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Haisla

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The Haisla (ˈhīslä) are the native people of the upper reaches of Douglas Channel and of Gardner Canal on the northern, inner coast of British Columbia. Their language belongs to the Northern branch of the Wakashan family and is the northernmost member of the family.* In the nineteenth century there were two divisions of Haisla, the Kitamaat of Douglas Channel and the Kitlope of Gardner Canal (fig. 1). Population loss among the Kitlope was especially great, and the survivors gradually moved to Kitamaat. Haisla culture began to change radically with the arrival of missionaries in the late 1870s. Information on traditional culture comes mainly from work in the 1930s with the Kitamaat people and refers to conditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though historical narratives reach back to an earlier time.

External Relations

The Haisla were somewhat isolated from other Wakashans. Their nearest neighbors were the Southern Tsimshian at Kitkiata at the lower end of Douglas Channel and at Kitkatla and Klemtu on the outer coast. The Coast Tsimshian of the Lower Skeena were on the coast to the north, and from Kitamaat it was also easy to reach the Coast Tsimshian of the Skeena Canyon by way of the Kitimat River and Lakelse Lake. The Haisla also had contact with the Gitksan and the Bulkley River Carrier by this route and with the Carrier while hunting in the Coast Mountains (Jenness 1934:232–233, 1943:480–481). From the Kitlope village there was an overland route to the Bella Coola village of Kimsquit, and these two villages intermarried (McIlwraith 1948, 1:17, 2:505). The nearest Wakashans and closest linguistic relatives of the Haisla were the Haihais, Bella Bella, and Oowekeeno.

* The phonemes of Haisla are (unaspirated stops and affricates) *b*, *d*, *ʒ*, *λ*, *ġ*, *gʷ*, *g̣*, *g̣ʷ*, *ʔ*; (aspirated stops and affricates) *p*, *t*, *c*, *ƛ*, *k*, *kʷ*, *q*, *qʷ*; (glottalized) *p̓*, *t̓*, *c̓*, *ƛ̓*, *k̓*, *k̓ʷ*, *q̓*, *q̓ʷ*; (voiceless continuants) *s*, *ɬ*, *x*, *xʷ*, *x̣*, *x̣ʷ*, *h*; (plain resonants) *m*, *n*, *l*, *y*, *w*; (glottalized resonants) *m̓*, *n̓*, *l̓*, *y̓*, *w̓*. Phonetic vowels are i, u, ə, and a. However, Lincoln and Rath interpret i and u as allophones of y and w respectively and ə as conditioned by a syllabic resonant, leaving *a* as the only vowel with phonemic status (Lincoln and Rath 1980:25–30). Phonetic vowels appear in transcriptions of Haisla words given here. The stress accent (v̀) is realized as stress or low tone, for some speakers accompanied by pharyngealization.

Origins

Haisla traditions suggest that they are in origin an amalgam of Northern Wakashans and Tsimshians. One tells that the village of Kitamaat was founded by people from Rivers Inlet, who were joined by people from the Tsimshian village of Kitselas (Olson 1940:187; Lopatin 1945:21; Drucker 1950:159). Another tradition (Olson 1940:192) ascribes a Haida origin to the Eagle clan.

Culturally the Haisla were close to the Tsimshian, especially in technology and social organization. They were the only Wakashan-speaking people with a fully developed matrilineal clan system. On the other hand, like other Northern Wakashans, they had a well developed set of secret societies.

Their clan system was almost certainly Tsimshian in origin, just as the Tsimshian secret societies were probably largely Haisla in origin. Tsimshian traditions (Boas 1890: 831, 1916:509–510) say that the Gispakloats people got the secret societies along with the famous name Legaik through a marriage with the Kitamaat, while the Kitkatla people got their secret societies through marriages with the Kitlope and the Bella Bella.

Environment

Haisla territory falls within the Northern Inner Coast climatic region (J.M. Powell 1965:fig. 1). It experiences greater extremes in temperature than the outer coast, with hot, dry summers and colder winters with heavy snow. During the period 1931–1960, Kitamaat received an annual mean snowfall of 118 inches (Canada. Department of Transportation 1968:18). It also experiences strong winds. Over several generations the Kitamaat people moved their village a number of times in search of a more sheltered location (Drucker 1950:159).

Culture

Subsistence

All five species of Pacific salmon run in Haisla waters, but cohoes, chums, and pinks were the most important. The Haisla took salmon in the salt water in stone tidal pounds

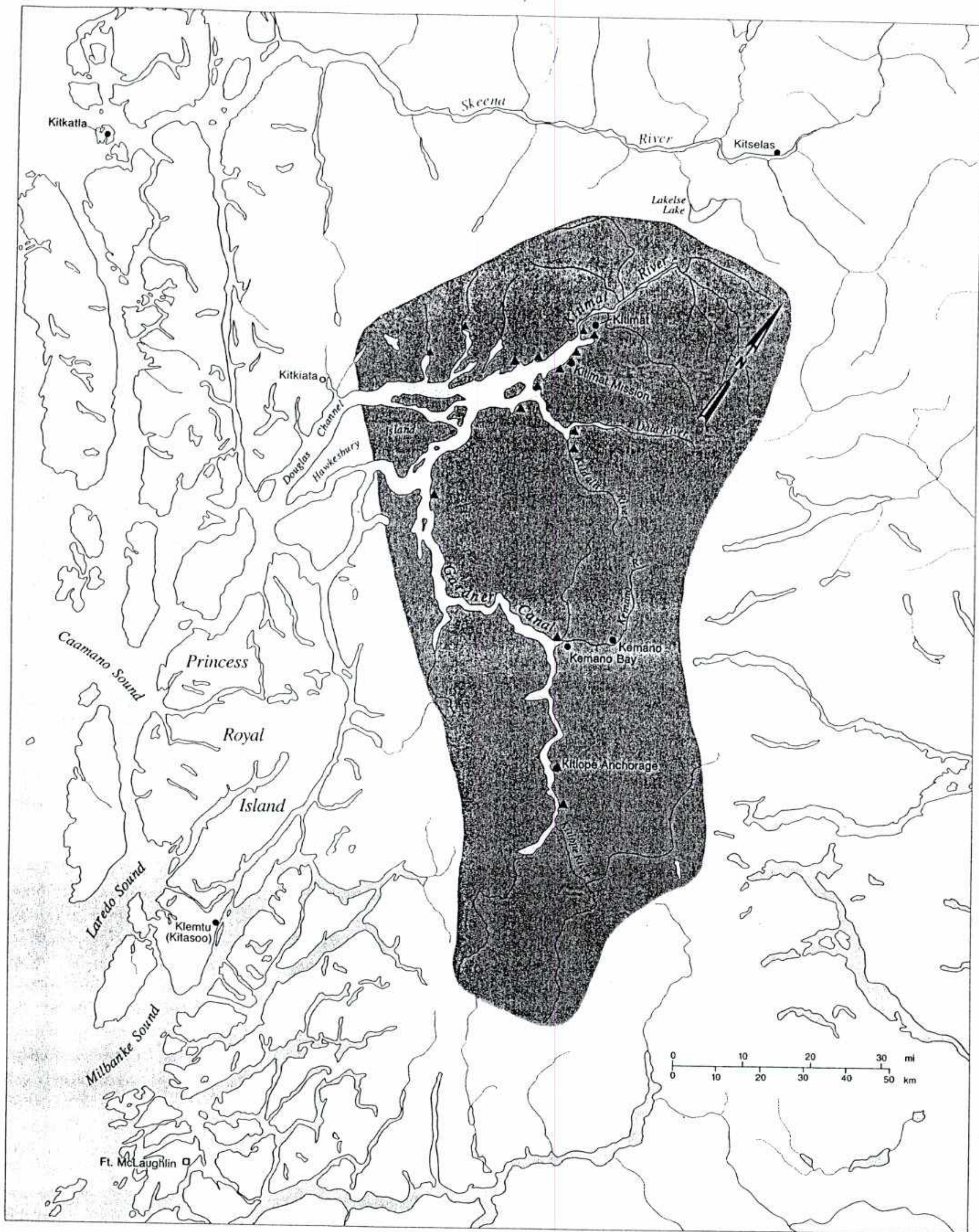

Fig. 1. Territory and settlements of the Haisla, 1860–1890.

and in rivers in traps and weirs, as well as with harpoons, leisters, dip nets, and trawl nets. Eulachon were especially important, with runs in the Kitimat, Kildala, Kemano, and Kitlope rivers. These fish were caught in such numbers that they were an important export. They were caught in a long funnel-shaped net that is widely used on the northern Northwest Coast and that tradition says was invented by a Haisla girl who was inspired by watching a bullhead (sculpin) swallow young trout (Drucker 1950: 240). For halibut the Haisla used the northern-style two-piece, V-shaped hook.

Land mammals were much more important than sea mammals. Hunters took mountain goats by driving them with dogs and spearing them, deer by driving them with dogs into the water, and black bears, grizzlies, and marmots in deadfalls. Haisla women gathered shellfish and a variety of vegetable foods. Berries were especially important, and the Haisla burned areas to encourage their growth (Lopatin 1945:14). Kitlope was famous for crab apples, and, according to the Bella Coola, people from as far away as Kitkatla had rights to harvest them there (McIlwraith 1948, 1:133, 2:505).

Technology

Haisla technology shared many features of other northern Northwest Coast peoples. Woodworkers used the chopping adz, hafted stone ledge, and elbow adz. The usual house had a gable roof, double ridgepole, vertical wall planks inserted into slotted roof plates and sills, a painted facade, a central fireplace and smokehole, and walls of sleeping areas lined with cedarbark mats. Canoes were of the northern type, those for river use made without the usual vertical cutwater, and some of cottonwood rather than cedar. Containers included wooden dishes, kerfed-corner boxes and chests, burden baskets made by wrapped twining, and storage baskets by plain twining.

Woodworking was a man's occupation. Women made shredded cedar bark, wove mats and fabric for robes and packstraps, and made baskets. Both sexes dressed hides.

Clothing and Adornment

Clothing included spruce-root rain hats and fur caps and robes of sewn skins or woven yellow cedarbark or mountain-goat wool. Women wore aprons of shredded cedarbark or buckskin. Men went naked in good weather. Traveling overland, people wore leggings of woven cedarbark for protection against brush. They usually went barefoot, but for traveling in snow, "rich men and good hunters" had moccasins of sealskin or bearhide, while others "wrapped pieces of cedarbark matting around their feet" (Drucker 1950:260). The Haisla also used snowshoes that were oval in form and had withe fillers.

Both sexes wore the hair long, men loose or in a knot, women in a single braid. Both sexes were tattooed with clan crests and wore ear and nose ornaments. Women wore labrets.

Social Organization

The basic social unit was the matrilineal clan, which had territorial rights, crests, and a set of ranked men's and women's names. The clans functioned independently for ordinary purposes but formed alliances for ceremonial ones. Marriage within the clan was forbidden; between members of allied clans it was not forbidden but it was rare (Olson 1940:169, 185). It appears that during the nineteenth century and perhaps into the twentieth the number of clans changed, as some became nearly extinct and merged with others, and that there were shifts in alliances. Researchers in the 1930s identified five functioning clans—Eagle, Beaver, Raven, Blackfish (Orca), and Salmon (also called Wolf), as well as a nearly extinct Crow (Lopatin 1945:21; Olson 1940:161; Drucker 1950: 281; cf. Boas 1891:604, 1897:328).

Clans were allied, producing a set of three ceremonial groups: Eagle, Beaver-Raven-Crow, and Blackfish-Salmon. In feast and potlatches, the hosts always sat near the door, while the other two groups sat on opposite sides of the house; for example, when the Blackfish or Salmon were hosts, members of these clans sat near the door, while the Eagles sat on the right and the Beavers, Ravens, and Crows sat on the left. Clan chiefs and upper-class members had regular seats. The hosts presented gifts in a fixed order, first to the highest ranking person on one side, next to the highest on the other, then to the second ranking person on the first side, and so on, giving alternately to right and left sides (Olson 1940:172–173).

Haisla society was divided into nobles, commoners, and slaves. There were also two chiefs at Kitimaat, the heads of the Beaver and Eagle clans, and one at Kitlope, the head of the Beaver clan, who had a special title. Within each clan there were both nobles and commoners. Nobles were persons who had received inherited names, validated through potlatching. They occupied ranked seats at potlatches, were eligible for initiation into the higher grades of the secret societies, and could succeed to chiefly positions. Commoners were untitled people, some the younger siblings of nobles.

A clan chief was usually succeeded by the eldest of his sisters' sons. If he had no nephew, his successor might be a younger brother, a sister's daughter, or a sister. Succession to any title required a potlatch.

Marriages were arranged between young people who were members of different clans but were of the same social status and, preferably, were cross-cousins. A young man of the upper class would most likely marry his mother's brother's daughter but possibly his father's sister's daughter (Olson 1940:185). Drucker (1963) notes a

third preference, for father's brother's daughter, while Olson gives another (possibly best for commoners), for mother's father's sister's son's daughter. (Presumably these last two were possible only if the parties belonged to different clans; they could belong to the same clan.) For a proper marriage, the prospective groom's clansmen had to give wealth to the prospective bride's clan to mark the engagement. The wedding came as much as a year later, when the groom and his clan brought more wealth to the bride's house. The couple then lived in the bride's house until her people "redeemed" her, that is, reciprocated with gifts to the groom's family of greater value than what they had received. After this the couple lived in the groom's house, until the death of his mother's brother.

The Haisla kinship terms are bifurcate merging in the parents' generation, merging mother's sister with mother and father's brother with father, while distinguishing mother's brother and father's sister. They are of the Iroquois type in ego's generation, merging parallel cousins with siblings while distinguishing cross-cousins with a separate term (Olson 1940:184). The Haisla terms are structured like those of Tsimshian rather than like those of other Wakashan languages. Comparison of Haisla and Kwakiutl terms for parents, aunts, and uncles suggests that in Haisla an earlier lineal terminology was restructured to fit a unilineal social system (Lowie 1960: 128–129). However, the Haisla did not adopt all of the behavior patterns associated with unilineal descent; unlike their matrilineal neighbors and like their fellow Wakashans, they did not have classes of kin whom they had to avoid and classes with whom they enjoyed privileged familiarity (Olson 1940:185; Drucker 1950:222). Nor did a boy go live with his mother's brother (Olson 1940:187). His father had authority over him and subjected him to the hardships required for membership in the secret societies (Lopatin 1945:81).

Ceremonies and Beliefs

A number of life crises and changes in status were publicly marked by feasts and potlatches. These occasions included birth, naming, a girl's puberty, initiation into a secret society, and graduation into shamanhood. At less important occasions the family of the person being honored invited no more than members of his or her clan. But higher-ranking names and titles to property had to be validated by one or more potlatches to which the host clan invited the other clans and even guests from other tribes. The most important potlatches were to prepare a young man to take the position of clan chief, to mark the completion of his new house, and to legitimize his succession after the death of his predecessor, usually his uncle. On such occasions the new chief usually gave away "hundreds of gallons of eulachon oil" (Olson 1940:179).

Once a year the Kitamaat people put on a parody of the potlatch at which men dressed as women and women as men, speakers pretended to be great chiefs from distant tribes, and the guests were given "great names"—in fact names of animals, obscenities, and titles of real chiefs in other tribes. Olson (1940:199), reporting this as practiced in the 1930s, says "the whole party is carried out in an hilarious spirit."

The Haisla had three sets of ritual performances restricted to initiates said to form "secret societies" (Boas 1897) or "dancing societies" (Drucker 1940): a shamans' series called *hìlikəla,* a *ṁìƛa* series, and a *nùɬəm* dance. The shamans' series consisted of six ranked performances. In most the novice, who had inherited the right to perform, became possessed at the sound of whistles, ran into the woods, was kept there for a time, and then reappeared with miraculous powers. The highest ranked was the Cannibal Dance (*tànis*), in which the novice ate (or appeared to eat) human flesh. This was restricted to the highest ranking chiefs. The second was the Fire-Throwing Dance, in which the novice swallowed or walked on hot coals. Another was a performance restricted to real shamans. Several involved the use of masks, rattles, and rings of red cedarbark. The *ṁìƛa* series differed in the use of horns rather than whistles and the novice's reappearance from the sea rather than the woods. In the *nùɬəm* dance the novice ate a live dog. (This identification follows Drucker 1940:216–219; cf. Olson 1940:175–177 and Lopatin 1945:80–89.)

Interpretations of shamanism differ. Drucker (1950: 223) recorded that Haisla shamans got their powers solely from the "spirits" of the secret societies, that is, the entities that possess the initiates. On the other hand, Lopatin (1945:63) reported that there were two kinds of shamans, one kind essentially a division of the secret societies, the other consisting of persons (usually men) who had individually sought power or had it come unsolicited because of some unusual physical feature. Olson (1940:147) said that a boy showing signs of special powers might be chosen by the chiefs, sometimes for the fees they could extract from his father.

Being publicly acknowledged a shaman required potlatching and demonstration of power. In public performances, shamans treated illnesses believed caused by soul loss, intrusive object, or intrusive spirit, and they were especially important in detecting contagious magic. In such cases, the shaman could effect a cure only by discovering the magician and forcing him or her to undo the harm (Olson 1940:197)

There were several other, less structured ceremonial activities. Lopatin (1945:60–61) reported prayers used by hunters and fishermen. A hunter killing a mountain goat cut four pieces from its tongue and offered them to the masters of the sky, the mountains, the sea, and his luck (see also Drucker 1950:266). Olson (1940:199) reported ritual treatment of the first chinook and coho salmon and

the first eulachon.

Little is known, however, about the beliefs that seem to be implied by these practices or, in fact, those of the secret societies and the shamans. An origin myth, in which Raven creates the world and the first people (Lopatin 1945:61), seems unrelated to any ritual activities.

The souls of the dead, it was thought, lingered for a time near their former homes, where they were a danger to the living; they then went to a land of the dead, which was like this world but without hardship; and finally they were reincarnated in their descendants (Lopatin 1945:61–63; Olson 1940:181–182, 198–199).

History

The first contact with Europeans may have occurred in July 1792, when Juan Zayas, one of Jacinto Caamaño's officers, took a boat up Douglas Channel (Caamaño 1938: 280). In June 1793, Joseph Whidbey of the George Vancouver expedition explored both Douglas Channel and Gardner Canal (Vancouver 1798). The maritime fur trade probably involved the Haisla at least indirectly; the traders generally worked the outer coast, people of the inner coast going out to meet them or dealing through middlemen. The Hudson's Bay Company established Fort McLoughlin near Dean Channel in 1833. In 1831–1832 the Kitkatla chief Sebassa was selling Kitamaat furs to the company (Æmilius Simpson in Mitchell 1981:86), but in February 1834 the Kitamaat were trading at Fort McLoughlin (Tolmie 1963:269). This trade probably did not greatly alter the native economy or social organization.

Christianity first appeared among the Haisla through the conversion of a Kitamaat native, Charlie Amos. While visiting Victoria in 1876 he was converted to Christianity by listening to a sermon by the Rev. W. Pollard (Crosby 1914:250). Amos upon his return to Kitamaat told his fellow villagers about his new religious beliefs. His activities eventually resulted in the conversion of a small number of people. In spite of resistance by the traditionalists, Charlie Amos continued his proselytizing. At this time the dancing societies and the shamans were still active in the village (Crosby 1914:249–258).

The coming of a White missionary teacher in 1883 and the settling at Kitimaat Mission by the Rev. George H. Raley of the Methodist Church in 1893 resulted in the breakdown of Kitamaat religious and sociopolitical structures (Methodist Church 1895:xvii).

The Kitlope people were influenced by Christianity somewhat later, through a Roman Catholic mission established at Kemano. The breakdown of Native structures was hastened by the government's banning of the potlatch and associated practices.

The Kitamaat Band was allotted four reserves in 1889, four more in 1910, and six more in 1916, totaling 1,432 acres. The Kitlope Band was allotted three reserves in 1889, and one more in 1913, totaling 370.4 acres (Barbara Lane, communication to editors 1985).

Royal B.C. Mus., Victoria: PN 11366.
Fig. 2. Grave marker at Kitimaat. Wooden monuments on graves were traditional; the adoption of marble memorial stones, often with figures representing crest animals, show the integration of traditional elements with Euro-American technology (Lopatin 1945:56-57). Photograph by George Henry Raley, 1902–1906.

From the 1890s to the mid-1950s commercial fishing and work at canneries were the mainstay of Haisla economy. Haisla fishermen were active in the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, and one, Guy Williams, served in various executive posts from the 1950s to the 1970s. Other sources of income in the early part of the twentieth century were provided by handlogging and trapping. In the early 1950s a major change occurred with the building of the Aluminum Company of Canada's smelter complex and the growth of the new town of Kitimat. By the 1970s, work at the smelter complex and in the new town were the most important sources of cash income (Band Council of Kitamaat, personal communication 1978).

In the 1930s the Kitlope people began moving to the Kitamaat area, and the two bands amalgamated.

The earliest official census of the Haisla is for 1889; it

gives a total of 367 (261 Kitamaat and 106 Kitlope) Some movement of people or inaccuracy in counting is indicated by the next year's total of 392 (Canada. Dominion of 1890: 272, 1891:244). Population seems to have remained under 500 until the 1950s. By 1983 it had risen to 1,041 (Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Development. Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1984:00065).

Synonymy

The name Haisla has been used since the 1840s. It appears as Hyshalla (Scouler 1848:233), Haishilla (Tolmie and Dawson 1884:117), Qāisla′ (Boas 1890:805, 1891:604), and Ha-isla′ (Boas 1897:328). The native source is *x̣àʔisəla* '(those) living at the rivermouth, (those) living downriver'.

The Kitamaat people have perhaps been more commonly identified under this name. W.F. Tolmie (1963: 269) mentions them as Kitimats in his journal for 3 February 1834. The name also appears as Gyit'amā′t (Boas 1890:805), G·it!ama′t (Boas 1916:356), both apparently for [gʸiłamá·t], Kitamat (Hodge 1907–1910, 1:705), and Gitamat (Barbeau 1950,2:473). Hodge (1907–1910, 1: 705) lists other variants. The source is Coast Tsimshian *kitama·t*, literally 'people of the falling snow', the name of the principal village. The name is written Kitimat for the river and town, but the native people prefer the spelling Kitamaat, used by the Methodist missionaries.

The Kitlope people are identified by their Tsimshian name as Gyitlō′p (Boas 1890:805), G·it-lâ′°p (Boas 1916: 356), gıtk-lɔ′·p (Garfield 1939:176), and Kitlawp (Barbeau 1950,2:473). Hodge (1907–1910, 1:707–708) gives other variants. The source is Coast Tsimshian *kitlo·p*, literally 'people of the rock'. They have also been identified as Keimanoeitoh (Tolmie and Dawson 1884: 117), Gyimanoitq (Boas 1890:805), and Gīmanoîtx (Boas 1897:328), renderings of Haisla *kìłmanuʔidxʷ*, which refers strictly to the people of the village of Kemano.

Because the name Kwakiutl has been extended to refer to the whole of Northern Wakashan (Boas 1897:328), the Haisla, along with the Haihais, Bella Bella, and Oowekeeno, have commonly been identified as Northern Kwakiutl (Duff 1964:20; Hawthorn 1979:2). This extention of the name Kwakiutl has tended to obscure linguistic and cultural differences among the Northern Wakashans and the close social ties between the Haisla and the Tsimshian. Probably because of these ties, the Haisla have also been identified, incorrectly, as Southern Tsimshian (Barbeau 1950, 2:473).

Sources

The principal published sources on the Haisla are Drucker (1940, 1950), Lopatin (1945), and Olson (1940). These studies are based on information from only a few informants and, possibly due to the authors' neglect of specifying time referents, they tend to contradict one another on certain aspects of sociopolitical structure.

Hamori-Torok's (1951, 1956) information was primarily supplied by Gordon Robinson, then chief councillor at Kitamaat, as well as by Charles Shaw and Charles Walker. Robinson's description of Haisla sociopolitical structures reflects the situation of the 1880s and 1890s. Robinson (1962) provides a valuable addition to Olson's and Lopatin's works.

Various Methodist publications cited in the text describe the early contact-period Native culture and the conversion to Christianity in some detail.

Pritchard (1977) describes how the traditional social system was abandoned as the Haisla participated in the new economy, accepted Christianity, and declined in numbers.

Harry Hawthorn - Inventory

BOX 22

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BOX 22 (Cont'd)

INDIAN RESEARCH PROJECT, 1954-1956 -- KITIMAT MISSION

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Tim Starr

G. (from Tim Starr)

There are still a few reserves left to the Kitimaat Band. Two by the River, #5 at the head of Minette Bay and the one on which is their summer village; the local village itself, supposed to be the largest of all the reserves (over 90 acres); one a mile south of the village, on the same side of the bay as the village; one six miles south of the village, on the west side of the bay, across from the village.

Jessie Lake should have been a reserve, they said. They said they coul not figure out why the chief did not have that one "stamped by the government" at th same time as the others. "Jessie" is the whiteman's prounciation of Chesie, name of the Beaver Clan lord, who has a trap line at Jessie Lake (properly called Chesie Lake)

III. Employment and Occupations.

Traditionally a hunting, fishing, gathering, and trading people, the Kitimaats have kept many of the essentials of these habits and added two more occupations to their roster: logging and construction labor. The four traditional occupations have, or course, been modified to a large extent.

HUNTING: In the old days deer and bear were plentiful around Kitimaat, but cougar invaded the area and cleaned out most of the deer. Most of the bear also seemed to have disappeared. Now, most of the hunting is not done around Kitimaat, but on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Towards the end of August the Kitimaat seine boats, along with others, converge upon Skidegate for the tail end of the fishingseason. The Kitimaats speak glowingly of the bountiful supply of deer on "The Islands," and say that they go ashore with guns every chance they get. One man bragged he bagged three deer one year, another brought back four to the village. The deer are canned or salted by the women and stored for winter use. Other then this, there seems to be little hunting done by the villagers.

TRAPPING: Many of the villagers still havd trap lines around the area, but few of them have made much use out of them lately. "There's no money in it now," they say. Pelts are bringing too low a price to make it worthwhile, especially when the men can earn $60 a week laboring for Alcan. Gordon Robertson of Kemano earned $60 from his trapline last winter, but, said his wife, it was almost not worthwhile going out. Others say that you might not make more then enough to clear expenses. I think Tom Robinson spent some time on his trap lines last winter, but I do not think he made any fortune.[14] Mink, otter, and muskrat seem to be the main catches when catches are made.

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14. See Pineo notes on Tom Robinson for details.

GATHERING: Behind the village and even around and in the village elderberries grow in great quantities. Elderberries, blueberries, and salmon berries are the main crops gathered by the villagers. Some of the produce they use to make jams and jellys, some they use to make home brewed wines. Which is favored the most I do not know. A handful of householders have small vegitable gardens, with potatoes the major crop. Such gardens are insignificant in size and produce, however. There were once many fruit trees ih the village, but apparently most of them have stopped producing. I doubt that much attention was paid to the trees in the first place.

TRADING: Kitimaat is one of the few north coast villages that has a good supply of eulichans each spring. Every March and April villagers, once "most of them," now "about half or so" voyage up Kitimat River to the "Summer Village," site of the old Kitimaat Village. There they catch the eulichans, smoke and dry them, render them for oil. Eulichans and eulichan grease are traded to Skidegates, Bella Bellas, for such things as herring eggs, seaweed, and clams. A Bella Bella fisherman might come up to Butedale, hand over his clams to friends, pick up his eulichans. Each year the Stewart family of Kitimaat mail dried eulichans and eulichan grease to Jimmie Jones of Skidegate, who sends herring eggs in return. One day during the Skidegate study the Jones family received a small parcel from Kitimaat. Eager hands opened it up on the kitchen table, and mother andfather, daughters, and grand-daughters sat about the table excitedly eating the fish. Needless to say, none was offered to us. The quantity of goods exchanged in these transactions is seldom large enough to become more then a delecacy.

FISHING: Kitimaats catch some fish to eat and can, some to sell to canneries.

a) Fishing for consumption: Every March and/or April villagers movex up the Kitimat River to their "Summer Village" where they camp in tents or small houses. With nets they make themselves, the men and women catch eulichans, render and dry them. Once it was an annual trip for virtually everyone in the village, but as the years roll by it seems that less and less go up the river. Usually whole families will make the trip, but lately pressure has been brought to bear by local school teachers, and the parents sometimes make arrangements to leave their children behind; some of the men, rather then give up their jobs at Alcan, will rely upon relatives to bring them back some eulichans and, most important, ~~the~~ eulichan oil. The grease from these little fish is used for cooking, sometimes used in place of butter, and in once case at least, recommended to be used for curing colds.[15] Almost every family, informants say, stock up with eulichan oil or grease. One family who missed the eulichan run bought from the store a tin of vegitable oil to make up for the loss.[16] Men who are working at Alcan do often take time off from work, perhaps two or three weeks, to go after the eulichans. "The company doesn't mind," one informant said. Two or three of the men told me that Alcan or the construction outfits did not mind giving the men time off; they could always get jobs upon their return. The coming of Alcan and HBC has, I believe, made some change in ~~in~~ the diet of the local natives. Although they say their main food is still fish, the propinquity of HBC enables householders to buy fresh foods, ~~and~~ vegitables, and meat during winter months, when, before, it was too rough and cold to make a shopping trip to Butedale. Art Grant's little hot dog stand is also having an effect on the diet. This is his first summer of operation, and he has the idea that he can make money if he competes and undersells HBC.[17.]

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15. See Jessie Ross, p. 3.
16. Pineo has notes on this.
17. See Art Grant, pp. 2-3, 11, 20, 26, 29, 31.

Mrs. Wilson complained of the cramped quarters, and blamed that for the high frequency of sickness in children that she said has occurred this summer. She said almost all the babies in the village have caught flu or something, simply because they are all jammed into three small rooms. It is not uncommon to see a cot in the kitchen, being used alternately for a bed, bench, and table.

There are about eight Kitimat families and two Kemano families who live at Butedale all year round. The rest, about 30 families, move in by the end of July, out in September.

Usually the family can get its own suite back again upon the return next season, although during the interval another family might be using it.

All four hutments are raised off the ground, and are from 10 to 60 feet away from the water. In front of the huts is a 60 X 60 dirt area closed in by a wooden walk-way to the huts; here small children will play in the dirt, boys will play catch with a softball. The manager once had a swing put up there, but it has since rotted and collapsed. No effort has yet been made to put up another.

On the east side of the village is thick undergrowth and a steep mountain. Behind it is a level space with about 10 smokehouses. On the south side is a large, deep, and soggy gully where the tide backs into occasionally.

About five or six long clotheslines can been seen stretched from the porches to trees or stumps in the bushes; other lines run the lengths of the roofed in porches. "I can't even walk down the veranda on Mondays, it's so full of washing," one woman told me.

Along the porches were oil drums, boxes, washing machines, clothes and fish drying, children playing. Although the stationary objects were kept orderly, they, combined with the unpainted exterior of the buildings gave the village a drab and dingey appearance. Upon closer inspection it could be noticed that most of the porches were swept daily.