is hard to document with specific data for it cannot be upheld by informants when they subject it to rational scrutiny. It is a myth to the effect that families in the village who do not meet the demanding criteria of admittance to Cape society are descendants of slaves. What the geneology of these families shows about descent from important or chiefly families at the Cape makes no difference. If one points out the high-ranking descent of such a family while discussing with an informant their present poor reputation in the village, the suggestion is offered that

such a family has not been able to uphold the "big name", and has let all the dignity associated with it slip away. They are then consciously assessed as having fallen out of the status ranking system in the same way as their ancestors rose up within it. In the recent past it was "the noble names they got from many places" and the power they could command as a relatively high seat holder in a large and influential group of families who had "pushed them up", plus the ability to command wealth for the validation of position, that secured their honorable place in traditional society. The traditional values persist in an attenuated form at Cape Mudge and thus it is that a family that cannot conform to the values of society, has missed its opportunities by ruinous marriage to a member of a contemptible tribe and becomes unable to assert any claim for want of wealth and social support can be socially ostracized. Only after leaving the village did I learn from a White informant that a man with descendants in the village is said to have been a Haida. The myth extends to one branch of this family who are socially unsuccessful.

The Myth of Slave Descent is associated with noticeably "weak" families in the community who have lost out on the recognized characteristics of status in present Cape Mudge society (see Values, Chapter V) and occupy a position in society whose only meaningful referrent is that of slaves.

The myth is applied to five or six families at the Cape.

Each has some or all of the following characteristics:

1. Relative dark skin color;⁶
2. Withdrawn from White contact, and associate mostly with families of like status in their own community. Members of their own hereditary family group in the village do not even speak to them.
3. Demoralized family life and addiction to alcohol.
4. Living in appalling conditions by community standards.
5. Poor because of sickness of head of household or other misfortune; dependent and unable to manage without assistance from Indian Affairs Branch funds, Band funds or social service of an outside agency.
6. Involved in drunken brawling so continuous and destructive that R.C.M.P. have to be relied upon by the rest of the village for their own protection.

Were it not that there is a constant attempt by the village to make it a showplace for White visitors, these families would be ignored. White informants have told me that

6 The myth generalizes upon the objectively verifiable fact that some of the families to whom the myth applies are in fact very dark in color and, indeed, have some members of darker complexion than any other of the villagers. By comparison, the rest of the population, though they have a number of very dark-skinned members, are generally light-skinned and include some very high status members who are blonds with fair skin, blue eyes and white blonde hair.

Cape families are mystified that any Whites should want to concern themselves with these families, where they are in a state of destitution. As far as the recognized members of Cape Mudge society are concerned, there is a complete cut-off. The Myth of Slavery, while not being clear-cut and explicit in its evaluations, and the boundaries of them, casts a gloss of congenital weakness over the members of society who have not adapted to present cultural conditions and are incapable of reaching the valued goals of society and have indeed relinquished any aspiration for these goals. The Myth of Slavery works to maintain compliance among those with a tendency to deviation from societal norms, and to seal off by scorn and isolation the unregenerate offender. It works as well to induce in the recognized members of the community a desire to disassociate themselves from any of the characteristics of the unsuccessful group.

It is in the total social context of community life at Cape Mudge that one can see the rationale for this myth. It arises inevitably from the need to justify the altering values associated with marriage to White persons and to continuing rapidly accelerating acculturation, generally. The more "Indian" (i.e., stereotype of the Indian in White terms) a family appears to be, and the more "uncivilized" (their own term) they act, the greater the jeopardy for the whole community in their rapidly rising position in relation to the White community.

After a visit to view the paintings (her own originals, in western tradition) of a wealthy matron of the village we were standing outside her home on the lawn, looking down the wide grassy esplanade that runs along the whole length of the beach in front of the first row of village houses. Here we were joined casually by a few others of the elite group of village women (see Chapter IV on Social Control). Down this front strip we could all see coming a fat Indian woman accompanied by her mother, who was dressed all in black. The younger woman was comparatively dark-skinned and wore her long hair uncut, secured at her neck and falling down her back. An unfashionably long black skirt billowed in the wind; purple and red head scarf and sweater completed her costume. She presented the picture of the unacculturated Indian woman, so rare in Cape Mudge. My companions reacted with embarrassment and scorn. Someone said: "When we see any of them coming we say, 'Here comes the Red, White and Blue'." The tension was broken and everybody laughed conspiratorially. Dress and social habits operate here as a diacritical sign indicating low or high social status. The fact that the traditional Kwakiutl Winter Dance costume after White contact was a red and blue flannel blanket with white pearl buttons on it may underlie the meaning of the catch-phrase "Here comes the Red, White and Blue" applied to socially dispossessed women in the families disassociated from the main-stream of Cape Mudge life. Thus

the Myth of Slavery is the element of social control at work in the community life to enforce compliance with the community values and standards of behavior. It works partly by scorn but mostly by isolation and exclusion of the offenders. It works slowly but inexorably to detach offenders from village life. In several cases where the Myth of Slavery applies, the family has actually been formed by the head of the household living with a Salish wife, Salish common-law wife, or sister helpmate who is married to a Salish man resident officially on a Salish reserve. Under these circumstances it is easy to regard the family as of slave descent, since all Salish were at one time considered the common pool for exploitation and slavery by the Kwakiutl. By letting one conclude (without actually having said it) that all families in Cape who are regarded as a blot on the village image are of slave descent, the citizenry is able to project a picture of the community as an unqualified success, a showplace of progressive advance without troubling for further explanation of the failures of some amongst themselves.

In his paper on "Social Control and Self-Regulation"

S. F. Nadel remarks that:

Stigmatization is on the whole alien to primitive societies. There is no intentional discrimination against the offenders, qua offenders: nor is there any thought of a stigma imposed on them

. . . and ostracism because of this . . . the consequences of deviance usually only represent ill-success in the business of living, not genuine sanctions. There can be no doubt that it is the advanced rather than the primitive society which tends to exploit a lasting stigma in consciously creating the outcast or his milder version, the déclassé individual. If in certain primitive groups stigmatization does occur, this is only part of another dilemma; for the same society would in other ways show its desire to rehabilitate offenders.⁷

In Cape Mudge, as we have shown, the offender against the values of society is ostracised and against him is applied a lasting stigma, with such nebulous charges and such foundless referrents that he cannot fight the system. The head of such an ostracised family took the Chief Councillor and his wife at Cape Mudge to task over this ostracisation on the one occasion when the Chief Councillor was lured to their house as a duty pressed upon him in his official position. The host and hostess started right in on "What's the matter with us?" The Chief Councillor was furious at being pestered about it. In the thirty-three years in which this hapless couple had made their home and raised their family in Cape Mudge, the Chief Councillor, who is about their age, had never before stepped inside their home.

⁷ S. F. Nadel, "Social Control and Self-Regulation," Social Sciences, reprint no. 208. Reprinted by permission of Social Forces, vol. 36, March, 1953, pp. 271-272.

Of course, Cape Mudge is no longer a primitive society and it is the very acculturative forces at work that account for the Myth of Slavery arising in this new situation. The kinds of sanctions operative against certain families in the community linger on from a prior organization of Kwakiutl life at a time when raids were conducted and slaves taken, and no thought of the dissipation of the stigma against them was entertained in thought. It may be that in other societies where an industrial society is rapidly growing out of a previously tribal one in which the taking of slaves was part of the social organization, the old social sanctions applied against slaves will be reworked to apply to persons who cannot adapt to the changes required by changing values and cannot fit their behavior to the requirements of the emerging society.

As mentioned before, in Chapter II, the families under consideration here are connected more closely genealogically with one of the three family groupings in the village than they are with each other. They tend to identify themselves verbally in terms of the structural family groupings rather than with each other, possibly for status reasons. Yet they appear to be tending to constitute a class or caste. They do tend to stay by themselves or mix socially with each other in groups of two or three families only rather than associate with other families in the village. They get

together to drink at the beer parlour in Campbell River. White informants remarked that Indians and Whites alike drift away from their tables if they come in and join a group.

The non-conforming families tend to be hostile to Whites. They are sensitized by experience of intrusion of police, social workers and other agents of conformity to White standards and react with hostility and suspicion to the intrusion of Whites. For most interviews with them I deliberately sought them out on the beach or on the front steps of their homes to remove any feeling on their part of being trapped.

It should be added that these families under discussion mostly speak Kwakwaka as a first language and only use English when they have to. Communication with White people around them is difficult, perhaps dreaded.

There is a good deal of frustration apparent among the families to whom the Myth of Slavery applies. They tell how unfriendly the village is and how they are unhappy in it. The women refer their problems mainly to the rejection by the pace-setting elite women of the village (see Chapter IV). They see the problem as an inability to compete with the families of these women because of their own large families and lack of money. High status women in general now produce families of two or three children only. The

unacculturated Indian woman is likely to use rather automatically, as punctuation to a narrative, such expressions as, "See what the White people have done to the Indians!"

It seems important to point out that most of the large number of boys of marriageable age in the village have been produced by a few of the families under discussion here. The boys are "all" bachelors according to the official village view because no Cape girl would marry them. Single boys and girls of marriageable age, sixteen to thirty years, a figure arbitrarily chosen to give as wide a latitude to marrying years as seems reasonable, are nearly balanced as to sex ratio: seventeen boys, sixteen girls. An analysis of the desirability of the seventeen boys shows that only five of the seventeen meet most of the prevailing values required for status. Only two of the five are pursuing their education and thus meet all the criteria of desirability in a marriage partner. The fact that the total number of males on the Band list between sixteen years and thirty years is twenty-three and that seventeen of these are unmarried suggests that a selective factor is at work to limit the marriages of males in this generation. That factor is low status with the mythological sanction against marriage to persons of slave descent. There are other factors such as prevailing sentiment against further endogamous marriages in the village and between traditional marrying villages, and

the growing preference of girls for White marriage partners. Girls also favor a partner with a career opportunity other than fishing. There can be no assessment made of the comparative weight of any of these factors operating against marriage for young boys in the village but the idea that "nobody would marry these boys" is the most frequent one brought forward to explain the phenomenon of bachelorhood at Cape Mudge. Analysis shows that young men in the village just entering this age range are more representative of high status families in all three family groups at Cape Mudge so that their prospects for marriage in the future seem more favorable.

Perhaps to meet the frustrations of life brought on by indifference of the White community and ostracism by their own community these rejected families, with one exception, drink heavily. There is a wild party and frequently a bloody brawl nearly every night that the boats return home from the fishing, bringing the pay for the catch. Two families who always get together are notorious. The Cape community in general have accepted the Methodist and United Church strictures against alcohol, as an ideal which the community should aspire to. In practice, the amount of drinking in the community generally is probably much like that of other coast logging and fishing communities in British Columbia--a relatively high rate compared to the Province as

a whole. The norm at Cape Mudge seems to be to drink, but surreptitiously. The families we are discussing here proclaim their drunken condition by violence and uproar. It is considered that they have not sufficiently been introduced to the civilizing influence of Cape Mudge society and so are just "savages", and "savages" are unable to drink without "going crazy". In the minds of most villagers this also accounts for the high rate of drinking that leads to destructiveness in other villages, especially Salish villages.

One of the most characteristic features of life of a family with the stigma of slavery is the physical circumstances in which they live. Mostly their houses are the very first built: poor, unpainted, old wood structures with shingle roof and perhaps only two rooms. Three of these families have nine or ten children and, partly as a result of overcrowding, live in squalor by Cape standards. There is no clustering of their shacks. They are sprinkled throughout the community in general conformance to the fuzzy outlines of the formal family groups to which they once belonged. Some of the heads of these outcast households are conceded to be expert fishermen, able to make an adequate living if they would just sober up enough to get off with the fleet. In view of their reputed ability to earn, the rest of the community has been unwilling to set aside grants

of funds for better housing from Band funds. Since every house at Cape Mudge is owner-financed and in most cases owner-built, the community generally looks with abhorrence on the characteristic "Indian" type row houses constructed for the indigent by the Indian Affairs Branch in other villages. They don't want to be associated with this mark of reservation life in less successful villages. However reluctant to do so, the councillors, whose funds are low because of recent expenditures, have made overtures to the Indian Affairs Branch to replace one of the most conspicuously inadequate family shelters with a standard "Indian" house. Some remarks concerning this matter were formal expressions of concern for the children of the family living in squalor but most were angry remarks directed toward getting the blot off the landscape of Cape Mudge village.

One significant continuing factor in the system of values in Cape Mudge is that of wealth as validating status. So bound up with high status is the possession of wealth to demonstrate it, that high status in a condition of poverty is inconceivable. Destitute families, even where prolonged illness on the part of the head of the household is the only apparent factor in their poverty nonetheless have no status. And if added to this they have no family connections able to promote or restore their damaged financial situation, they are likely to become regarded as congenitally inadequate.

If as well they no longer keep up the prevailing standards of dress and housekeeping, drink liquor conspicuously, and have the relatively very dark skin that proves that they never have and probably never will make social connections with Whites, they are then wide open to the stigma of slave descent with its accompanying sanctions to social intercourse and even marriage with the rest of the villagers.

In order to discuss the Myth of Slavery I have necessarily presented the material in a somewhat formal and rigid manner which, as a result, bears less resemblance than I would like to actuality. Much of the material presented here relating to the Myth of Slavery is inferential, necessarily so. People in the village do make a connection between failure in the business of life and what they regard as inferior people. They are reluctant to get down to cases, however, and would categorically deny any such bold and probably over-simplified statement as I have presented here concerning the Myth of Slavery. For one thing, the fact that everyone in the village is genealogically related to everyone else brings this stigma too near to home, and for another, the official view of the village is that everything of an undemocratic nature has been swept away in the village of Cape Mudge.

Myth No. 4: The Myth of Ownership of the Land

"It has just come over the radio and television that the Government of British Columbia is paying back the Indians for their land."

The Myth of Indian Ownership of Land is the more easily understood in the context of the myths already discussed. The Myth of the Ownership of Land rests upon a shared assumption by the people of Cape Mudge that all the lands of British Columbia and the resources of them properly belong to the Indian people, for no treaty was ever signed by them turning over these lands to White authority.

Hearings on the land title question were granted various Indian leaders by the Federal Government of Canada in 1927. The Honorary Chief of the Cape Mudge people was one of the leaders of the delegation from British Columbia who went to Ottawa to petition the Government for redress in the matter of alienated lands. It is generally felt in Cape Mudge that only inept handling of the case, due to their own legal and political inexperience, kept British Columbia Indians from the rewards of a rightful inheritance. Some individuals dissent from the view that the matter should be pressed with the aid of written briefs and proper counsel but only because they feel that education for the children or "getting out of isolation" is a more important issue. None seems to question the basic myth that the land of British Columbia belongs to them.

The Myth of the Ownership of Land receives support from the myth of supernatural origin of the village through the wisdom of Wiakay, who established the tribes upon their various territories. It is further upheld by the myth of the past glory in warfare, since they won, by their own superiority, large chunks of territory now claimed by the White community. The myth of belonging to a group under supernatural sanction gives them the assurance of the right to demand redress. Myth number five, to be dealt with in the next section of this Chapter, refers to the chiefly qualities felt to reside in the holder of pragmatic authority which places upon him the obligation to guard traditional territories for the Band, extend the range of territory where possible and continue to seek redress for past alienation of land.

Since Indians in British Columbia now vote in both Provincial and Dominion elections, political aspirants come to the reserve near election time to speak on their Party's political objectives in the hope of capturing the Indian vote. Many older people simply vote Liberal because it was a government coalition of Liberal and Conservative Parties that brought in legislation which extended the vote in British Columbia to Indians. In principle, and in accordance with the Myth of Indian Ownership of Land, it is held that any candidate who is unable to bring forth concrete proposals regarding the Indian's major economic problems caused by alienation from their land and uncertainty in the fishing industry cannot

represent the Indian. Some men with a good deal of authority in the village favor the New Democratic Party. New Democratic Party representative, Frank Calder, a Tsimshian Indian, is said to receive a very enthusiastic hearing in the village because he understands the "Indian problem", that is, land problem. The New Democratic Party suffers, however, from its tie-in with the unions, for the Indians of Cape Mudge feel that the Native Brotherhood, through which they negotiate in the fishing industry, has had a bad time of it with the United Fishermen's and Allied Workers' Union.

The legal and political battle over the enforcement of the potlatch section of the old Indian Act, and the land problem issue of 1927 was spearheaded by the Lekwiltok group of the Kwakiutl with leadership from Cape Mudge. The people are politically sensitive and active and have apparently long been so.⁸ According to the White wife of the present Chief Councillor who acted as scrutineer in the past Provincial election, about ninety per cent of the people of Cape Mudge voted as compared to about fifty-five to sixty per cent of the non-Indian population. Whether these figures are correct or not, they show the pride in the political activity of the Indian people involved.

⁸ Victoria Daily Colonist, Archives, Victoria, B. C., January 10, 1897, p. 8, referring to people of Cape Mudge: "They are determined to fight out their grievances in the Provincial courts. There are some among them who know what civilization is in this respect, and hence their actions."

The myth of ownership of all the land of British Columbia assures a constant goal to realize the values of education and acculturation to White standards and methods. The goal is land and the failure to secure it is expected to be overcome by these measures. The Myth of Ownership of Land implies political action to realize the deepest aspirations of the people for absolute and final authority over the lands allotted to them for use as a Band, and for such agreed-on disposition of other lands of British Columbia to Whites, as may appear at the time to be reasonable.

Raymond Firth,⁹ in a discussion of the elements operative in the Cargo Cult phenomenon in Melanesia suggests a framework of reference into which the Cape Mudge data can be cast with good fit. Using his categories, it is possible to speak of the Cape Mudge community as closely bound to the notion of the alienation from their ancestral lands, frustrated by apathy or hostility on the part of Whites toward their just claim of return of land or compensation for it, restricted to reservation land while sharing the Myth of Ownership of the whole area. As a result of an attenuated form of a common context of dilemma, we find that the community of Cape Mudge, like the Melanesian societies where the Cargo Cult developed,

9 Firth, op. cit., pp. 110-113.

is expectant that their dreams of security and vast resources beside will be fulfilled any day. While I was in the village, news to the effect that the Government had just announced that they are giving the land back to the Indians was brought to me. Other persons told me that it had just come over the radio and television that the Government is paying the Indians back for the land. It was always someone else who had seen and heard the news. No one seemed enthusiastic. As the two elements of the Myth of Ownership of the Land dictated, they were willing to believe that the final dénouement had taken place in regard to land, but they were just as sure that the Government would find some way of keeping the cash from them. One was suggested that the Government's new scheme to accomplish this would be called a "withholding fund".

Myth No. 5: The Myth of Chiefly Qualities

"It's too bad but the old man who could have told you so much died last March."

Influencing behavior in the present are some of the sanctions regarding the qualities which were once said to be inherent in the holders of highest names. In traditional Kwakiutl society these chiefly qualities were expected because supernatural power was invested in the highest seat holders in the village by virtue of their supernatural endowment from a mythical ancestor. The contemporary expression of the expectations of some of the people at Cape Mudge in regard to the role

of their councillors suggests that attitudes and roles associated with the highest seat holders in traditional society are expected from the present elected representatives.

The Myth of Chiefly Qualities inherent in the ranking leaders of the people operates to support the elected councillors of the Band in their exercise of power. When they have stood for election and received the necessary votes, the councillors have done much more than undertake to fill a job of work on the executive committee of the village. This is especially true of the position of Chief Councillor. A great deal of respect and great expectations go to the man who would fulfill this position. He becomes a very important man. Upon him rests the expectation of the people that he will do "everything for this village". The relative position of the village vis-a-vis other Indian villages and the White community rests upon his ability to maintain and enhance it. Should the Chief fail his people and their community be broken up, no viable traditional homeland would remain as an identifying meaningful referrent. Part of their identity would be lost forever. Thus when the reins of office are handed over to a Chief Councillor he undertakes on behalf of the village the awesome responsibility of maintaining their identity as a people.

If the one who has been raised by his supporters to this respected position of Councillor does not fulfill his

function in a way considered traditionally to be correct for his office, he will be called to account by the village elders in an informal way. He will be coached to view his duties in the right perspective, as primarily to "raise up the village". One elder told me that he had felt called upon to so admonish the present Chief Councillor and was now satisfied that he was fulfilling his duties to his people in the proper way.

The Hereditary Chief of the Weewiakay, highest seat holder in the highest association, the Eagles, a man endowed with the mythical power of the ancestor Wiakay, died at Cape Mudge in March 1963 only a few months before field work was begun in the village. I was told that "It's too bad but the old man who could have told you so much died last March." Apparently this is one of the universals to be expected in anthropological field work! His eulogy, published in the Campbell River Courier of June 12, 1963, tells us not so much what the man actually did as what is traditionally expected of a recognized "Chief". In this newspaper article, Jimmy King writes praising the Hereditary Chief in the following terms:

. . . [he] did great things for his people. He helped them in joy, sickness and sorrow. He was depended upon at all times. He always took his gillnetter out for running people across from Cape to Campbell River day or night. His duty as chief was to encourage fellowship and kindness and love among his

people. His duty was to keep the people together, to keep away misunderstanding and to settle argument.

His duty was Charity. The history of the clan was in his keeping. His duty was to present that history, witnessed by chiefs of the other clans. Dancing and songs of the clan were his responsibility. His duty was to see that things went smoothly during feasts and ceremonies. He was a dancer [Hamatsa]--a great honor given only to the son of a chief.

The article goes on to tell of all the songs and dances, and stories of the crests of their ancestors, which were performed by the deceased in earlier times before wide ranging groups of Indians, as far north as Kingcome and west to include the Nootka. These events took place when the late Hereditary Chief

lived in a big house, the whole house of the clan. In those days they were free to hunt and fish where and when they pleased. Though these things are gone, and times have changed, the clan is strong, and the royal descendants of Wiakay . . . are many.

The article enumerates their living close family connections, starting with the widow and mentioning her descent from a "chief" of the highest ranking brotherhood village of Salmon River.

Since the Hereditary Chief was prevented from exercising any prerogatives of his high position other than purely ceremonial ones, due to his overpowering father-in-law, the Honorary Chief, and possibly also due to the weaknesses

attributed to him by the supporters of the Honorary Chief, he is unlikely to have actually fulfilled the role which the newspaper article attributes to him. The Myth of Chiefly Qualities is best summed up in the first words of the article quoted above, "He did great things for his people." The chiefly qualities praised in this eulogy of the Hereditary Chief underwrote the power of the Honorary Chief of the village. By the exercise of charismatic power, the Honorary Chief was able to prevent the young Hereditary Chief from ever exercising the power his office entailed. But the Myth of Chiefly Qualities inherent in the actual holder of power in the village was operative. The Honorary Chief maintained and improved his position in power continuously for nearly seventy years over the rumblings of protest from the large and powerful family who held the traditional seats of power but who could not exercise the authority that should have gone with them.

It has been established that social control in Kwakiutl culture in traditional times was undeveloped in comparison with some other preliterate societies. Heads of rival numayms, the only distinguishable political unit within the village, had influence for persuasion but not direct or absolute power. "Bad" chiefs might even be killed, and numayms might withdraw support from their leading members. Circumstances might arise where power passed from those who

had a legitimate ancestral claim to those who could exercise pragmatic power in the name of the whole community. The seat was not enough; it had to be validated by chiefly qualities of character which proved that the honors had not been misplaced.

This traditional referrent supports the powers of elected councillors of the village today. They are not randomly selected to run for office as is alleged by informants. They represent as individuals the highest ranking heads of families of each of the three family associations at Cape. As such, they are acceptable as candidates and the Myth of Chiefly Qualities brings the support of the whole community behind them. They are expected to play down their partisan support of their respective family groups in favor of support of the good of the whole village. Power must be supported by mythical sanction. The sine qua non of fitness to rule is not democratic election by the majority of the villagers, for none could have been elected without fulfilling the function of representing a family group at a high level; fitness to rule depends in the final analysis on the fulfillment of the expectations of the electors by playing the role of a "chief" of a great people.

This matter of sanctions for power both direct and mythological will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONTROL

Authority and Mythology: Mutually Reinforcing Interactive Phases in Social Life

In this chapter on the forces of social control in the village of Cape Mudge, it will be necessary to re-introduce some of the material contained in the foregoing chapters. Social control in Cape Mudge constitutes a system which can best be understood by contextual analysis.

In the case of all Kwakiutl villages there has been a continual re-working of social structure, social organization, and roles. But at Cape Mudge, society is strongly ordered and structured still. Some students engaged in anthropological field work in the Kwakiutl villages of Gilford and Village Islands throughout the winter of 1963 reported in seminar at the University of British Columbia that they were hard put to find any institutionalized or, indeed, informal arrangements of authority in the villages in which they were working. This is not the situation in the village of Cape Mudge. Formal and informal arrangements for social control are clear-cut and effective at Cape Mudge, where an adaptable viable society has seen the institutions of social control changed but never broken down.

Viability and Effective Forms of Social Control

Several factors, repeatedly stressed by White informants, may have preserved more of the structured traditional system and at the same time provided for integration of new social forms without the demoralization of the group that has to some degree characterized other communities of Kwakiutl Indians and other Indian groups in British Columbia. These integrative factors are first, exceptional leadership by one man throughout the entire period of the collapse of the potlatch system through to the recent introduction in 1955 of the councillor system.

Second, isolation in their village which was unconnected with the White community by road until 1950, when a foot trail or cow road was replaced by an automobile road. This isolation presumably prevented demoralization by White intruders. While the village was difficult of access by outsiders, it was easy for the Cape people to get across the two miles of water separating them from Campbell River by canoes, boats, and later, fishing vessels. They were thus enabled to take advantage of the mainstream of development in the area centering about the fishing industry. They had a place in which to spend money on entertainment, consumers' goods and services. White man's social organization could be left behind to some extent when the Indians returned to their reservation at night.

Third, the ease with which the traditional seasonal fishing occupation of the Kwakiutl people as a whole fitted into the commercial fishing industry as it developed in British Columbia. Indians entered the fishing industry, women, too, in the canneries, at an early and relatively simple stage in the industry's development, and have experienced and coped with all the subsequent gradual changes to complex boats, gear, and regulations. They entered "green" into a "green" industry and have grown successfully with it. This is in contrast to many non-literate African peoples who have been engaged only marginally in certain highly evolved industries set down in full flower upon their territories.

Fourth, a good fit between Kwakiutl-sanctioned behavior and that of the Methodist Church, later the United Church, in regard to hard work and aggressive behavior, as Helen Codere and others have pointed out. Qualitative facts of this nature do not lend themselves readily to analysis but such a connection is generally postulated to have existed and to have eased the strains of culture contact. The Cape Mudge people requested the Methodist Missionary Society to send them a pastor, though all the rest of the Kwakiutls had previously accepted the ministrations of the Church of England. Inasmuch as the eager, pragmatic, Methodist acceptance of man's accumulation of this world's goods as an

index of thrift and industry in the stewardship of God's resources coincided with Kwakiutl ideas of accumulation of goods as validation of status, so it was less disturbing than other church orientations might have been. The fundamentalist sects busy from time to time in the village today, with their doctrines of hell, sin, and the Devil, are received with but formal acknowledgment of their presence. The people today do not appear to be concerned with Christian theological doctrine.

At present, the Cape Mudge people are taking tentative steps towards freeing themselves from the authority of both the White man's administration of their affairs and the church's administration of their social life; and they seem to be taking these steps at a time when their efforts are likely to receive support through the prevailing tendencies of political and religious thought in the Western world.

Fifth, another factor which has tended to preserve functioning institutions of social control at Cape Mudge is the good opinion of the White community. This seems to be general for all strata of the White population and particularly for people who make public opinion such as newspaper publishers, respected oldtimers and distinguished public figures. The high regard of the White residents for the Indian people of Cape Mudge is so consistent that it partakes of the nature of

a myth to the effect that "our" Indians are fine people, smart, industrious, and well-to-do financially. There has been a continual flow of formal tokens of respect from the White community to the village and to its outstanding leader, the Honorary Chief. They range from a medal presented on the occasion of the Coronation of George VI and an audience with Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, and on another occasion with the Queen Mother; through adulatory plaques and presentations by the Royal Canadian Air Force, down to public visits and congratulatory speeches to its inhabitants by the Lieutenant-Governor and other important public officials. The Commissioner of the Indian Affairs Branch in British Columbia felt free to say in a private telephone conversation that Cape Mudge village represents the highest achievement of all villages in British Columbia and he only hopes that some of it will rub off upon other Indians merely by their fishing contacts with Cape men or by getting a good look at the village as they go by in their boats.

A factor retained from the traditional system and working for the Indians now in their relations with Whites is arranged marriages. What is brought most forceably to public attention is the fact that the sons and daughters of the families of highest status at Cape Mudge and the sons and daughters of highest status families in the White community are being married to each other. The structure of

Cape is maintained by this form of alliance with the structure of the White community. Four or five marriages between Indian and White which interested the entire community because of the social prominence of the parents concerned, have with one exception been successful; with the result that pace-setting opinion suggests that marriage between Indian and White is acceptable. While decision to marry may have been a matter affecting the individual White person contemplating marriage, or at most his immediate family, this is not the case at Cape Mudge. Marriages are permitted or arranged for by the parents of socially prominent young people, both boys and girls, at Cape Mudge with a sensitive feel for the possible effect of such a marriage upon the prestige and honor of the Indian families concerned and, indeed, upon the prestige, honor, and prospects of the village. Several instances were detailed by informants wherein love matches unsatisfactory to the parents were recently broken up by lightning-quick arranged marriages in which the young people were barely acquainted.

We have been discussing the viability of Cape Mudge society in terms of its ability to meet culture change without the more obvious indicators of culture shock and social disintegration. In Cape Mudge a considerable degree of retention of the traditional social structure is evidenced, in which firm new structures effectively channel activity towards recognized social goals.

One would expect to find from this and from the foregoing description of the village in Chapter I and the referred sanctions operative in the social life at Cape Mudge as suggested in Chapter III that Cape Mudge is very much an ongoing community. It is biologically successful in terms of a rapidly growing population. The values of the people are clear, with definitely sanctioned means to achieve these values and strong well-backed-up leadership. It would be surprising to find agencies of social control in a nebulous state in such a society. They are, in fact, rather clear-cut and will be dealt with now.

The Elders of the Village, a Force for Social Control

A force for social persuasion to the dominant values of the society is the group of "elders" of the village. They are listened to publicly with great respect even by the youngest children who may understand but imperfectly, what they are saying in Kwakwaka. They are called forth as speakers on all public occasions involving the White community both on the reservation and off. They are greatly admired for their ability to speak in public, as are younger men in the community. All children at Cape refer to the oldest member of the community, the surviving Honorary Chief now in his nineties, as Baba (papa). As the old Honorary Chief is genealogically related to every family in the village, the name "Baba" may indicate this relationship as

well as being a term of respect. There are private dissenters to the public respect paid to this "Chief", expressed by the two family groups which did not recognize his right to be "Chief" of the village when the White authorities appointed him. Some referred to him as "that old Hitler". One even suggested that unlike the true Hereditary Chief, he cannot die, because "his heart is stone". These matters are not spoken of by Indians publicly. White informants speak only of the great solidarity of the village and the respect enjoyed by the aged in Cape Mudge.

The ten members of the oldest generation all bear ancient and respected names, with status value in the village. They are all Weewiakay or have become so having been members of the Waalatsama, the highest ranking group of the Lekwiltok from Salmon River. No person married in from any other Indian group (inferior people) has survived into this generation. I have arbitrarily set up the limit of this older generation as those born before 1900 and therefore over sixty-three years of age at the time of this study. It is remarkable that families without high status in the village have not a single representative in this generation to whom they are connected by surname. Nor, of course, do the families of men who married Cape girls in recent years and were voted into the Band. There are only four households formed in this way. Three names are shared among them.

Since the village has inter-married to a point where every individual is in some way related to everyone else in the village, the elders can in one sense speak for them all. The elders are accorded a significant voice in the affairs of the village.

Women in this generation have as much status as men. In some cases they outrank their husbands, usually through having been daughters of a high-ranking Waalatsama. They are deferred to in conversation by their husbands. A woman of this generation was among the first elected councillors. Some years ago, in discussing hereditary crests, the Honorary Chief stated that, "[we] don't care much for father's side, more care for mother's."¹

The ten elders of the villages do not associate as such in any formal grouping for social control. They were referred to by a White informant as the "patriarchs", and are said by both Indians and Whites to have been those who have "done the most for the village". They meet and visit informally and feel a responsibility to the Christian church and its institutions in the village. They realize that the influence of the church is ebbing. They meet together at an evening service in the church once a week to sing hymns in Kwakwala. Five of the six women in this

¹ Mildred Valley Thornton, article in Vancouver Sun, January 12, 1952.

generation have been recently honored by the United Church, for thirty years of devoted service. Some of the men are serving the church as elders. The moral codes of the Methodist and United Church, especially as regards drinking are upheld by them.

They entertain in mind both Kwakiutl mythology pertaining to the stories of the Transformer and the origin of mankind, and the Christian teachings. Confusion only results when they try to reconcile these beliefs. When, for example, one elder was asked, "Who was the Transformer?" after he had related the story of the creation of man, he became bewildered and after a long pause answered, "It was Jesus Christ. It must have been." For the most part, Indian storytelling and singing and dancing on certain infrequent occasions, takes place in private homes and does not interfere with the Christian tradition in the village which finds expression in services held in the church.

One recent example of the influence of the oldest generation illustrates the power exerted over the younger men and women charged with the executive duties on behalf of the village. When each Band in British Columbia was given the right to hold a referendum to decide whether liquor should be brought upon the reserve, the elected representatives would have liked to vote "wet" in order that they have the same rights accorded to all other citizens of the Province.

With the vociferous leadership of the Honorary Chief and the clergy, this village has been nominally dry for the past fifty years. The elected councillors and presumably those they represented dared not vote for liquor on the reserve. A mixture of fear and respect for the oldest generation deterred them. They decided not to vote at all. A "wet" vote would have afforded an opportunity to the R.C.M.P. to enter the reserve to check up on violations. Having given up the formal right to drink liquor on the reservation upon these terms, the councillors reserved to themselves and other responsible persons in the village the right to drink privately in their homes if they want to. There are quite a few young men amongst the leaders in the village who do not drink at all and are respected for it. They embody the ideal of sobriety which all but the social problem drinkers in the village subscribe to.

Reasons for the position of respect and decisive influence of the elders rests upon the social structure focussed in the kinship system. It is the earnest desire of the father, head of the household, to express his important position and fulfill the honored obligations of such a position by providing openly and generously for his sons upon the occasion of their marriage. Many elders turned over a home to one or more sons and perhaps purchased a fishing vessel for each of them. Daughters are felt to have

been well provided for if a mate who is a good provider has been found for her. Often a father helps finance his daughter's home if it is in the village. As a consequence, most men fulfilling positions of power in the village are beholden to their fathers for their home or their means of livelihood or both. Where such largesse has not been possible, the sons are at least taken on as crew in fishing vessels owned and skippered by their fathers.

• This is a centripetal system in the sense in which Dr. Francis Hsu used the term.² Sons succeed fathers in position and goods, and are bound closely into the nuclear family. Fathers can count on the respect of sons. This pattern is repeated interchangeably in each generation.

Since the village has been predominantly endogamous until recently, there are many daughters of elder women living in the village and raising a family near their mother's home. Women relate affectively to their mothers and it is usual for children to be mostly in the company of the maternal grandmother when not in their own homes. Grandmothers are called upon to care for children while the mother is fishing with the husband, or for shelter if a woman is left alone to care for her children. Grandmothers bake for their

2 Dr. Francis Hsu, Address to the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, November 1963.

daughter's family and provide them with presents, mainly needlework. Daughters are trained by their mothers in housekeeping and proper deportment for young ladies. The roles of mother and daughter are the same and are interchangeable in each generation. As regards women, then, this is also a centripetal system, providing for respect for older women in each generation and binding the family closely together. The net result of this kind of family system is to ensure the elders a voice in the affairs of the village. They exert a modifying, if not directing, pressure for social control.

Kinship Ties as Self-Regulating Mechanisms of Social Control

Kinship ties based upon the recognition of genealogical relationship are a cementing factor in village life at Cape Mudge. When a village group is small and all are related to all to some degree, kinship ties become an important fact in social control. Kinship at Cape Mudge gives the community that sense of solidarity and political unity required for carrying through executive decisions and plans. To some extent the people regard themselves as one family and the children are spoken of as "all cousins", though actual genealogies are known for several generations back, giving a measure of the closeness of actual relationships in the past few generations. There appears to have been a good number of cousin marriages in the past and a few

more recently and this may have contributed to the present notion that all the children are "cousins". Opinion at the rival village of the Weewiakum at Campbell River has it that the Weewiakay are so much inter-married that it is a wonder "that they are not all crazy over there." The people of Cape Mudge are much inter-married with all other Kwakiutl families at Comox and Campbell River so that the young people in these two villages are also regarded as "cousins" of children in Cape.

The village considers itself as one large family vis-a-vis the White community and this binding force can be relied upon in all decisions affecting their relations with Whites. Methods of dealing with such decisions, however, are related more directly to the expectable procedures of each of the three family groups at Cape. This will be elaborated upon shortly. Here we just want to point out a link between kinship, community sense of solidarity, and the kinds of agreement with policy initiated by the Band councillors which can be relied upon.

Since the relationship with the White community is saturated with feelings of rivalry, tinged with hostility and uncertainty, any suggestion of cooperative projects with the White community is generally regarded as a challenge in the village. This generates a good deal of tension among villagers and the response is teamwork. A recent wedding

involving the village is an example of this. A great-granddaughter of the Honorary Chief was married to the son of a prominent White family in a nearby White community. The arrangements were sanctioned by the families on both sides, not without the expectation on the part of the people at Cape that such a marriage would be advantageous to the village. It subsequently proved to be. (See Chapter IV, p. 126.) The family of the bride entertained at a reception in Cape Mudge for the many prominent friends of both families involved. The cooperative effort put forth by the village at this event was so outstanding that Cape and White community both declare that it could not have been achieved on such a scale and with such excellence and elegance anywhere outside of Cape Mudge village in this region of British Columbia. The network of kinship ties bind the community together to carry out any policy with which they are substantially in agreement.

This same feeling of family, created by the tapestry of kinship in this society, ensures a measure of control over social relations within the village as well. Little children wandering at will through the village are watched over and admonished by everyone. There is little need to account for the whereabouts of children for they cannot be with strangers but only with relatives. Children are frequently raised by a member of the family other than their mother and father, if

this seems a better arrangement. This is seldom a casual relationship as school teachers and some non-Indian observers of the community suggested that it might be. It can be explained in terms of raising the child in the home of a high-ranking relative in the mother's family grouping, when the mother has married "low". This holds for most of the children being raised outside their own nuclear family at Cape Mudge, though financial circumstances, living space, or compatibility may also enter into consideration.

Young people of opposite sex in their early teens avoid each other as steady companions. It is alleged that this is because they are all "cousins" and therefore not suitable as potential marriage partners. A widow who had returned from the City of Vancouver to the village with her children in order to fulfill the deathbed request of her late husband, told me that her son was coming home from high school every day upset, and wanting to know what relation he was to each of the girls from the village whom he was meeting for the first time in ten years. The widow remarked that he was very nervous of them all because he knew that they were probably all "cousins".

Kinship is operating as a social control in other areas of village life as well. The free wandering of children ends for the socially approved female members of society at the age of puberty. It has been alleged by a

White informant with long-standing association with families in the village that something akin to the seclusion of girls of high-status families is operating as it did in traditional Kwakiutl society. One grandmother recently gave presents of her own crochet work to friends throughout the village to celebrate the period of entering into womanhood of her granddaughter.

Girls at the age of puberty are made aware that they can no longer play freely along the beach with the other children. They remain indoors with their sisters and parents except for school attendance and chaperoned activities. It is not easy for a stranger to meet these young ladies even with the best of introductions from a member of their immediate family. They may, in fact, sit in apparently complete composure with their backs turned to one during an attempted introduction. Teenage girls from undesirable village families and those visiting in the village from outside Bands, particularly Salish, who were formerly playmates, are made aware that they can no longer expect to play with these girls. Girls past puberty who feel free to pass the time with roving groups of village young men are censored. Young girls who smoke, drink and carouse with the boys of the village are considered undesirables by the matrons of Cape Mudge. Illegitimacy is regarded with something like the attitudes of wrath and recrimination that characterized

Victorian mores. It would appear, from a careful search of the Band list, with a reliable and sympathetic informant, that there has been relatively little illegitimacy in this Band. Only two or three instances were disclosed. The protective family group is the village as a whole, with special counselling coming from the elders of the group to which the individual belongs. Strong preventive measures are operating to ensure conformity to accepted behavior within the nuclear family.

Because of kinship ties, a certain political unity can be depended upon especially if measures proposed by those in authority can be thought of in terms likely to arouse village loyalty vis-a-vis the White community. If a campaign to clean up the village is launched, it gains impetus by relating it to the fact that White people think the Indian (stereotype) is dirty; or imposition of a very restrictive curfew receives support from the fact that White people think Indians allow their children to run loose all night; the imposition of a dog license for male dogs only or spayed females (all others destroyed) receives support when considered in relation to the White idea that all Indian dogs are mangy, starving, and dangerous.

The councillors empowered with executive duties can count upon a measure of political unity based partly upon the mythic charter of the people and partly upon the

network of kinship relations. Compliance with the curfew just mentioned is an instance. It has been agreed in Band meeting that children up to thirteen years of age shall be off the streets and in their homes by 8:30 p.m., children up to sixteen years by 9:00 p.m., and all adults off the street by 9:30 p.m. Even in mid-summer when the siren used to signal the time did not sound, and curfew rules were said to be relaxed, the Chief Councillor ordered everyone out of the community hall at 9:30 p.m. promptly, and locked up. All were told to go home. Everyone complied.

The curfew is observed partly because there is general agreement that school-age children should be at home getting proper rest and partly because those youngsters and adults who are disturbing the peace can more easily be isolated and dealt with by the councillors if the rest of the community is out of the way.

There is a lack of direct machinery for enforcement of these kinds of by-laws by councillors, but in the main things go smoothly because of the respect paid to the position held by these men in each of the three family groups of the village plus the referred sanction of chiefly authority and the solidarity of the people based on kinship.

There is, as has been mentioned elsewhere in this paper, a strong element of non-conformism to prevailing

community behavior in a few families in the village who are ignored when they make no trouble but who must be dealt with when they become noisy or violent. In times past, the Chief Councillor tried to enforce his demands to desist from drinking and fighting by getting personally involved, and was beaten up for his pains. The present Chief Councillor calls in the police after one unheeded warning. This does not solve the problem but it is a temporarily helpful last resort. The police do not always respond satisfactorily when called, for they have found the people unwilling to give evidence against each other by the time they are able to reach the village and tempers have somewhat cooled.

The great unsolved problem of the authority of the councillors is how to protect their people from the offenders when all three councillors are away with the fishing fleet. Many of the worst trouble-makers do not get away with the fleet because of drunkenness. During the period I was in the village, the White wife of the present Chief Councillor, a partisan fighter for all things Indian and a woman who has won through to high status in the village, was the acting authority when her husband was absent. Problems are brought to her and she rallies support from the elders, lay preacher, or police as might be necessary. She undertakes without compunction to order White people out of the village if they are "selling", attempting to carry off relics, or in any way disturbing the people. Tourists are

welcome, though there is no material profit to be gained from their visits. It is felt that the village gains from the good impression which the visitor carries away. In fact, it is felt that the tourist will really be surprised to discover the high standard of living enjoyed by the villagers.

Generally speaking, social and economic bonds of kinship ensure that nearly all have a stake in the future development of the village and will support and carry out legislation on their behalf initiated by their own leaders.

The Sanction of the Authority of Councillors

In a small community the assignment of responsibility to certain leaders can be expected to follow lines springing implicitly from the kinship structure. Since the main structural form in the village of Cape Mudge is a cluster of three family groups and their satellites, one would expect the election of as many candidates as are needed to represent the interests of these groups. This is the case today. In traditional Kwakiutl society there was provision for consultation between the heads of numayms in the village with one of these head men empowered as spokesmen. One leader who alone could speak for the village would have been as anomalous in traditional times as it would be today.

The leadership situation first imposed upon the Kwakiutl villages by White authority seeking to deal effectively with one leader, was not a fit with a vertically segmented society of this kind. One "chief", usually the pragmatic leader, was sought to represent the village as a whole and subsequently became responsible only to the White authorities for his actions. Consequently, his term of office was determined by the vagaries of White political policy and not necessarily by the forces seeking representation within the village. It is privately alleged at Cape Mudge that the Honorary Chief, chosen by the White authorities, was more anxious to conform to White expectations of his position than to the Indian expectation of it. These allegations come, of course, from persons in the two family groupings not represented by the Honorary Chief. In any case, under White aegis one "chief" spoke for the village, though the social organization of the village required the representation or at least consultation of the views of several leaders of the great household groups in the village.

The present system of elected representatives is a fit with the social structure of Cape Mudge. The changeover from one "chief" to the system of elected representatives has meant a great spurt forward in channelling the potential of able men in all three family groupings into a resource of power for the village. The bitter memory of one-party rule

remains to plague the village, but the power of the Honorary Chief is no more.

In the five elections which have taken place since the inception of the councillor system in 1954, the three village councillors have been, without exception, chosen from amongst the highest ranking men in each of the three family groupings. There has been a tendency to choose one representative from each of the three family groups to serve as councillors, with the Chief Councillor chosen from one of the two leading family groups. At the time of this study an exceptionally able Chief Councillor from the Third Family Group held office for a second term. Councillors represent the interests and methods of the family groups in the village today. There is no guarantee that by permitting the election of one councillor to every one hundred persons in an Indian band as provided for in section 73(1) of the Indian Act, such a happy result will obtain in the coincidence of possible representation of family groups in every village. It is conceivable that in a Kwakiutl village with a larger number of amalgamated tribes, there may be several family groups of great importance but shrunken numbers who could not receive direct representation under the councillor system. In that case, a cry against the democratic process itself might be expected. In Cape Mudge, one is assured by informants that democratic election is the will of the people. No

acknowledgement is made of the direct representation of the family groups that has occurred. It is alleged that the old family groupings have been swept away. When I asked if it would be possible, then, to elect a certain three men as councillors, naming three prominent men from one grouping, but families of different surname, the informant quickly replied, "Oh, no. We couldn't go as far as that!" The Chief Councillor would be handicapped in the exercise of his office if he was conceived of as representing only the interests of his group. He overcomes this situation by a display of the chiefly qualities expected of him. He must reconcile the interests of the family groups of the village for the good of the whole village. Fortunately, there is a well-defined set of values to which the villagers are committed by and large, so that the differences to be reconciled are largely in the area of methods to be used to procure agreed-upon aims.

The right of the councillor to represent and especially the Chief Councillor, is nominally assured by his election by ballot. If he does not display the chiefly qualities expected of him, he could be challenged on the grounds that he does not represent the whole village but only his own family group. The expectation of chiefly qualities as set forth in Chapter III, Myth No. 5, is that the Chief Councillor will behave in every way as an example

to the people of the village, encourage the younger generation by private counselling and public example to pursue a course sanctioned by the prevailing values of the community, hold for the village its lands and leading position and press for freedom from White control while making maximum use of the advantages of the present situation, and press for the ultimate settlement of the land problem.

The various family groups in the village operate in a different political climate produced by their varying contact experience with White authority. Variance is experienced in decisions regarding the right course of action or the proper conduct in pursuit of aims. The ends set forth in the paragraph above are largely agreed upon by all. From the long years of public support and approbation by the White community, the large, dominant family of the Honorary Chief and their supporters tend to be conservative in their policy of "Let's not do anything that is offensive. We have always gotten along with the White community and had their respect." The other large family group from whose ranks the Hereditary Chief was drawn, takes a more aggressive "Let them go to hell" policy in dealing with matters of their rights related to the White community.

The third and least powerful group also support dynamic action, but more individuals within this group seemed

liable to complaint and avoidance of confrontation of issues.

Direct Effects of Family Grouping
upon Agencies of Social Control

In the previous sections of this chapter we have made reference to family rivalry in the village. Rivalry here is essentially rivalry for status based upon the achievement of values to be outlined in Chapter V. It is possible to range all individual village families on a scale of status, with some uncertainty arising between one or two families falling in the middle range. Ranking of families on a scale which I drew up was subsequently verified by an identical ranking of families according to the achievement of Cape children in the integrated school at Quathiaski Cove, proposed to me by one of the local school-teachers. This is, of course, not so surprising since ranking of families is influenced by degree of acculturation and the school programme of studies relies for its effectiveness upon the degree of acculturation of these children. Since the range of achievement at school shows Indian children with blond appearance at the top of the scale ranging down to those of dark appearance at the bottom, the teacher inferred from this that the better minds are a result of White "blood". That there would logically follow from this an attitude that dark-skinned children will not achieve was confirmed in the course of discussion with the teachers.

The achievement of children in school is bound into the scale of family achievement of status in the village with a one-for-one congruence. This is a demonstration of a central thesis of Anthropology itself, namely, that society is patterned, and contextualization is a solid social and cultural fact. It was really remarkable to see how the comments of the teacher regarding the potentialities of some children as against their actual performance in public school fit in with a similar appraisal on another level of what family prospects appeared to be in terms of genealogical connection as against actual achievement of rank in the village. In the case of the son of the highest ranking man in the village, the teacher offered the information that this boy has the highest I.Q. in the school. Where there was some doubt in my mind as to the rank position of a family due to its charter of high status by all criteria save a tendency to over-indulge in alcohol, the teacher remarked that the children of this family should be higher up on the list of achievement but somehow they only came into the middle range. Where I knew that one family were once of highest status but had fallen low, the teacher remarked concerning the children of this family that because of intelligence they should be up there with the best, but apparently were just too lazy to produce good work.

In the school situation the White-Indian social nexus is one and the same. In general, the Cape Mudge children achieve more in school than children of enfranchized Indians from Cape who are living in the White community. While the I.Q. tests for Indian children show a top to bottom range of scores, all the lowest five per cent of scores are made by them. There is a tendency for teachers to generalize from these I.Q. results, so that Indian children in general are not thought of as the intellectual equals of White and Japanese-Canadian children in the same school.

Since a few of the large families at Cape Mudge who have rejected or failed to reach the goal of acculturation to White ways of life have produced the bulk of the Indian children in these first grades of school, and the majority of the children in the low five per cent bracket, it is understandable that the children in question would show up badly on the I.Q. tests, based as they are on familiarity with urban life in Euro-American culture.

The poor performance of some Indian children on the I.Q. tests whose parents never visit the school drew forth the comment that they come from a few of "those tribes down there!" These particular children are said to be unwilling to recognize adult authority. They cannot be made to perform in class against their will. They are poor

sports and cannot be shamed into conformity. No sanction for such behavior is recognized in the school situation as it is in the Indian community of Cape Mudge. These sanctions are discussed more fully in Chapter IV, Values, in a section entitled "Ideals of Demeanor".

Knowing facts about the status of individual families in the village does not carry one very far in understanding the operational imperatives within the system. Other small, non-Indian communities in British Columbia will be found to have families that can be ranked according to their achievements. Perhaps ranking in non-Indian villages might not be so apparent to the observer and there may be more families in the middle range who might be said to rank on a somewhat similar level. What does illuminate the understanding of many facets of village life is the realization that these families are themselves grouped into three basic structures. With this knowledge one becomes aware that what had been viewed as disinterest in the anthropologist and his work in some sections of the community can be viewed as the absorption of the anthropologist by one of the family groups. In order to keep the information the anthropologist receives truly "accurate", one is passed around amongst the members of one family group only. Once the allegiances of Cape families are understood, the network of possible close associations of any individual family becomes apparent. This

applies also to a limitation on association of anyone making contacts in the village. The lay preacher and his wife, who had been accepted by the third (lowest) family grouping had no close associations outside it, and found their work in the village unrewarding. Any White association on Quadra Island wishing to have a representative from the village cannot hope to do so unless three representatives are chosen, or the Chief Councillor who tends to reconcile the interests of all three groups can be prevailed upon to represent the village. This is not understood in the White community.

The two large and most socially important family groups together account for a good proportion of the Band members. They are the descendants of the Honorary Chief and those of the Hereditary Chief, and others who have achieved honor through association with them. In each of the three family groups the oldest living son resident in the village is turned to for advice and decisions. In the case of the first family group the oldest son who was said to have been well qualified for this responsibility passed away in 1955 and his oldest son then took on his honorary position in relation to status, while his next youngest brother took on the actual leadership in family affairs. The old Honorary Chief is only called upon on ceremonial occasions as a figurehead. The widow of the deceased eldest son exerts some influence in family matters.

In the case of the family associated with the Hereditary Chief whose oldest son moved across to the Band's Quinsam Reserve near Campbell River to become a core for a new population there, the next oldest son residing in Cape has become the nominal head of the households. Just as there was historic conflict for power between the rival "chiefs" there tends to be rivalry between these large family groups. It is bolstered by the rest of the village families, that is, the third family grouping, who support the claims of the second family grouping against the first. The historical significance of these rival claims has been mentioned in Chapter II, page 21, paragraph 2 on page 50.

As mentioned on page 17, Chapter I, Quinsam Reserve No. 12 on Vancouver Island is being populated from Cape Mudge and has become a new village of the Weewiakay. A representative of each of the three family groups has moved there with his family. In the case of the first family group, it is a younger son of the Honorary Chief; in the case of the second family group, it is the oldest son of the family associated with the deceased Hereditary Chief; and in the case of the third family group, it is a son of a once high-ranking family, and his wife, daughter of the Chief of the Weewiakum Band.

Marriage at Cape has always cut across the traditional ranked kin groupings or numayms and does so with the

family groups at Cape today. There is always a pressure to maintain good relations between the kin groups because many members of the highest ranking family group have spouses in the other kin groups in the village, mainly the second highest ranking group at Cape. Since the two leading family groupings do not recognize each other's right to first place status in the community, and there is the problem of recognition of claims of status among other families and family groups in the village as well, the social pressure to maintain good relations between family groups against the divisive forces inherent in the social structure itself cannot always be relied upon to maintain good relations between family groups in the society.

In a marital difficulty that broke up two marriages in the village, a woman of the first family group who was married by arrangement to a high-ranking man of the third family group, alienated and subsequently married the husband (King-come) of a woman of the second family grouping. This situation brought the two women, representing the two leading family groups, into open hostility. The initial marriages had involved a good deal of ceremonial arrangements and material arrangements by the fathers of the women involved, in the financing of the homes and otherwise. The whole village took sides in the matter along expectable lines. In the feud, opposite sides were not speaking. Bad feelings were

stirred deeply at this time and have never really settled again, especially between the elders in the village.

In the struggle for group status, the family group of the Honorary Chief with the continual recognition of White authorities has won out, though this is resented by nearly all other families in the village.

In 1922 the Honorary Chief was found guilty in court on a charge of potlatching. Apparently he had already been warned and held responsible in the eyes of the law for "his" whole village. It is alleged by members of the second and third family groups at Cape that at the time of his conviction he betrayed them by choosing confiscation of all paraphernalia used in the potlatch (including winter dancing masks and costumes) when a choice was given him of either turning over all these goods, which in their view did not belong to him, or going to jail. It may be that no such choice existed, since the law as it was then written gave the White authorities the right of confiscation upon conviction, in any case. The Honorary Chief is blamed for the loss of personal family heirlooms of all persons in the village and surrounding villages who accepted his invitation to potlatch. He is alleged to have "saved his own skin" by turning over the personal ceremonial materials of other persons which he could not legitimately use in the payment of his debt to the court.

Great mounds of carved masks, staffs, ceremonial blankets and other materials were rounded up by the resident missionary and turned over to representatives of the court.³

While all had taken part in what they had years of opportunity to realize was an illegal potlatch, the Hereditary Chief and his family group are blamed for the losses suffered. The price demanded of the villagers for what they feel was a ransom of the Honorary Chief was too high, and the forced payment led to a deepening of cleavage between the rival family groups that remains to this day.

At every election, the village recognizes the need for representation of the three family groups by tending to elect one representative of each to the Council. Some problems confronting the councillors arise directly out of their membership in these three groups. Recently, through the good offices of an important member of the White community whose son had married a great granddaughter of the Honorary Chief of the village, an offer was made to ask the representative of the Federal Government concerned, to blacktop the village streets. This arrangement was to be

3 This can be seen in photographs of the event preserved at Campbell River Historical Museum. The Indians of Cape express satisfaction that at least some of their ceremonial regalia has been released from the safekeeping of the National Museum at Ottawa and brought nearer home to the Campbell River Museum. It is not near enough yet. They are thinking through the idea of installing exhibition cabinets in their new hall on the reserve so that the materials, which they were deprived of under a disposition of the court which they never accepted as just, can be brought home to Cape Mudge.

undertaken if it could be construed as a tribute to the Honorary Chief. It was suggested that a cairn be raised expressing the gratitude of the village for the long years of outstanding leadership of the Honorary Chief. Certainly, this arrangement by the groom's father was in the tradition of Kwakiutl arranged marriages! This offer had to be thrashed out by the councillors who were ready to accept the blacktopping, but the expected two of the three could not agree to the cairn being raised. Two pointed out that any cairn raised should be to the honor of the Hereditary Chief. The representative of the first family group had to admit to this. They went ahead with the road surfacing, sure that once they had the job finished they could take their time deciding what might be done about the stalemated matter of tribute to the Honorary Chief, being willing to see this part of the bargain wither away.

Social Control and White Authority Outside the Village

Agencies of government and village authorities are in basic opposition in relation to responsibility within Cape Mudge. The assumption on the part of the government that the Indians require paternalistic surveillance if not outright administration of their affairs is met in Cape Mudge by a counter assumption of full competence based upon mythic beliefs and also justified by ever-increasing standards of consumption, education and White approval. The

mythic assumptions are that they are a people with a destiny, with mystical as well as legal claim to the ownership of their land, and with sufficient warlike spirit generated in the past to carry them through to a better future, and with the intelligence and aggressiveness necessary to manage their own affairs.

The power of the White community in the past has been arbitrarily and coercively used. The leaders in the village will not move out from under such White administration, however, while the question of ultimate authority over the land remains. They confidently expect that the education of their young people will ensure them of spokesmen in the political arena who will eventually bring about the absolute control and disposition by Indians of the lands presently assigned to them as reservations.

No supervision of the election of councillors is exercised by the Indian Affairs Branch at Cape as it is at some other reservations in British Columbia. Twice they have written into Band council minutes motions made to take over administration of their own financial affairs completely. This was voted down by the membership in meetings attended by the agent for the Kwawkwalth Agency. For the time being it was agreed that since the cost of administrative machinery was already being borne by the I.A.B. for this purpose, it would be cheaper and more efficient to use their services.

The leaders of the community temporarily accept the fact of administration by government agencies of affairs relating to them but they are attempting to widen the area of independent decision and gain more authority within this framework. They substitute for direct action against the government agencies a pattern of playing off one White authority against another to achieve their own ends.

While in the village I was entertained with many stories of how the councillors got what they wanted by some wheedling or pressure or tricky business deal, all ploys considered a great joke and worthy of admiration. It is apparently profitable procedure and no opportunity whatever is left unexploited. One instance recalled was in the matter of getting building materials for the community hall. The Chief Councillor told how he would first phone up a supplier and ask the price of materials, let out a howl about the price and ask for a substantial cut and end by saying that as it was for the Indian village he would appreciate an outright donation. He stated that he got it, too, in many cases. He laughed a lot about this matter but nevertheless felt justified in the use of these methods. He evidently felt that nothing was too much to ask on behalf of the village.

The councillors are aware of the slowness of the machinery of the Indian Affairs Branch. Everything they

propose to do has had to be sanctioned in Ottawa and the relay route of red tape stretches from Cape to the Kwawkewith Agency Headquarters of Alert Bay, then to Vancouver, on to Ottawa; back to Vancouver, to Alert Bay and so to Cape Mudge again. They are attempting direct negotiation and are having the satisfaction of having made arrangements of their own with various provincial agencies in Victoria without outside interference.

In order to minimize the power of White authority and increase their own, the councillors would like to levy a tax on land in the village so as to place more money and hence power in the hands of their own elected representatives. Such a tax was proposed to the Band. It was explained that those who kept up their properties would be rewarded by a reduction in tax whereas those who neglected their properties would be fully taxed. This was expected to give more force to the negotiations of councillors with villagers whose living conditions are unsatisfactory to the Band. The Band members voted down this proposed tax because they feel that to live untaxed upon their land is one of the few advantages of reservation life. A minority wanted the tax, if only to be able to face up to the challenge that Whites are said to put to them in this form: "Oh, yes, you have fine homes in your village down there, but of course you don't pay any tax on land!" The Indians state that the average homeowner on

Quadra Island is only paying about \$10 a year taxes on his land and property in any case; yet, small as this sum is, it does provide the Whites with a basis for statements of this sort.

Cape Mudge is ready to take on administration of its own affairs as soon as the settlement of the land problem makes it possible for them to do so without jeopardizing their claims to the ownership of the lands assigned to them as reservation. A severe social problem arising out of the conventions of marriage has made the possibility of Band enfranchisement and municipal status a consideration of some men in a leadership position in the village. The problem is that girls are being educated and upon marriage reside in the non-Indian community; or marry and become members of another band. Cape Mudge is being left with only its very large element of undesired bachelor boys. Band enfranchisement and municipal status would mean that their educated young women could return to their village with husbands of any status. This is an especial consideration for important men, with daughters only, who may be left alone in the village in their old age. The matter of enfranchisement has never been raised in Band Council meetings but it has been talked out privately by some of the councillors with knowledgeable persons in the White community. Up to the present, their historical status has protected them in the use of their lands. Municipal status

is, of course, contingent upon a favorable settlement of the land problem which would permit of a municipality with a viable economy.

The vigorous Indian leadership is continually in contention with the White authorities but establishes as close as possible a relationship with the superintendent with a view to any feasible immediate gains. The present leadership may, in fact, be a little too heady for the White administration. The Chief Councillor is considering an offer of a job out of the village in the office of the Indian Affairs Branch in Vancouver.

The Elite Women of the Village--a Source of Social Control

A powerful source for social control in the village of Cape Mudge is the small group of elite women by whose standards all other women are able to measure themselves and by whose acceptance or rejection all women can and do refer for an estimation of their social success or failure. These women spearhead the movement toward rapid acculturation. The needs of acculturation create new values affecting a wide range of behavior in this society. True to the myths of superiority and mystical fiat the values of these women are saturated with the idea that anything the White community has or wishes to accomplish, the Weewiakay can have or accomplish as well or better. These elite women, mostly in their forties or younger, are regarded by the villagers as the most

acculturated, sophisticated, best-dressed, most exclusive group. About five women are intimately involved, with a few high status but very shy women said to be on the fringe. They hold undisputed social position, partly by reason of the rank of their husbands. [It occurs to me that a male anthropologist might have seen this group as an association of high-ranking men of the first and second groups, and their wives.]

This set do things together socially. One couple spent winter holidays in Reno, Nevada, last year and another couple plan to join them for a winter holiday in Mexico this year. One is impressed with the fact that most of these women drive or are driven in new cars, wear expensive and elegant clothes and beautiful shoes (in spite of the attrition of shoes in a village built upon a midden). Impressive diamond rings are worn and costly accessories are common. These possessions are not exclusive to this group in the village but they are more in evidence amongst these women than amongst other women in the village. The elite women demonstrate a way of life closely akin to that considered desirable by White matrons in large metropolitan areas of British Columbia. They stand in contrast with the rather plain style of life of most of the country women in the White community on Quadra Island.

When asking a village woman about her friends, and whom she sees most frequently, she will almost certainly make her reply in terms of whether she is in, out, or on the fringe of the group of elite women. Generally the woman informant not admitted to this group will bob her head in the direction of the residences of the enclave of elite women, who with one exception, are close neighbors. Comments about their own friends are usually made in relation to their rejection by the elite group of women. Those who have been totally excluded made such remarks as, "They are unfriendly;" "Sometimes they speak to me and sometimes they don't so I make my friends elsewhere." Others might remark wistfully, "I'm on the fringe, not really in." Those who are associated with the elite group made such remarks as, "We belong to a special group of couples." When asked, "What binds you together as a group?" one couple delayed reply for several days. The informants finally brought it up again and answered, "We don't want to have anything to do with these people who are always crying, 'Lo, the poor Indian!'" It is apparent from this that the elite women are a pressure group for acculturation and that behavior exhibited by women of the elite group has become an established standard to which other women in the village must either conform or be excluded.

As mentioned before, the husbands involved with this group are men bearing the names of the two leading

families of the first and second family groups. There are two exceptions, one in the case of a man from Kingcome who is married into the Band to a woman of the second family group, and the other exception is in the case of the Chief Councillor, who is from the third family group. The women are of the two leading families of the highest family groups, with one exception--the White wife of the present Chief Councillor. Having been admitted after a long period of exclusion, the aggressive White wife of the Chief Councillor puts an added acculturative force at the centre of the elite group. Having noted the exceptions, it is clear that basically this group is made up of persons having the traditional mythical and hereditary right to status because of high-ranking position in the two highest family groups.

The elite women assume responsibility for the financial support for most of the social activities and cultural acquisitions of the village. Together with about ten other women, they undertake a large programme of activities in their community club. From familiarity with similar women's organizations in the White community, I was impressed with the tremendous amount of work undertaken and the impressive volume of goods and funds raised. Among the activities they prefer are fashion shows of the latest styles in garments which they have made and are prepared to sell back to themselves and other women in the village. They

leave the making of the usual village bazaar-type items such as crochet work and hand-made knick-knacks to the older women who are still members of the United Church Women's Auxiliary.

The community club grew out of a young people's group of the United Church in the village. The club members are now sceptical of the teachings of the church. They co-operate with and share some members with the church women's association, but they are careful not to be too tightly tied up to the church. They raise funds by raffles, bingos, and dances--methods frowned on by the church. They want to be able to take beer and liquor to their annual outdoor barbecue held to fete their husbands for their support of activities during the year. They tell hilarious stories of trying to give the lay preacher and his wife the slip during such outings.

The men involved with the elite group are described by White informants as a pretty satisfied and contented lot, who leave it to their wives to press ahead "like in the White community". An officer of the Indian Affairs Branch stated that after a long experience in the Indian villages he had become aware that the women were a moving force. In any case, the elite group of husbands and wives in Cape Mudge functions not only as the "establishment" but also as a pressure group for acculturation, exercising social control upon the community

by virtue of its right to include or exclude persons from its ranks.

CHAPTER V

VALUES

The values of a society are the ideals and behavior held to be worthwhile in the pursuance of the goals of the society. A set of values held with some consistency by the majority of the members of a society can be distinguished, but since the organization of society is constantly changing and social goals shift in focus, there are always choices open to the individual. Since the society studied here is one in the process of rapid acculturation, many of the values associated with new goals and organization and roles may be rejected by individuals in certain situations. The negative evidence of a set of prevailing values has already been suggested in Myth No. 3, Chapter III, on slave descent.

Some values prevailing among the people of Cape Mudge and establishing the charter of family status seem to involve a consideration of the following:

1. Hereditary or traditional sanction of the claim to a high place in society;
2. Wealth;
3. Political power, or right to make decisions affecting the whole village;
4. Education as a goal;
5. Sobriety, cleanliness and hard work;

6. Desired qualities, actions and objects associated with acculturation, such as light skin colour; fashionable prevailing style of dress in White community; English language; general Western Canadian appointments of the home; avocations with high status in Western Canada such as winter holidays in Reno and Mexico, oil painting, etc.; ease, aplomb, and marriage with Whites.

There is a high degree of correlation between these elements: sanction to hold a high place in traditional Cape society, still operative today; success in the achievements of wealth and power in the present society; use of accepted methods for achieving desired ends; and the spearheading of movement toward the traits of urban White culture selected out by Kwakiutl of Cape Mudge because they appear to be the valued goals of White society itself.

The society is mostly integrated around an acceptance and attempted demonstration of these values. A family without high hereditary status, wealth, power, educational achievement of the children, and acculturation upon which much of the rest depends, results in a family without status ranking in the community.

To discuss whether a family might have high status on the basis of, say, wealth alone, or some other factor, operating independently is an abstraction. The factors counting for success under this system of values are tightly

bound together so that where one is outstandingly demonstrated, so are all the others, where any one is absent so do all tend to be.

In the surrounding White communities some families can claim social distinction by virtue of demonstration of some facet of the prevailing accepted values alone, e.g., professional competence, political power, education, wealth, descent from distinguished ancestors or community service. These achievements in terms of prevailing values in the White community tend to cluster but need not do so. In Cape Mudge, demonstration of prevailing values do cluster and it is scarcely possible to conceive of the demonstration of any one facet of the prevailing set of values without a reliance upon the others. The charter of family status is defined by achievement in terms of all of the prevailing community values taken together. Those families who do not accept these values, or are unwilling to pay the cost of achieving them, can therefore be clearly identified and mentally set apart.

In the set of values embraced by the people generally, all factors seem about equally important. High hereditary status is crucial, for without hereditary rank acknowledged by the rest of society it would not be possible to rise high socially at Cape Mudge. All other factors listed would not be sufficient, for membership in the very highest ranking groups is ascribed and can only be breached by marriage.

However, such a hypothetical situation of, say, the wealthy acculturated powerful man without hereditary charter does not seem to have developed.

Hereditary sanction is necessary, but demands all else as demonstration of that position in society. There are exceptions that prove the rule to the generalizations being made here concerning the clustering of various aspects of behavior which reflect values. The sons of the Hereditary Chief forfeited all claim to rank when they married sisters, Salish women from Squirrel Cove. The families they established demonstrated none of the other values associated with rank and their high position has been wiped out.

With the genealogical cross-referencing of the claims to traditional distinction of every member of the community within and between villages, there is a range of high status connections for every member of the village that can be diplomatically referred to and selected out to correspond with the actual position of wealth and power of individual members. An example of this process is made clear in the case of a successful family of the third family group who claim an important close connection with a well-known powerful hereditary and elected chief of a brotherhood village. Another family, directly related to them and bearing the same name live nearby them. This latter family is unredeemed by any association of high-ranking connection and is

regarded as "slave". Another household in the village is formed by a grandson of a previously high-ranking man at Cape with a common-law wife who is the daughter of the same chief of the brotherhood village whose kin tie underwrites the claim to social status of the first-mentioned household.

I did not learn of this daughter's direct high connection while in the village. The lack of any other achievements of the prevailing goals of society within this household excluded her from the right to be recognized in this connection; this family was excluded from the ranking order of families in the village.

It is known, through the work of Olsen,¹ that honored titles can be secured through purchase from northern Kwakiutl villages. The knowledge of such illegal dealing was disclaimed by informants.

From a study of the relative ranking order of families at the time of the potlatch in 1916, it appears that in general the ranking position of families has been maintained. Changes from that ranking order are known and accounted for. The families who were high ranking in traditional society are by-and-large the same families who are leading the way in acculturation to the values of White society.

¹ Ronald L. Olsen, "Black Market in Prerogatives among the Kwakiutl," Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 1, Berkeley, 1950.

Three aspects of this general system of values which I find particularly interesting are: (1) the value placed upon being Indian; (2) ideals of demeanor; and (3) ideals of beauty. The results of an inquiry into these three areas are presented under the appropriate headings below.

On Being Indian

What does it mean to be Indian? Is it regarded as a good thing or a shameful thing? The answers will depend upon both the place of the informant in the three family groups of the village, and the degree of extension of the meaning of the term "Indian". The term can be taken to mean Weewiakay, Southern Kwakiutl, Kwakiutl as a whole, all the Indians of British Columbia, or Indians of North America generally.

Pride in being Indian, which characterizes most persons of the community, is related directly to being Weewiakay of Cape Mudge or having joined the Band as a member of the Waalatsama tribe of Salmon River. This derives directly from the mythic charter of the Weewiakay from which all present achievements are assumed to logically be derived. The glow of pride is tarnished a bit if, to be Indian, has to mean belonging to any of the Indian villages in the southern or northern areas of Kwakiutl Indians. To be an Indian of British Columbia has certain desirable political overtones,

but upon consideration of the social identification which it implies with many coastal and most interior Indian villages, the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge are not happy to contemplate the term Indian as applied to themselves in this context. They are not particularly interested in any pan-Indian identification on a Canadian or North American scale. One young lady of the village who was made Queen of Indian Days in Vancouver and was garbed in Plains Indian clothing for this role, is considered as having made herself slightly ridiculous, even by her own family.

The people of Cape Mudge are interested in the world-wide fight against discrimination on the grounds of color. This is graphically communicated to them by television and they are armed with effective argument thereby. They do not identify with negroes however, and show considerable racial prejudice against persons of all other races, including White. In the case of Whites, a grudging admission of superiority of Whites in some areas of life blurs the image of the White man as an inferior. They prefer the terms "native and non-native" because it sets them off unequivocally from all other peoples, and at the same time expresses their unique identification with the land they now share with others.

Because of the various extensions of the term Indian, there is considerable ambivalence in the value to be associated with being Indian. As mentioned above, attitudes

also vary with membership in the structural groups in the village, though perhaps this is not too significant a factor. The first family group with high status in both the White and Indian community is proud of being Indian and tends to be particularly easily aroused against others in the community who show their lack of pride by whining about the lot of the Indian. The second family group and the third with relative lack of success in relation to the White community are more liable to associate their being Indian with discrimination, so that amongst these two groups, to be Indian is not considered to be an unmixed blessing. Therefore, the importance of being Indian is something not to be taken for granted by them, but more likely to be demonstrated in the dare-devil exploits of the young boys and the derring-do of the men on the boats. The demoralized families in the community, so far as I know from actual field data, do not hold a special body of opinion in this regard. It would seem logical, however, in view of the foregoing tendencies of family groups, to assume that their pride in being Indian is damaged by their general experience of life, especially as they are considered by some light-skinned successful members of the community to be more "Indian" because of their dark skin and "uncivilized" behavior. An attitude like this by those Indians who entertain it toward the unsuccessful person is a pointed illustration of the ambivalence connected with the idea of being an Indian.

One older person professed to be ashamed of the past ways of the Indian, saying: "We did not know any better." She was the only one. The feeling is general among the elders who lived it that the old way was a very good way indeed and great pride can be taken in it. This feeling derives mainly from the satisfactions of having been so close to nature that much more of the supernatural than can now be experienced was apprehended. Also, the old system is sentimentally remembered for the pleasures of the families always participating in the round of daily life, as a group. Some of the young men and women who are raising a family of school-age children, while not having had an education above Grade IV themselves, are being introduced to some of the literature relating to their own culture by their children. They wish to convey to the White anthropologist that they are contemptuous of it. "Culture! What culture?" "The potlatch was a curse." They are, however, intensely proud of their own achievement as Indians of Cape Mudge in the twentieth century and feel that their full potential is only being held in check by lack of education.

For a male to enfranchise out of the Band is considered a betrayal. It is "turning your back on the Indian". The most important family group boasts that only one of its members has ever been enfranchised. Some families, particularly in the third group, have several male members

enfranchised and living with their families in the nearby White communities. For those with authority in the community, there is always an attempt to get back onto the Band list any infant born off the reserve under circumstances in which no record of its Indian ancestry has been made. They want the child registered as Indian even when the putative father is known to be White. They are disturbed to think that an infant would be unacknowledged as part Indian, and left to fend for himself in the White world.

The prevailing opinion seems to be that it is desirable to be an Indian of Cape Mudge. The Indians hold this view as part of the total system of social relations in their society in which myth plays such a large part. As a result of mythic charter, the Cape Indian regards himself as a part of a high-ranking social group, powerful in leadership, rich in goods, and as a daring and successful combatant in relation to the White community. In view of the frustrating situation of government wardship, and the ineffectualness of the Native Brotherhood as a bargaining agent vis-a-vis the powerful Fishermen's Union, doubt creeps into the mind of even the most fanatical believer in Weewiakay destiny. There lurks always the possibility that another view of the Indian will rise into consciousness--that of the weak, and exploited individual. This idea must be forcibly repressed. It is for this reason that open expression of the view of the "poor

Indian" by others is painful and so much resented. A great deal of scorn is directed towards other groups of Indians in British Columbia who are said to have lost their pride in being Indian.

Ideals of Demeanor

In the matter of ideals of demeanor there is considerable ambivalence shown, as there is in the fact of being Indian. As Helen Codere has pointed out,² for traditional Kwakiutl society there is a disjunction between the prevailing behavior in a society characterized by many anthropologists such as Benedict, as one patterned around aggression, feelings of dominance, display, rivalry and guile and the aura of agreeableness which pervades the daily round of life in the village. Codere and most authorities on traditional Kwakiutl society now agree that the Kwakiutl valued a life stressing cooperation and that apparently anti-social behavior, ritual self-torture, and destruction, were all part of a symbolic taming of unbridled emotion. Today, however, with all the strains created by the pressure of the englobing white society, ideas of worthiness are associated with normative rules which stress self-control and amiability in some situations but also condone outbursts

² Helen Codere, "The Amiable Kwakiutl," American Anthropologist, vol. 58, 1956.

of hostility and disobedience directed to White society. The choice is open to the individual of compliance or disobedience to White authority and a certain value is placed upon both in varying situations.

In contrast to White urban behavior familiar to me, the behavior of the villagers seemed unhurried, quiet, and passive. They are ashamed of the nervous, excitable behavior of some among them and are quick to point out that this is a trait of Kingcome people (lower status) who have married into the Band. By contrast to the impassiveness displayed, and the gentle voices, the actual content of discourse may suggest a great intensity of feeling, especially if the subject is the social pretensions of others, both White and Indian, and their humiliating effects. The arousal of strong feeling could be attributed to the fact that the anthropologist presented an opportunity to speak privately of certain emotionally-charged subjects not easily referred to openly in the village. The anthropologist is considered to be neutral and unprejudiced [and therefore a natural ally of the Indian]. Thus it was possible to establish a warm enough relationship so that the informant was able to express aggressive feelings against Whites and others.

In some cases, I spent hours with men or women in the village in an atmosphere of tranquillity, without the

informant taking the occasion to try to correct the distorted picture he thought might be being drawn for me by others in another family group of the village.

Bland countenances and gentle voices are the achieved overt behavior within the family circle and along the village streets. Unfortunately, I am unable to make any statement about the behavior of men on the fishing boats during their working hours.

Wild exhibitions of drunkenness, which break the peace of the village, are considered an outrage if there are White observers in the village, for then the ideal of a peaceful village is shattered. Were it not for the White observer, it probably would not matter so much, for, for some individuals and in some ways, especially in retrospect, drunkenness and its results are considered amusing. When drunkenness leads to destructiveness, the community is probably not too much concerned so long as it is localized to the home of the drinker. After all, drunkards and their families have, for the most part, been written off anyway (Chapter III, Myth of Slavery).

I never entered a home in Cape Mudge where any family quarrelling was going on. In only one home in the village did I overhear family quarrelling. This was in the home of a "stranger" woman, a common-law wife more-or-less permanently resident in the village. In this home, loose living by Cape standards had made family life a shambles.

Most of the elders have had many husbands or wives and have derived their traditional high rank through many marriages. While in the traditional Kwakiutl system separation for formal status reasons was fairly common, the ideal now appears to be the husband and wife will remain together for life in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and tranquillity. Only a few instances of divorce or separation amongst younger couples in the village were brought to my attention.

A case of temporary separation took place a few years ago. The husband and wife have been living in the home of high-ranking relatives of the wife so that she can care for them. The husband has not been admitted to Band membership in spite of repeated applications for membership on his part. At the time referred to here, he was ordered to leave the house by the older woman in the home, senior to his wife, because of his drunken assaults upon his wife. He returned to his village of origin, making the excuse that he must attend upon his ailing father. Later he was forgiven and apparently summoned back. A gathering was held to wipe away this shame and permit his admittance back into the household. Invitations, or rather orders to attend were issued by the older woman who had forced him out. The call to the gathering took the form of a pre-emptory summons to all those with a telephone, that is, all those with any

importance in the village. At the gathering, the wife, now reconciled to her husband, gave out five apples and a loaf of bread to all present while the husband sat glowering in the kitchen. She made no explanation of the occasion for the gathering and he tried to pass off the affair by an allusion to his birthday.

Traditional forms of treatment of separation and reconciliation are so rare as to be remarkable, and it is likely today that the continual round of visiting by women with mothers and sisters in other villages, and the long periods spent away fishing by the men can be relied upon to some extent to dissipate tensions.

I have alluded before to Dr. Francis Hsu's analytical model of the family (page 104, Chapter IV), as it affects the authority of the elders of the village. It may be that the formal arrangements of the family contribute to the formation of an amiable personality by the sort of centripetal system suggested by Dr. Hsu which seems to provide for sociability, security and status for family members.

Children are always quiet in the presence of adults inside their homes. Outside and in large groups children show quite different characteristics of behavior. In large groups they became increasingly aggressive in an attempt to capture one's attention and test one's patience

until it became normal not to be able to continue some solitary activity outside the house. Sometimes it was just noise, confusion, and shoving bodies. Often a snake or insect was slowly dismembered with shrieks of horror and glee and dangled closer and closer in the expectation of a reaction they hoped to arouse. There seems no doubt that as well as a value being placed on quiet, modest behavior in children there is as well a value placed upon daring, aggressive behavior, especially in boys. This has already been discussed as behavior consistent with the myth of superiority in warfare. The following paragraph will suggest some other childhood experiences at Cape Mudge which would probably be conducive to an unstable personality development with reference to aggression and its successful repression, if occurring and being assessed in the wider Canadian society. In Cape Mudge society, expression of uncontrolled aggression in some situations is regarded as an acceptable choice.

Pentacostal missionaries working in the village told me that the children are filled with fear of ghosts. This proved to be the case. Owls are dreaded for their association with death, and the woods are shunned. The children are always seeing fearful things, or parts of things in the trees. My own six-year-old son, at first happy to play in the forest behind our residence, became so filled with fear of the woods as a result of his contact with other

children his age that he could not step outside the back door of the house which faced the forest, nor sleep in the bedroom on that side of the house.

One old man whom I concluded was irrational from the fact that he wanted to strip and show me the cluster of little Indian women crawling on his body, undertook to entertain the children on the beach at night with ghost stories. When I discussed this matter with the mothers, thinking they would want to know that their children were listening to the fear-inducing maunderings of this poor old fellow, and so keep them home, I was surprised to be assured by some parents that the children should listen to every word he says, for "all of it is true."

A student at the University of British Columbia from Cape Mudge village, told me that always for her Ts'o'noqua', a "bird woman", was waiting to catch her in the forest behind Cape Mudge. She had often been hurried to bed with threat of Ts'o'noqua.

Children fear thunder and lightning. They are sent off to bed when a storm threatens. A spectacular thunder and lightning storm took place while we were in the village. We were abroad most of the night to witness this vivid spectacle. No one else seemed to venture forth. Of course, men and women of the sea might not be expected to evince so much interest in the vagaries of the weather. But,

in conversation the next day, everyone assured me that they had stayed in bed, "with the covers pulled over my head."

The matter of aggressive behavior and fears in children has been raised here because of the obvious disjunction between the atmosphere of hostility and dread surrounding children, and the formation of personality which results in the kind of controlled amiable behavior in adults considered a good adjustment in our own society, and for the most part, in theirs. Apart from these "irrational" fears, the children are introduced in their daily lives to many tension-producing schisms: between family groups; between church and non-church groups; between treatment of White and Indian children in the schools; between the Native Brotherhood and the United Fishermen's and Allied Workers' Union; between Indians and Whites, struggling for supremacy in the political field. It seems only logical in view of this that the vigorous teen-age boy, backed up by the mythical sanctions of aggressiveness, should display himself as a wild young man in revolt and the teen-age girl retreat into passivity. Later in manhood, the wild young man will adopt the prevailing demeanor of quietude but continue to condone and derive a good deal of satisfaction out of the exploits of the younger generation.

For all the value placed upon restrained demeanor as an ideal by men who are the standard bearers of village

values, there is an undercurrent of hostility and non-conformity which had more scope for expression in the years of youth. The choice of satisfying non-conformance with authority presents itself from time to time. After the summer's fishing season was over, one company let it be known, without mentioning any names, that seven seine boat captains would not have their boats chartered again by the company because of alleged disregard of orders. Most of the seine boat captains at Cape thought the order probably applied to them.

We can say, then, that while restrained behavior is considered a good thing and a worthy ideal at Cape Mudge, there is a value placed on audacious rebellious behavior. Of the alternatives of behavior discussed here, passive controlled behavior is most consistently applied to the various occasions for acting and as such constitutes one of the values of the society. Its breach is frequent and flagrant, however, and this may be because of some of the things I have mentioned such as the fears and apprehensions of childhood, an almost overwhelming sense of threat, which is reinforced in youth by the strains and rivalry with White society. Ambivalence arises, for breach itself is underwritten by the Myth of Past Glory in Warfare. Thus aggressive behavior, which may be publicly condemned, is often at the same time privately condoned.

Ideals of Beauty

In the course of field work and toward the end of the time spent with the people of Cape Mudge, I undertook to sketch some of the people, mainly the children. My change of status from impartial investigator to "artist" had an immediate effect upon my status in the community. It was raised enormously. Whereas previously I had been loathe to ward off the rougher children who thronged around me at the beach, for fear of alienating them and showing presumptuousness in the village, I now found that I could demand their good behavior with impunity.

The purpose of sketching the people was to determine from informal conversation what might be the ideals of beauty held by the Indians of Cape Mudge. Blond children were regularly proposed as sitters and pushed forward by the other children to be sketched. There is a very high incidence of blondness among the general population, and particularly the children, in this village. Since no dark-skinned children were proposed as sitters, I selected a few who appeared to me to have more Indian physical characteristics. The children were quick to jeer at this. Some remarked, "Yah, she is only drawing you because you look so Indian!"

When the children were asked who they thought were the prettiest girls in the village, they all agreed that the blond daughters of the highest status family were the

prettiest. These young ladies declined to be sketched, even though I went to their home to do so, and was introduced by their sister who is known to be interested in painting.

There seems to be no question that, true to the values associated with acculturation, blondness is considered beautiful.

The choosing of the most popular boys, which was accompanied by a skirl of merry giggles by the girls present, seemed to be a more difficult matter. First they chose my son, the only White boy in the village. The Indian boys chosen were scattered throughout the range of families in the village. It must be borne in mind that most of the boys in the village are members of the few prolific families of dark-skinned Indians. The choice of the most attractive Indian boy seemed to depend not so much on features of the face or skin color as upon the picture of strength and daring and tip-toe tension which the boy is able to project. Important in the mystique of teen-age boys is the image of the crafty warrior which is much appreciated by the girls when projected as an air of mystery behind which is secret knowledge. This is reinforced at present in the village by the fact that almost all the teen-age boys were only a few years ago part of a gang which saw one of their members stabbed to death by a White man under circumstances which were never made clear to those in the village outside the gang involved.

The values placed upon appearance and other qualities in establishing desirability seem to differ as between boys and girls. These boys have not responded in the same way to acculturated forces as have the girls. They are still judged largely for what might have been the same qualities in traditional society: toughness and daring, projection of an image of an intimidating adversary and possessor of secret knowledge. While the girls suggested this conclusion by their choices and comments, further confirmation was forthcoming in discussion with a teen-age boy who came to live with us for a period of several weeks. Apparently both boys and girls value the above-mentioned qualities in boys.

In the case of the girls, the values elicited regarding desirable traits in young women seem to be associated with out-marriage and continuing acculturation. Blondness, especially, is considered beautiful and important to young women. How the boys regard this matter is not known.

As has been pointed out, the choice of marriage partners for girls is extremely limited in the village because of the reluctance to marry those undesirable, too closely related, or uneducated. Their hope of marrying Indian boys from the acceptable marrying villages is very slight because of the amount of inter-marriage that has

already taken place. Girls have a tendency to marry White and out of the Band. Blondness becomes a key feature in making this desirable prospect a reality.

All the myths which support the Weewiakay people in their good estimation of themselves and their prospects for the future are unknown to the White society generally, even to the old-time White residents who respect them most. It is these persisting myths plus the demonstration of the primary values set forth here, values understandable and approved by White society, that support the Weewiakay of Cape Mudge as an ongoing community.

The myths from their traditional past support their self-respect, and pride in their Indian community, give them reason to rely upon their resources of leadership to overcome the injustice inherent in their condition of virtual wardship, and give confidence in the future triumph of their people over the obstacles of White domination that very nearly cost them not only their way of life but their survival as a population as well. New myths are now in the making, as has been demonstrated, which justify rapid changes in social organization, structure and roles that accompany acculturation.

There is some evidence that similar social processes are at work in other Kwakiutl villages in this region. Generalizing upon the data relating to myth and social process

in this study of village life at Cape Mudge, it is possible to conclude that myth is not lost in once-tribal societies moving rapidly into the orbit of advanced ones but is reinterpreted and recreated to meet the needs of changing social existence.

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