UNMASKING FRONTLET HEADDRESSSES

An Iconographic Study of Images in
Northern Northwest Coast Ceremonial Headdresses

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the iconography of frontlet headdresses. These objects were part of a spectacular ritual costume worn by high-ranking people on the Northwest Coast of North America.

Iconographic analysis (first developed by Panofsky) is based on identifying cultural notions and themes associated with visual images by probing the cultural contexts of objects. This is the mode of analysis used in the thesis to explore the image and the meaning of frontlet headdresses. Data used to support this inquiry were gathered from historical accounts, museum records, and ethnographies.

It is established that frontlet headdresses were worn and used in precisely the same fashion by different groups of coastal people and that all of these headdresses were constructed with an invariant set of constituents. Therefore, it is suggested that these headdresses are comprised of a constellation of symbols having fans of multi-vocal referents (after Turner, 1967) and furthermore, that the spatio-temporal consistency in their use points to a shared framework of symbolic referents among neighbouring people.

The ceremonial contexts in which the headdress was worn by the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida is explored and consistently one theme emerges: the person wearing a frontlet headdress represents an ideal synthesis by an individual of supernatural and social power.

This theme, it is argued, forms a simple, yet eloquent, equation. Its very simplicity interconnects a spectrum of meanings about man's relationship to the life and death forces in the universe, about man's
relationship with the supernatural and with other men, and about man's relationship to the material world. These relationships are symbolized not only in the ceremonial contexts, but in the individual constituents of the frontlet headdress.

The analysis is carried a step further by outlining the parallel sets of relationships between the image of a frontlet headdress, a corpus of myths concerning supernatural wealth-bringing monsters, and the ritual presentation of the frontlet headdress. From these cogent sets of relations, it is argued that the dancer in a frontlet headdress is an individualistic image of the ideal structuring of the universe. His successful quests in the world of men and in the world of spirits are symbolized by the frontlet headdress he wears, and in this sense, he is the image of those fruitful actions.

This thesis demonstrates that iconographic studies of Northwest Coast artifacts may involve the questioning, if not the discarding, of established designations for particular corpora of artifacts. It entails a rethinking of the metaphors that past ethnographers, in their act of translation, used to establish the identity of artifacts. Finally, it requires a methodical mapping of the social, ritual, and mythological contexts of the use of these objects, in order to illuminate the symbolic spectrum condensed in their image.
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INTRODUCTION

Initially, this essay was designed to present a study of the iconography of "frontlets", those small and complex carved wooden plaques of a spectacular, but little understood, ceremonial headdress worn by Indians of the Northwest Coast. Early in the research stages, after amassing and looking at hundreds of photographs of frontlets, one fact became clear: before one could begin to unravel the highly condensed images and meanings of frontlets, one had to attend to the meanings contained in the gestalt of the entire headdress. This essay then, is about the logic and meaning—or the iconography—of frontlet headdresses. The scope of the study has been narrowed to manageable size by examining the manufacture and use of these headdresses by the three northern Northwest Coast groups—the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida.

Traditionally, ethnographers, art historians, and museologists have approached the material culture of the Northwest Coast as functional categories. These categories were based on the morphology of the objects and were elaborated by describing the distinctive designs that typically embellished much of Northwest Coast material culture. Boas wrote the first definitive guide for identifying these "decorative designs" (1897a). He demonstrated how certain design elements in combination represented "Raven", or "Hawk", or "Eagle", or "Beaver", etc. The problem with his analytical model and with the kinds of categorizations made in dealing with Northwest Coast material culture, is that the question, 'What does it represent?' was pushed to the point of bankruptcy. "It represents "Hawk", or "It is a frontlet headdress", are no longer
satisfying answers. The complexity and the eloquence of these cultural images demand that we ask, "What does Hawk represent?" and "What is a frontlet headdress?" The simple identification of a design or of a category cannot answer questions about the meanings those images and those objects held within their cultural context.

A model for the analysis of meaning in visual images was first developed by the art historian, Erwin Panofsky (1939/1962). His theoretical framework evolved three levels of studying visual images. Briefly, they are:

1) "pre-iconographic description": the description of "primary or natural subject matter" which involves the identification of form and style;

2) "iconographical analysis": the description of "secondary or conventional subject matter" (motifs) vis-a-vis their connection with specific cultural themes and/or concepts;

3) "iconographical interpretation or iconology": the identification and description of the "intrinsic meaning or content" in a visual image (Panofsky, 1962:3-7; see also Gould, 1973:2-4).

Though Panofsky's studies in iconology were grounded in analyses of European Renaissance painting, his methodology was adapted by Wilson Duff and his students Jennifer Gould and Marjorie Halpin to study meanings in Northwest Coast visual images (Duff, 1975; Gould, 1973; Halpin, 1973, 1975).

Duff's work (much of it regrettably unpublished) set the stage for iconographic analysis of Northwest Coast images by assembling
corpora of artifacts and exploring what he described as their "hidden agendas" (Duff, pers. comm.). Halpin (and to a lesser degree, Gould) combined Panofsky's mode of analysis with Victor Turner's ideas about the analysis of symbols in ritual. Gould (1973) probed the meanings depicted in the condensed and highly complex images of the raven rattle—an object which was associated with the same ceremonial costume as the frontlet headdress. Halpin's (1973) study of the Tsimshian crest system employed iconographic analysis and interpretation to delineate the important distinction between crest and non-crest images in Tsimshian artifacts. Later, she probed the iconographic content of a corpus of Tsimshian non-crest art, the masks used in naxnox rituals and allied the meanings of their images with the socio-ritual context of their presentation (1975).

Essentially this thesis follows the same line of inquiry as the iconographic studies of various corpora of northern Northwest Coast material culture initiated by Duff, Gould, and Halpin. A corpus of materials was selected—in this case, frontlet headdresses. The analysis began by identifying cultural notions and themes associated with these visual images by probing the cultural contexts surrounding the objects.

The first problem in the analysis was to answer the question "What is a frontlet headdress?" Frontlet headdresses, as a category of Northwest Coast material culture, were implicitly subsumed under the larger category "masks" by ethnographers and museologists alike. Though they were accorded a distinct designation, almost no differentiation was made between these headdresses and masks at the level of explaining
their use and their meaning. The pre-iconographic description formulated in the beginning of this analysis facilitated a restructuring or a redefinition of the category by making explicit that not only was a frontlet headdress not a mask, but as an image and as artifact in the sphere of ritual action, it was the antithesis of a mask and masking. The question "What is a frontlet headdress?" was given a new response, and the analysis then proceeded to questions about the iconographical interpretation of the corpus: "What do frontlet headdresses mean?" "How are they related to masks and masking?"

The iconographic analysis of frontlet headdresses required new materials to aid in interpretation. This thesis introduced a methodology that had not been employed in previous studies of Northwest Coast art. Frontlet headdresses were viewed from the perspective that they were depictions of symbolic thought. The components of the headdress - i.e. the many parts that make up the whole headdress such as flicker feathers, ermine skins, the frontlet, the cage of sea-lion bristles, etc. - were considered as multi-vocal symbols, each having a fan of referents. Using Victor Turner's ideas about the nature of multi-vocal symbols, the sets of relationships between the headdress as a constellation of symbols and its presentation in a ritual context were suggested.

Using a different tack, the analysis was extended by defining the headdress as an image in action, an image with meaning: in Wilson Duff's terms, the frontlet headdress was "imaging" (Duff, 1975:16). Interpretation of the frontlet headdress relied on aligning the image of the artifact with images in the recorded mythologies and rituals. In
addition, line drawings made by Northwest Coast Indians of mythological creatures and of a frontlet headdress being worn were shown to be visually related to the image of frontlet headdresses. This technique of demonstrating the visual thinking in Northwest Coast images through the metalanguage of line drawings was a major contribution to the iconographic interpretation of visual images.

In this way the thesis enlarges our knowledge about the meaning of frontlet headdresses and demonstrates new methodological aids in the iconographic analysis of artifacts.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One expands on the minimal ethnographic descriptions of frontlet headdresses by developing a pre-iconographic description of these objects. The idea is stressed that frontlet headdresses were manufactured and used in precisely the same fashion by three groups of people who had distinct socio-ritual, linguistic and artistic traditions. The first section of this chapter examines the consistency in the conformation of the entire frontlet headdress and sets the framework for looking at its constituents as a constellation of symbols. The second section briefly examines the variable constituents of the headdress - the frontlet itself. The point is then made that, in order to explore the iconography of this headdress, the frontlet must not be separated from the human face. Essentially, the visible human face is a constituent of the headdress, bonded, in a very real and symbolic sense, to the frontlet. The first chapter, then, moves the question from "What is a frontlet headdress?" to "Why a frontlet
headdress?"

Chapters Two, Three, and Four are the presentation of ethnographic data concerning the wearing of frontlet headdresses among the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida, respectively. The Tsimshian context is presented first, because the Haida and Tlingit maintain that they obtained the frontlet headdress (and its concomitant costume items: the Chilkat blanket, raven rattle, dance apron, and leggings) from the Tsimshian. The Tsimshian chapter also sets the organizational pattern for the data to be presented in the subsequent Haida and Tlingit chapters. Generally all chapters begin with early and late ethnographic accounts of frontlet headdresses. The following sections deal with the three ceremonial contexts in which frontlet headdresses appear to have been consistently used: 1) welcoming dances; 2) "potlatches" and/or winter ceremonials which included secret society initiations; 3) lying-in-state and mortuary rituals.

The ethnographic chapters may appear long and at times repetitious, but it is hoped that the reader will appreciate that the salient feature of the thesis may be its methodology rather than its conclusions, which could conceivably have been reached through intuition. The methodical tracking of the social, ritual, and mythological contexts of the wearing of frontlet headdresses in all three groups of people was deemed essential to a delineation of the symbolic frames of reference associated with their presentation.

Chapter Five, the concluding chapter, addresses itself to the iconography of frontlet headdresses. The question is approached from two
optics. First, the frontlet headdress is examined as a constellation of parts. In so doing, we are extending the pre-iconographic description laid out in Chapter One by viewing each part or constituent as symbolizing a range of meaning, a semantic domain. Eagle down is arbitrarily selected as a dominant symbol or image and its multi-vocality is explored, thereby pointing out the links and boundaries it shares with the other constituents.

In the second part of this chapter, the frontlet headdress is examined as a 'total' image, as the perspective shifts from looking at the parts to looking at the whole. The approach used here is also structural in that cogent themes or sets of relations are shown to be concurrent in the image of the frontlet headdress, in a corpus of myths about wealth-bringing sea monsters, and in the ritual presentation of the frontlet headdress. In Mauss' terms, we have attempted to see the 'total social fact' of the wearing of a frontlet headdress by examining the object as a bundle of symbols and showing its analogy to a mythological structure and to the structure of socio-ritual actions.
Map I. Northwest Coast People Who Manufactured and Used Frontlet Headdresses. (Map based on Duff, 1965:13). Scale: one inch equals approximately 150 miles.
CHAPTER ONE
THE FRONTLET HEADDRESS:
CONFORMATION, CONFORMITY AND THE VARIABLE CONSTITUENT

Introduction

The frontlet headdress was not given the attention it deserved by the various ethnographers of Northwest Coast culture (see for example, Boas 1890, 1916; Dawson 1880; Emmons 1914; Swanton 1905a; Gunther 1972; etc.). These writers were satisfied to state the obvious, that frontlet headdresses were a feature of the material culture expressing clan affiliation and were worn as part of a ceremonial dancing costume. At the level of observing this category of artifact, of providing a "pre-iconographic description" (after Panofsky, 1962:14-15) of the headdress by a description of its physical conformation and the materials used in its construction, the ethnographers' reports have been cursory at best.

The purpose of this chapter is to expand on the ethnographic descriptions of the frontlet headdress. In developing and expanding on the pre-iconographic description of the frontlet headdress in general, and the frontlet or carved plaque portion of the headdress in particular, I wish to move the problem from "What is a frontlet headdress?" to "Why a frontlet headdress?"

In the first section of this chapter I stress two fundamental ideas about this kind of ceremonial headgear. First, frontlet headdresses, unlike other categories of ceremonial attire - the best example being masks - were constructed using a limited set of materials in a uniform pattern of construction. Second, the constituents of the headdress and the relationship between these parts to the whole were constant. Furthermore, this homeostatic relationship between the parts and the whole can be
extended to the entire costume with which the frontlet headdress was associated, for the headdress was always worn with a Chilkat blanket, dancing apron, and raven rattle.¹

An important element of this exegesis, and the one which forms the point of departure for this chapter, is understanding why ethnographers never asked the obvious and fundamental question, "Why did all the people of the Northwest Coast who manufactured and used the frontlet headdress construct it in precisely the same fashion and display it in nearly identical contexts?" Given the relatively heterogeneous socio-ritual life of the various Northwest Coast groups, how can we explain the homogeneity of the contextual and morphological appearance of this artifact? Part of the explanation centers on the idea that the frontlet headdress (and indeed, the entire costume with which it is associated) forms a configuration of symbols. The spatio-temporal consistency in design and use of frontlet headdresses suggests a shared framework of symbolic reference among neighbouring people. This is all the more surprising since these groups are known to show a whole range of variations in terms of rituals and symbols.

Frontlet headdresses have not been described in this manner previously, nor has the probability of their symbolic content been explored or explained. To set the framework for doing so is the task of this chapter.

From the ethnographic literature, it is possible to delineate

¹Dance leggings of the same fabric and manufacture as the Chilkat blanket and dancing apron were usually - though I cannot state this unequivocally - associated with this costume.
some of the symbolic referents of the materials used to construct a frontlet headdress and to postulate that these symbols are "multi-vocal" in the sense that a single symbol may stand for many things. (Turner, 1967:50).

Certain dominant or focal symbols conspicuously possess this property of multivocality which allows for the economic representation of key aspects of culture and belief. Each dominant symbol has a "fan" or "spectrum" of referents, which are interlinked by what is usually a simple mode of association, its very simplicity enabling it to interconnect a wide variety of significata. (Ibid.)

The first section of this chapter will be devoted to pre-iconographic description of the frontlet headdress. The question of why these particular constellations of symbols are nested in the configuration of a frontlet headdress will best be dealt with after searching the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida ethnographies for the contexts in which these head­dresses were worn. (Chapters Two, Three and Four). I will address myself to the iconographic aspect of the problem in Chapter Five.

The second problem in this chapter is to explore the highly variable element in this otherwise isomorphic category of ceremonial headgear - that is, the frontlet carving itself. The first question must be "Why is this part of the headdress variable - indeed uniquely so to each headdress - if there is such a high degree of strict conform­ity in the other constituents and in the organization of those parts?"

Also, "How does the variability of the iconography or symbolic content of the frontlet integrate and/or relate to the complex of symbols in the whole headdress?"

At this point, the questions become more complex: "What do
frontlets mean." "What are the boundaries of their variability and how can we best handle them in a systematic analysis?" At the present the data will not support answers to all of these questions. A study of the iconography of frontlets is required - one departing from conventional methodology and theory. At present, this thesis will make contributions toward understanding the meaning of frontlets by offering suggestions for the meanings associated with the entire headdress.

1. The mask that wasn't; the questions we never asked.

When I first began examining the data for this essay - looking at and collecting photographs of a great number of the beautiful and distinctive frontlet headdresses from all over the Northwest Coast - the perception of a subtle fact escaped my attention for months, just as it has been overlooked by generations of ethnographers who wrote about the material culture of the coast. The ethnographers had long been cognizant of the fact that many groups of people who comprised this cultural area used a rich variety of ceremonial attire specific to their distinctively different socio-ritual contexts.

However, the point that was missed was that of all these groups, the ones who manufactured and used frontlet headdresses did so in precisely the same fashion. The isomorphic presence of this artifact among groups of people having otherwise heterogeneous categories of ceremonial materials did not go unnoticed by those compiling inventories and writing descriptions of Northwest Coast material culture. One finds in museum catalogues and art books statements to the effect that frontlet headdresses were widely used among Northwest Coast people, while nobody
perceived the significance of this singular phenomena (see Map I).

Clearly, ethnographers saw frontlet headdresses and recorded descriptions of them (eg. Boas 1890, 1916; Dawson 1880; Emmons 1914; Barbeau 1959; etc.). But their descriptions are cursory and surprisingly indifferent to an artifact as elaborate and as impressive as the frontlet headdress. Erna Gunther's description, though by far the most attentive and detailed, is characteristic:

(See Figure 1.1 for a diagram of the parts she describes)

The headdress... is built on a framework of small wooden staves or pieces of whale bone (baleen). These are often wrapped in old pieces of cloth and sometimes covered with, or used in conjunction with, the crown of an old felt hat. The outside of this framework is covered with a broad strip of swansdown. The carved frontlet is placed in the center front and flanked on both sides either with a vertical band of red cloth or two ermine skins. Above the carved frontlet there is often a row of tail feathers of the red flicker and, back of these and continuing around the top, a row of sea lion whiskers or bristles. The more elaborate headdresses had a strip of cotton cloth or canvas attached to the back which fell to the shoulders or continued down the back to form a trailer which might sometimes be as long as thirty-eight inches. This cloth was spread by means of small cedar sticks sewed across at intervals of one inch. Ermine skins were arranged on the cloth in rows of eight to ten each.\(^2\)

The following observation, which would amplify descriptions like Gunther's and give rise to questions about the iconography of frontlet headdresses was never made: all of them were constructed in the same fashion and there is a consistency in the ordering and

\(^2\)Gunther, Erna. *Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indians*. Portland, Ore.: The Portland Art Museum, 1966:100. Her description, while specifically referring to the PAM collection, is generally applicable to all the headdresses I have examined.
Figure 1.1. The frontlet headdress
(Based on BCPM photograph PN 1040; frontlet: BCPM, 9534).
Table I. CONSTITUENTS OF ALL FRONTLET HEADDRESSES

Sets of relationships between constituents are formed here - the next step is iconographic analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSTITUENT</th>
<th>MATERIAL</th>
<th>SENSORY QUALITY</th>
<th>POSSIBLE SUBSTITUTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. frontlet</td>
<td>wood, carved &amp; painted sometimes inlaid</td>
<td>natural wood fine grain/smooth paint: red/black/blue-green. (Among southerly tribes polychrome paints used). inlay: abalone (blue-green; light reflective); copper (copper colour reflective when polished)</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. frontlet corona</td>
<td>abalone (sometimes small carvings &amp;/or copper added, esp. among Tsimshian)</td>
<td>blue-green highly iridescent</td>
<td>mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. space flanking frontlet</td>
<td>felt &amp;/or flicker feathers &amp;/or ermine skins</td>
<td>red; red &amp; black with copper shaft; white; vertical axis stressed</td>
<td>any of these may be exclusive to the other two or all may be present. Surrogates for ea. incl. red cotton; wooden feathers painted red &amp; black and rabbit fur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. band or &quot;crown&quot;</td>
<td>swansdown</td>
<td>white; amorphous</td>
<td>ermine, rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. trailer or &quot;train&quot;</td>
<td>ermine skins</td>
<td>white; vertical axis bright; glistening</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. crown bristles</td>
<td>sealion whiskers (sometimes augmented with flicker feathers -esp. among Tlingit)</td>
<td>yellow/orange -&quot;copper&quot; colour -------- red/black feathers</td>
<td>brass wire (Gunther, 1966: 221); amber-coloured whale baleen (Holm, 1972:29)-------- none: i.e. absent or present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
juxtaposition of the constituent materials. (Please refer to the data presented in the Appendix to support this observation.)

Given this perspective, it becomes possible to look at a large corpus of frontlet headdresses and to chart some of the relationships between their various constituents. In so doing (see Table I), the pre-iconographic description of this category of headdress is not only enhanced, but one can readily ascertain that relationships between components are structured (i.e. by factors such as colour, texture, quality of light reflection, etc.). At this level, the framework is now constructed for the iconographic analysis of frontlet headdresses through exploration of the symbolic referents for each of the constituents and their bonding to one another.

In true Boasian fashion, the ethnographers treated the frontlet headdress as simply an object or a trait. The questions they asked were not about "meaning", but about "representation." Given that Boas had deduced that all the images in Northwest Coast Indian art "represented" clan crests, frontlet headdresses were accounted for as being a "crest display" - like masks, face paintings, rattles and Chilkat blankets, etc. The ethnographic data indicated that the headdress probably originated in the north among the Tsimshian, and all the people from the Kwagiulth northward made and used these headdresses. Having described the headdress as a crest object, the ethnographers used trait

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3 Variation in the materials (i.e. size, amount, quality, etc.) have been considered here as ideosyncratic as they are relative to date and place of construction as well as to the talent and virtuosity of the maker. However, variation in the materials of construction, that is to say, the substitution of one fabric for another is significant, for it is through noting these exceptions that one can point to the rule.
diffusionism as the core and substance of their exegesis. Questions about the meaning of crests, the symbolic content of the headdress, and the phenomena of shared symbolic configurations were never asked. Regrettably, like Boas' classic question, 'What does it represent [referring to images]?', it was a line of inquiry that soon reached the point of bankruptcy.

One cannot simply note with dissatisfaction that these ethno­graphers did not recognize the isomorphic aspect of frontlet headdresses, that they did not ask the obvious questions about the significance of that fact, and leave it at that. Instead, it is necessary to probe the larger question: "Why were these questions never asked?" It is important to deal with this problem here; not only is it something I eventually had...
to cope with in forming my analysis, it also represents a theoretical and analytical perspective which has persisted for too long in anthropological approaches to material culture.

At one level the problem is one of communication. Initiating the research for this study, I implicitly used a conventional set of criteria for identifying a certain category of Northwest Coast material culture called "frontlet headdress" by ethnographers and museum collectors alike. They and I used this categorization without being fully conscious that it was only an imposed analytical device, and without being fully aware of the etiology of its use. In doing so, we effectively screened our perception of not only the uniqueness of an entire corpus of artifacts, but also of the assumptions and meanings it held concomitantly.

This idea, which basically has to do with the discordant aspects of emic and etic classifications is not new (see Harris, 1968:568-592). Nonetheless, it is a difficult proposition to accept, especially when dealing with 'things', with the deceptively evident and tangible realities of material culture. Material objects are no more, and for that matter, no less "real" than other cultural "facts": their sensible properties do not guarantee that they will be seen for what they are.

The consequences are serious. By implication, a whole aspect of material culture may be ignored because a cataloguer did not recognize its distinctive attributes or qualities, or because it was subsumed under another category. Figuratively, square pegs are fit into round holes by whittling down the corners. This is evidently what happened to frontlet
headdresses, and in part explains why certain questions about this head­
dress were never asked. Much can be understood by looking at the
historical evolution of "frontlet headdress" as an ethnographic category
and by recognizing the implications of this classification as an ana­
lytical device.

Early catalogues and records indicate that Northwest Coast
ethnographers observed that the headdress of flowing ermine with its
down-filled cage of sea-lion bristles and carved plaque was a distinctive
feature in coastal ceremonial attire. At this time, presumably because
the headdress was associated with the winter ceremonials in which masks
played a predominant role, and because the headdress bore a small, mask­
like carving, the headdress was placed in the category "mask". In
later years, writers took a closer look at these carved "headdress orna­
ments" and realized they were somewhat smaller than masks and did not
cover the entire face of the wearer. A sub-category, "maskettes"
(presumably, 'small or lesser masks'), evolved and encompassed the carved
plaques on these headdresses as well as a variety of "forehead masks"
and other wooden head coverings (excluding of course "hats" which were a
separate category altogether).

As collections expanded and ethnographic inventories indicated
a wide distribution of this "style" of headdress, new appellations were
attempted in an effort to satisfactorily describe and categorize the
headdress which was not a mask. They ranged from broad generalized

5 Indeed, to the present date, it is not unusual to find in
collections of Northwest Coast art - especially European ones - frontlets
and frontlet headdresses catalogued as "masks".
descriptions such as "chief's dancing paraphernalia" and "ceremonial
dancing headdress" to more specific ones such as "sea-lion bristle
headdress" and "headdress with forehead (or frontal) plaque". "Frontlet
headdress" - the term conventionally employed at present and the one used
in this essay - seems to be a condensation of the latter. Etymologically
the word "frontlet" is obscure (likely a combination of the adjective
frontal and the diminutive -ette) and historically it is unclear when the
term came into use or who introduced it.

Unfortunately, an enhancement in the precision of describing
objects and categories was not matched by the ability to apprehend the
function or meaning of a given corpus of material culture. While
"frontlet headdress", as a new genus of Northwest Coast material culture
acquired an exclusiveness of its own (at the level of morphological
description), the idea "frontlet" was still cognitively linked by
ethnographers to the idea "mask".

Reviewing the descriptive literature on Northwest Coast material
culture, the 'logic' of "frontlet headdresses" as a category seems to
have been postulated in these implicit assumptions:

1. The frontlet headdress has as its distinguishing
element a carved wooden plaque which visually
resembles a mask; functionally then, this head­
dress is part of the same category as masks - i.e.
"ceremonial headgear".

2. Both masks and frontlets are carved with natural/
supernatural zoomorphic images identified by Boas
as representing "crests".

3. As a "crest art", these ceremonial head coverings
or decorations function to display the wearer's
crests to other people.

This apparent logic does not hold. It is fraught with errors,
the most compelling of which is that frontlets - and indeed the entire headdress - are perceived as masks. By simply looking at the form and apparent function of frontlet headdresses and masks in Northwest Coast society, as indicated in the ethnographic record, significant distinctions can be made between frontlet headdresses and masks. For example:

a) unlike masks, frontlet headdresses have a consistent form of presentation.

b) masks conceal the wearer's face while the frontlet headdress does not conceal the face (but in a sense enhances it).

c) masks and frontlet headdresses are neither worn at the same ceremonies, nor are they worn concurrently.

d) masks are polymorphic and are usually specific to one group of people (eg. to a family, clan, secret society, or 'tribe'); frontlet headdresses are isomorphic and are worn by high-ranking people of many neighbouring Northwest Coast groups.

Hence, frontlet headdresses were an anomaly in Northwest Coast ceremonial costumes because they were not made and used differently by groups of people having otherwise distinct categories of ritual material. I suggest that the reason ethnographers missed this point, and therefore did not concern themselves with the significance of the frontlet headdress, is linked to their reluctance to perceive this artifact as a unique and distinct category of ceremonial attire. Instead, frontlet headdresses were absorbed into the category "mask" and their function explained accordingly.

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6 Another fundamental error is the assumption that "crest" or "crest representation" is in any sense an explanation of meaning in itself. An analogous error would be to identify something as a symbol and fail to indicate its symbolic referent.
Following Gregory Bateson's ideas about conventions in communication and the codification of information in the external world (Bateson, 1972:279-308), it is not difficult to extend his notions about networks of perception to the ethnographic endeavour of cataloguing material culture. Bateson has postulated that our networks of perception - and our codification of those perceptions - are often based on the world as we ideally perceive it. The phenomena we encounter and cannot apportion into our "ideal world" model are what form the "negated world". It is into this realm we relegate undefinable phenomena. There are three ways of handling or coping with undefinable or anomalous entities. We either a) do not perceive them, or b) the anomaly is absorbed or suppressed, or c) the anomaly will open up a new set of perceptions. The latter, in Bateson's terms, comprises the framework for learning.

Indeed, it seems ironic that the ethnographic record gave testimony to the spatial distribution and distinctiveness of the frontlet headdress to the extent that a distinguishing category of ceremonial headgear evolved in Northwest Coast inventories. Yet, at the same time, writers did not refine their analytical framework to probe the reason for making this distinction or for explaining the reasons for the isomorphic distribution of this headdress. In this section, I have postulated that ethnographers did not ask critical questions about frontlet headdresses because these items were not recognized as a discrete category from that of "masks". However, the ethnographers can only be held accountable for this neglect to the extent that inquiry into the realm of masks and masking in the Northwest Coast culture had also been neglected.
2. The variable constituent: the frontlet.

In the previous section, the frontlet headdress was examined as a set of materials or constituents consistently assembled in the same fashion. The only variable constituent was the carved, wooden portion of the headdress - the frontlet itself. To be more precise, the size, method of construction, and materials used for frontlets were generally the same, but the "subject" or image contained in the frontlet dimensions were all different. After collecting data and photographs for over two-hundred frontlets, it seems remarkable that no two are identical. (This data comprises the Appendix to this essay.)

Descriptions of the frontlet are non-existent in the ethnographic literature on the northern Northwest Coast. Vague descriptions of individual frontlets are, however, found in exhibition catalogues, art books, and in museum records. To my knowledge, detailed analysis or iconographic description of frontlets have not been made.  

A compact, generic description of the frontlet has been made by Erna Gunther:

The frontlet is usually rectangular, in which case its longer side is placed vertically, or it is oval or round in shape. The rectangle may have straight sides, or be somewhat flared; the top is almost invariably rounded off. The carving is always done on a slightly convex base from which the figures project - sometimes as much as three and one half inches. Although the frontlet is never a mask, its dimensions vary only slightly from traditional mask measurements ranging from six and one half to nine and three quarters in height and five and one half to eight and one half inches in width. The wood used is principally alder or yellow cedar. The choice of paints is limited - red, black, and green [a blue-green produced from ground azurite] being used most frequently. The majority of frontlets are inlaid with abalone (haliotis) shell of a deep blue-green colour...(1966:99).

The exception, of course, is a partial analysis of Tsimshian frontlets contained in Marjorie Halpin's 1973 dissertation. I will make specific reference to this aspect of her work in Chapter Two of this essay.
To her description should be added: 1) Northern Northwest Coast frontlets are usually of the rectangular shape, while many of the southern groups, especially the Bella Coola, manufactured many oval frontlets. Few, if any, frontlets are truly circular in shape. 2) Smaller carved figures, either in pairs or in rows along the top and/or sides, may augment the larger central figure(s). 3) The dimensions of a frontlet are usually — within the range of variation given as an example by Gunther — one to two inches greater in height than in width. Significantly, these dimensions approximate the dimensions of the human face that is visible when a frontlet headdress is worn — i.e. from the middle of the forehead to the edge of the chin. 4) The woods used to make frontlets were alder, maple, and occasionally, yellow cedar. All of these woods are fine-grained and are a more suitable material than a large-grained wood, such as red cedar, for rendering fine details requiring delicate angles and gentle moulding. Paint was applied sparingly to northern frontlets, and did not completely cover the carving so that the pale, natural colour of the wood was also visible. The only unpainted frontlets I have seen have been documented as being "unfinished".

The iconography of frontlet subjects is a lengthy and detailed study in itself — which precludes its inclusion here. However, after looking at hundreds of these complex, highly condensed visual presentations, the overriding impression is that their meanings are as individual as the people who wore them. The search for their iconographic content must take into consideration the fact of their total presentation — frontlet + face.

8 I have already begun a study of the iconography of frontlets which will hopefully appear in essay-form in the near future.
The great majority of frontlets depict supernatural scenarios, or complex monsters, or human faces (as may be seen in the Appendix and as noted in the Tsimshian case by Halpin, below, p. 48); frontlets rarely depicted what ethnographers described as "crests". It is important to remember that the frontlet was worn above the human face - and moreover, both had approximately the same dimensions. In the total presentation, then, the *frontlet + face* was a visual dichotomy. At one end of this vertical axis, the frontlet depicted a particular supernatural affiliate. At the other end, the human face identified a distinct social actor. The individualistic nature of the person wearing a frontlet headdress was the inversion of the anonymity of a person wearing a mask. The visual equation of *frontlet + face* exposed the balance of power between a supernatural identity and a social one. As we will see in the following chapters, this balance was at once sacred and individualistic.
Map II. Tsimshian Villages.
(Map based on Garner and MacDonald, 1972:n.p.) Scale:
one inch equals approximately 37 miles.
CHAPTER TWO
THE TSIMSHIAN CASE

Introduction

This is the first of three chapters dealing with the ethnographic data concerning the wearing of frontlet headdresses among the northern Northwest Coast groups. There is a large amount of material to be covered in dealing with three major Tsimshian groups - the Niska, the Coast Tsimshian, and the Gitksan - and this chapter will set the organizational pattern for the data to be presented in the subsequent Tlingit and Haida chapters.

The ethnographic literature on the Tsimshian, as can be seen in the first two sections dealing with early historical records and later ethnographic accounts, is not extensive - especially in the area of material culture descriptions. In the latter section, a substantial amount of the material on frontlet headdresses comes from unpublished museum accession notes and a few notes accompanying amhala’it (the Tsimshian word for frontlet headdress) songs. Subsequent sections concerning the ceremonial use of the frontlet headdress in welcoming ceremonies, hala’it power and initiation ceremonies, and in mortuary rituals are based on fragmentary references to frontlet headdresses in the literature. Isolated, the data summarized in these sections admittedly present a thin veneer of evidence for the use of amhala’its in Tsimshian society. Indeed, it seems remarkable that there are so many Tsimshian frontlets and frontlet headdresses in museum collections, and yet, that so little ethnographic data has been collected to explain their manufacture, use, and meaning.
Still, I have presented the data available, indicating in some instances where it was not provided - this was especially true of the section dealing with the ceremonial use of the headdress. The purpose in handling the material in this fashion was to glean those few references to the use of amhala'its in order to place in relief - in a sense to emphasize - the somewhat more substantial ethnographic evidence to be found in contemporaneous Tlingit and Haida societies.

Logically, the Tsimshian case must be made first. Despite the fact that the Tsimshian maintain that they obtained from their southerly neighbours the ceremonies in which the frontlet headdress was used, the Tlingit and the Haida maintain that they acquired the headdress from the Tsimshian. While the Tlingit have a myth stating that the first frontlet headdress was given to a Nass River chief, the Tsimshian themselves have no such myth of origin for the amhala'it. The patient reader will see that the Tlingit and Haida data parallel to some extent the use of the frontlet headdress in Tsimshian society and will thus discover what amounts to a firmer Tsimshian case, if mostly by implication.

The backbone of this chapter is the section concerning the Halpin analysis of frontlet headdresses. Her exhaustive ethnological analysis of the Tsimshian crest system drew attention to important distinctions between the secular aspects of crest art and the sacred aspects of non-crest art. Her unprecedented work provides us with an exemplary framework for exploring the significance of the frontlet headdress in Tsimshian society. This, in addition to her latest work with naxno'x masks and rituals, provides a model for not only the Tsimshian chapter, but for this entire essay.
1. Early Historical Accounts: Tip of the iceberg.

The post-contact records of maritime explorers and traders on the Northwest Coast are far richer in their accounts of interactions with Tlingit and Haida people than they are for meetings with the Tsimshian, the region occupied by the latter being off the usual waterways.

Captains Duncan and Colnett encountered Tsimshian people in 1788 but their logs do not contain descriptions of the people. The Spanish Captain Caamaño traced the voyage of Duncan and Colnett into Tsimshian waters, using Colnett's maps which had been seized by the Spaniards in 1789 (Gunther, 1972:92,104). Gunther describes this voyage made in August 1792 as "the first opportunity for gaining any knowledge of the Tsimshian and Northern Kwakiuł since Colnett's accounts in 1788, and because of the meagerness of these Caamaño's notes are of special value." (Ibid.:104). One finds in Caamaño's account the description of several ceremonial costumes. As Gunther explains:

When the explorers saw the Indians, they were always in ceremonial clothing, and for this they chose their trade goods and used all possible decorative materials....Their quick adoption of European manners is remarkable, but it is in keeping with their own culture, for all the Northwest Coast tribes were ceremonious people and were trained to observe mannerly procedure. (Ibid.:104-105)

Caamaño's first encounter was with a Tsimshian chief:

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1. Arctander makes a similar observation: "If there was anything that the Tsimsheans prized more than a parade and display of what they had, it must have been the observation of the strictest rules of etiquette. They were worse sticklers on etiquette than the Lord Chamberlain of a European Imperial Court."
...this chief wore a long blue cloth overcoat reaching to his heels, surmounted by a cloak of similar colour and material, such as usually worn by them. This cloak was trimmed with an edging five or six inches wide, painted with various figures and grotesque faces, made of deerskin. On his head was a large cap fashioned of some black fur. This was stiffened, so that two ears stood upright for about eight inches at each side. From these several long golden coloured threads (or hairs of some animal) hung down the back, and over his shoulders were two large burnished iron rings, twisted in rope fashion. He informed me he was the "Samoquet" of the village;... (Caamaño, 1849 in Grenfell, 1938: 272-273).

Caamaño's description of the chief's ("Samoquet" presumably being Sem-o'tgEt as noted by Garfield, 1939:177, meaning "real person, chief") costume may be a description of the bear's ears headdress worn by chiefs in the Dog Eaters or nulim secret society (see Boas, 1895:655, see also Table IV, p.81). Other descriptions record how Tsimshians, dressed ceremonially, boarded Caamaño's ship and sprinkled the Europeans with eagle down, chanting "Peace-Peace". (Caamaño, Ibid.:280,284,288).

Caamaño left the ship, briefly, to attend an elaborate ceremony. Several masks and costumes were displayed, though from his descriptions, it is not clear whether or not a frontlet headdress was viewed. One of the older men (the editor Newcombe suggests that, from the description of the man's behaviour and dress, he was a shaman) blew feathers at Caamaño, "so that they should fall upon myself and my immediate neighbours" (Ibid.: 290). His host, "Jammisit" then began a dance and the description of his...
costume gives the impression that he may have been wearing a frontlet headdress.

On his head was a large well-imitated representation of a seagull's head, made of wood and coloured blue and pink [?], with eyes fashioned out of polished tin; while from behind his back stuck out a wooden frame covered in blue cloth, and decked out with quantities of eagles' feathers and bits of whale bone, to complete the representation of a bird. (Ibid.:291)

Caamaño describes the rest of the costume - a cloak of white calico trimmed with brown edging, a deerskin apron with deer hoof fringe, a smaller, ornamented apron, painted dance leggings - and the dance of his host. Then, the chief removed his "mantle", "appeared with a half-length wooden doll on his head", and was followed by attendants.\(^3\) (This sounds like the headdresses worn in the U'lala or x-gEdet (cannibal) secret society described by Boas, 1895:653-654; illustrations of similar headdresses used in the corresponding Haida secret society are illustrated in Figure 4.8, p.159). The host completed the dance and changed costumes, again aided by attendants.

...he again appeared, this time wearing a heavy wooden mask on his head, of which the snout or upper jaw was moveable. He also carried a blue cloth mantle, such as distinguishes the chiefs, and the timbrel (or "jingles") that my men had noticed when they were captured. (Ibid.:292)

The dance concluded, Caamaño left the feast and a few days later, sailed south. His descriptions, though lengthy, are not especially enlightening except for the fact that they describe headdresses which are recognizably associated with Tsimshian secret societies. (It is possible

\(^3\) See Caamaño's description of how the attendants animated the "doll". Ibid.:292.
that they also saw a frontlet headdress, but of this we cannot be certain.)
Significantly, similar headdresses and masks would be described by Boas
and Gunther – over a hundred years later.

2. Later Ethnographic Accounts and Descriptions.

In 1888, Ensign Niblack published a drawing of a "general type
of Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit chief's costume". The drawing, based on
his own photographs and sketches, features a man dressed in a frontlet
headdress, Chilkat blanket and shirt, leggings and carrying a raven rattle
(see Figure 2.1; see also p.108). In 1895, Boas listed "crests" (based
on Henry Tate's notes) that belonged to Tsimshian groups. The list
included "crest representations as they appeared on "carved headdresses",
"carved hats", "hats", and "helmets", but he does not specify what
distinguishes these categories, nor is the list complete (Boas, 1895:506-
507). In the same volume Boas and Tate described events for which frontlet
headdresses were used (I will refer to these again, below), and a frontlet
headdress was illustrated with the caption, "Head-mask attached to frame
set with sea-lion bristles, and with trailer ornamented with weasel skins"
(Ibid.:540).

In the Field Museum's accession notes for objects collected at
Port Simpson around the turn of the century by Mrs. O. Morrison, we find
more explicit data about frontlet headdresses. In notes accompanying two

4. Mrs. Morrison, according to Halpin (1973:42-43), was half-
Tsimshian and "...made this collection of some 50 pieces in 1892, comissioned
by Boas for the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. ...She
provided rich documentation in English and in Tsimshian (although the
orthography is somewhat idiosyncratic)." I am indebted to M. Halpin for
making copies of the Morrison accession notes available to me.
Figure 2.1. "General type of Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit chief's costume." (From photographs and sketches by the author.) In Niblack, 1888/1970:Plate IX. Note the frontlet headdress illustrated by Niblack is the same or is similar to the frontlet in the Glennbo collection, #AA-1014. See Appendix.
frontlet headdresses and a raven rattle, she recorded:

These masks are worn at all solemn dances, especially at "Potlatches," the performance being strictly in accordance with what their ancestors did and wore. A very large price is paid for the making of one of these masks, but the most expensive things were the "Chief's Headdresses" [she refers to FM 18127 and FM 18132 - not in Appendix], dancing robes and chief's rattles. Frequently slaves were paid to those who made them. Each mask has a name and their own particular chant... All these were owned and used only by the chiefs and their families. The others were not allowed to use them unless they were descendants of Chief's families, and their relations had worn them before them. (Mrs. Morrison, Field Museum Accession 60 notes, ca. 1892; emphasis added.)

Four important ideas are contained in her description:

1) headdresses and other items of chiefs' costumes were expensive; 2) headdresses had individual names; 3) headdresses had individual songs associated with them; and 4) the wearing of headdresses was a long established, chiefly prerogative that was inherited with rank.

Marius Barbeau, in an unpublished manuscript dated 1927^ confirms that frontlet headdresses were a "fashionable ... object indicating chieftainship" and that they had individual names (Barbeau, 1927: n.p. and notes to ROM HN-747). "The headdress (amhallaait) of Sqateen", he recorded, "bore the name of Nigyidihl. The old folk had seen that (supernatural) animal and had known it by name - it belongs to the past" (Alfred Sqateen to Barbeau, 1927, n.p.). Chief Sqateen told him,

It was used as a crest on the head, in the No'yerh, that

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5. I am indebted to the late Wilson Duff for making his copy of the manuscript available to me.

6. "Sqateen" was also written as "Sqatin" by Barbeau. See Figure 2.2. Halpin writes the name as "sqat'i:n, laxk'ibu' head chief at g'itlaxda'mks." (Halpin, 1973:265)
Figure 2.2. "First Chief Skadeen of Gitlakdamiks."
Written on reverse of the original photo: "taken about 30 years ago" - a typical Barbeau phrase. BCPM photo #PN4193. Frontlet on head­
dress now in BCPM collection; see Appendix, BCPM 1529. Halpin (1973: 265) notes that he was the head chief of the laxk'ibu' (wolf) clan.
is in the highest grade of chieftanship. A man cannot
become a chief without giving a ho'yerh. The last time
Sqateen used it was over thirty years ago (before 1927).
The old man was arrested because he had given a potlatch,
and Alfred (the informant) had to complete the feast
while his uncle was taken away. So he used the headdress
himself, while replacing his uncle at home. He also wore
a gushallaait, chief's garment. He appeared before the
chiefs who had been invited and gave away presents - a
big pile of blankets; before the white people came it was
moose skins (hliyawn). Before making the distribution
the chief stood on this pile, facing his guests. His
family would sing the Lemaw's, the song of Harho....
This headdress (amhallaait) was carved over thirty years
ago (before 1927) by Charlie Na'us, of Gitwinksihl (the
Canyon tribe). The nigyidihl must have been a land being,
because its hands and feet are like a man's. But the head
is like a wolf's (the phratric crest). Alfred Sqateen got
his chief's name at a hayaerh [ho'yerh?], as a chief's
name is bestowed only on such occasions. (Ibid.:Figure 2.2)

In the same manuscript, Barbeau describes two headdresses that
he collected from Menesk, head chief of Gitladamix. They are identified
by name:

(1) The-Crown-of-the-Gyebelk (Amhallaaiden Gyebelk) was
the foremost crown of Menesk. The barbs of the sea-lion
on it have been a family possession for generations. But
the weasel train has often been renewed. The little carved
faces all around are represented just like those first seen
on the Gyebelk, according to the adaorh, the myth. It was
made by amgyl'si, a very good carver of the past, whose
reputation has come down to us. He was a Wolf, in the
household of Negwa'on'and Nalarhsz's, on the upper river
(Gigysnih). He must have died way before the white man
came. Once in a while, we have cleaned it with sand paper,
before it was brought out in a feast; it always is kept
looking as new. The blue paint on it is the rhutsa; it
was found on the upper river, about 9 miles above here;
but the exact spot has been lost. I could not find it,
nor have the others. It was mixed with fish eggs, like the
red ocher, before it could be applied. The feathers on the
headdress are from the semgy'al (flicker), in their natural
colour. (Barbeau, 1927, n.p.: See Figure 2.3 for a photo-
ograph of Menesk and the "Amhallaaiden Gyebelk; see also

7 Halpin writes the name of the headdress as amala'idem g'i'belk.
(Halpin, 1973:299).
Figure 2.3. "Menesk or Menesk of Gitlakdamiks", NMC Photo 69696 B-109 with caption reading "Old Menesk (Eagle Head- chief) of Gitlakdamix with the costumes of Chilkat of Sqatin." Barbeau photo, 1927. Headdress was called "Crown of the Gyebelk" (Amhallaaiden Gyebelk) and "was the foremost crown of Menesk" (Barbeau, 1927, n.p.). It was collected by Barbeau. Coat of shell, (under Chilkat blanket) now in ROM collection (ROM HN-769), was also collected by Barbeau in 1927. Halpin notes that "men'esk", was a laxsk'i:k head chief (1973:299).
Appendix: ROM-HN-825 (927.37.146).

(2) The Whole-Man (Trhakyawlem-Gyet: one man), a carved headdress, Menask's other crest, was carved by Pat-nah (a Thunderbird of Gitlarhdamks), who preceded the present Menask as head of the clan, a long while ago. The plaque was made of maple, and it is decorated with native paint. That is different from store paint. It was chewed with cedar bark together with steelhead (salmon) eggs. It is this mixture that makes the paint red. To the glue is added the ground stone. (Ibid.)

Barbeau published four lin songs which he alternately terms hallait, amhallait, or semha’lait, and describes as "Chief songs" that were sung while frontlet headdresses were being worn. Barbeau recorded the songs on wax discs, noted their name (which may have also been the name of the frontlet associated with the song), and had them translated into English. He made brief but informative notes for each. Four of the songs are reproduced below, a fifth may be seen on p. 56.

Song No. 38. Temyetihl.
[Interpreted by Benjamin Munroe; translation later revised by William Beynon].

I will sing the song of the sky. This is the song of the tired - the salmon panting as they swim up the swift current. I walk around where the water runs into whirlpools. They talk quickly, as if they are in a hurry. The sky is turning over. They call me.

This was described as a lin song, or better still, a hallait or chief's song; later the term semhallait, "real chief's song" was added. It is ancient, and it is the principal chief's song of Tralahét with whom it was recorded. It was used in the potlatch before the distribution of gifts. The singer began the song by announcing its title in spoken words: "I will sing the song of the sky!" (Barbeau, in Garfield, 1951:132-133; emphasis added.)

Song No. 39. Yadzaygya’nin.

I strike you! I beat the uneven beats of the song (these are, one two three - one and two are beaten, and three is silent). There is no one to hayaw me (exclaim with surprise) as I appear, when I pretend to jump (like a salmon) at the end of the fish fence meant to catch men. You cannot see me
as I run about, all excited. This is all the Little-Hummingbird is good for. She goes about getting husbands for herself in the villages abroad.

This Nass River song was described as a lih song for the appearance in a feast of the chief who owned it. It was also said to be a yadegya'nin (I-strike-you!) song, from its first words. Tralahst learned it from a sister of Weegyat after he had died, and he used it in a potlatch when distributing food, goods, and money. Although this song was the exclusive privilege of a chief, it is not too surprising to see it pass from Weegyat to Tralahst, as both chiefs belong to interrelated Eagle clans. There must, however, have been other reasons - such as personal friendship or services rendered - to bring about its transfer from one to the other. (Ibid.:133; emphasis added.)

Song No. 40. Hlayuktem Dedawt.
[Interpreted by Benjamin Munroe; revised by William Beynon.]

The wind will soon take me away into the sky. And I shall not come back. Do not let your hearts grieve for me, if the evil spirits have done this to me and keep me from coming back.

It is not well that I should be lost. (This is addressed to him who sings): Do not despair, do not lose heart! (An evil woman speaks to him): What are you trying to get from me? Why do you follow me about? I will take you with me to the place where you will become crazy and do foolish things. I will paint a red mark on your face. When you go back, you will gladden the hearts of all the villagers.

This chieftanship song (amhallait) is the exclusive property of Haimas, the leader of a Raven family at Gitrhatin on the lower Nass. It was described by the singer, Tralahst (whose father was of Haimas' family), as a lih song, to dance with the amhallait (the insignia of the chief), in a feast or when a totem pole was erected, or when a tombstone was put up. As Haimas danced to the tune of this song, he painted a red mark on his face (such as is spoken of in the last phrases), and it made everybody happy. (Ibid.:134; emphasis added.)

Song No. 43. Kamnit Hligye.
[Interpreted by William Beynon.]

(This song expresses what Hrkwawyem, a chief of that name, had seen in a vision): "Just what said the voice of the humming bird will be heard on my head in the springtime (amidst much wealth). My spirit has gone where the Nass flows."

Hrkwawyem was a Gitksan chief of the Kispayaks tribe and the Fireweed phratry. He used to send his nephews to hunt bears,
as he had visions of great wealth. Indeed, his dream came true, for he had a charm or spirit, the humming bird, that helped him. When he was still poor and a small chief, his visions could not travel a long distance. But as soon as he acquired wealth and became a great chief (hallait) his visionary powers extended as far as the Nass.

This hallait or chief's song was recorded in 1920 with Kweeyaihl, or John Brown, of Kispayaks, a Gitksan village, on the Upper Skeena. (Ibid.:134; emphasis added.)

Barbeau's comments provide some interesting insights into:

1) the occasions for which frontlet headdresses were worn (which will be discussed more fully below); 2) the chiefs who wore and owned frontlet headdresses and their accompanying songs; 3) the carvers who made frontlet headdresses; 4) the wood and paints used to construct the frontlets; 5) the exclusiveness of the privilege of wearing a chief's headdress or "amhallait"; and 6) the semantic range of the term "hallait".

3. The Halpin Analysis of Frontlet Headdresses or amhala'its.

In M. Halpin's doctoral dissertation on the Tsimshian crest
system (Halpin, 1973) is found the most comprehensive treatment of
frontlet headdresses ever written. Her data, based on the literature,
field data recorded by Marius Barbeau and William Beynon between 1914
and 1957, as well as museum catalogue data and photographs, not only
corroborates much of the Tsimshian data presented earlier in this chapter,
but provides one of the first ethnological analyses of Tsimshian material
culture. It allows us to take the analysis a step further in reaching a
deeper understanding of the significance of the frontlet headdress.

Halpin discusses the widespread distribution of the chief's
costume: the complex of frontlet headdress, Chilkat blanket, raven rattle,
dancing apron and leggings. She notes that

the complex did have important and well-established
associations with the role of chief among the Tsimshian.
It is my hypothesis that it was worn by, if not developed
for, Tsimshian chiefs in order to symbolize the developing
wihala.it aspect of their roles. An important corollary
of this is that although certain crest associations might
still have been present, the costume was not a crest
costume, but rather expressed high rank and control of
supernatural power. (Halpin, 1973:212; emphasis added.)

She supports this hypothesis by noting the Tsimshian names for the
costume items (see Figure 2.4):

Chilkat blanket: *Gweshala'it* or "Dancing robe: (Gwes: robe, garment;
*halo'it*: dance). Barbeau glosses *gushallaait* as: "chief's
garmet"; 1927:n.p.; see p.34 above.

Raven rattle: *Hasam semhala'it* (hasam from hasE.x: rattle; sem: real;
*halo'it*: dance) (From Barbeau catalogue notes, NMC, VII-C-1394) [Russel Stevens, a teacher of Gitksan language in
Hazelton, B.C., glosses *haseex* as "raven rattle"]

Frontlet headdress: *ahmaha'it* (am: good; *halo'it*: dance). [Russel
Stevens glosses *am'hal'ayt* as "frontlet headdress"; Barbeau,
as noted above, glosses *ahmallait* as "chieftanship song".]

Dancing apron: *ambelan* (am: good; balan: ?) also *nepeln E' nem halo'it*
(from Barbeau catalogue notes, NMC, VII-C-702) though *ambelan
Figure 2.4. Chief Lknits ("Frog Crest") of Gitwanga (K'itwong.E) wearing a gwēshala'it, an ambelan (or nepelE nem hala'it), saxiksamsE, and an amhala'it. He is carrying a hasəm samhala'it. BCPM photo #PN 3831. Photograph by Procter. n.d.
is the more common name. [Stevens glosses ambl'an and (gwils) hl'aks as "dancing apron" while noting that the former is the most commonly used.]

Leggings: saxsiksamsE ("wraps one side of leg") from Barbeau catalogue notes, ROM, HN-754).

She notes that all these items are stored in a:

Chief's chest: 'anda amhala'it or "box for headdress" ('anda: medicine bag or kit; amhala'it: frontlet headdress) (from Barbeau catalogue notes, ROM, HN-812) (Ibid.:213).

Significantly, as she points out, each item (except the leggings, though these were often made from pieces of Chilkat blankets) has the word hala'it in it. Hala'it, she tells us, "is a very important word that cannot be easily translated but can be taken as a signal that supernatural forces are involved". (Ibid.:74). Earlier we noted that Barbeau glossed "hallait" (hala'it) as "great chief" and chief's song" (see pp.36-38 above). Halpin enlarges the semantic range of hala'it to include: "dancer", "shaman", "dance", "power", "power dramatization", and "initiation" as well as "sacred". (Ibid.).

A chief's wihala'it (plural wut'a-hala'it, Garfield, 1939:335) or "great (wi-) dancer (-hala'it)", according to Halpin, was "perhaps the chief's strongest control over the tribe, and a source of considerable wealth..." (Ibid.)

When acting this role, he was addressed by a supernatural "power" name. The basic premise of the wihala'it role was that the chief had greater supernatural powers than others and could impart this power to his people. Such great power was dangerous, and the chief was liberally compensated by xkE't or "non-returnable" gifts for controlling it to the benefit of his people (Ibid.).

Halpin contrasts the chief's wihala'it role with his other role
as *səmə'ig'Et* (səm: "real"; g'Et: "person"). Essentially, the distinction is between a chief's powerful secular identity (as a "real person") and an identity imbued with great supernatural powers (as a great "dancer".... "power".... "initiator", etc.):

The chief's two roles, as *səmə'ig'Et* and *wihala'it* are thus separable, and correspond to two structural orders of Coast Tsimshian society: one ritually expressed in *hala'it* symbolism; the other, the structure of descent groups and affinal ties, ritually expressed in the potlatch. Rank permeates both, but is less explicit in the *hala'it* order.

...Advancement in both orders is necessary to properly assume one's place in Tsimshian society (Ibid.: 84-85)

Halpin maintains that the chief's costume "was worn by, if not developed for" the chief in his *wihala'it* role and that it "was not a crest costume, but rather expressed high rank and control of supernatural power." (op. cit.). She also uses a second line of evidence to support her view:

...the striking absence of these costume items from the rules of use in the crest lists summarized in Appendix II. No rattles or dancing aprons were mentioned at all, and only two Chilkats (Ibid.: 214).

However, in Appendix II of her dissertation where she lists a sample of Tsimshian crests (*ayuks*) and their use, she also includes frontlets and *amhala'its* (frontlet headdresses), their appellations, the translations of these names, their owners, and the village and clan to which they belonged.

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10. Boas writes this as *sEm'āg.id*, plural: *sEmg.ig.a'd*; 1916: 496. Garfield records it as *səm-o'igEt*; 1939: 335.

11. Halpin describes the difference between *ptEx* (the clan, and the crest animal) and the "*ayuks*": "*ayuks* is the crest itself. It is the named totemic entity that is owned by a house and represented on certain of its possessions. Whereas *ptEx* is the animal species from which certain principle crests are derived, *ayuks* are those symbolic derivations themselves. A dozen or more *ayuks* may be based on or derived from a single *ptEx* animal." (Halpin, 1973: 114). She notes that *dzepk* is a more concrete term than *ayuks*, and specifically refers to "the material representation of a crest, the man-made thing or artifact." (Ibid.)

12. "More specifically", she writes, "this information has been extracted from Wilson Duff's copy of the Barbeau/Beynon field data, a copy he made in 1958-59 with Barbeau's assistance." (Ibid.: 328)
Table II is a sampling of her data on frontlet headdresses used as crests. (I have altered her presentation of the material slightly, in order to save space.)

TABLE II. FRONTLET HEADDRESSES USED AS CRESTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(pp.) Clan, clan division</th>
<th>Name, translation</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>Place, owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(341) laxk'ibu', Niska</td>
<td>1) sma'x, &quot;black bear&quot;</td>
<td>headdress with weasles behind head (amhala'it?) [other examples in footnote below #14]</td>
<td>g'itlaxda'mks, kystiya'ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(344)</td>
<td>2) naxnag.am so.q &quot;supernatural robin&quot;</td>
<td>an amhala'it, looks like a human face</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(348)</td>
<td>3) a.t, &quot;fungus&quot;</td>
<td>the amhala'it of the ghosts which turned to black fungus</td>
<td>g'itlaxda'mks, k'Exk &amp; to.q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(349)</td>
<td>4) wila'?o &quot;Large la'?.o&quot; (Photo, Figure 2.5)$^{15}$</td>
<td>an amhala'it, looked like a human face</td>
<td>g'itlaxda'mks, kystiya'ox</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13. I have only entered those citations definitely described as being used on amhala'its. Other entries – falling mostly under HD: headdress – are sometimes equivocal. In some instances their description sounds like an amhala'it, while in others, headdress may indicate a "hat" or merely a hair ornament.

14. Other examples of Bear crests are listed in the Appendix:(NMC, VII-C-1467; NMC, VII-C-96).

15. See Figure 2.5 below. Halpin notes: "la'?o: 'carver's pattern of what he is going to make' (template?). In a photograph [which I believe to be Figure 2.5], kstiya'ox [James Percival] is in centre wearing weasel headdress; on his left is kseo'ol, his successor, wearing amhala'it wila'?o." See Figure 2.6 for a photo of kstiya'ox.
Figure 2.5. Laxk'ibu' chiefs at G'itlaxda'mks. Left to right (adults): Andrew Nash, John Nash or Ksedo'ol (successor to kstiya'ox; wearing the wila'?o amhala'it; (in Halpin, 1973:349), James Percival or kstiya'ox (owner of the wila'?o crest; Ibid.). Mrs. Eliza Brown, Matilda (Brown) Peal; Chiefs of Wolf crest. BCPM photo: PN4330 identified by "Matilda Peal, aunt of Nash." Note: frontlet headdress lower right (in BCPM collection: BCPM 953) has leather "whale's tail" leather tong inside crown bristles; see pp. 191-192 and Figure 5.2.
Figure 2.6. James Percival or kstiya'ox, Chief of laxk'ibu' at G'itlaxda'mks, Nass River. BCPM photo: PN 4329; documentation: "bought from Indian at Inverness cannery, 1903." Amhala'it at lower right in BCPM collection: BCPM 9683. Kstiya'ox was the owner of the wila'?o amhala'it crest (not shown here--see Figure 2.5, this paper).
Table II - ...continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(pp.)</th>
<th>Clan, clan division</th>
<th>Name, translation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Place, owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (379) | g'ispəwudə Coast | 1) "xsk. e'msəm" | bird like an eagle, but more of a recurved beak; very large claws | a) g'itwilgo'ts<br> I rank (p.284)  
b) g'inax'angi'k<br> I & II rank (p.285)  
c) g'ina'do'.ks<br> I rank (p.285) |
| (379) |                     | 2) xsk. e'msəm | used...as a headdress at dances or feasts; represents a large bird similar to the eagle but with longer beak and very large claws. Eyes are of Pearl...has sealion whiskers over it and weasel fur behind. [sounds like an amhala:it] | a) g'itzax'ı't<br> VI: VII rank (p.284)  
b) g'itwilgo'ts<br> I rank (p.284) |
| (384) |                     | 3) migəməmamhala:it<br>"shower amhala:it" | represented as human with pearl eyes, teeth & ears | g'itxa'ìa<br> I rank (p.283) |
| (386) |                     | 4) mì'ag.amamhala:it<br>"black amhala:it" | a square wooden plaque charred and rubbed with grease until very black | same as above |
| (394) | G.isg.a:st Gitksan | 1) pistE'ì<br>"grouse" | a totem pole & amhala:it | k'itsag'u'kla<br> wi.g'Et |
| (398) |                     | 2) log.omba'leq<br>"decayed corpse"
"moth", or "disgarded ghost" | an amhala:it beaked like a bird...as many beings on amhala:it. | k'itsag'u'kla<br> a) ksg.og.əmλa:E'  
b) haxpəgw:ì'tu |

16. In a footnote Halpin records, "Barbeau (1929:93) puts these two meanings together: "ghost-like moth"; name is Tsimshian; in a myth monster moth is seen feeding on carcasses of two mountain goats by survivors of a famine: 'it must be the ghost of one of our dead relatives partaking of food'." (Ibid.:398). See example in Appendix: NMC, VII-C-1171, crest of xsg.og.əmlaxE', g.isg.a:st of Kitsegukla.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(pp.)</th>
<th>Clan, clan-division</th>
<th>Name, translation</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>Place, owner</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(399)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(441)</td>
<td>laxse.'l Gitksan</td>
<td>mo'.dzëks</td>
<td>in the myth it was like a man from Heaven, not clearly seen in the mist on the mountain chicken hawk</td>
<td>k'itwëng.E' halaist t'hakú wo.dax g'it'anma'ks lutkudzi'us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(454)</td>
<td>laxsk'i:'k Coast Tsimshian</td>
<td>txa'kolk or witxa'kolk'em'Et &quot;whole being&quot; &quot;large whole person&quot;</td>
<td>...said to have a short bird-like beak and small human forms on its back and around its face.</td>
<td>gunhu.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(463)</td>
<td>Niska</td>
<td>paxk'c'o.'l &quot;one person&quot;</td>
<td>single human figure</td>
<td>g'itxat'i:n axata.t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Halpin remarks, "Barbeau says mo'.dzëks was another name for eagle (1929:57); this person said the house of lutkudzi'us, IV [rank], g'itan'maks, also called it mo'?o: same as eagle, used amhala'it for dances. (Ibid.:441)

18 For examples see Appendix: ROM, HN-900; NMC, VII-X-1147; MAI, 1/4297; BCPM, 1528.
As noted above, her list of crest (ayuks) amala'its is only a sampling. She further divides this list into two major categories: 1) monster and human crests and 2) other crests – noting that "while primary and secondary crest animals could be represented on amhala'its, a larger category of representations were of human faces and monsters" (1973:220). The point she establishes very clearly is:

...that while these items may include realistic representations of crest animals, such as bears, the greater number of them are found in highly conventionalized forms which are ambiguous and almost impossible to "read". Where precise iconographic documentation was available, the frontlet representations were said to be heavenly phenomena and complex monsters such as the Decayed Corpse and g'i:balk. Most of the heavenly phenomena crests in the crest lists were said to be represented by the human face or figure and most of the complex monsters were said to have human as well as other forms. In addition, a number of the complex monsters were said to have human beings on them. The g'i:balk was said to have "human forms around its face and on its back", and the most indeterminate of all the monster crests, Over Ten, was a variable large monster with small ones in a row over its head. It sounds like a description of the amhala'it.

...the functional significance of the complex monsters was that, since their forms were ambiguous and subject to transformation, they could serve as unifying chiefly symbols for tribesmen of different clans. In other words, while being treated as crests and used in crest contexts, they could serve essentially as non-crests, in that they did not celebrate any one kin-group over the others.

Similarly, the conventionalized faces on the amhala'it, whether the "human" faces or the ones with long beaks, were not in visual "conflict" with those headdresses representing primary and secondary crest animals. Furthermore, the chief wore it in dance or hala'it contexts, which cut across clan

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19 She also presents a diagnostic sampling of Tsimshian frontlets that were identified either by crest or by owner and divides them into two "styles": "sculptural" and "painting" styles (which she acknowledges as having "no corresponding iconographic differences". (1973:221-223;224). These frontlets, other than the ones referred to above, may be found in the Appendix. They are: ROM, HN-913; HN-902; HN-914; HN-825. BCPM, 10032; 1529; 1304; 1530. NMC, VII-C-87; VII-C-1811; VII'-C-1169; VII-C-97; VII-C-177; VII-X-1147. UBC, A1734.
lines as integrative sodalities. In these contexts, what was important was that he was Chief, not whether he was laxšk'ī:k or laxšk'ibu'. (Halpin, 1973:234-235; emphasis added).

The seeming contradiction between amhala'its being used as crest representations and amhala'its as an integral part of the chief's developing wihala'it role is solved when Halpin explains that amhala'its could be "treated as crests and used in crest contexts", as well as serving "essentially as non-crests in that they did not celebrate any one kin group over another". (op. cit.)

If I have read her correctly, the point that appears ambiguous in her analysis of frontlet headdresses centres on her hypothesis that "when the object in question is a headdress - its iconography refers to a "crest" and conversely, a mask's iconography refers to a naxnɔ'x. (Ibid.: 135). Iconographic interpretation of headdresses and masks, she says, is linked to the presentation or concealment of the individual's face. When the wearer's face is visible he is displaying a crest; when the wearer's face is concealed, he is displaying a naxnɔ'x. She notes that because chiefs sometimes hired other members to perform their naxnɔ'x for them, the social and individual identity of the person was not significant. "This would have been inconceivable in the display of a crest headdress." (Ibid.) She calls attention to the problem of differentiating between crest and non-crest representations:

...some of the same animals claimed as crests and represented on headdresses were also claimed as crests and represented on masks. The problem is complicated by what appear to be careless statements on the part of some collectors that certain masks represented their owners' crests or were worn in potlatches, both of which claims can be seriously questioned as being incompatible with the basic rules of the crest-potlatch complex. (Ibid.:187-188).
The question I have is: how can a frontlet headdress, as part of a chief's costume that "was not a crest costume" (op.cit.) and that served 'essentially as a non-crest item' (paraphrased, op.cit.) fit into her formulations, crest:headdress :: naxno'x:mask? (Ibid.:248). If she is referring exclusively to the naming of these objects - i.e. the names of headdresses and masks - then her formulation appears unequivocal. However, since Halpin is discussing (1) the display and (2) the iconography of these objects, I find her formulation at variance with her hypothesis that the frontlet headdress was not part of a crest costume.

While Halpin's formulation is adequate for the purpose of her analysis, her category "headdress" becomes much too inclusive for a study of the frontlet headdress. If we exclude frontlet headdresses (amhala'its) from her category of "headdresses" and relegate them to a category separate from (and in a sense mediating) both the categories crest "headdress" and naxno'x "mask", then part of the problem is resolved. Clearly, the Tsimshian used many other headdresses in addition to amhala'its, and her data support her formula as far as they are concerned. However, since her data indicate that most Tsimshian frontlet iconography may be interpreted as complex monsters ("their forms were ambiguous and subject to transformation, they could serve as unifying chiefly symbols for tribesmen of different clans"; op.cit., p.48 above.), a different formula depicting the set of relationships between amhala'its and naxno'xs is required. In fact, Halpin implicitly makes a categorical distinction between amhala'its and crest headdresses which parallels the contrast between hala'it and ya'ok events. (Idem., p.118). She contrasts the most diagnostic features of these two events:
**hala'it** features

- chief addressed as **wihala'it**
  - ["great dancer"]
- no myth recited
- initiates wear cedar-bark neck rings and head rings (in secret society) [initiates addressed as 'hala'its'.]
- chief's costume: **gweshala'it** (Chilkat), **amhala'it** (frontlet) [headdress], Raven rattle [**hasom samhala'it**.][Note: use of round rattles also mentioned.]
- use of trumpets and whistles
- actors wear masks (in **naxno'x**)
- name is dramatized (in **naxno'x**)

**potlatch** [**ya'ok**] features

- chief addressed as **samo'ojig Et**
  - ["real person"]
- myth recitation prominent
- recipient of name wears crest robe and headdress; [addressed with the name corresponding to his new status.]
- chief's costume: crest robe and headdress [Barbeau's data accompanying the lin songs indicate **amhala'it** and Chilkat worn here.]
- trumpets and whistles absent
- principals wear headdresses; their faces are not covered
- name never dramatized (although there may be a dramatization of a crest [?])

By extending her statements that much of **amhala'it** iconography derives from "representations of the complex monsters previously discovered in crest lists", (Ibid.:248,235) and that "these were crests of integration functionally related to the developing role of the chief", (Ibid.; emphasis added) a formula more appropriate for our purpose would be:

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**ya'ok**: potlatch

**PROFANE**

**samo'ojig Et**: crest headdress

crests of differentiation

image: social identity as clan member

**hala'it**: dances or power demonstrations

**SACRED**

**wihala'it**: **amhala'it**: **naxno'x**: mask

crests (used in non-crest context) of integration

image: social identity + supernatural identity

image: supernatural identity (social identity explicitly negated)

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Footnote #20 and #21 are on the following page.
A corollary to this formula is another which follows Halpin's original thinking, but within the context of the hala'it events:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{synthesis of supernatural} & : \ amhala'it & \text{supernatural identity with social identity} & : \ naxno'x \\
\text{identity and social identity} & & \text{negated}
\end{align*}
\]

The question then becomes: why does the hala'it as a ritual series have these two contrasting sets of visual displays? In other words, why are frontlet headdresses and masks contextually distinct within the hala'it performances? In order to answer this question, we must first examine the contexts in which the Tsimshian chiefs wore amhala'its.

4. The Ceremonial Contexts

Generally, there were three contexts in which the Tsimshian wore frontlet headdresses:

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20. Halpin points out that this is an emic distinction. She outlines the conceptual difference between the two: "The use of naxno'x whistles in these events [i.e. - name dramatizations, chief's power demonstrations and secret society initiations] is significant of a basic conceptual difference between name dramatization and crest display: spirits or supernatural beings were believed to be present when their voices were heard. Their immediate and continuing power was demonstrated in the event. Crests, on the other hand, were bestowed by or taken from supernatural beings in myth time, and the crest display was in commemoration of that past supernatural event. If one were to evoke the sacred/secular dichotomy which is traditional in North-west Coast studies, hala'its (including naxno'x's [and the wihala'it roles] were sacred; potlatches (including crest displays) were: :secular:" (Ibid.:127)

21. These terms are taken directly from Halpin's final analysis (pp. 249-252) of the Tsimshian crest system in which she notes the "general and particularized crests are crests of differentiation: the particularized crests being extensions of the basic totemic system", and the simple and complex monster crests are "interpreted as crests of integration in that they symbolized amalgamation of descent groups from different environmental areas... [and]...at the tribal level." (Ibid.:251).
1) in "welcoming" dances for various occasions - such as pole raisings and marriage ceremonies. All of the descriptions indicate that the host chief wore a frontlet headdress at this time. Eagle down was dispersed from the crown of the headdress and covered the guests. These dances were preliminary to ya'ok' feasting.

2) in "first power ceremonies" and secret society initiations, as well as in individual power manifestations held during the hala'it season. The chief, in his wihala'it role, wore the frontlet headdress or amhala'it.

3) in mortuary rituals, including lying-in-state rites and possibly in cremation.

We will examine each of these, in detail, below. However, it should be pointed out that most of this data is based on Coast Tsimshian and Niska sources. From accounts in the literature, the data appear almost consistently parallel. Drucker's brief account of Gitksan dancing societies is unfortunately the only one in the literature on Gitksan society, and I have included his data where possible.

i. Welcoming Dances: peace of power.

The data presented below reveal that frontlet headdresses were not always exclusive to hala'it events, but may have been used in a pre-feast context in which strangers and/or outsiders were welcomed to a host's village or house. An important feature of these dances was the dispersal of eagle down from the crown of the amhala'it (see Figure 2.7).

In the data notes accompanying a Tsimshian bag used to store eagle

22 Drucker's informants told him that the dancing societies "were introduced among the Gitksan 'not very long ago' - in late protohistoric times...Previous to this time, the Gitksan had only the amhalait or 'chief's dances', in which the chief danced wearing a forehead mask filled with eagle down, and displayed his clan crest." (1940:222, emphasis added). It is interesting to note that the head chief of each Gitksan dancing society prays to the menhalait, or Chief Dancer, "supernatural being who controls the ritual." (Ibid.:223).
Figure 2.7. Tsimshian chief of Kitwanga in ceremonial costume. BCPM photo #PN1181. Newcombe collection. Photograph by Rev. Price. Note the bits of eagle down still clinging to the Chilkat blanket. Also, it is interesting to note that the dance leggings have been cut from the Chilkat weaving and are in the shape of salmon or whale’s tails.
down Barbeau recorded:

Gut bag for eagle's down: Mi'g.a.'x (nE.ts) [Stevens glosses kaax as "eagle down"] used in the chief's dance. The down was placed in the crown of his headdress. While the chief danced, he jerked his head, and the down flew in all directions as a sign of peace and goodwill. This process was called soma'amg.esk: "make friends of those fallen out." It was also used in great feasts in which the chief appeared and danced. He gave the mi'g.a.'x (eagle's down) to his guests which was called mi'g.a.'mæsk'u. By this he disclosed his intention of giving a yuk'u, a feast of promotions.

Made of the throat of a sea lion: t'i.ben. Very old. (Alfred Sqat' i.n, head chief of Gitlaxdamiks to Barbeau, 1927: notes to ROM, HN-754(119); emphasis added.)

Barbeau's account of the soma'amg.esk event is similar to episodes in marriage ceremonies among the Niska described in Boas in 1894. In this description, the prospective bridegroom and several slaves journey to his future bride's village. When they arrive, members of her clan attack the slaves, and smash the groom's canoe. Then after a serious battle,

...the bridegroom and his companions are carried into the bride's house. Then her friends strew on the companions of the bridegroom eagle down, which is kept in a bag made of sea-lion's intestines. Her father puts on his headdress and dances, while her friends sing. Then a feast is given during which the young man pays the remainder of the purchase money. (Boas, 1916:531-532; emphasis added.)

Boas also recorded "War Tales" of the Tsimshian in which welcome dances are explicitly mentioned. In one, "War between the Tsimshian and Tlingit", the Tsimshian chief Leg.e'°x dances before the high-ranking Haida chief, Sd'I'ida, and his entourage:

When everything had been brought in, the great chief [Leg.e'°x] wore his dancing blanket and his headdress and a rattle and he danced the welcome dance for his relative who had brought back his nephew from captivity...They [Leg.e'°x's people] served food; and after
the meal Sdë'Ida danced. (Boas, 1916:388; emphasis added.)

In another, "War Between the Haida and the C'Ispa-x-lâ'ots", a welcoming dance is mentioned, and although no explicit reference to a headdress is made, the use of feathers (in connection with a copper; see Chapter Five) suggests the same kind of costume used in the welcome dance cited above:

Chief LLegë'wx ordered all his companions to go to his nephew's house [that is, to Gû-qâ'q's house at G.it.andâ'], and the warriors went up. After Gû-qâ'q's welcome dance two of his men lifted a copper and said, "These are the feathers, chief; these are the feathers, chief; these are the feathers." (Ibid.: 386, emphasis added.)

The themes of peace and friendship that are implicit in the Boas data are echoed in an amhala'it song recorded in 1924 at Kitwanga by Marius Barbeau. "Weehawn or George Derrick of Gitwinlkul [or Kitwancool] was the singer, and William Beynon the interpreter." (Barbeau, in Garfield, 1951:135-136).

Song No. 42. Nawhlttemdee.

Who will pursue me into the sky? Your little song - this song - really never pauses. (It is always being sung: This is a taunt, as it is a hint to some chiefs that they never give a feast, and their songs are never heard.) You are straight-forward princes who never owned an abalone pearl! (It is inferred that the chief who sings this song is not like them. He is powerful and wealthy. He uses his songs in feasts.) The slave is ashamed who would have been greater than I. Cease chattering you proud people! Cease chattering, all you members of the Luhlim23 fraternity. Are you trying to bring down the pillars of the sky? Who will run among the people? Who will follow me through the hole in the sky into the bright mirage beyond? When they see my footprints white as those of the Raven (in the snow), they will try to imitate me.

This is a chief's (hallait) song of Weehawn (of the Raven-Frog phratry), one of the leaders of the Gitwinlkul tribe of the Gitksan. When it is sung the chief dances with his

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23 Luhlim fraternity is presumably the LôLE'm or Dog Eaters society.
headdress and paraphernalia, shakes his bird rattles, nods his head and the eagle's down from his crown fills the air in sign of peace and friendship. (Ibid.; emphasis added.)

Almost identical words were used by one of Duff's Kitwancool teachers to describe a 1910 photograph of "Chief Wee-lezqu, of the Kitwancool", wearing a frontlet headdress and carrying a raven rattle (see Figure 2.8).

This is very important. Whenever there is trouble, the chief puts on his headdress called am-a-lite. It has a carved wooden crest on the front. It is filled with eagle-down (mek-gaik). He bows his head over the people so that the eagle-down falls on them, and this means friendship and peace. Whenever mek-gaik falls on you, you must be a peaceful person. When people of another village are invited to attend a feast, the chief dons his headdress filled with eagle-down and dances a dance of welcome, spreading it over his visitors. (Duff, 1959:38; Figure 2.8 this paper; emphasis added.)

Although the Nahltemdee song, like the other amhala'it songs recorded by Barbeau (see pp.36-37), are called "hallaits" and are indeed associated with frontlet headdresses, it is unclear whether or not they were exclusive to hala'it events. From his notes, it would appear that they were used in pre-feast or pre-potlatch (ya'ok) activities, which based on my reading of these descriptions - could be interpreted as "welcoming dances" performed for feast guests.

Using Halpin's distinctions between secular potlatch (ya'ok) events and sacred ritual series (hala'it) and between the chief's soma'cig.Et and wihala'it roles, the welcoming dance (soma'amg.esk) may be considered a secular activity performed by a chief in his soma'cig.Et role. The data, unfortunately, are not explicit on this

During these dances he carries a raven rattle: hasem somhala'it.
Figure 2.8. Chief Wee-lezgu (right) of Kitwancool wearing an amhala'it. Chief Gwass-lam (left). BCPM photo, PN 3928. See also, Duff, 1959: plate #7.
point. Moreover, a closer examination of the welcoming dance would indicate that for these events, the distinctions are not clear-cut. First, as I will discuss in more detail below, the chief's actions and costume in the welcoming dances and in the hala'it contexts are nearly identical. Second, looking at the above data, it is evident that the process of "welcoming" feast guests involves more than extending wishes of well-being and friendship. We note that it is a time for making "friends of those fallen out" (Barbeau, 1927:op.cit., p.55), for singing a taunting song, for admonishing guests to "Cease chattering....Are you trying to bring down the pillars of the sky?" (Barbeau, 1951:op.cit., p. 56) and "whenever there is trouble" to make feast guests "peaceful." (Duff, 1959: op.cit.: 57). The dances are performed by a chief, a person who is publicly recognized as being not only wealthy, but powerful as well. To be wealthy in Tsimshian society is, of course, to imply that one is powerful by virtue of one's social position and ability to amass and distribute resources. However, commensurate with that wealth is one's degree of spiritual enlightenment - i.e. one's control of supernatural powers. To be powerful in Tsimshian society implies the ability to direct supernatural forces.

One way of viewing the chief's welcoming dances then, is to see them as ritual activities which "set the stage", so to speak, for serious events to follow. The welcoming dance is a display of power - in both a secular and a sacred sense - over the potentially disruptive presence of outsiders. It is an act of coercion as much as an invitation to

25 I believe Halpin saw this problem as well, though given the scope of her paper, she chose not to address the question at that time.
"peace and friendship"; it is a display that signals the host chief's total control over all that is to follow and over the orderly participation of his guests. "Whenever mek-gaik falls on you, you must be an orderly person." Whether in the role of somo'ig.Et or wihala.it (though, it will be remembered, the chief welcoming Caamaño defined his role as somo'ig.Et), the chief welcoming his guests is the "real person" or "great dancer" in the sense that he is the "ideal" person. Having both the power of wealth and of the supernatural, he exemplifies the ideal balance between the secular and sacred spheres of the Tsimshian universe.

ii. First Power Ceremonies and Secret Society Initiations.

This section covers the wearing of frontlet headdresses in the hala.it season, called gwEndesem hala.it ("arrival /on earth /hala.it"). (Halpin, 1973:78). This season, which ran for the entire winter and sometimes into the spring, was called the "time of tabu" (ha'we'iks: "tabu"). (Ibid.)

The ceremonies were planned by a council of all hala.it chiefs of the tribe, known collectively as wutahala.it (pl. of wihala.it), or "great dancers". "The council was held in the greatest secrecy, in a house completely surrounded by cedar bark rings (lu'ix), a warning to all that it meant death to enter. namno'x whistles of all the secret societies were sounded continually while the council was going on. All the people stayed in their own houses, such was the fear of the wutahala.it" (Joseph Starr). While people did not say so specifically, the council of the wutahala.it must have been similar in composition to the council of headmen (loqag'ig'Et) which advised the chief on secular matters. (Ibid.)

26. (Duff, 1959:38; op.cit.) This idea is given a fuller treatment in Chapter Five.

27. Informant cited in the Barbeau-Beynon fieldnotes used by Halpin.
All members of a tribe participated in the hala'it ritual series which, Halpin notes, was a series of "steps" or elevations in the possession of supernatural power. (Ibid.) The first of these initiations, the "first power ceremonies", were distinct from later secret society initiations.

A. First Power Ceremonies: the T'si.k and the Samhala'it

The first step in hala'it elevation took place when Tsimshian children were very small. This was the first contact of children with the supernatural spirits whose powers would "protect" them. The power was received from an "adult intermediary", usually a chief of either the maternal or paternal clan (Garfield, 1939:298), and the child was sponsored by either his father or his mother's brother. Most descriptions of these two early ceremonies note that they are "throwing ceremonies", an appellation which stems from the action of the chief, as the principal actor in the initiations, summoning his supernatural power, "capturing" it in his hands, and "throwing" the power into the initiate. ("Throwing" power is also part of secret society initiations and welcoming ceremonies. See below and see also Tate in Boas, 1916:539). The chief who throws power into the children, wears a frontlet headdress.

Boas recorded that at the beginning of the winter ceremonies, the chief summons a supernatural power to the house:28

28. This chief's power was also found in Tate's list of chief's supernatural names. (Tate, in Boas, 1916:513). As Halpin notes, the list "includes some namo'x names, but seems to include another category of names, those referring to the heavens (laxha), which might have been special wihala'it names." (1973:74).
**Txal-ks-gâ-gum lax-ha'.** (First of Heaven). This is the first supernatural power that is called in the ceremonial of initiation. They call it with the words "Great power Txal-ks-gâ-gum lax-ha', open the powers of heaven for the supernatural helpers of these great chiefs!" [The chief dances, shouts. People respond with cries and the clapping of hands as a drum beats. All of this activity is repeated four times.] The chief now sings, "Hu'itgu'itgu'lax-haya!" that means "This call from Heaven." After he has danced, he says, "Now the supernatural powers from heaven are ready to come down." (Boas, 1916:557-558).

The account does not describe the chief's costume. However, because the chief is in his whala'it role, it would not be unlikely that he danced in a frontlet headdress on this occasion rather than in a "crest" headdress or a mask.

The "first and essential" ceremony in the hala'it system was the t'si.k (Garfield, 1939:298, says this is untranslatable; Halpin, 1973:78, glosses it as "dentalium") or the t'si.k hala'it (Garfield glosses this as "supernatural power ceremony"; Ibid.:198). In her description of the t'si.k ceremony, Garfield indicates that it was performed twice: once when the child was very young and again when the child could take a more active role in the ceremony:

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30 Garfield, in a footnote, comments that there is a similarity between the Nootka ceremony tse'yeq and the Kwakiutl t'sa'eqa, both of which sound remarkably like t'si.k. She says that they are "connected with shamanistic practices." The Kwakiutl use a frontlet headdress in the t'sa'eqa (or Tseyka) and call it a yékwiwey ("dancing forehead mask") (Holm, 1972:11 and 32). Halpin points out that, "...the hala'it performance and idiom of expression are derived from shamanism. One meaning of the word hala'it is "shaman"...naxno'x and spirit name dramatizations are also called hala'it's and include certain performances in which chiefs explicitly act the role of swansk hala'it or "curing shaman." (1973:77).
The supernatural power received by children was that of the chief who conveyed it. He, being strong, could cope with a spirit that would have destroyed the weaker child, hence he regulated and controlled the influence through him. This first ceremony prepared the child for seeking a supernatural power through his own efforts and gave him the necessary strength for coping with it when he did receive one by himself.

In the t'is.k ceremony very young children, often babes in arms, received the power from the chief before the assembled members of their tribe and often of their father's tribe as well. The chief was addressed by his supernatural (naxnox) name through the ceremony and was spoken of as 'great dancer' (wi-hala'it) and not as 'chief' (sem-o'igEt). He danced, dramatizing his name, and the songs belonging to it were sung. He enticed his spirit power to him and finally threw it into the children who were hidden under a mat in the corner of the house with their mothers. As he threw the power a whistle was blown which was the voice of the 'spirit' (naxnox) taking possession of the children.

The second conveying of power into children was done when they were somewhat older and could take some active part in the ceremony. The chief again threw his power into the children who then disappeared. The people were informed that they had been taken by the spirits but would return. The next day they were brought dressed in garments decorated to represent the supernatural powers and crests belonging to their lineage. If old enough they sang the songs belonging to these powers or dramatized the names of them themselves. If not, they were assisted by their paternal aunts. A power name was often given each child also, who dramatized it while the history of it was being explained to the guests. (Garfield, 1939:229).

Tate described a t'is.k (or perhaps it was a sem-hala'it - see below, p. 67) or "throwing dance" that was conducted by Chief Dzeba'sa (Ganha'da; Git-qxä'ta):31

Dilögi' ["Boiling Words"] was the chief supernatural helper of Dzeba'sa. When any chief made a great potlatch, and the people were assembled in his house on the evening preceding

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31 Elsewhere, he added that the raven rattle was also used in the "throwing dance" - but it is not clear whether or not this is the t'si.k, semhala'it or a secret society initiation (or all three). He writes, "This rattle is used in the "throwing dance", in the house of some other chief, and after each dance he received pay. It was also used in a dance in the house of a member of his own tribe." (Tate, in Boas, 1916:515).
great distribution of property, this helper of Dzęba'śa was called to initiate a candidate. The mask would appear, and the people would sing its song. At the end of this song it would disappear again, and Dzęba'śa, dressed with his head-mask, the puffin-beak apron, puffin-beak leggings, and with a ceremonial blanket, came forth. The song-leader started the dancing song, and the chief danced, jerking his head with the beats of the wooden drum, so that the eagle down would fly out of the hollow receptacle formed by the top of the head-dress. He accompanied his dance with the rattle. Before the end of the dancing-song, the chief caught his supernatural power above his head and closed his hands over it. Then the people clapped their hands, beat the drum, and shouted. When they stopped, Dzęba'śa shouted. "Ohi!" to which the people replied "Houstst!" This was repeated four times. Then Dzęba'śa walked up to one side of the door, where the children of the chief's family (that is, the nephews and nieces of the host) were sitting, and threw his supernatural power on one of the children. At once the whistle of Dıłqı was heard among the children. Then the chief's nephews paid Dzęba'śa for his dance, saying, "Your supernatural power walked over these costly things, sir." This speech was repeated four times.

Then the people would call for Txa-g'ā'ksÉm lax-ha' ["Heaven Body"], the supernatural helper of Lęg'ę'ox, to initiate several of the young people. This helper was used only for youths of high rank. (Tate, in Boas, 1916:514; emphasis added.)

In another account, Tate describes what sounds like a t'si.k ceremony. From his description we can get an idea of the duration of these preliminary ceremonies:

...all the different chiefs are assembled in the house of the head chief to perform what is called the throwing-dance. Then each chief of each tribe dances by himself with his own mask. The first chief, after the dance of his own mask, will dance with his dancing-garment and his carved headdress inlaid with abalone, wearing his dancing-apron with the bills of beautiful puffins, leggings of the same kind, and carrying the welcome rattle. Then, while the chief's own people are singing, and while he is dancing, he catches his supernatural power in the air and goes towards the child of the chief, holding the supernatural power between the palms of his hands, and throws it into the chief's child or into his niece or nephew. Then all the chiefs who are guests have each one night for their own throwing-dance.
Each has the name of a supernatural power, besides his
own chief's name. So, when they call one of these chiefs
to dance, they call him by his sacred name. The dances
end when it is nearly daylight, and then all the princes
and princesses have supernatural powers and have become
dancers. Therefore after four days have passed and all
the children have dances, their father kills some slave
or gives away much property or breaks a costly copper.
The head chief pays each chief who performed the throwing-
dance with three or four elk skins. If there are seven
or ten children in a chief's family, then each of the
visiting chiefs performs his dance seven or ten times,
_once for each of the children._ (Ibid.:515; emphasis added.)

Garfield provides a similar, though somewhat fuller description,
of another t'si.k ceremony given by Nies-gane's and his brother for the
three children of their sister. All the members of the G' nad o'iks tribe
were invited — including the maternal and paternal clans of the initiates.
A dance was performed by three of the children's aunts and the property
to be distributed at this feast was brought into the house, counted and
displayed; then:

...Nies-gima, Raven G'nado'iks, called out to Chief
Nies-we'xs, "Now, Now, great hala'it, All Bright Heavens,
put your breath (power) on this uninitiated one." Chief
Nies-we'xs, who was called by his power name, 'All Bright
Heavens' (Txa-la'ukse'm laxha') throughout the whole ceremony,
was standing behind a box containing his ceremonial blanket,
headress and rattle [this was probably an 'anda amhala'it or
"box for headress" - see p.41]. On one side of him was
a Raven assistant, on the other a Wolf, guarding him. He
put on his garments, then started his power song very faintly
at first. This was a song of the myth type called, 'where
the ice strikes', which belonged to Chief Nies-we'xs and his
lineage relatives. The Wolf assistant began to beat the
drum. The professional song leader led the women singers
by announcing a line of the song at a time, directing the
tempo in which it was to be sung. The singers took up the
song from Nies-we'xs as he began to dramatize it. Suddenly
he cried, Han, han, and grasped something in the air.
Immediately the whistles were heard, the sound coming from
the small room in the rear of the house. The chief strug­
gled with the power in his hands, commenting on its
strength and greatness as he danced. The audience called
out, "he'vuts", in admiration. As the chief danced he
approached the spot where the children were hidden under the mat. Finally he blew the power toward them with a prolonged u'pf. Then the whistle was heard under the mat and the power was known to have entered the children, who responded by crying out lololo, expressing pain from the power which had entered them. The chief returned to the rear of the house completely exhausted by the struggle with his spirit. Nies-gane's went to him with a blanket which he gave to him saying, "Take this, wi-hala't, this is the robe the spirit walked on". Any gift presented to the chief is called ha'li-ia ia naznox (ha-, instrumental prefix; 'li- 'on'; ia, 'to walk'; I connective; naznox, 'spirit'). (Garfield, 1939:299-30; emphasis added.)

At the end of the t'isi.k ceremony, each chief would declare that the children were no longer "uninitiated ones", but now "stood in hala'it" indicating that they had fulfilled the prerequisite for future contacts with the supernatural (Ibid.:302). Halpin writes that "the child was known as amg'Et (am: "good"; g'Et: "person"). (1973:79.)

The data surrounding the semhala'it ceremony are unclear. Boas' description of this ceremony seems to match the data presented above for the t'isi.k ceremony:

The semhala'it are in so far a preparatory step to the societies, as everybody who wants to enter them must have acquired the semhala'it first....Those who have passed twice through the semhala'it ceremonies are called ts'ei'ik. [t'isi.k in Garfield]. (Boas, 1895:660; emphasis added).

32. Later the children's father called upon the chief to convey his powers to the children a second time. "Thus each child received the power twice, which made it stronger than the ordinary ceremony....(Ibid.) Garfield also gives descriptions of two other t'isi.k ceremonies in which masks and probably frontlet headdresses are used. Basically, they resemble the account quoted above. (See especially the account of Lege'x's "throwing" performance and his accompanying hala'it song in which the chief refers to salmon.

33. Halpin indicates in a footnote that amg'Et also referred to the "second step after the throwing ceremony", though, as she points out, there is no recorded description of such a ceremony. Amg'Et was also a specific referent to "the status or condition of a person ready to enter a dance society." (1973:79).
In other words, what Garfield calls the t'si.k ceremony, Boas uses the appellation səm.hala'it. Where Boas uses the term ts'e'ik to describe those who have undergone this step in the hala'it initiations, Halpin provides another term: am'Et.

Garfield maintains that her Tsimshian teachers "stated that the t'si.k was the first ceremony and was necessary for everyone before any other spirit powers could be acquired" (1939:298ff). According to her data, the səm-hala'it was a second ceremony and given in addition to the t'si.k "if the family could afford it" (Ibid.).

The 'real dance' (səm-hala'it) ceremony was very similar to [the t'si.k ceremonies]. It was not essential to a child's well-being as the t'si.k was, but did give the child added prestige and stronger spirit powers. Even wealthy families sometimes omitted it in favor of giving the child a definite guardian spirit, such as that received by the Dog Eaters or Dancers. (Ibid.:303).

Drucker equates the səmhalə'it with the koxumhalait (g.o'g.am, "nodding" hala'it or "head shaking" dance) (1940:222), which we have described earlier as a 'welcoming dance'. Halpin notes the activity and costume of the chief for both occasions are "very similar" - if not identical - and suggests that "an earlier səmhalə'it became part of both the potlatch and hala'it system". (1973:79). If her suggestion is correct, then the distinctions between the secular nature of the ya'ck and the sacred nature of the hala'it become even less clear. Moreover, we find a paradox in the data: in both the welcoming dance in which power is demonstrated over 'outsiders' and in the first power ceremonies in which power is thrown into 'insiders', the chief wears a frontlet headdress that spews eagle-down.

The paradox may be resolved, if we consider that on both
occasions the chief is enacting his wihala'it role, while the eagle-down which he dispenses from his amhala'it has different symbolic references. Eagle-down, as a dominant symbol for the possession of supernatural power, is multidimensional: in the context of the welcoming dance, eagle-down symbolizes the protective nature of the great supernatural powers "owned" or controlled by a chief. In the context of the preliminary hala'it ceremonies, eagle-down symbolizes the transformative (which is generally a 'curative' manifestation, see below, Chapter Five) nature of his supernatural powers. In the preliminary initiations, the children are transformed into 'good persons'; they have been transformed into a state of being "in hala'it" where they then can enter one of the two mandatory secret societies - a step called hilaxE' or "ascending into the heavens". (Halpin, 1973:80). We will return to this discussion in Chapter Five.

B. The Secret Society Initiations.

The second step in supernatural elevation was to join one of the secret societies. All Tsimshian people who had gone through the t'si.k ceremonies were expected to join either the Dog Eaters (nulim) 35

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34 Halpin (1973) and Drucker (1940) refer to these as "dancing societies" though Boas and Garfield call them "secret societies". I will maintain the latter term in order to keep the data in this chapter consistent with the Haida and Tlingit data below.

35 Boas provides the Niska glosses for the society names (a), Garfield indicates Coast Tsimshian glosses (b), and Drucker supplies some Gitksan glosses (c). All the societies have parallels in Kwagiul as noted by all the above authors (d). For consistency, I will use Halpin's orthography and footnote the others. EG. nulim: (a) lOLE'm, (b) nuLEm or no'LEm, (c) galULim, (d) no'nLEm or no'ntLEm.
or the Dancers (mila)\textsuperscript{36} societies.

\begin{quote}
Everyone was expected to join one or the other society. If they didn’t they would be told by the wutahala’it that they would be li’tan (killed at an early age by the powers of the halait). Membership in the dancing societies had the effect of dividing Coast Tsimshian tribes [and from her data, Niska and Gitksan tribes as well] into two groups, cross-cutting clan membership. The two groups were said to be about equal in membership. (Halpin, 1973:79-80).
\end{quote}

Chiefs had the exclusive privilege of joining both the Dog Eaters and the Dancers societies (Boas, 1895:660). In addition, chiefs could be initiated by supernatural powers into three other orders. These powers, described by Boas as "exclusive lineage prerogatives", were: the Cannibals (u’lala or xg’Edt: x-: "to partake or consume; g’Et: "person");\textsuperscript{37} the Destroyers (ludzist’E’, literally, "Very Crazy Person Dance");\textsuperscript{38} and the wi’nanał\textsuperscript{39} (literally "Strong Breath"; this is also a "destroyer" society equivalent to the ludzist’E’). Garfield notes that these three "were not societies among the Tsimshian, they were lineage prerogatives belonging to persons of chiefly rank and originally secured from the Bella Bella by each lineage". (1939:295-296).

The Tsimshian people and anthropologists agree that the secret societies and powers were borrowed from the south, mostly from the Bella Bella (Heiltsuq). Linguistic data as well as similarities in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36}Mila: (a) mēila’, (b) mī’tla or mē’la, (c) qamIla, (d) me’itla.
\item \textsuperscript{37}u’lala: (a) őlala or ő’lala, (b) u’lala or x-gEdét, (d) ő’lala.
\item \textsuperscript{38}ludzist’E: (a) nanēstā’t, (b) ludzistE’; literally, "Very Crazy Person Dance", (d) nontsistā laL.
\item \textsuperscript{39}wi’nanał: (a) hōnana’l, (b) wi’nanał, (c) wīnanał ("war dance"), (d) ha-wī’nalat: "war dance".
\end{itemize}
traditions surrounding the ceremonies indicate the adoption of an entire, well-formed ritual series (Garfield, 1939:293; Boas, 1916:546; Boas, 1895:621, 651, etc.). Boas notes that "the traditions relating to their acquisition state that they were acquired through intermarriage with the Bella Bella tribes, and introduced among the Tsimshian and later on among the Haida and Tlingit...." (Boas, 1916:546). Garfield's informants told her that the Metlakatla and Port Simpson people had received the powers from the Gitamat who in turn had acquired them from the Bella Bella (1939:293). She records the origin myth of the powers in which four youths, two of noble rank and two of lower rank obtain, respectively, the rights to the xg'Edt, the ludzist'E', the mi'la and the nu'im. Briefly, the young men prepared themselves to defeat a large lake monster. The monster appears to them, travelling at great speed, and carrying on its back four men "who seemed to be alive" (1939:293). The youths follow the monster to the head of the lake where they see four houses suddenly emerge from the lake (a theme reminiscent of the Haida and Tlingit gonaquAde't, a wealth-bringing sea monster that sometimes appears as a housefront emerging from the sea; the Tlingit ascribe the origin of the frontlet headdress to this monster, who gave it to a Nass River chief (see p.99 below; also Chapter Five, p.191). The youths moved toward the houses:

As they approached the houses a man came from one of them. He started to dance, and the dancing was as of a crazy man, and the movements were those of a lame man. When they saw him dancing as though he were lame they called the dance mi'la.

When this man finished dancing he went into his house. From the next house came a man also, dancing with actions crazier than the first. He jumped about like a dog, and the calls he made and the song he sang sounded like the noises of puppy dogs. The Gitamat called this dance nutEm, meaning in Bella Bella, crazy person, in the sense of being possessed by animals....
This man after finishing his dancing, went inside also. The four men saw another Being come from the third house. This man's dance movements were even crazier than the first two, and they recognized from the words of his song that he was a chief. This dance they termed ludzist'E', very crazy person, one who goes about destroying at random. Among the young men was a head chief's nephew who said, 'I am going to take this dance to give to my uncle for his own'.

When this man was through dancing he went inside as the others had done. From the fourth house came a man who started to dance and sing in a strange manner. He sang in a tongue unknown to the Gitamat. Suddenly he sprang into the air and in his hands there was a small child which he began to devour.

The eldest of the Gitamats was also a nephew of a chief of the Eagle clan, and, as the dancer wore a chief's head-dress, he said, 'I shall take this dance to be my uncle's exclusive property'. This dance they called x-gEdt (x-, 'consume'; gEt, 'person'). The dancer finished and went into the house.

The four young men went toward the houses, but they suddenly sank out of sight, and in their stead was the huge monster with four men on its back. It went further up towards a large mountain and when close to the shore it sank. Since then it has never been seen again. (Henry Pierce, Eagle of the Guspaxl's. ts tribe, to Garfield, 1939:293-294; emphasis added.)

The myth continues, explaining that the two lower rank men became leaders of the mika and nuhim and as they were "not of noble rank everyone was privileged to become a member. The nephews of the head chiefs gave the ludzist'E' and the xg.Edt dances to their uncles and "whence [these dances] became the exclusive right of chiefs...." (Ibid.). "This was the way the hala'it came into the Gitamat, who in turn introduced it into the other tribes of the Tsimshian" (Ibid.).

40. Boas records a Niska myth for the origin of secret societies, though there is but one youth interacting with one supernatural being, the events in the two myths are similar (1916:652-653; see also Ibid.: 353).
Before discussing these societies and personal power dances, I will digress for a moment to discuss the artists who created objects, songs, and dramatizations for the hala'it series. This powerful group was called the g'it'so'ntk (g'it: "person"; son: "in seclusion") and they assisted and advised the wihala'it (Halpin, 1973:74-75).

Garfield describes them as:

The professional group of artists, song composers, and organizers of the dramatizations were all men who had received supernatural powers. Not all of them were members of...[the Dog Eaters or the Dancers], the acquisition of personal aides or guardian spirits being considered of equal importance. The ability to carve, plan and operate novel mechanical masks or other objects was considered a manifestation of the powers which an individual had received (1939:304).

This statement is nearly identical to one made by Herbert Clifton in the Barbeau-Beynon fieldnotes:

The g'it'so'ntk were the song composers, the naxno'x, makers, the makers of contrivances used by the initiates on their return from the sky. They were the advisors of the chiefs, hala'it's, and were a most powerful group. Their influence was much greater than any other group in the tribal organization. They had the powers of life and death (quoted in Halpin, 1973:75).

The g'it'so'ntk were paid handsomely for their services and their status was much higher than that of the ukghla, the artists who carved totem poles and "crest" art. The g'it'so'ntk carved masks and hala'it paraphernalia (including, of course, amhala'its) in secret; the ukghla were not permitted to carve these objects (Barbeau, 1950:790; cited by

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41 Halpin reports that among the Niska this group was called the sig'idzon: "the people behind the scene". (1973:90; from Barbeau). Her museum data for the Gitksan indicate that a similar society of artists was also operative there, though no name was recorded for the organization (Ibid.:96).
Halpin, Ibid.). Halpin adds an interesting note:

The g'it'so'ntk's "power over life and death" came from their right to kill or to force to join a dancing society, any non-initiate who witnessed their making or operating of hala:it contrivances. This could be used to their advantage, of course, by forcing recalcitrant recruits to buy their services for an initiation.

There seems to be a paradox here. On the one hand, the great secrecy of the g'it'so'ntk's operations, and the threat of death to any non-initiate intruding upon them or witnessing their malfunction, suggests that the supernatural power displays were believed indeed to be the result of non-human actions or supernatural intervention in human affairs. On the other hand, all the members of the tribe except apparently, the g'it'so'ntk were expected to be initiated into either the Dog Eaters or Dancers dancing societies, and hence to have participated in the dramatisations by which supernatural events, such as ascent into the heavens, were simulated. The paradox, then, is that people can believe to be true those same events which they knowingly simulate in order to "deceive" others (1973: 76).

She suggests that this paradox is the same Lévi-Strauss (1967: 169, 176) investigates in an article on Kwakiutl shamanism. "Lévi-Strauss sees the paradox related to the participation of the audience in the curing drama. As "actors" the audience can participate in emotional states and beliefs which they would reject in everyday life" (Halpin, 1973:77).

The g'it'so'ntk then, formed a kind of "secret society" of artists in Tsimshian society. As creators and supervisors of the images and events of the hala:it season they helped to shape the ambience for the "time of tabu" in which the beliefs of everyday life were suspended and a separate reality ensued.

a. The Dancers (miča) and the Dog Eaters (nučim).

All members of Tsimshian society were required to join either the Dancers or the Dog Eaters societies. I have summarized the accounts
in the literature concerning these societies in Tables III and IV. The data revealing explicit details of costumes and activities are fragmentary, but as seen in the Tables, they suggest that initiation ceremonies for both were quite similar. Garfield's and Drucker's accounts clearly indicate that this was the case for the Coast Tsimshian, and Drucker states that for the Niska and Gitksan the procedure of both rituals were very much alike, the differences being minor details. It should be noted that individuals belonged to one society or the other, with the exception of chiefs; also, the rituals were not held simultaneously, though, if two separate dancing houses were used they could have been performed concurrently. An important idea to remember is that:

Membership in the societies cut across kinship lines, so that persons of all clans and many lineages worked together carrying out any one ceremonial. Each lineage considered it desirable to have members in both societies. Each function given was paid for, not by members of the society, but by the lineage relatives of the person or persons being initiated (Garfield, 1939: 297).

The activities of the mila and the nučim may be generalized as follows. 1) A meeting of the society is called; chiefs possessing the powers of the society are called to dance individually; they are called wihala'its and are addressed by their supernatural names; 2) after the chief dances and sings his 'spirit' song, he "throws" or "puts" the supernatural power he has summoned "into" the novice or novices hiding under mats; 3) the naxno'x or 'spirit' whistles are heard; the novice cries out and sometimes falls down ("unconscious" or "as if dead"); 4) the members of the society conduct the novice (who is sometimes naked) through the village after which, 5) the novice
disappears (length of disappearance is commensurate with rank - the higher the rank, the longer the novice stays away). 6) The novice returns from the 'heavens' or 'celestial regions' or from 'supernatural places', amid whistles and upon the back of a floating image of a "crest" animal. He or she wears cedar bark head and neck rings. 7) The nučim novices become excited, catch dogs and eat them. 8) The novices are secluded for a short time and are 9) gradually returned to the dance house and either dance or are exhibited by the members who have 'tamed' them. 10) At the conclusion of the initiation, the novice is once again permitted to wear normal clothing and his cedar bark rings are eventually burned. 11) After the novice is initiated, gifts are distributed to those attending the ceremonies by the novice's sponsors.

Boas provides a general account of a Tsimshian initiation ceremony into the Dancers. (Except for omitting episodes in which the initiate consumes dog flesh, the description is very similar to accounts of Dog Eater initiations.) The entire account is quoted, for it parallels somewhat lengthier accounts of mīša and nučim ceremonies recorded by Garfield and shorter accounts recorded by Drucker.

*During the dancing season a feast is given, and while the women are dancing the novice is suddenly said to have disappeared. It is supposed that he goes to heaven. If he is a child, he stays away four days; youths remain about six days, and grown-up persons several months. Chiefs are supposed to stay in heaven during the fall and the entire winter.*

*When this period has elapsed, they suddenly reappear near the beach, carried by an artificial monster belonging to their crest. Then all the members of the secret society to which the novice is to belong gather and walk down in grand procession to the beach to fetch the child. At this time his parents bring presents, particularly elk skins, strung upon a rope as long as the procession, to be given*
at a subsequent feast. The people surround the novice and lead him into every house in order to show that he has returned.

Then he is taken to the house of his parents, and a large bunch of red cedar bark is fastened over the door to show that the house is tabooed and nobody is allowed to enter. The chief sings while the cedar bark is being fastened. In the afternoon the sacred house is prepared for the dance. A section in the rear of the house is divided off by means of curtains; it is to serve as a stage on which the dancers and the novice appear.

When all is ready, messengers, carrying large carved batons are sent around to invite the members of the society, the chief first. The women sit down in one row, nicely dressed up in button blankets and their faces painted red. The chief wears the amhalait - a carving rising from the forehead, set with sea-lion barbs, and with a long drapery of ermine skins - the others, the cedar bark rings of their societies. Then the women begin to dance.

After a while a prominent man rises to deliver a speech. He says: "All of you know that our novice went up to heaven; then he made a mistake and has been returned; now you will see him." Then he begins the song; the curtain is drawn and masked dancers are seen surrounding the novice and representing the spirits which he has encountered in heaven. At the same time eagle down is blown into the air. After the dance is over the presents which were strung on the rope are distributed among the members of the secret society.

The novice has a beautifully painted room set apart for his use. He remains naked during the dancing season. He must not look into the fire. He must abstain from food and drink and is only allowed to moisten his lips occasionally. He wears his head ring continually. After the ceremonies are all finished the festival of "clothing the novice" is celebrated. He sits in his room quietly singing while the people assemble in the house. His song is heard to grow louder, and at last he makes his appearance. He has put off his ring of red cedar bark.

Then the people try to throw a bear skin over him, which they succeed in doing only after a severe struggle. All the societies take part in this feast, each sitting grouped together. The initiated stand at the door. This ends the ceremonies (1895:659-660; emphasis added).
The data concerning the costumes for the *mita* and the *nu-lim* are few. However, frontlet headdresses or *amhala*its were apparently appropriate apparel for certain actors in both. In the *mita*, Boas describes and illustrates a frontlet-like headdress worn by society members (see Figure 2.9, see also Appendix, Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin, IV A, No. 1029).

Figure 2.9 Head ring of *Me'ila*. Their headdress is a heavy ring of red cedar bark, with a beaver tail standing up in its middle. The ring is studded with small sticks which represent arrows (1895:654, 655).
It is not stated whether or not the miša members called this an amhala'it. I have only seen drawings of this one miša headdress, collected by Jacobsen, and have, as yet, to encounter similar headdresses in the literature or in museum collections. Because it seems to lack an ermine train, swansdown band, flicker feathers, and sealion bristles, I hesitate to categorize it as an amhala'it.

Headdresses made to resemble bear's ears (mu.m-sE'mi; Garfield, 1939:305) were worn by members of both societies, as were head rings made of woven cedar bark (see Chief Gwass-lam's costume, Figure 2.8 this chapter; also Halpin, 1973:82-83, Plates 1 and 2). In the Niska nušim ceremony (loLE'm) members of noble rank may wear bear's ear headdress (see Appendix NMC VII-X-788) or (what appears from Boas' descriptions) an amhala'it and its associated paraphernalia (Boas, 1895:655). Similarly, Garfield reports that the initiating chiefs for the Coast Tsimshian nušim (nušEm) and the miša (mi'tša) are addressed as wihala'it - for which an amhala'it is the appropriate dress - though their costume may also consist of a bear's ears headdress, ceremonial blanket and rattle (1939:305-306). Drucker's accounts of the Gitksan Dancer and Dog Eater societies (the gamT-La and qalūšim, respectively) explicitly mention that the "master of ceremonies" (i.e. the chief who introduces the other initiating chiefs and directs the proceedings) wears an amhala'it and a robe (1940:223).

In summary then, the appropriate dress for high-ranking members of the miša and nušim societies was some form of headdress; either a bear's ears or mu.m-sE'mi headdress woven cedar bark rings, a beaver-tail head ring, or an amhala'it. Similarly, chiefs who acted as initiators in these societies wore either a mu.m-sE'mi or an amhala'it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE DANCERS</th>
<th>Initiator</th>
<th>Initiate</th>
<th>Society Members</th>
<th>Additional Data</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NISKA</strong></td>
<td>1. throws power into novice. (4:222) (1:660) 2. chief wears amhalalit. (1:660)</td>
<td>1. whistles sound; initiate disappears, brought back by supernatural being - novice rides on image. (4:222) 2. secluded. 3. masked (naxno'x) dancers surround the novice. (1:660) 4. novice is clothed in special ceremony. (Ibid.)</td>
<td>1. dance in 3-part rhythm (1:654) 2. headdress worn; heavy ring of red cedar bark with beaver tail standing up in middle; ring studded with small sticks representing arrows. (1:654). faces red. (1:660) 3. rattles are round. (Ibid.) 4. red ring; white ring, red ring etc. of cedar bark twisted together. (1:654) (1:660)</td>
<td>1. large bunch of cedar bark fastened over door of initiate's house to indicate the house is taboo. (1:659) 2. eagle down blown into the air when masked dancers appear with the novice. (1:660) 3. presents, especially elk skins, are given as gifts by the parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boas &amp; Tate</td>
<td>1. Tate describes this as the &quot;Fire-Thrower&quot; society. (2:546)</td>
<td>1. those under influence of other supernatural powers carried rattles. (3:295)</td>
<td>1. were dancers; had no destructive privileges (3:295) - refutes Tate, above.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COAST TSIMSHIAN</strong></td>
<td>1. person of chiefly rank - called wi'nanał. (3:296); (Note this is the same appellation as the supernatural power which is a chiefly prerogative - see Table below) (3:296) (continued...)</td>
<td>1. carried clappers instead of rattles. (3:295) 2. hidden under mats; spirit whistles sound. (3:306) 3. appears nude; dances with society members around fire twice; disappears. (3:306-307) (continued...)</td>
<td>1. Tate describes this as the &quot;Fire-Thrower&quot; society. (2:546)</td>
<td>1. were dancers; had no destructive privileges (3:295) - refutes Tate, above.</td>
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<tr>
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<th>Initiate</th>
<th>Society Members</th>
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<tr>
<td>COAST TSIMSHIAN ...continued</td>
<td>2. position hereditary in house of chief - acquired with aid and cooperation of Dancers - but not a part of Dancers society. (Ibid.)</td>
<td>4. secluded in house behind painted boards. (3:307)</td>
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<td>3. called wi'halait or &quot;All Bright Heavens&quot;; see rest of details under nu'lem.</td>
<td>5. appeared naked on reef. (Ibid.)</td>
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<td>6. brought back, exhibited in every house (3:308); wears cedar bark ring on head (3:309) and neck. (4:221)</td>
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<td>7. eventually wears clothes; cedar bark ring burned. (3:309)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GITKSAN Drucker, (4) 1940 (4) gami-La</td>
<td>1. same as galūčim, except that eagle down is dyed red.</td>
<td>1. same as galūčim, except:</td>
<td>1. same as galūčim.</td>
<td>1. dance concluded by dance spirit (laxnox) being sent away: chief grasps spirit in hands; throws it to each member; last person 'throws' spirit back to chief; chief 'throws' spirit out of smoke hole.</td>
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<td>- cedar bark rings are all red. - &quot;doll&quot; is burned in fire with grease offering to 'bring back' initiate. - when reappears, is accompanied by dancer wearing a costume of his crest animal (a naxnō'x?). (4:223)</td>
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<td>2. this society linked to Destroyers. (Halpin, 1973:92)</td>
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<tr>
<td>THE DOG EATERS</td>
<td>Initiator</td>
<td>Initiate</td>
<td>Society Members</td>
<td>Additional Data</td>
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<tr>
<td>NISKA</td>
<td>Boas, (1) 1895</td>
<td>1. described only as &quot;chief&quot;. (1:665)</td>
<td>1. dance in 2-part rhythm using round rattles. (1:654).</td>
<td>1. museum data note for ROM HN-695 by Barbeau indicates name of society is <em>lulâm</em>; male and female children initiated into it. (Halpin, 1973:89).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1) lôle'm</td>
<td>2. throws power into novice. (4:222)</td>
<td>2. wear red cedar bark rings; rings placed one on top of other. (Ibid.).</td>
<td>2. members may also wear masks - identified by Halpin as <em>paxn̓x̓</em> masks. (1:655).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(2) nūləm</td>
<td>1. faints, carried in elk skin, disappears (1:655).</td>
<td>3. members wear white eagle down on heads. (1:655).</td>
<td>3. small human figure or &quot;doll&quot; burned in fire with grease offering. (1:656).</td>
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<td>2. members dance to summon spirits to return initiate.</td>
<td>4. nobility wears &quot;head ornaments of their clans&quot;, their rattles, dancing blankets, aprons, or leggings (Ibid.).</td>
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<td>3. reappears on back of killer whale or other animal &quot;float&quot; on river.</td>
<td>5. or bear's ears headdress. (Ibid.)</td>
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<td>4. enters village, attacks and eats dogs; is naked. (1:657; 4:222)</td>
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<td>5. dances in house (1:656), wears cedar bark rings. (4:222).</td>
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<td>6. called Laam'a't &quot;Perfect Man&quot; (1:656)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boas &amp; Tate</td>
<td>(2) 1916</td>
<td>1. novice kills and eats dogs, face &quot;smeared with dog's blood&quot;; &quot;his mouth is full of dog meat.&quot; (2:550)</td>
<td>1. each chief and each prince has own mask. (2:551).</td>
<td>1. name of power is Hanåtana; description of Leg'ox's power. (2:550).</td>
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<td>(2) No'k-em</td>
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<td>2. women wear woven skirt of red and white cedar bark; no blanket; later put on grizzly-bear blankets. (2:551).</td>
<td>2. dogs wearing cedar bark rings are spared. (2:551).</td>
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<td>3. chief wears mask representing bird with a very long bill which has dog heads attached to it. (Ibid.)</td>
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<td>THE DOG EATERS</td>
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<tr>
<td>COAST TSIMSHIAN Garfield, (3) 1939</td>
<td>1. addressed as wihala’it or as Txa-la’ uksəm-laxha’: &quot;All Bright Heavens&quot; (3:305-306). 2. wears bear’s ears headdress or mu:mm-se’mi, ceremonial blanket, rattle. (3:306). 3. power represented by large, white, quartz crystal (tkwa’). (Ibid.)</td>
<td>1. hidden under mat; spirit whistle sounds (3:306). 2. appears nude; dances with members around fire 4 times; disappears (3:307). 3. secluded in small room (Ibid.). 4. returned on back of &quot;wolf&quot; (3:308). 5. brought back, exhibited in every home (3:308). 6. wears blanket over face; followed by the &quot;wolf&quot; (Ibid.). 7. eventually allowed to wear clothes; ring burned (3:309).</td>
<td>1. &quot;full-fledged members&quot; had to demonstrate contact with spirit twice (3:303). 2. member blows eagle down around house to &quot;placate&quot; spirit summoned by wihala’it (3:306). 3. Lege’ox was one of most powerful Dog Eater members; wore headdress of movable dog’s ears. (3:310-311).</td>
<td>1. witnesses to possession paid; 4 spirit contacts in a lifetime – with payments to witnesses each time - necessary before person could &quot;retire with honours from society&quot;. (3:303). 2. men and women, boys and girls initiated into society. (3:304).</td>
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<td>GITKSAN Drucker, (4) 1940</td>
<td>1. &quot;master of ceremonies&quot; wears amhala’it and robe (4:223) calls chief to sing and dance and blow eagle down in the air. (4:223). 2. Chief Dancer summons supernatural being.</td>
<td>1. initiate hears whistles, falls unconscious, makes supernatural sounds. (4:223). 2. is nude, carried around fire and displayed in all houses. 3. concealed in dance house. (Ibid.). 4. after eagle down spread, novices appear (Ibid.) then disappear. 5. are eventually captured. (Ibid.) 6. wears bearskin robe dance apron, head &amp; neck rings of red &amp; white cedar bark (Ibid.)</td>
<td>1. Sing; make supernatural noises to &quot;blow the novice away&quot; (4:223). 2. men, wearing head and neck rings of cedar bark, bear robes and dance aprons (4:233), attend the initiate.</td>
<td>1. supernatural being of this dance is menhalait. (4:223). 2. not concluded in same manner as qamTla. 3. this society linked to Cannibals (Halpin, 1973:92).</td>
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</table>
b. The Cannibals (xg.Edt or Ü'łala), The Destroyers (wi'nanał) and The Fire-Throwers (ludizst'E'): Personal, hereditary prerogatives.

The xg.Edt, wi'nanał, and ludizst'E' were not, properly speaking, secret societies among the Tsimshian. Rather, they were exclusive, chiefly prerogatives inherited by a few persons. Usually only one person per lineage had the right to be possessed by one of these powers and only one person held the position at any one time (see Boas, 1895:657; Garfield, 1939:295-296, 311 et. seq.; Drucker, 1940:221-223). However, when a chief did assume one of these powers and in subsequent demonstrations of them, he was attended to by certain groups of high-ranking individuals who had publicly acquired the privilege of these positions. Whether or not these individuals constituted a "society" is unclear. The data suggest these exclusive chiefly powers were demonstrated in connection with, but not as a part of the Dancers and Dog Eaters societies (Halpin, 1973:92).

I have summarized all the available data concerning the Cannibals, the Destroyers, and the Fire-Throwers in Tables V, VI and VII. As is noted there, none of the descriptions explicitly mention amhala'its. Boas (1895:658) and Garfield (1939:313) indicate that in the Cannibal Dance, the possessed chief is attended by the wut'a-hala'ít (pl. of wi'hala'ít) and therefore, we may assume that in these roles, it may have been appropriate for these high-ranking members to wear amhala'its. The data neither support nor contradict this assumption.
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<tr>
<th>THE CANNIBALS</th>
<th>Possessed Person (Chief)</th>
<th>Attendants</th>
<th>Additional Data</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NISKA</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Boas, (1) 1895</td>
<td>1. friends pretend to quarrel; draw knives and pretend to kill initiate; initiate's body replaced by dummy; head cut off; regular funeral held (1:657).</td>
<td>1. insignia - red cedar bark rings placed one on top of the other (1:654).</td>
<td>1. series owned by only one chief of all Tsimshian - head chief of Gitândo (4:222) included in this series is the nunsista (Ibid.).</td>
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<td>(1) òlala'</td>
<td>2. lays in grave, wrapped in blanket with corpse for one night; other òlala' watch (Ibid.).</td>
<td>2. headaddresses represent a corpse; whistles carved or painted with corpse (hollow or closed orbits) rattles of similar design are carried by dancer's companions (1:653) rattles are round (1:654).</td>
<td>2. members must have been shamans first (1:657).</td>
</tr>
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<td>(4) xøyyet</td>
<td>3. initiate disappears for a year (Ibid.); initiate reappears - first on roof, then &quot;in&quot; fire on a hill (1:658).</td>
<td>3. nephew invites members to bring initiate (his uncle) back (Ibid.).</td>
<td>3. Laxk'ebó initiate carried by a bear; Laxsk'ye k on back of an eagle rising from underground; Qanha' da on back of a frog.</td>
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<td>4. appears again on back of &quot;totem&quot; animal, or &quot;walks&quot; on water, dancing and carrying a corpse which he devours upon reaching shore (Ibid.).</td>
<td>4. members dress as for lòlè'm (perhaps amhala'its worn) (1:658).</td>
<td>4. òlala' always use emetics and induce vomiting.</td>
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<td>5. has own spoon, bowl wound with red cedar bark; during all feasts of the hala'it season, he eats first.</td>
<td>5. become servants of the new òlala' and bring him food.</td>
<td>5. òlala' initiate chews &quot;devils club&quot; or wòó'mst after biting - it acts as a purgative (1:659).</td>
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<td>6. when he ceases to bite people, wears heavy ring of red cedar bark; is led slowly around the fire: ceremony called &quot;making him heavy&quot;, or sëp'alyix; thus prevented from &quot;flying&quot; away again and becoming wild (1:659).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Boas &amp; Tate, (2) 1916</strong></td>
<td>1. all details same as 1895 account (1) with additions:</td>
<td>1. attendants put their arms in his mouth to &quot;feed&quot; him - i.e. they are bitten. (2:547).</td>
<td>1. supernatural protector: Haialalilaqs (&quot;Pestilence woman&quot;) (2:546).</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) ò'lala</td>
<td>2. novice naked (2:547).</td>
<td>2. &amp; members blow whistles (Ibid.) hair strewn with eagle down, hold up their blankets to shield faces from fire; stand with backs to fire (Ibid.).</td>
<td>2. long pole erected in front of the Cannibal society house, covered with red and white cedar bark; it indicates breath of novice has supernatural power;</td>
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<td>3. returns to house; whistles and singing heard there; novice goes &quot;wild&quot;, leaves home 3 or 4 times a day.</td>
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<td>4. first dance: appears from behind curtain; eats corpse, eyes rolling.</td>
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**Table V - (continued)**

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<tr>
<th>THE CANNIBALS</th>
<th>Possessed Person (Chief)</th>
<th>Attendants</th>
<th>Additional Data</th>
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<tr>
<td>Boas &amp; Tate</td>
<td>5. second dance: to &quot;marching song&quot;, leaps around fire; one hand stretched upwards. Bites attendants - they prevent him from attacking people (2:548). 6. third dance: in grizzly bear skin, large twisted cedar bark ring, decorated with 2 rows of abalone shells; wears bird mask - bird's beak 12' long - must be carried by two society members. 7. later cedar bark rings are red and white (2:549); gets smaller and smaller rings; when returned to normal, gets clothes (2:549).</td>
<td>3. $\varnothing$ members carry long plank, carries baton, beats time on plank.</td>
<td>when novice cries, pole is turned (2:548).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COAST TSIMSHIAN Garfield, (3) 1939 Drucker, (4) 1940</td>
<td>1. chief inspires, affects disappearance of initiate (his heir) in much the same way as in the mi$h perform­ance - (note: chief may have worn amhala'it; Garfield says chief in wihala'it role for mi$h) (4:221). 2. first time spirit enters him, does not crave human flesh; becomes subdued by merely biting attendants; later must have human flesh to devour in order to quell frenzy (3:314). 3. teeth fitted with large tips of eagle feathers - to give appearance of huge pointed teeth (3:314). 4. initiate often appears nude and blood smeared in his initial state of possession (3:316).</td>
<td>1. men associated with chief who became cannibal: men called by the general term (wut'a-hala'it) - plural of wihala'it role for mi$h) (4:221). All men who had acquired spirit powers - either through mita or nu.im or independently - were called wut'a-hala'it. Only chief could become cannibal - but these men aided and attended him - paralleling their activities in the secular sphere of potlatch events (3:313).</td>
<td>1. few persons had privilege of acquiring this spirit (3:313). 2. position assumed by a successor who came under influence of spirit and was subdued; only after publicly assuming name of predecessor could this be done (Ibid.) 3. women chiefs could be initiated as cannibals (3:314). 4. short pole, painted red, topped with red cedar bark ring, erected in village. This &quot;song pole&quot; was named garh kse-na'ak (&quot;pole of breath&quot; or &quot;power&quot;). Pole moves to drum beat and singing as if it were dancing (3:315).</td>
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Table V - (continued)

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<tr>
<th>THE CANNIBALS</th>
<th>Possessed Person (Chief)</th>
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<tr>
<td>COAST TSIMSHIAN</td>
<td>5. pattern generally: possession, disappearance into 'heaven', reappearance, failure to capture him; success in capturing him and subduing cannibal; cannibal is exhibited in all the houses. More initiations often follow (3:314).</td>
<td>2. associated with cannibals were wives and/or daughters of chiefs who owned powers. Part in dramatization: to calm cannibal by offering arms to be bitten; same privilege as attendants have. Scars exhibited as marks of honour. This privilege publicly assumed (3:313).</td>
<td>5. fake salmon-berries (called natural food of ghost people) were served in midwinter (out of season for real ones) &quot;Death&quot; was referred to only as &quot;salmon-berries&quot; (Ibid.).</td>
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<td>6. initiate hides for a month or two in a hut or caves in bush, surrounded by corpses (4:221).</td>
<td>3. initiate wears red cedar bark ring dipped in salt water, urine, and perhaps hellebore over bitten arm (3:314). Wounds were enlarged by burning or rubbing ashes into them (3:313).</td>
<td>6. informants stated Coast Tsimshian, Kit'isu, Hartley Bay and the Kitkahtla Tsimshian had rights to this dance (4:222).</td>
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<td>7. whistles signal reappearance (Ibid.).</td>
<td>4. society members capture initiate on his return; make him dance (4:221).</td>
<td>7. series included nütsista (Ibid.).</td>
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<td>8. after &quot;mummy feast&quot; novice wears pakpakwola mask (Kwakiutl: bakkawolanuiswa) (4:222).</td>
<td>5. novice caught; tied up; corpses are brought to feed him (Ibid.).</td>
<td>8. performance started in same way as mîwa (4:221). Dances are &quot;evil&quot;, people have died from them (4:222).</td>
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<td>9. dancer secluded; rings exchanged for smaller ones (Ibid.).</td>
<td>6. certain men own the right to procure bodies; party of four always gets bodies; one corpse per initiate (Ibid.).</td>
<td>9. initiates not permitted to see all of ceremony (Ibid.).</td>
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<td>10. no accounts of women acquiring full cannibal powers - but they acted as helpers (3:297) -with exceptions.</td>
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<td>11. women had to go through special power ceremony to have privilege of being bitten (3:297).</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>GITKsan</td>
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<td>1. no Cannibal dances among upper-most villages - though individual chiefs at Kitsiyukla, Kitwankul, and perhaps Kitwanga owned rights to this performance.</td>
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<td>Drucker, (4)</td>
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<td>1940</td>
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<td>THE DESTROYERS</td>
<td>Possessed Person (Chief)</td>
<td>Attendants</td>
<td>Additional Data</td>
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<tr>
<td>NISKA</td>
<td>Boas, (1) 1895</td>
<td>1. same as #1 &amp; 2 in Table VII: Fire-Throwers (1:654).</td>
<td>1. see #1, Table VII, Fire-Throwers (1:654).</td>
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<td>(1) hōnana’L</td>
<td>1. see #1, Table VII, Fire-Throwers (1:654).</td>
<td>2. &quot;an importation&quot; (1:652).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boas &amp; Tate, (2) 1916</td>
<td>1. supernatural power takes initiate by head; drags him on beach (2:552).</td>
<td>1. Protector: Txa-ga’xsEm hax’ha (2:551), is represented by masked dancer: mask is of old man (2:554).</td>
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<td>(2) wi’nanaŋ</td>
<td>2. initiate disappears (2:552).</td>
<td>2. &quot;fit only for young people&quot; - need to be strong to break up canoes, etc. (2:551).</td>
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<td>3. great swan comes from sea carrying initiate on back (2:552); he is naked (2:556).</td>
<td>3. dance house decorated with &quot;beautiful pole&quot;; no one may pass (2:553).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>4. novice goes wild, breaks house doors, boxes, canoes (2:552)</td>
<td>4. ceremonies ending initiation similar to Cannibal society (2:554).</td>
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<td>5. he walks around dance house carrying club on shoulder (Ibid.).</td>
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<td>6. mask of novice represents swan, club represents beaver tail (2:553).</td>
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<td>7. gradually, like Cannibal, initiate &quot;takes up normal position&quot; (2:554).</td>
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<tr>
<td>COAST TSIMSHIAN</td>
<td>Garfield, (3) 1939</td>
<td>1. initiate -young girl (stand-in is older young boy) - rides naked on neck of swan (canoe made to resemble swan); holds heads of &quot;angels&quot; (wooden faces with white wings on sides) as proof of heaven visit (3:311).</td>
<td>1. only one man held position at any one time; new wi’nanal elevated before Dancers but not during Dancers ceremony (3:296).</td>
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<td>(3) wi’nanaŋ</td>
<td>2. novice wears hat with moveable parts; small deer skin robe trimmed with martin (3:312).</td>
<td>2. spirit acquired with aid of Dancers (Ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GITKSAN</td>
<td>Drucker, (4) 1940</td>
<td>1. &quot;chiefs&quot; sing power songs to honour the initiate (3:312).</td>
<td>1. glosses as &quot;War Dancer&quot; (4:223).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4) wi’nanaŋ</td>
<td>1. glosses as &quot;War Dancer&quot; (4:223).</td>
<td>2. performed on last night of qamfIla.</td>
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<tr>
<td>THE FIRE THROWERS</td>
<td>Possessed Person (Chief)</td>
<td>Attendants</td>
<td>Additional Data</td>
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<td><strong>NISKA</strong>&lt;br&gt;Boas, (1) 1895&lt;br&gt;(1) nanestā't&lt;br&gt;(4) nūnsista</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. members of Destroyers and of Fire-Throwers both throw fire-brands and destroy anything in sight (1:654).&lt;br&gt;2. carry lances, round rattles (Ibid.).&lt;br&gt;3. insignia, red cedar, bark rings (Ibid.).</td>
<td>1. nānestā't and hōnana'ł correspond to no'nt sistālal of Kwakiutl (1:654).&lt;br&gt;2. &quot;an importation&quot; (1:652).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boas &amp; Tate, (2) 1916</strong>&lt;br&gt;(2) ludistē'</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COAST TSIMSHIAN</strong>&lt;br&gt;Garfield, (3) 1939&lt;br&gt;(3) ludistē' (&quot;very crazy person dance&quot;)&lt;br&gt;(4) nūtsista</td>
<td>1. novice acts insane: scatters ashes and offal; tries to burn with fire brands (3:295-296).&lt;br&gt;2. carries club carved with &quot;crest figures&quot; (3:295).</td>
<td>1. informants knew little of this supernatural power (3:296).&lt;br&gt;2. only one person within each lineage held it at one time (Ibid.).&lt;br&gt;3. informants insisted it belonged to Bella Bella and not Tsimshian (Ibid.).&lt;br&gt;4. exclusive possession of Gitamat lineages (Ibid.).</td>
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<td><strong>GITKSAN</strong>&lt;br&gt;Drucker, (4) 1940</td>
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iii. Mortuary Rituals.

The ethnographic descriptions of funeral and mortuary practices for the Tlingit, Haida, and especially the Tsimshian are minimal. However, for all three of these northern groups, there is evidence that frontlet headdresses were appropriate regalia for these occasions, and that they were worn by high-ranking mourners as well as by the high-ranking deceased.

Traditionally, the Tsimshian either cremated their dead or placed them in large painted grave boxes that were put into caves. Shamans' bodies were never burned, but were buried in caves or in the woods (Boas, 1916:534-535). In post missionary times burial of the dead was introduced. Garfield comments that:

A death in a Tsimshian village immediately brought, and still brings, into action well-defined and complicated lineage and clan loyalties and duties. Nowhere in native custom is the relationship between own and father's lineage so clear or the meaning of lineage and house membership more forceful than in the formalities which follow a death. As in all other crises and changes in status in the life of an individual member of society, death involved potlatching;... (1939:235).

An important aspect of Tsimshian funeral potlatches was the lying-in-state which was usually reserved for high-ranking people. In preparation for the funeral, the women of the paternal lineage bathed and dressed the body while the men dug the grave and attended to the

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42. As can be seen in studies by H.C. Yarrow (1881) and W.C. Christie (1925).

43. Garfield notes that, "Mr. Duncan stated in a letter in 1859 that the natives then cremated their dead. He remarks on the special request of a chief to have his daughter buried in the Fort enclosure. Quoted in Mayne, Four Years in B.C., p. 272." (1939:239).
burial or cremation.

Formerly the face was painted and the body dressed in ceremonial garments immediately after death...A chief's body was seated in state where he might remain two to three days, a person of lower rank less time, according to the circumstances. (Ibid.; emphasis added; see also, Boas, 1196:536).

Boas recorded similar data:

The body lies in state for a number of days. It is washed immediately after death, placed upright, and painted with the crest of the clan. His dancing ornaments and weapons are placed by his sides. The body is put in a box which is tied up with lines made of elk skins (1916:534; emphasis added).

Whether or not the 'ceremonial garments' and 'dancing ornaments' mentioned in these accounts included frontlet headdresses is not specified. However, it does seem possible that this was the case given the descriptions of Tlingit and Haida chiefs lying in state attired in frontlet headdresses and associated paraphernalia (see pp.128-32; 167-170). Clearly, masks were not worn by the deceased because the face was painted.

Garfield indicates that some of the ceremonial paraphernalia were burned, while some were distributed to successors and other relatives.

On the way [to a cremation] songs connected with the elevation ceremonies of the deceased were sung. If the person had been a secret society member the cedar bark ring of his group was placed on a stick over his ashes. All other ceremonial paraphernalia are said to have been burned with him. This is certainly true of the cedar bark rings worn during secret society dances, [except for the one placed over the ashes?] and may have been of all regalia connected with his acquisition of supernatural power in secret societies. These could not be inherited but must be acquired by each individual from his own experience. Crest garments
were not burned as there are many instances of inheritance and use of these by the younger members of the clan. Some of the personal effects were burned, others were distributed to relatives. (1939:239; emphasis added).

Unfortunately, Garfield does not specify whether frontlet headdresses were categorized as "crest garments" or as "ceremonial paraphernalia". From other descriptions in her ethnography (1939), I assume they were considered ceremonial paraphernalia. Halpin, as we have noted above, made a distinction between frontlet headdresses with crest and non-crest representations. Were some frontlet headdresses burned and others inherited by survivors? The problem admittedly lies in semantics; it remains unclear whether or not frontlet headdresses were cremated with the dead.

Boas, however, records at least one instance in which a death, cremation and the burning of a frontlet headdress took place simultaneously. The account is contained in a "war tale" concerning the fight between the G'I.spa-x-lâ'ets and the G'it-dx'T'os:

[Chief Haima gives a feast to stop people from mocking his sister Dzagam-ta-nîë'x who was bewitched and had "disturbed bowels"].

He made a very large fire; and he said to his attendants, "Dress my sister nicely. Take my best dancing-blanket and my costly headdress set with abalone shells!" and his attendants did what he had said. Then he said, "Now take one of my good wide boards and let her sit on it!" and ... They took the plank on which the princess was sitting and burned her alive in the large fire. Then he said, "Nobody shall weep for her." And when the princess was consumed, he spat into the fire, and said, "As I destroyed my poor sister I will destroy Nes-galas and all his warriors and all his brothers." (1916:362; emphasis added).

Frontlet headdresses were also worn by the high-ranking members
attending a funeral and the ceremonies surrounding the funeral potlatch. "The lineage relatives of the deceased have very definite duties to perform in the formalities following death which are set off from those of the lineage to which the father of the deceased belongs." (Garfield, 1939:236). Garfield describes a feast given by Chief Dzi'basa (Gitxała) for Lege'x (Gispaxlo'ts) to atone for the embarrassingly small sum paid to the latter for performing the funeral services for Suda'ɪ (Lege'x's daughter). The feast occurred around 1926 and the following is a description of what took place after Lege'x and his party were formally welcomed and presented with gifts:

For this occasion Dzi'basa had cut a smoke hole through the roof of his house and removed the partitions and furniture to make it look like the old dwellings. In the centre he built a fire and put oilachen grease on it to make it blaze. For entertainment Dzi'basa danced in his ceremonial garments of Chilcat blankets and headdress filled with eagle down. The women of his tribe sang for him and he danced. Each chief of the tribe then entertained for Lege'x in return. Each gave him gifts which Lege'x would be obliged to return at some future time since they were not part of the compensation (Garfield, 1939:248-249; emphasis added).

In summary, frontlet headdresses appear to have been appropriate regalia for those attending funerals and the associated ceremonies. This headdress may have also been worn by the deceased while lying-in-state; possibly the frontlet headdress was burned with the body. Unfortunately the data are not specific about the costumes worn in the mortuary rituals. As mentioned earlier, we can explain this gap in the literature by noting that few historical accounts of Tsimshian life were made by early maritime travelers. This was, of course, not the case for the Haida and Tlingit, for we have records of mortuary rituals in these societies -
records which specifically mention the use of frontlet headdresses. It does not seem an unlikely assumption, then, that early Tsimshian mortuary practices paralleled those of their closest neighbours - especially in light of the fact that these people borrowed the frontlet headdress and many of the occasions for its use from the Tsimshian. By the time ethnographers arrived on the scene many Tsimshian groups had been missionized and traditional funeral potlatches were but a memory as old ways rapidly gave way to new ones.

iv. Summary.

In this section, I have examined the socio-ritual context of the wearing of frontlet headdresses in Tsimshian society. Basically, there were three important contexts in which the amhala'it was worn: in welcoming ceremonies, during the various initiations in the halal'it season, and in mourning rituals. Paramount in all three of these contexts was the image of the high-ranking individual wearing a frontlet headdress: the juxtaposition of a human face and carved frontlet representing complex supernatural monsters. The simultaneous presentation of an individualistic human or social identity and a supernatural identity was a symbol of the synthesis of power in the secular and sacred spheres of the Tsimshian universe. The actor wearing a frontlet headdress was more than a wealthy individual, he was a controller of supernatural spirits.

In the 'welcoming dances' the chief, wearing an amhala'it offered not only friendship, but demanded acquiescence. His dance, in which he spread eagle down, smothered "trouble" (Duff, op.cit.).
The powers resting in his social and supernatural roles were apparent. "Cease chattering....Are you trying to bring down the pillars of the sky?" (Barbeau, op.cit.). The admonition was almost a threat from the dancer whose social credibility in the world of men was unimpeachable and whose ability to summon spirits from the supernatural world had been proven in secret society initiations. His stand was that of a "pillar of society": high-ranking and wealthy on one hand, and in touch with the heavens on the other. He was a "real person", a cultural ideal.

In the first power ceremonies and in the initiations into the Dancer and Dog Eater societies, the chief wearing an amhala'it was an actor manipulating the same symbols as he did in the welcoming dance context. In the hala'it series, a greater emphasis was placed on his supernatural role; he was called "great dancer" - wihala'it - and he was addressed, not by his secular name, but by a supernatural one. In council with another powerful group, whose supernatural powers were manifested in their art, the g'it'so'ntk, the "great dancers" (wutahala'it) charted the events of the gwEndesem hala'it - the "arrival on earth" of the spirits (Halpin, op.cit.). The chief, wearing an amhala'it, summoned his spirit and 'threw' its power into the initiates. As Halpin reminds us, in these hala'it contexts, "...which cut across clan lines as integrative sodalities...what was important was that he was Chief, not laxsk'i.k' or laxk'ibu" (1973:235).

In the Dancer and Dog Eater contexts the wihala'it controlled and directed powers from 'heaven'. In the Cannibal, Destroyer, and Fire-Thrower contexts, the wutahala'it controlled and directed the supernatural powers incarnated in a single, high-ranking individual. In the Dancer and
Dog Eater ceremonies, the chief wearing an amhala'it was an intermediary between the spirits (represented and animated by masked dancers) and the novice (who appeared naked - a human stripped of culture). The role of the wihala'it was symbolized by his human and spiritual identities, visually aligned along the axis of face and frontlet. Similarly, the wihala'it was the intermediary between the possessed Cannibal (or Destroyer or Fire-Thrower) and the public. The possessed individual, often masked, behaved in an erratic, frenzied manner; he was the embodiment of a supernatural power that was unleashed and out of control. The wihala'it, acting in conjunction with other privileged persons of high rank, was "in control" and re-directed the cannibal's attacks on the public until the destructive spirit within him could be subdued, and returned to a normal state.

In all of these hala'it contexts, the chief in an amhala'it was at once medium and message: a person of substantial material and spiritual means, one with a large following of both men and spirits alike. He symbolically outlined and reconciled in his person the dual nature of power in Tsimshian society.
Map III. Tlingit Villages
CHAPTER III
THE TLINGIT CASE

Introduction

The ethnographic literature on the Tlingit is indeed substantial, beginning with the accounts of seafaring explorers in the early eighteenth century and continuing to the present with studies done by historians and anthropologists. Much of the literature is extensive, providing ample descriptions of nearly every facet of Tlingit life. These accounts, augmented with sketches, photographs, and hundreds of specimens in international museums, testify to the rich and varied material culture produced by the Tlingit. However, at this point the literature and the museum data become inadequate, for details about the manufacture, use, and meaning of Tlingit material culture were rarely recorded. Moreover, the available descriptions are based on indeterminate categories which result in an impoverishment of the data. It is a problem anthropologists studying art and material culture are all too familiar with.

Data concerning Tlingit ceremonial costumes and paraphernalia being the case in point, we find an opaqueness in the literature describing the tremendous variety of masks, blankets, rattles, shirts, aprons, headdresses and other costume accessories used by these people. Historic photographs and sketches, to say nothing of the quantity of Tlingit ceremonial objects in museum collections evidence that there were, for example, several categories of blankets, many classes of aprons and dancing shirts, and a variety of styles of headgear (see Figures 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). The latter being the special concern of this paper, it was
disconcerting to find that the ethnographic literature did not discriminate in the description among the many kinds of ceremonial headgear worn by the Tlingit. Having seized on the notion that the art of these people - like the art of other Northwest Coast Indians - was primarily a "crest" art oriented toward the display of "totems" or "crests" affiliated with a given clan or group, ethnographers consolidated all headgear under the obscure classification "clan hat" or "crest hat". Some authors, notably Louis Shotridge, a Tlingit ethnographer and museum collector, wrote about Tlingit "crest helmets", "ceremonial hats", and "dance hats", but no attempt was made to provide a definitive vocabulary for the multifarious categories of ceremonial headdresses.

Swanton, one of the major ethnographers of the Tlingit culture, made repeated references to "clan" or "dancing" hats, but in his ethnography and in his translations of Tlingit myths and texts, he glosses all the terms as s-lat:"hat". Similarly, data accompanying the objects in early ethnographic collections make a perfunctory distinction between hat or helmet and mask. It was not until 1972, when Frederica de Laguna published her encyclopedic 3-volume monograph on the Yakutat Tlingit, that some indication of the different categories and contexts of ceremonial headgear became apparent. The term she recorded as the gloss for what this paper has described as "frontlet headdress" was cAki'At. This word corroborates with shakeyet, the appellation used by the Portland Art Museum in their catalogue for frontlet headdress.

In this chapter, I will survey some of the ethnographic literature and attempt to describe the use of the frontlet headdress or cAki'At.
by the Tlingit. By examining the data concerning the wearing of this headdress, (i.e., when and how it was worn, who wore it, and on what occasions, etc.), it may be possible to generate some ideas about the logic of using this particular kind of ceremonial adornment.

1. The Early Accounts: An origin myth and a dawning history.

The Tlingit explained the origin of the frontlet headdress in a myth recorded by Swanton at Wrangel in 1904. The myth is about a "head chief of the people living at the head of the Nass River". The chief came down to the ocean with his nephews in a large canoe. The canoe capsized, and the chief was the only survivor; the others were swallowed by the GonakAde’t, a sea-monster associated with good fortune and great wealth. In an effort to recover his nephews, the man invited the GonakAde’t and his people to a feast. When the sea monster arrived, the nephews were nowhere to be seen, until:

...the GonakAde’t called loudly to one of his men, "Bring me my box from over yonder." The box was beautifully carved and painted, and it was from it that the Tsimshian came to know how to carve and paint boxes. Then he took out a chief’s dancing hat with sea-lion bristles and a rattle and just as soon as he had done so the chief’s eldest nephew stood beside him. He put the headdress upon him and gave him the rattle, and the GonakAde’t people sang songs for him. They sang four songs and the GonakAde’t said, "This hat, this rattle, and these songs are yours." (Swanton, 1909:173: emphasis added.)

In a similar manner, the GonakAde’t restored all twenty of the Chief’s nephews to life and gave each a frontlet headdress, a rattle, and four songs. The myth concluded with a statement acknowledging that the frontlet headdress and other chief’s ceremonial paraphernalia came to
Figure 3.1. (above). Tlingit people at Klawock in ceremonial dress. BCPM Photo #1541. From B.C. Provincial Archives Collection, no. 16371.

Figure 3.2. (opp. page, top). Tlingit people at Hoonah in ceremonial dress. BCPM Photo #1786. Newcombe collection.

Figure 3.3. (opp. page, bottom). "Hoonah natives in dance costume." BCPM Photo #1543. From: Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indian, Portland Art Museum. 19:145. B.C. Provincial Archives Collection, no. 16370.
the Tlingit from the south: "The chief's headdress with sea-lion bristles also came from the GonakAde't, and so it happened that the Nass people wore it first" (Ibid.).

We do not know when GonakAde't gave the frontlet headdress to the Nass chief, nor when it was adopted by the Tlingit, but we do know it was worn before the first European explorers visited the rugged Alaskan coast. Russian explorers arrived first. The Bering-Chirikov expedition arrived in 1741 and was followed in 1788-1791 by Shelikhov, Billings and Sarychev expeditions. Records of their encounters with the Tlingit were kept and collections of artifacts (including frontlet headdresses) were made. From 1820 to 1850 several ethnographic studies of the Tlingit were made, most notably those by Khlebnikov, Wrangel, Veniaminov, Voznesensky, and Zagoskin (see Siebert and Forman, 1967:9-26 for a summary). Regrettably, the language and the special status of the documents in Soviet archives precluded their examination in this study.

However, there were other European travelers who visited the Tlingit in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and their accounts included several descriptions of frontlet headdresses. Some of the earliest collections of frontlet headdresses were made among the Tlingit by Russian and Spanish explorers, while French and English accounts of these initial encounters contain the first published accounts

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1In "The Chilkat Blanket" by Emmons, he noted: "To the Tsimshian is attributed the first knowledge of the Chilkat blanket; and from them the Tongass, the Stikine, and later on the Chilkat learned the art" (1907:329). The origin of the blanket according to the Chilkat, was stated in a Tsimshian myth in which a daughter of a chief (and in another version—Raven) received the blanket from the benevolent sea-monster GonakAde't (Ibid., p. 330). The beautifully carved and painted box referred to in the above myth was probably a reference to a chief's chest or 'anda amhala it used to contain a chief's ceremonial costume.
of people wearing this impressive headgear.

Malaspina visited the Yakutat Tlingit late in June of 1791. Of the thirty-one pieces he collected, eighteen have been identified by Erna Gunther as definitely being of Tlingit manufacture (Gunther, 1972:161, 162). One of the objects, now located in the Archaeological Museum of Madrid, was the plaque from a frontlet headdress (see Appendix entry, Madrid Archaeological Museum, 1310, for illustration and data).

Early Russian expeditions to the Northwest Coast made collections of Tlingit artifacts. The Soviet ethnographer, Sternberg, noted that the artifacts from Tlingit villages brought to St. Petersburg and housed in the Leningrad Museum were "the earliest and most authentic of all collections of its type" (In: Siebert and Forman, 1967:10). A small, though equally valuable collection of similar items is found in the Anthropological Museum of Lomonosov State University in Moscow (Ibid.). Both collections contain headdresses collected in the early nineteenth century. Almost all of the frontlets in Soviet collections were made before Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867. Some of the people who collected them were Lisiansky, Chudnovsky, Voznesensky and Doroshin.

The Russian explorer, Capt Lisiansky, collected "miniature wooden masks" from ceremonial headdresses in 1806 (Ibid.:12,16). Missionary George Chudnovsky made a collection of Tlingit objects, including shamans' headdresses. His collection was primarily from Admiralty

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2 Gunther's list was compiled from Anna Rustow's Die Objekte der Malaspina-Expedition, Büssler Archiv, Beiträge zur Volkerkunde, 22:4:173-204, 1939. De Laguna wrote that the objects came from Port Mulgrave (1972:144).
Island and, according to Siebert and Forman, pre-dates 1830 (Ibid.:16).

An early nineteenth century collection of Tlingit artifacts which includes several "frontal masks" was made by Voznesensky, a zoologist (Ibid.:43).

The Doroshin collection in Leningrad contains a frontlet headdress collected from the Tlingit around 1850. (For plates and data for the above objects see Appendix, entries for Leningrad MAESAS and Moscow AMLSU.)

Marchand visited the Tlingit at Sitka Sound in 1791 and described a ceremonial costume that was put on by a young Tlingit man at the European's request.

"It was not without some difficulty that they prevailed on him to display part of his wardrobe which he kept carefully put by in a little box ... The first piece of this whimsical attire is a sort of grenadier's cap, or rather the fore part of a mitre, which is placed on the forehead and flattened by strings tied behind the head; the sides of it are bordered with long hair of men and beasts. On the exterior part of this head-dress, are represented figures of men, quadrupeds, and birds, painted in a grotesque manner; and braids, composed of hair of beasts, and filaments of tree or shrub-bark, like flax, hang down behind as long trailing tail.... [The rest of the costume, including a painted shirt, dance apron and rattles was also described].... This character dress was not the only one that he possessed; his wardrobe contained a great number, no doubt for different parts, and was remarked above all, for a varied collection of caps. It may be imagined that national vanity had induced him to display, to the eyes of strangers, the dress to which he attached the most importance...; whatever entreaty they made, whatever price they offered, they could not prevail on him to part with any articles of his wardrobe (Flurieu, 1801:II:333-334).

"The whole figure", wrote Erna Gunther, "is easily recognized as the frontlet headdress worn by chiefs" (Gunther, 1972:164). The "mitre" portion was a carved frontlet; the "beasts" hair hanging down the back and
sides was the ermine train flowing over shredded cedar-bark ("shrub-bark, like flax"). The account indicated that the crew members had seen other, older men wearing this costume, for they were surprised to see a young man "of about twenty-five years of age" wearing the headdress. The costume was obviously so valuable that the wearer could not be persuaded to sell it to the Frenchmen.

Four years later, English seamen had the opportunity to view a similar costume. While moored in Cross Sound during late July of 1974, the Discovery, under Capt. Vancouver's command, sent out several exploring expeditions. One of these small expeditions, under the direction of Lt. Whidbey went to the village at the entrance of Lynn Canal; there they encountered Tlingit people. Vancouver recorded in his journal the meeting between Whidbey and a Chilkat chief. The chief, "a tall thin elderly man", was dressed in a Chilkat blanket:

*His external robe was a very fine large garment that reached from his neck down to his heels, and of wool from the mountain sheep, neatly variegated with several colours, and edged, and otherwise decorated with little tufts or frogs of woolen yarn, dyed of various colours (Vancouver, 1789:III:249).*

... and a frontlet headdress...

*His headdress was made of wood, much resembling in its shape a crown, adorned with bright copper and brass plates, from whence hung a number of tails or streamers, composed of wool and fur wrought together, dyed of various colours and each terminating in a whole ermine skin (Ibid.:249-250).*

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3. The Portland Art Museum has in its collection a frontlet headdress which has various colours of wool streamers attached to the ermine train in a manner which fits Vancouver's description. See Appendix entry, PAM, 48.3.433.
2. Later Accounts: Collectors of culture, collectors of souls.

Aurel Krause, a German geographer, wrote about the southern Tlingit in 1885. In this first extensive account of Tlingit life and culture, he devotes a very small chapter to "Arts and Handicrafts"; it is in this chapter that we find a brief description of Tlingit "ceremonial garb". Like most ethnographers in this area, he was fascinated with "the art and sophisticated taste" of the Tlingit as exemplified in the Chilkat blanket (which he glosses as dschênu) (Krause, 1885/1956:138-139). Although he illustrated his account with a sketch of the "Chief of the Huna with his wife in ceremonial regalia (with dance masks)" (see Figure 3.4), which portrayed the chief wearing a mask and a frontlet headdress, Krause never explicitly made reference to frontlet headdresses. He simply stated, with characteristic economy of description:

The masks, rattles, drums, and dance wands used for ceremonial and shamanistic performances are found in extraordinarily large numbers. The masks are either face masks with eye and mouth holes or they represent the heads of animals, principally birds or any fantastic combination.... (Ibid.:139; emphasis added).

Krause's description of a shaman's paraphernalia and costume was equally brief:

4. Notes in the introduction indicate that the sketches may have been done by the Krause's brother Arthur. This unusual combination of mask and frontlet headdress may have been "staged" for the white man's sketch pen or camera. An account by Barnett stated that a "mask" was worn with a frontlet headdress by a deceased chief lying-in-state, but it is not clear whether or not this was a real mask or simply a face covering. I know of only one other example - a photograph (BCPM #5232) depicting a figure wearing both kinds of headgear. The photograph was taken in Victoria, B.C. at an Indian crafts fair and was obviously staged for the occasion. It is uncertain if the figure in the photograph was white or Indian.
Figure 3.4. "Chief of the Huna [Hoonah] with His Wife in Ceremonial Regalia (with Dance Masks)." From Krause, 1885/1956:165. Note chief wears a mask and a frontlet headdress.
On a rack close to him hung all the regalia of the shamans, heavy with teeth, beaks and other kinds of rattles, which they wore around the neck, their headgear with its ermine which cascaded down the back, the dance aprons woven of mountain goat wool, various masks and many other things (Ibid.:202; emphasis added).

It is indeed unfortunate that while Krause saw and illustrated frontlet headdresses, as well as several other kinds of masks and ceremonial headgear, he did not write about them in detail.

Ensign Niblack, on the other hand, wrote about and illustrated the chief's ceremonial costume worn by the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida (see Figure 2.1). Niblack observed that the Tlingit used various styles of headdresses for different formal occasions, depending on the significance of the dance (Niblack, 1888/1970:363). However, he did not identify any of the categories of headgear other than to illustrate "masks", "ceremonial headdresses", and "helmets" and "hats".

John Swanton, as I mentioned earlier, glossed all headgear - ceremonial or otherwise - as "hat" or s:\axu. His descriptions of "clan hats" or "valuable hats" are few and none of them is sufficiently detailed to indicate that he was describing frontlet headdresses. However, a later ethnographer, de Laguna, thinks Swanton was referring to a cAkita't in his account taken from Katischan of Wrangel about a Tlingit dance Deki'na Al'e x (literally "common" or "Haida dance") in which a headdress, probably a frontlet headdress, was worn:

5 De Laguna noted that the Yukatat Tlingit glossed these imported tunes as "Haida mouth songs". She also wrote that Swanton's account "sounds like the chief initiating the singing at a potlatch" (De Laguna, 1971:567).
When the chief was going to dance, he has to be very careful not to say anything out of the way. He dances wearing a headdress with weasel skins, a Chilkat blanket and leggings and carrying a raven rattle. He is the only one whose voice is heard, and he speaks very quietly (Swanton, 1909, Tale 31: 141).

Lt. Emmons, a museum collector and ethnographer of the northern Northwest Coast people for many years, was particularly interested in Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian ceremonial art and costumes. He wrote two monographs on the Chilkat blanket, describing how it was made, who wore it, and the occasions on which it was worn (see Emmons, 1907 and 1908). The thoroughness of his investigation of this particular aspect of Tlingit material culture has seldom been equalled. He noted that the Chilkat blanket (or naxI'n — a Tlingit word also used by the Haida) was a necessary part of a chief's ceremonial costume and that this beautifully woven garment gave rise to other woven ceremonial garments such as: the apron or waist-robe (kèt: "front shield"); the long sleeveless shirt (qeka: "cover" or "protector", more often called kludAs or naxI'n kludAs: "sleeveless shirt"); the dance leggings (q'oskè't: "foot shields"). (Emmons, 1907:345,346,347). While he included a photograph of the Sitka chief "Kitch-kook" (figure 3.5) wearing a naxI'n kludAs or sleeveless shirt and a frontlet headdress in his 1908 article "Use of the Chilkat Blanket", neither of his articles dealt with the elaborate headdresses associated with the chief's ceremonial costume.

Jones, a missionary among the Tlingit for many years, was also fascinated with the beautiful Chilkat blankets and ceremonial garments, though he did not neglect to describe other parts of the costume. Evidently he attended several feasts and dances, and provided a description
Figure 3.5. "Sitka chief, Kitch-kook, in dress costume."
BCPM Photo #1568-A. Newcombe/G.T. Emmons collection. Photographer: Emmons, 1888. Published in Emmons, 1908:71. "Kitch-kook is the chief of the Kuse-ka-dee or more properly the Kharse-ka-dee or Karse-hit-ton family of the Sitka tribe. He is shown in his family sleeveless shirt of elaborate blanket work bearing the family emblem, the bison.... The man wears on his head an elaborate shaman's or chief's headdress and has a shaman's rattle on his right hand." (Note, the frontlet in this photograph is very similar to PAM 48.3.711. See Appendix entry.)
of a frontlet headdress being danced with:

The dance is highly spectacular and dramatic. Striking and singular costumes are worn, some of which are highly valued. Tribal heirlooms in the way of wooden hats, masks, ear drops, headgear, robes, etc., which have been handed down from generation to generation are much in evidence. Some of the leading actors wear headpieces with flexible projections six or eight inches long sticking out of the top. These prongs are filled between with eagle's down and every once in a while during the dance the proud wearer of this peculiar headgear gives his head a terrific shake sending the down flying through the air like a snow storm (Jones, 1914:144-145).

A Tlingit man, Louis Shotridge, was one of the first ethnographers to write specifically about the ceremonial headgear used by his people. Shotridge worked for the Philadelphia Museum from 1912 to 1930 as an ethnographer and collector. He published numerous articles about Tlingit and Tsimshian culture, several of which dealt with the significance of the ceremonial objects he collected. In his 1919 article "War Helmets and Clan Hats of the Tlingit Indians", Shotridge commented on the origin of the frontlet headdresses or "head-top-ornaments".

A number of odd shaped women's headdresses, included in the collection are good examples of bits of fine carvings.... This style of headdress was borrowed from the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, who were said, for some reason of their own, to have made first a headdress and then to have flattened the head during infancy to fit it. Only for a period of time or while the novelty of them lasted these odd shaped headdresses were used by the high caste Tlingit women, and with the exception of a few they were recognized only as works of art and were thus classed with personal property (Shotridge, 1919:47; emphasis added).

6 See Shotridge's articles published in The Museum Journal, 1913-1930. See also McLaren's biography "Louis Shotridge: The White Part of Me; the Kagwantan Part of Me" (1973), and Carpenter's introduction to the FORM AND FREEDOM catalogue (1975) for a closer look at the turbulent and impressive career of this tragic and controversial figure.
Given the ethnographic data on the Kwagiul which clearly establishes that the frontlet headdress (yukwíwey) was obtained by them through marriage with certain Tsimshian families, we may dismiss Shotridge's claim for a Kwagiul origin of this particular kind of headgear. Other ethnographers have noted that Tlingit women wore frontlet headdresses, but they also indicate, as do historical photographs, that men and children as well wore these ceremonial items (see figure 3.6 and 3.7). In the same article, Shotridge elaborated further on his point that with few exceptions, frontlet headdresses were considered "works of art" (though the Tlingit, like other Northwest Coast Indian people had no word in their vocabulary for "art", nor any category of material culture or behaviour to fit it). Specifically, he directed his comments to two of the three frontlet headdresses he collected for the Philadelphia Museum (see Appendix entries, under Penn. U.M., for data on these three). One, he wrote, represented "Marmot with its prey a bat", and the other, "Sea lion taking a plunge from its rock".

A brief note... may explain how these were taken into the clan and house group collections. The one representing the Marmot, like most headdresses of this style was made more for show than for its history, hence it may not necessarily be classed as a possession of the house group who owned it. At the same time, the one representing the sea-lion has been recognized as a clan possession, because it was made for a young lady who happened to be the only right heir to the head chief office of her clan, when an important ceremony was to be performed. Since there was nothing suitable for feminine use in the clan collection, it became necessary to have the foreign style of headdress made, and in order to have it worthy of her use, it was carved to represent a sea-lion, the crest of her clan.

Many valuable slaves were given their freedom after they performed the crowning of the princess with the new "Head-top-ornament." This act is said to have been the beginning of providing headdresses for the
Figures 3.6 and 3.7. "Hoonah Indians dressed in ceremonial robes." Figure 3.6 depicts men wearing ceremonial costumes and Figure 3.7 shows women wearing the same costumes:

- Man #1 and Woman #7 wear same headdress and shirt.
- Man #2 and Woman #8 wear same hat and shirt.
- Man #3 and Woman #10 wear same frontlet headdress and Chilkat blanket. She wears same neck-piece as Man #2.
- Man #4 and Woman #9 wear same shirt; she wears headdress worn by Man #5.
- Man #6 and Woman #11 wear the same shaman's headdress, the same shirt and carry the same feather wands.

From this photo, and others too numerous to include here, it may be concluded that men, women, and children all wore the various styles of ceremonial dress.
women members of clans, which formerly had been a problem in many cases as stated (Ibid.:47-48; emphasis added).

Kalervo Oberg, an ethnographer who did his fieldwork among the Tlingit during the same years Shotridge was collecting, perhaps sheds some light on Shotridge's confusing statement about ownership and status of ceremonial headdresses.

All dancers [in a Tlingit potlatch] wear hats or head ornaments of various forms. These hats often represent the emblems of the clan and house, and even the phratry. They are not the sacred totemic objects around which the presentation of goods took place but were the private property of the individuals using them (Oberg, 1933/1973:120).

The sacred totemic objects were, according to Oberg, "the totemic emblems and crests represented by the hats worn by the chiefs and headmen of these various clans present". Potlatch goods gave value to the clan and house crests, making these emblems central to the whole potlatch process (Ibid.). The point being that the status of a ceremonial headdress was commensurate with the rank of the wearer rather than being an intrinsic quality of the object.

Further to Shotridge's contention that frontlet headdresses were generally and with few exceptions "recognized only as works of art", Oberg noted that the value of any object for the Tlingit is subject to considerations that most humans make, i.e. evaluations of economic utility, aesthetic satisfactions, personal associations and display for prestige, and magical or religious efficacy. "It is of course difficult

7 Regrettably, Oberg did not distinguish frontlet headdresses from clan hats, nor did he describe or illustrate a frontlet headdress.
to separate these elements in a single object", wrote Oberg, "like the Tlingit harpoon, which satisfied at least economic, aesthetic and magical needs, or a crest hat, which served as an index of rank, gave aesthetic satisfaction and had religious meaning" (Ibid.:103).

Frederica de Laguna published a description of the frontlet headdress that stated who wore it, how it was danced with, and how it was different from other headgear.

Dancers, men or women, and even children might wear the square wooden masklike headdress, surmounted by sea lion whiskers and flicker feathers, and trailing a veil of ermine skins.... This type of head­dress (cAki'At) was probably made by the Tsimshian although it was referred to as a "Haida head piece," because it was worn when dancing at a potlatch to "Haida mouth" type songs (de Laguna, 1971:442-443).

She wrote about a Tlingit dance in which the cAki'At was worn. The account corroborates Swanton's notation that frontlet headdresses were worn during a Haida dance (DekT'na Al'e'x). (see p.107 above). The dance took place on a crowded floor and the dancers' movements were restricted.

Young men, even small boys, of the host sib danced from time to time in cAki'At, the headdress with the square masklike plaque above the forehead depicting the sib totem. The songs to which they danced were Tlingit songs addressed to sib-children but called "Haida mouth songs: (Dekina ivery) because they were supposed to be in the same rhythmic style as Haida love songs or dance songs (Ibid.: 633).

De Laguna was told by her Yukatat informants, "Mostly Haida have cAki'At and dance with it to songs like these" (Ibid.). The Tlingit utilized such songs and dances as a special feature in their potlatch events, which will be described in detail later. Another Yukatat informant commented on dancing in a cAki'At:
"You have to have a strong back to dance with that. The way they dance, they supposed to imitate a halibut flopping. That's how come they land on their knees and bend back and almost touch the floor. They bend backwards and forward. The feathers fly all over. You have to move fast. ...(the feathers are) chopped down inside the hat (behind the crown of sea lion shiskers and flicker feathers)." This informant believed that this dancing was traditionally done on the bench (tax), although he had never seen an old-style house with a bench. "When they dance at a pot-latch, he's dancing up there, and all they can see is that little feather (flicker feathers on the cAki'At?) when he sit down. That's the most important part of the dance, when they sit down. Just the feathers on his head they could see. ...That's when he bends down in the dance." (Ibid.:634).

De Laguna dismissed the notion, however, that some of the dances were acrobatic displays. Some of the dances, "especially those performed by vigorous young men in wooden headdresses (cAki'At) or in heavy wooden crest hats must have been strenuous and required considerable muscle control" (Ibid.:567,633). She also noted that the dancers wearing cAki'At and crest hats also wore a Chilkat blanket which "effectively pinioned the arms," but this was not always the case for "some dances apparently took place behind a blanket so that only the moving crest hat or headdress could be seen" (Ibid.:568). The headdresses were worn by women, little children and chiefs as well as young men and de Laguna wrote, "since the wearer may have a rattle in his hand, I believe that the rattle accompanies this dance" (Ibid.:634). (Historical photographs show dancers wearing all of these objects; see Figure 3.8.)

While having established that the cAki'At was worn with a Chilkat blanket and rattle, she also noted that wooden hats, or helmets, surmounted with the totem of the sib, were also used for dancing. The crest hats (sax̂ and helmets (xî̞) were worn by chiefs (Ibid.:443).
Figure 3.8. Tlingit of Killisnoo. According to Emmons' notes on a similar print: "Manhas beaver hat, beaver dish, frog hat; Dasheton of Angoon in dance dress." Frederica de Laguna identified the three people as "Hootzahtah chiefs in dance costume". Note that all are wearing crest hats or cAki'At, a Chilkat blanket or shirt, and are carrying raven rattles. Two cAki'At headdresses and possibly a third rest on chairs next to the dancers. BCPM photo. #1545. Collection of Newcombe and G.T. Emmons. Photographer: Vincent Sabaleff, n.d. (Same people appear in a similar photo in Waterman, 1925:133.)
She recorded:

"They dance with it just like cAki'At," said one informant, referring to a Kagwantan Killer-whale Helmet.

I believe that this refers to the exhibition of the helmet by the hosts of a potlatch, rather than to the type of dance performed by the wearer (Ibid.:634).

Having noted the difference between hat or helmet and cAki'At, de Laguna described the headgear worn by shamans. The tlugu or t'uka headdress appears to be nearly identical to a cAki'At, the only difference may be that the small "maskette" or carved figure on a shaman's headdress was more three-dimensional than the figures carved in high-relief on a frontlet plaque. She noted:

The shaman also had several headdresses, called "thlu-gu" (Emmons), possibly tlugu or even t'uka, "power". These also represented his spirits. These were sometimes made of shredded cedar bark and human hair, more often of swan-down or eagledown, with a crown of eagle tail feathers or eagle tail and magpie tail feathers. One, belonging to Qadjuse, formerly consisted of the skin from the head and neck of a mallard drake....In front of these headdresses, over the forehead, was a wooden maskette, or a small carved head or some other small figure. (In many cases these detached carvings can be identified.) Emmons noted that these headdresses were worn for "general dances", for dancing in the evening after a day of fasting to bring good fortune to the shaman's family, and also for dancing around the sick and bewitched. Probably the occasion determined which spirit was to be summoned and therefore which headdress would be worn (Ibid.:693; emphasis added).

In addition to the tlugu or t'uka type of headdress, Tlingit shamans also wore a headdress called yek tčini (or "yake cheenee") which de Laguna wrote, "was made of ermine skin, eagle tail feathers, and perhaps

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8. In the ethnography, de Laguna listed by name several shamans who owned this kind of headdress. In addition, she illustrated several of these objects that are now part of the American Museum of Natural History collections of Tlingit artifacts.
braids of human hair falling behind. It was ornamented with the feathered shafts of arrows and small carved heads or maskettes" (Ibid.; emphasis added).  

From De Laguna's descriptions and photographs it is clear that shaman's headdresses closely resembled cAki'At headdresses worn by chiefs. Swanton noted that a Tlingit shaman's costume had other components in common with a chief's ceremonial garb: the Chilkat blanket, raven rattle, dance leggings and a headdress:

Besides oval rattles, such as Haida shamans always employed they sometimes used the large chief's rattles, with figures of a raven and other animals upon them.... The chief's rattle came to them originally from the south.... and on the head [they wore] a particular hat, often adopted by common people, especially by warriors and people at feasts. The shaman's body was usually covered with...a Chilkat blanket, and his legs were encased in dance leggings (Swanton, 1908:464; emphasis added).  

Swanton surmised that chiefs and shamans wore the same ceremonial costume unlike their counterparts in the Haida culture, "because Tlingit shamans were generally of higher social rank than those among the Haida" (Ibid.). De Laguna concurred: "A shaman might own a crest hat, but perhaps this was more a reflection of his social rank than of his professional standing, since many Tlingit shamans were lineage heads or house owners." (De Laguna, 1971:695-696).

In summarizing the data in this section, let me first diagram

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9."In addition to these complete headdresses, shamans might also have unattached maskettes or other ornaments which could be put on such headgear." (Ibid.). (For example see Appendix, Leningrad, 536-21a & b.)

10.De Laguna noted that a shaman did not dance or perform in his Chilkat blanket but "stripped naked or practically so for his performances" (De Laguna, 1971:568).
some of the categories of headdresses worn by the Tlingit. The drawings are based on De Laguna's data and historical photographs (figure 3.9).

From the data presented in this section, we know that these headdresses, especially cAki'At headdresses, were worn since the time of European contact with the Tlingit, and that their use continued through the twentieth century. Moreover, throughout this historical period, the frontlet headdress or cAki'At was associated with and worn with a costume consisting of a Chilkat blanket, dancing shirt or apron, dance leggings and a raven rattle; this costume was often referred to as a "chief's dancing costume".

Historical photographs as well as ethnographic data revealed that men, women and children wore the cAki'At. Men and women who were chiefs, as well as members of their clan, wore these crest items. Children of the host lineage were often called upon by their chief to wear the cAki'At and other clan heirlooms at potlatches. However, the insignia of the lineage heads and house owners was the entire "chief's dancing costume". As high-ranking people, shamans also wore this costume, but whereas a chief might substitute a crest hat (sxax) or helmet (xis) for a cAki'At, only a shaman could wear a tugu (luka) or a yek t'cini instead of the frontlet headdress. The cAki'At and tugu (luka) were nearly identical, the difference being that the frontlet headdress had more of the two-dimensional or plaque-like carving, whereas the tugu (luka) had a three dimensional, smaller carving, often called a "maskette". Frontlet or cAki'At plaques were usually carved to represent two or more supernatural creatures (or crests), while the tugu "maskette" usually represented a single anthropomorphic face.
Figure 3.9. Categories of headdresses worn by the Tlingit according to De Laguna. Page numbers indicate De Laguna, 1971 references.

1. **ningčín táwn**: most common men and women's headgear: black silk kerchief with cockades of dyed chicken feathers (p.440).
   literally: "Canadian feathers".

2. **hat with beaded fringe**: Style said to have been captured from the Russians. Worn by men and women (p.440).

3. **'ixt' cAda xagu**: shaman's crown of goat horns; literally "shaman's head claws" (pp.693-694).

4. **tlugu or luka**: shaman's headdress; literally means "power" shaman's headdress of similar description having braids of human hair falling behind and ermine tails called yeck tčini (p.693).

5. **cAki'At**: worn by men, women and children. Worn by high-ranking people including shaman's with ceremonial dancing costume consisting of Chilkat blanket, dancing apron or shirt, dancing leggings, raven rattle (pp.442-443).

6. **xuts gAgue**: Warrior's headdress also worn by shaman's and chief's; bear's ears headdress (p.694).

7. **sax̂ cAdakux**: Ceremonial hat of woven spruce root; worn by high-ranking people who have given potlatches; literally: "hat with rings" (p.695).

8. **sax̂**: Chief's crest hat of woven spruce root; painted with crest designs (p.443).

9. **sax̂**: same as above, except carved of wood with woven spruce root rings indicating number of potlatches given.

10. **xís**: Chief's crest helmet of carved wood. (Note #8, 9, & 10 may be worn by shaman's as well) (p.443).
1. níñëmëít tawn

2. hat with beaded fringe

3. 'ixt' cAda xagu

4. tługu or łuka
   (also yek teini)

5. cAki'At

6. xuts gAgue

7. 'sax' cAdakux

8. 'sax' (woven
   (spruce root)

9. 'sax' (carved wood and
   woven spruce root)

10. xis

FIGURE 3.9.
The headdresses illustrated in Figure 3.9 all share something in common. None of the categories to which they belong may be described as a mask (tł̓axk̓et or  tł̓axket). Also, they were all headdresses worn over the forehead, thus permitting the human face to be entirely visible. The headdresses worn as a part of a "chief's ceremonial costume" (i.e. the cAKi'At,  s̓ax̓w,  k̓is, and  s̓ax̓w c̓Adakuł̓x) and the headdresses worn by the shaman (tł̓ugu or  łuka, and yek̓ t̓čini) have an additional element in common. Not only were these headdresses worn over the forehead, but all had either carved or painted representations of supernatural creatures on the brim or crown. The image of the supernatural entity portrayed on the headdress was thus juxtaposed with the image of the wearer's human face. Hence, a wearer of these clan headdresses synthesized his affinity with a supernatural entity (the lineage emblem) and his identity as a social being (a person of certain rank and prestige). Both supernatural and social images were conjoined, symbolizing the total image of the individual within the Tlingit universe.

The homology between the supernatural and social symbols contained in the image of the wearer of a headdress is perhaps best exemplified by the shaman wearing a tl̓ugu headdress. The shaman was usually a person of high rank - a person with access to, as well as the ability to generate social power. He was also a person with access to and ability to control great supernatural power. The headdress he wears, as an exclusive insignia of his shamanistic role, was called a tl̓ugu, which literally translates as "power" (De Laguna, 1971:693). This headdress, worn over his forehead, did not conceal his social identity. For the audience witnessing this display, it also identified the social
source of a spiritual power. The shaman became the social being who had command over a spirit, or was the social incarnation of the spirit, its concretion, while at the same time depicting the spirit claimed by the shaman as the locus of his supernatural power. The two faces - that representing the yek or spirit depicted on the maskette of the tlugu and the shaman's own face - were commensurate entities, juxtaposed to symbolize social and supernatural authority.

3. Frontlet Headdresses: occasions for their display.

In preceding sections we have seen that the Tlingit wore frontlet headdresses, and how they wore them. In this section, we shall examine some of the occasions in which they were worn. Generally, there were three contexts in which the wearing of this headgear would have been appropriate:

i) welcoming or greeting ceremonies

ii) the potlatch

iii) lying-in-state rites.

In the later two categories, frontlet headdresses were explicitly worn; in the first, however, their presence is only implicit. By examining the data concerning the occasions on which the cAki’At was worn, it is possible to speculate about the logic of wearing such an adornment.

i. Welcoming or greeting ceremonies.

The data on Tlingit welcoming ceremonies are inconclusive, and there are no explicit mentions of cAki’Ats being worn. The description
of one welcoming or greeting occasion performed by the Tlingit is, however, similar to descriptions of Tsimshian and Haida events in which frontlet headdresses were worn by hosts and guests. Krause noted that the ceremonies and songs which were used as greetings "on meeting strangers to assure friendly relations" were not conducted as frequently in the 1880's as they were in former times (Krause, 1885/1956:168). He described the ceremony conducted when one Tlingit group met another for trade or "for some other purpose" - probably for a feast or potlatch:

They [the visitors] stop before a landing is made and the chiefs put on their ceremonial regalia. Then standing up in a canoe and holding a rattle, they start to sing a song of peace which a chorus accompanies by raising the hands, palms forward, and the paddlers stroke rhythmically. From time to time they join the song of the leader. At the close of the ceremony, usually bird down is blown into the air (Ibid.:169; emphasis added).

Krause also noted that this was the method used to greet Europeans, "as long as their large vessel was a rarity in these waters" (Ibid.). He mentioned that visiting Russian and other foreign warships established a custom of giving the Tlingit a feast.

At such occasions the Indians brought forth all their traditional ritual. Dressed in fantastic regalia, singing and gesticulating, they proceeded around the ship before they went aboard. Here they were served, usually rice and molasses, as well as with a highly diluted grog..., after which they expressed their thanks to their hosts by dancing (Ibid.).

Recalling that Krause illustrated a "Huna" chief with a frontlet headdress and described it as a chief in "ceremonial regalia", and given the descriptions of Tsimshian and Haida people performing similar ceremonies while wearing frontlet headdresses, it would not be an unlikely assumption that the Tlingit wore the cAki'At on these occasions as well.
The potlatch in Tlingit society combined several functions and the motives for giving a potlatch were also complex. "All of these purposes and functions were, however, conceived as memorializing the dead, either directly or indirectly by carrying on the traditions which the ancestors had established" (De Laguna, 1971:612). There was an intimate relationship between the mortuary aspects of the potlatch and succession to the office formerly held by the deceased. Though closely linked to the death of any individual or the death of a chief, the potlatch had other apparent public functions all of which were directed toward the continuity of the clan: the building, rebuilding, or dedication of a lineage house; the assumption of a dead chief's title by his successor; the honouring and accession of status by children of the deceased's sib; the formal display of crest prerogatives owned by the dead individual's group; the formal acknowledgement and gift distribution to the members of the opposite moiety who had assisted in the funeral; and the performance of secret society dances (Ibid.:606-612; Rossman and Rubel, 1971:48-49; Olson, 1967:58-68).

"The feast-potlatch", wrote Olson, "is called gātt.a.ī'tih. The nearest translation is something like 'feast for the living children'" (Olson, 1967:68). In this way, potlatches, which are initiated to mourn and honour the dead, were also occasions in which a man could honour the children of his moiety. This is an important aspect of the potlatch, for unless one or more of these ceremonies were given for a child, he could never be a member of the highest rank (anyaddi), "no matter how rich or how high-born he was" (Ibid.). "Thus the big names or titles of
the dead members of the lineage were revived through their formal bestowal upon the living" (De Laguna, 1971:612).

The potlatch was an event memorializing the deceased and honouring his living descendants, though as De Laguna noted, "the occasion is magnified by ceremonial into the most important in Tlingit life, far transcending the importance for whom it is held" (Ibid.:607). More than any other institution, the potlatch brought together the most important aspects of Tlingit life:

Chiefs and commoners and slaves all play roles appropriate to their stations....It is the foremost occasion on which the position of chiefs and the legal ownership of sib prerogatives are demonstrated....The potlatch stimulates the composition and performance of the finest songs and dances, the production and display of the most beautiful costumes, carvings, and paintings, including those of the house itself. Yet the significance of these transcends their purely aesthetic appeal since they serve to symbolize the whole social order, the relation of man to man and of men to their totemic counterparts, while the oratory of the chiefs and poetry of the songs evoke the legendary history of the sib ancestors and myths of the world's establishment. The emotional stresses range from the heartbroken grief of a child mourning a dead mother, to the gay mimicking of foreigners in a dance, or the warlike challenges of rivals (Ibid.).

One of the functions of the Tlingit potlatch, the ethnographers observed, was the formal display of crest prerogatives and emblems. Frontlet headdresses, vehicles for the visual presentation of crests or clan emblems, were worn by men, women and children at potlatches. The crest paraphernalia, of which frontlet headdresses were a part, signified more than clan affiliation; it symbolized an important link between the dead and the living. The headdresses and other ceremonial regalia formed part of the visual expression of the continuity of the lineage across time and space. As De Laguna noted:
Just as the host chief introduced his 'nephews and nieces' and his 'grandchildren' [children of his own moiety] to the guests by the honourable names they were henceforth to bear, so he himself succeeded to the position of his dead predecessor as head of the lineage or sib. The garments (blankets, coats, hats, headdresses) that had been worn by the dead at earlier ceremonials were placed upon these, their living representatives, and even the children of the dead might be called before the guests to display such regalia (Ibid.).

De Laguna described how the cAki'At and other crest headgear were danced with (see p.115 below) and indicated the significance of displaying these heirlooms:

There are traditional songs (and perhaps dances) that are supposed to accompany the exhibition of each sib heirloom of this kind: hat, helmet, blanket drum, and so forth. Sometimes the chief himself displays the emblem or calls on his nephew to do so, and sometimes he calls on his paternal grandchild [both of which belong to his clan]. The greater the importance of the object displayed and of its song, the more wealth would be contributed when it was shown, and this in turn enhances the value of the object and the prestige of the sponsor and of the junior who exhibits the crest (Ibid.:634; emphasis added).

Dancing at potlatches was done primarily by the host women according to De Laguna (1971:633). Their dances accompanied the singing of the host and for this occasion they often wore frontlet headdresses.

Their faces were painted with designs associated with the sib crest.... They wore blankets, usually the button blankets of blue serge with red borders, although some had Chilkat blankets. Blankets were... considered essential for dancing.... Host women might wear a silk kerchief and a Hudson's Bay Company cockade, or the wooden headdress, cAki'At (Ibid.:634; emphasis added).

Swanton's account of a feast given by the Raven people of Klukwan at Chilkat corroborates the fact that host women wore frontlet headdresses:
Next morning the Sitka people were all taken into
t heir hosts' houses to talk with them about taking
up the boxes of the dead, putting them in a box,
and erecting a carving over them.... Now is when
the host takes charge of the sport, so next morning
two cannons were fired off, and the host told the
women of his clan to dress up. So all the women
of that clan put on carved headdresses ornamented
with abalone shell, and other good clothing
(Swanton, 1908:441; emphasis added).

These two accounts remind us that women, as well as men and
children of the host clan, danced wearing frontlet headdresses. As we
have seen in the ethnographic and photographic records evidenced earlier
in this chapter, chiefs and other high-ranking people (including shamans)
wore the frontlet headdress in association with other exclusive insignia
of their rank: the Chilkat blanket, dancing apron or shirt, dance leg-
gings, and the raven rattle. From all accounts, it is unclear what
costumes the visitors wore, except that these were their "best clothes".

It is also unclear what ceremonial apparel was worn for the
"secret society" or dance society events which were a part of the Tlingit
potlatch. The ethnographers rarely commented on the substance of the
Tlingit secret societies, or luqAñAn', except to note that the dances were
imported from the south and that the dances retained "direct similarities"
to the secret societies of the Kwagiul, Tsimshian, and Haida (Olson,
1967:118). But, as Swanton noted, "their observance by no means reached
the importance attained among the Kwakiutl" (Swanton, 1908:436). He

11. Swanton's informant Dekiná'k'u did not specifically mention
men wearing frontlet headdresses, though he did say they wore "clan hats"
and other "valuable hats". One of the Klukwan host chiefs, Yëk-Wa'k,
"wore a hat provided with ears and covered with abalone shell".
observed that the *luqAna*' performances were better known and existed in
greater variety at Wrangel than at Sitka (Ibid.). Olson commented that
"most of the features" of the secret societies "were avowedly of Tsim­
shian origin" and that "it is quite clear that none of the Tlingit north
of Sitka had acquired the songs, dances, whistles and other paraphernalia
associated with these special dances" (Olson, 1967:118). Given that the
ethnographers who commented on Tlingit secret society dances did not
systematically describe them, but merely noted that they resembled or
were identical to Haida, Tsimshian and Kwagiul secret society dances,
and given that among those southerly people, frontlet headdresses were
worn on those occasions, I assume that frontlet headdresses were also
used by the Tlingit in the *luqAna*' performances.\(^\text{12}\)

### iii. Lying-in-state rites

Upon the death of a chief or other high-ranking person, the
Haida and Tlingit dressed the body in ceremonial attire and surrounded it
with the emblems of wealth and prestige of the deceased. The ceremonial
attire for lying-in-state usually consisted of a frontlet headdress,

\(^{12}\) It should be noted that Olson learned of one "special hea­
dress" used in these dances, and further that "masks were not used". He
continued by describing the headdress: "It is called "kun (a bird)
sitting on a stump." (Olson, 1967:120). It was owned by Chief Cedestihn
of Wrangel and was traded along with a "Lukana" (Swanton's *luqAna)* dance
and a "special rattle" to Chief Skauwyetl of the Kiksadi of Sitka for a
"fine copper named tinaktle'n (big copper). (Ibid.). It is interesting
to note that Kun is translated by Swanton as 'flicker' (Kun) and that he
lists a flicker mask as being owned by the KiksA'di at Wrangell.
(Swanton, 1908:436). It is possible that the "Kun sitting on a stump"
headdress was a frontlet headdress, and that the "special rattle" was a
raven rattle - both would have been commensurate in value to a copper,
and both would have been chiefly possessions.
a button blanket or beaded clan shirt. A Chilkat blanket was often draped over the body's knees or hung on the wall behind it (see figure 3.10).

Krause included in his ethnography an account of the ceremonies which took place after the death of a Sitka chief as it appeared in the New York Herald of April 16, 1881:

The corpse was ceremonially prepared and placed in a sitting position in the center of the back wall of the house. On his head he wore a wooden hat, carved with figures of the raven, his face was painted, and around his body a woolen blanket decorated with buttons was draped. Two beautiful Chilkat blankets were laid on his knees and on these was a package of letters of recommendation given him by the commanders and other important white people, and a dagger in a carved sheath. To one side of him lay his treasure, mostly woolen blankets packed in several trunks; on the other side stood his wife, wrapped in a woolen blanket (Krause, 1885/1956:156).

A few years later, during the winter of 1886-1887, George Barnett, a Marine lieutenant witnessed the display of a body in state at Sitka. He described the scene to Niblack:

For several days after death the body was lying in state, surrounded by all articles of value which had been the property of the deceased. The face was covered with a mask, and on the head was a handsome headdress trimmed with ermine skins which hung down the back; the body, which was in a sitting posture, was covered with Chilkat blankets (Niblack, 1888/1970:359).

The missionary Jones provided a similar description of the mortuary ceremonies for a chief, noting that the display of personal and clan emblems served to indicate the high-standing of the person in life (Jones, 1914:147). The memorial rites changed little over the years, the major innovation being that with the advent of Christianity, bodies were interred rather than cremated. Olson's account of the rites for
Figure 3.10. a. Sketch made from a photograph by Niblack, depicts the body of Chief Shakes, lying in state at Ft. Wrangell, Alaska. (Niblack, 1888/1971:Plate LXVIII). b. "Taken in 1878 in Fort Wrangell, this photo shows Chief Shakes V lying in state surrounded by the symbols of his tribe and clan." (Keithahn, 1945/1963:27).
a high ranking man is nearly identical to late nineteenth century reports. The body was placed on a seat or box at the "head" of the house, the end opposite the door, by members of the opposite moiety, usually the wife's brothers (kanigan).

Four men dressed him [the deceased] in his ceremonial costume, and his face is painted with red ochre. Among the northern Tlingit a Canadian flag is draped to one side. A blanket is draped to cover the face and a button blanket across the shoulders. A dance headdress or hat is placed on the head.... A Chilkat blanket is also hung on the wall (Olson, 1967:59).

Similarly, De Laguna records that as soon as a death had occurred among the Yukatat Tlingit, all the members of the opposite moiety (gunEtkAnay1) hastened to the house and dressed the deceased.

It was formerly wrapped in a Chilkat blanket, with a headdress (aK1'At) on the head, and was propped up to sit at the back of the house. Important heirlooms and other property owned by the deceased were piled by the body (De Laguna, 1971:532).

During the period of mourning, while the deceased was lying-in-state, relatives stood with faces painted black, hair cut short, and their

13. De Laguna's informant, Minnie Gray Johnson, told her: "The body was always sitting up against the wall on a chair or a box.... they never laid the body down flat because it would have been too hard for the spirit to get up. The spirit had to get up and walk to Spirit Town (sege qawn'ani)." She also told De Laguna that the corpse was dressed with strong shoes and gloves "because [the corpse was] going to go through a lot of devil-clubs and bushes and nettles. If they don't put no gloves on you, you never get through." (Ibid.).

Swanton's Sitka informants told him that people learned about the regions souls inhabit from men who have died and come back to life again. "In olden days a certain person died and thought it was so hard to walk up to the ghosts' country that he came back. Then he said to the people, 'I haven't any moccasins. I haven't any gloves on. That is a very hard place to go through, for there are lots of devil clubs and other kinds of bushes in the way. You must also sing songs when anybody dies. It is the same as a road for him and will lead him....' He also said there were many houses up there and told them to dress him up, put red paint on his face, and eagle down on his hair." (Swanton, 1908b:461).
heads sprinkled with eagle down (Krause, 1885/1956:158; Niblack, 1888/1970:358; Olson, 1967:60; etc.). The relatives removed the body from the house and in earlier times took it to a funeral pyre; in later years, they placed it in a coffin. Generally the ceremonial clothing was removed, though in some instances, the Chilkat blanket of a dead chief would be nailed to the outside of his grave house. De Laguna noted at least one instance in which a chief was buried with his headdress, but in her description of the Yakutat potlatch she stated that the ceremonial costumes worn by the dead at earlier ceremonials were placed upon their living representatives (De Laguna, 1971:612).

There is no mention in the literature of deceased shamans lying-in-state. Tlingit shamans, like most Northwest Coast shamans, were never cremated, but rather their bodies were bound in a fetal position and placed in decoratedgrave boxes, which were in turn, placed in caves or special grave houses. The shaman's body was surrounded by much of his paraphernalia. In a description by Seaton-Karr of the discovery of a shaman's grave near Port Mulgrave in 1886, the following items were found: "a shaman's wand, three mountain goat horns from a crown [probably an ixt'cAda xagu], maskettes for headdress...etc." (In De Laguna, 1971:687). De Laguna corroborated this account with another list of objects found in a shaman's grave house: "...grave guardian image, box to hold his outfit and additional containers for small items, masks, headdresses (of down

14. De Laguna illustrated a "Golden Eagle" cAki'At, "said to have been owned by Kax-da-xet±, Teqwedi chief of Shark House, probably Chief Minaman or Daqusetc, who died in 1890" (De Laguna, 1971:1074; plate 157a). She maintains that the headdress was collected from his grave.
feathers or cedar bark) with maskette (tīgu), headdress of ermine skin
(yek tčini), extra maskettes....bear's ears headdress, crest hat..., etc." (Ibid.:686). She noted: "Normally the paraphernalia of a shaman
were never destroyed, but like his corpse would be kept above ground in
order to inspire another doctor in his own lineage" (Ibid.).

In summary, deceased Tlingit chiefs and persons of high-rank
were dressed in ceremonial clothing for lying-in-state rites. The person
lying-in-state was placed in a sitting position and his clan emblems and
treasures were placed around him. Members of his own clan and those of
the opposite moiety witnessed the scene - the deceased's last public
proclamation and validation of his clan's prerogatives. A few days later,
the body was either cremated or interred, and unlike the shaman, the
prestigious person's ceremonial paraphernalia remained with the living
members of his clan. The prestigious clan emblems, including frontlet
headdresses, crest hats, and blankets, of a high-ranking person or chief
were kept in a social sphere - the land of the living - to be further
enhanced in value and prestige. These items, along with their accompanying
songs and dances, formed the symbols and insignia of the deceased and of
his successors. The ceremonial costumes, like the names and rights to
clan positions, were inherited heirlooms, passed from one generation to
another. The continuity of an individual's social position was symbolized
by the preservation and continuation of his clan emblems, songs, and
dances. These ideas of ensuring the continuity (and enhancement) of
clan and clan position were clearly linked to ideas about the reincar-
nation of the deceased's soul in the body of a child of the same moiety
(see Swanton, 1908:429; De Laguna, 1971:776-781). De Laguna noted:
Every baby embodies the spirit of a deceased relative who has returned to the living.... In reincarnation, the dead person's spirit is said to return to the "nearest relative" to be reborn as her child. This woman most properly belongs to the same lineage, and sib as the deceased, and to judge from alleged instances, may be a sister, sister's daughter, daughter's daughter, or sometimes a son's daughter or even a sib "sister"... The mother may even be a woman in an allied sib in the same moiety (De Laguna, 1971:777).

Thus, by potlatching, validating and enhancing crest prerogatives, and by honouring the children of one's own moiety, a person ensured: a) that the valuable emblems of his clan as well as his position would be inherited by worthy heirs; b) that these heirs would continue to claim and validate clan prerogatives; c) that new individuals or members of the moiety with appropriate affiliation and high-birth would be provided for the reincarnation of the deceased's soul. Another way of looking at personal wealth and rank from the point of view of the deceased would be: "you can't take it with you, but you can always come back and claim it".
Map IV. Kaigani Haida and Haida Villages.
(After Duff, n.d.; Anthropology 301 handout, U.B.C.) Scale:
one inch equals approximately 38 miles.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE HAIDA CASE

Introduction

In the ethnographic literature, there is little description of the personal adornment used by the Haida people in the elaborate rituals of the winter ceremonials and feasts. Compared to collections of ethnographic data from other parts of the Northwest Coast, the literature concerning the Haida is especially bereft of details about ritual clothing, masks, headdresses, and other ceremonial paraphernalia.¹ From the few scattered accounts available, there is nothing that explicitly deals with when and how these articles were used, nor with their meaning or significance in the socio-ritual context. Data in photographic archives and museum catalogues are no more illuminating than the literature. Historical photographs substantiate that Haida people wore frontlet headdresses, and that the headdress was part of a dramatic costume consisting of Chilkat blanket, dancing apron, leggings and raven rattle. The large quantity of frontlet headdresses collected from these people, documented, and stored on museum shelves suggest that they were

¹I am at a loss to explain why there is such a dearth of data concerning this aspect of Haida life and material culture. I suspect however, that this may be attributed to the fact that with one exception, all the ethnographers did their fieldwork during the summer months when the Haida rarely held potlatches. Dawson, who visited Haida villages during the summer of 1879, was fortunate to attend one feast from which he wrote an eyewitness account. Swanton, on the other hand, lived with the Haida during the winter of 1900-1901, but his accounts of the winter ceremonials were not first-hand. While missionaries and settlers may have lived in or near Haida villages year round, they were either ambivalent about Haida ritual, or they were not invited to attend potlatches. Their writings indicate an awareness of Haida ceremonialism without describing or explaining the phenomena.
indeed an important part of Haida ceremonialism.

In this chapter I will survey the ethnographic literature and attempt to align some of the fragmented data concerning the wearing of frontlet headdresses in Haida ritual. However, given the nature of the data, it is impossible to present an aggregate description of the Haida use of these objects. Rather, the goal will be to generate ideas about the logic of using this kind of raiment by consolidating shreds of data that reveal how the frontlet headdress was worn, who wore it, and the occasions on which it was displayed.

1. Early Historical and Ethnographic accounts.

George M. Dawson wrote one of the first major monographs on the Haida. Although based on first-hand observations made during the summer of 1879, his work did include data about the dances of the winter ceremonials and about some of the ceremonial garb worn on those occasions.

He described the dancing costume of which the frontlet headdress is an integral part:

The Chilkat blanket (naxin): 3

A cloak or blanket very much prized by the Haidas and called naxin is obtained in trade from the Tsimshians. It is shaped somewhat like a shawl, with a blunt point behind, and surrounded by a deep and thick fringe of twisted wool. Finely shred cedar bark is used as a basis or warp, on which the wool of the mountain goat is worked in. The cloaks are made in many small separate

2. Written in 1880, the ethnographic portion comprises Appendix A (pp. 103-175) of the larger work Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands contained in the Geological Survey of Canada for 1878-1879.

3. (The Skidegate dialect will be used for the Haida glosses unless otherwise specified.) Dawson, 1880:107, 137; or na' Hin according to Boas, 1881:184. Boas says this word is borrowed from the Tlingit language.
pieces, which are afterwards artfully sewn together. The colours of wool used are white, yellow, black and brown and the pattern bears a relation to the totem, so that an Indian can tell to what totem the cloak belongs. These cloaks or blankets are valued at about $30. (Dawson, 1880:107).

...the frontlet headdress (jìïk'í):

[The naxin] are used specially in dancing, and then in conjunction with a peculiar head-dress, which consists of a small wooden mask ornamented with mother-of-pearl. This stands up from the forehead, and is attached to a piece fitting over the head, ornamented with feathers, &c., and behind supporting a strip of cloth about two feet wide, which hangs down to the feet, and is covered with skins of the ermine (Ibid.).

...and...

[The headdress worn at the same time with the naxin] consists essentially of a small, nearly flat mask (one in my possession is 6 inches long by 5 3/4 wide ...), fixed to an erection of cedar bark, feathers, &c., in such a manner as to stand erect above the forehead of the woman. At the back depends a train, which may be made of cloth, but should have ermine skins sewn on it. These masks are frequently well carved to represent a human face not unpleasant in expression, and have the teeth and eyes formed of inlaid Haliotis shell (Ibid.:137).

...the dance leggings (gy'atl gya):

Leggings ornamented with puffin beaks have been referred to as occasionally adopted as a part of the dancing costume (Ibid.)

...and the raven rattle (sīsə'):  

Rattles are also used chiefly in dancing. These are

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4. Levine, 1976: personal communication. According to David Ellis, the Masset gloss for frontlet headdress is JiiLh K'il. (1976: personal communication). Deans (1895:XVII (March):62) wrote the Haida (dialect unspecified) word for this object was chillka.


of two principle types. First and most usual are plain spheroidal or oval rattles, generally considerably flattened in shape. The second species of rattle is much more elaborate in form, is highly prized, and apparently used only by persons of some distinction. These are made in the form of a bird the handle being in a position corresponding with the bird's tail. Accessory carving of a very elaborate character is sometimes found on these rattles.

Ensign A.P. Niblack and James Deans saw frontlet headdresses, and while it is not clear whether or not they witnessed first-hand ceremonies in which the dancing costume was worn, their records indicated who wore the frontlet headdress and how it was danced with. Niblack's notes, compiled over three consecutive summers (1885-1887) among the Kaigani Haida, contained the following data:

Chief's ceremonial headdress. In connection with [the Chilkat] blanket and coat or gown, a conventional head-dress is worn by the chiefs in this northern region. These...consist of a cylindrical wooden frame about 10 inches high, with an elaborately carved front of hard wood, beautifully polished, painted, and inlaid with abalone shell and copper. Pendent behind is a long cloth, on which are closely sewn the skins of ermine, which form an important item in a chief's outfit. Around the upper periphery of the head-dress is an elaborate fringe of seal-whiskers. In ceremonial dances the space within this fringe and the top of the headdress is filled with eagle or other bird's down, which falls like snow in the motions of the dance. This costume is completed by leggings of deer's hide, ornamented with the beaks of puffins, which rattle with the movements of the wearer (Niblack, 1890/1970:264; emphasis added).

James Deans was a minor ethnographer of Haida culture, and although a prolific writer on the subject for over forty years, he made his first trip to the islands in 1869. His description of how the
frontlet headdress was used by the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands corroborates the data given by Niblack for the northern villages in Alaska:

A chief, or a person of high standing, had to wear a sort of cloak, attached to a head-dress. On the front of the head-piece was carved one of the crests of the wearer. Set into its face were a number of abalone shells. Fixed into the top of this head-gear, standing upright, were a number of sea-lion bristles. These were put into form a small circle, within which were placed a lot of eagle down-feathers. While dancing and jumping about and shaking their heads, this down would fly about, covering everything. Attached to this head-gear was a yard or two of calico. This had a large number of ermine skins sewed to it. This usually hung down the back of the wearer. The Hidery name for this is chillka. The Tsimshians call it am halloid, (good or nice halloid). (Deans, 1895:XVII (March):62; emphasis added).

From these accounts in the ethnographic literature and from historical photographs, it is evident that the dancing costume used by high-ranking Haida people was identical to the dancing regalia of Tsimshian and Tlingit chiefs. Unfortunately, the literature does not supply a name for the Haida chief's dancing costume nor does it indicate a special term for the dancer who wore it. Neither do ethnographic records reveal the origin of the frontlet headdress. However, the Chilkat blankets and the raven rattles as well as the ceremonies in which frontlet headdresses were worn were said to have been obtained from the Tsimshian. 8 Dawson wrote:

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8 See Dawson's quote (p. 136) on the origin of the Chilkat blanket. As Gould noted in her thesis on raven rattles, "it is probable that the majority of the rattles of Tsimshian manufacture [used by the Haida] were acquired in the region of the Nass". The Haida frequently went there to trade for oulachon oil, a major staple in their diet. In museum catalogue data she found a statement by Barbeau which indicated that most raven rattles were carved by the Tsimshian and "were sold and exported elsewhere for the use of foreign chiefs" (Barbeau, 1927, notes to ROM HN-747; in continued.....
The Tshimsians say that the Haidas had originally no religion whatever, but adopted their ceremonies not a very great while ago. This may account for the use of Tshimsian words in the dances among the Haidas, and the high esteem in which the Tshimsian language is held by them.

...The dance is closely connected with the potlatch ceremonies, but also takes place in some instances without the occasion of a giving away of property. In most of the dances the Tshimsian language is used in the song, which would appear to indicate that the ceremonial has been borrowed from these people. Notwithstanding the old-time hostility of the Haidas and Tshimsians, the former profess a great liking for the Tshimsians' language, and many of them speak it fluently (Dawson, 1880:120, 127-128).

John R. Swanton, author of the major ethnography of Haida culture, recorded origin myths about Haida secret societies from Masset and Skidegate informants (Swanton, 1905a:156-160). Many of the societies incorporated the use of the frontlet headdress into initiation performances held during the winter ceremonials. "These stories agree in one important particular;" wrote Swanton, "they assign the beginning of the secret society to the same people, the Tsimshian around Kitkatla" (Ibid.: 160). It is not an unlikely assumption, therefore, that the use of the chief's dancing costume - the Chilkat blanket, apron, leggings, frontlet headdress, and raven rattle - as well as the ceremonial context in which it was worn, were obtained simultaneously from the Tsimshian.

8. (continued)
Figure 4.1. "Haida chieftain." BCPM Photo. 5314 - Copied from B.C. Native Heritage Series I, Vol. 4: "Our Native Peoples". BCPM Photo #1040 is nearly identical and identifies the person as Amos Watson (Newcombe Photo 1907). Frontlet is in BCPM collection: BCPM 9534 (see Appendix.)
Figure 4.2. "Haida artists Tom Price (left) and John Robson (right). BCPM Photo #5304. Same photo, at Vancouver Centennial Museum definitely identified as Fleming brothers photo, 1895-1900. In addition, same photo, appears in The Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands by Rev. B.C. Freeman (c. 1910). Caption reads: "A Native Local Preacher and A Steward in Ancient Dancing Costume."

Newcombe diary for 1901 contained the native names for these two men: John Robson was called Gwáiskunagiit\textsuperscript{ens} of Naikungéowe (p. 95 of the diary for 1901); Tom Price was called X\textsuperscript{ai dekûns}. (Ibid.:101).

Figure 4.3. Haida artist John Robson. Close up of BCPM Photo. #5304. "John Robson was Peter Kelly's mother's uncle - died after 1910 maybe 1914-15. When Peter Kelly left in 1910 he was perhaps 75. He was a local preacher in the Methodist Church - was a slate and wood carver, not silver and gold." BCPM Photo. #5444. Photo. by Fleming Brothers, 1895-1900.
2. The Ceremonial Contexts.

Generally, there were three contexts in which the frontlet headdress was worn:

1) for ceremonies welcoming visitors and guests. Both the "host" chief and the "guest" chiefs wore the frontlet headdress or "dancing hat". I include in this category dances which were performed at the feasts given after all the guests had assembled and before the potlatch began.

2) for the Wā'gal (house-raising) and Sīk'A (funerary or grave-post raising) potlatches of which secret society dances and initiations were an integral part. Both chiefs and (presumably high-ranking), newly-initiated individuals wore the frontlet headdress.

3) for lying-in-state. A deceased chief was dressed in full ceremonial regalia - including a frontlet headdress.

The accounts describing the ceremonial contexts in which frontlet headdresses were worn are found primarily in Harrison (1925), Dawson (1880, 1882), and Swanton (1905a).

i. Welcoming ceremonies: act of joy, act of peace.

Dawson identified what he considered to be six classes or categories of dancing ceremonies among the Haida. They were: 1) Skā-ga; 2) Ska-dul; 3) Kwai-o-guns-o-lung; 4) Ka-ta-ka-gun; 5) Ska-rut; and 6) Hi-atl (Dawson, 1880:129; 1882:405). From his descriptions, the Skā-ga was a dance performed to welcome guests and visitors from other villages:

9. Significantly, Dawson also translated skā-ga as "medicine or mystery man, or shaman". He notes that this person "functions as a prophet, sorcerer, and physician" and is chosen or accepted for the position because of dreams or visions from the supernatural (Dawson, 1880:121-122). Swanton (1905a:13) translated shaman as sga'ga and members of a secret society continued.....
Skā-ga is performed on occasions of joy, as when friendly Indians arrive at a village in their canoes, and it is desired to manifest pleasure. A chief performs this dance. He takes his stand in the house at the side of the central fire furthest from the door. He should wear over his shoulders one of the na-xin or Tshimsstan blankets, made of fine cedar bark and the wool of the mountain goat. He wears, besides, the best clothes he may happen to have, and on his head an ornament made of the stout bristles from the whiskers of the sea-lion. These are set upright in a circle, and between them feather-down is heaped, which as he moves is scattered on all sides, filling the air and covering the spectators. He dances in the usual slouching way common among the Indians, bending his knees, but not lifting his feet far from the ground. The people, sitting around in the fire-light, all sing, and the drum is continually beaten. This dance may last half an hour. (Dawson, 1880:127-128).

Harrison described two dances which may also fit the category of the Skā-ga. These dances took place before property distributions, when all the guests had been assembled. As in the Skā-ga described by Dawson, the scattering of eagle or swan down over the audience by dancers wearing frontlet headdresses was an important aspect of the performance.

The dancing dresses they wore on these occasions were fitted with a wooden headpiece beautifully carved or painted, and sea-lions' bristles were ingeniously inserted in a circle at the top and inside this circle a quantity of eagles' or swans' down was stored; as the dancer shook his head and jumped about the down became scattered over the assembly and was a sign of goodwill and peace.

9. (continued)
(literally, "the inspired") as sga'gadas. Boas translated shaman as sk.ā'ga, but noted that the word also meant killer whale (Delphinus Orca), (Boas, 1891:186).

Swanton recorded that sqa'na or sga'Nagua (Masset, scān) glossed as "power" and also as "killer whale" (Swanton, Ibid.), and the words referred to "power from some supernatural being", (Ibid.:13, 38). Elsewhere he indicated that killer whales and supernatural beings are synonymous in the Haida mind (Ibid.:17, 158).
Frequently during the dancing they blew the down into the air at intervals through painted tubes until everyone present was bestrewn as with a fall of snow (Harrison, 1925:71).

...and...

On the occasion of a great potlatch a feast took place before the distribution of property, and after the feast there was a wild dance. The performers were especially decked out for the occasion, their drums being made for the occasion; some wore wind masks and wooden headdresses ornamented with the bristles of the sea-lion, others had their faces painted black or vermillion. They danced with great frenzy round the camp fire, and their excitement often culminated in a sudden collapse in a heap on the ground (Ibid.:66).

Harrison also noted that welcoming dances of a similar nature were performed for some of the great white people to visit Haida villages:

It has also been reported that when the Haidas met the first white explorer they performed some of their dances on boards laid across the bows of canoes, and when close to the ship quantities of this down were blown over the vessel as a sign of friendship and welcome (Ibid.:71).

Dawson corroborates this data with an account given to him by Chief Edenshaw:

...It was near winter, he said, a very long time ago, when a ship under sail appeared in the vicinity of North Island. The Indians were all very much afraid. The chief [Edenshaw's predecessor: Coneehaw] shared in the general fear, but feeling that it was necessary for the sake of his dignity to act a bold part, he dressed himself in all the finery worn in dancing, went out to sea in his canoe, and on approaching the ship performed a dance (probably the Skä-ga) (Dawson, 1880:160-161).

Swanton's lengthy account of the feasts and ceremonies which comprised the Wa'gal potlatch included descriptions of visitors arriving at their host's village. The "dancing hat" referred to in this excerpt was
evidently a "chief's dancing hat" or frontlet headdress.\(^\text{10}\)

...Then they embarked, and landed near the host's town. There the guests painted up, and people came down to see them from the village. The guests danced for them on their canoes. They called this "coming dancing towards the town in canoes."

...On the canoes, too, one person danced, wearing a dancing hat (Swanton, 1905a:168).

This dance, performed by potlatch guests and corresponding to the host's welcoming dance, was not named in the literature. From Swanton's account it was not evident whether or not bird's down was scattered by the dancer who wore the headdress.

In the account of a S̱ōk'w (or funerary) potlatch Swanton's Masset informant described the ceremonial which took place a year after a man died. The chiefs of the opposite clan travelled by sea to the village and...

> When the canoes came together towards the town, the occupants sang, and in every one they danced. On shore the host and his wife came down fully dressed (dancing the xa'da). After they had gone up again, the town people came down in row dancing the "going down towards canoes" dance (s̓e'a'dets) (Ibid.:177; emphasis added).

This account did not mention what the visiting chiefs wore, nor did it indicate whether or not bird down was a part of the xa'da as it was in the dance Dawson categorized as the Sḵá-ga.

To summarize the data in this section, frontlet headdresses

\(^{10}\) Swanton never used the term "frontlet headdress" in his ethnographies. From his descriptions of potlatches, I assume that he chose instead to use the appellation "chief's dancing hat" (sometimes shortened to "dancing hat"). Elsewhere he wrote: "I use the expression 'dressing up' to translate a Haida word which includes the potlatch attire and accompanying face paintings" (1905a:109).
were worn on occasions when visitors arrived at a host's village. These headdresses were worn by the hosts and they may have been worn by the high-ranking guests. Both the xa'da and the Skā-ga were dances of welcome performed by chiefs hosting potlatches. The appropriate apparel for this event was the prestigious chief's dancing costume (sometimes referred to as "best clothes" by the ethnographers) which was crowned by a frontlet headdress. Like the Koxumhala.it (g.ō'g.əm "nodding", hala'it) or "head shaking" dance of peace and welcome performed by the Tsimshian, a significant aspect of these Haida dances was the scattering of eagle or swan's down. Correspondingly, the invited chiefs responded to the xa'da and Skā-ga with a similar dance. While it is likely that the visiting dancer also wore a frontlet headdress or "chief's dancing hat", it is unclear whether or not bird down was dispensed from the crown of sea-lion bristles. Dances similar to the xa'da and the Skā-ga were performed by the Haida on their canoes as they greeted the first white explorers to visit their islands. On these occasions, bird down was scattered before the visitors.

Ethnographers described these dances as expressions of joy and welcome. They connected the use of white bird's down with ideas about goodwill, friendship, welcome and peace, and compared its dispersal with the falling of snow: symbolic associations which have long been a part of Western literary and artistic imagery. Indeed, the Haida may have made the symbolic associations between bird down and ideas about peace and welcome in the context of the dances like the Skā-ga and the xa'da. However, I believe that after examining the other contexts in which the Haida wore frontlet headdresses, much richer symbolic links may be made.
The deeper meanings behind the wearing of this elaborate headgear will be found in understanding the power of the person who wore it, how it was worn (the "image" of the dancer), and when it was worn.

The welcoming dances were performed by chiefs — persons with great social and supernatural powers. Dressed in a prestigious costume befitting his rank, the chief danced, spewing forth wisps of white down from the crown of his headdress. The down, we are told, enveloped the spectators like snow.

Does the down symbolize an all-engulfing omnipresence of a chief's great social and supernatural powers as much as it symbolized ideas about peace? I think this is likely. However, it is necessary first to examine other socio-ritual contexts in which the chief danced in this costume before speculating on the possible symbolic relationships of the scattering of bird down, the social and spiritual role of the dancer, and the image of the dancer.

ii. Potlatch and initiations: acts of wealth; acts of enlightenment.

The data pertaining to the wearing of frontlet headdresses in the ritualized context of the potlatch (including the accompanying secret society dances) are found primarily in Dawson (1880, 1882) and Swanton (1905a). Because Dawson's descriptions of people wearing frontlet headdresses were limited to six "kinds of dancing ceremonies", while Swanton wrote about participants wearing headdresses in secret society

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11 He also noted, "The potlatch, or giving away of property, is to be carefully distinguished from the feast, of which it might be said to be a 'ritualized' form" (Ibid.:155).

Figure 4.5. Ksaan. "Samahat's new house at Kasaan." Note people wore same frontlets as those appearing in above photo (BCPM 202). Figures 4 and 7 are wearing the same frontlet headdress. Similarly figures 1 and 5 are wearing the same frontlet headdress. Figures 7 and 1 are holding the same dagger. BCPM Photo.#5422.

Figure 4.7. Klinkwan. Potlatch dancers. Same people as above, plus man on far left [1] was identified as Edenshaw by M. Lawrence, August 1975. Winter and Pond photo. in BCPM collection [#9197] received from C.F. Newcombe, March 21, 1902 from Edwin Scott.
initiations without naming but a few dances, there is little overlap in their data. However, the literature, sparse though it may be, does yield significant insights into the wearing of frontlet headdresses by high-ranking people.

Swanton described the Haida potlatch as a great event upon which a Haida's social life turned (1905a:155). Given that the potlatch was the setting for Haida secret society dances and initiations (Swanton wrote that secret societies were the "indispensable accompaniment" to the potlatch), one might extend that statement to read, 'the potlatch was a great event upon which a Haida's social and spiritual life turned' (Ibid.:156).

The Haida had two major types of potlatches: the Wa’igal and the Sik’A. Often described as the greater of the two, the Wa’igal was primarily the occasion for a chief's house-raising. Other events that took place while the host's lineage built the house, were the tattooings, ear, nose and lip piercing, and initiating of youths of the wife's lineage - the children of the host chief.

The Sik’A potlatch was held on the occasion of the raising of a grave post (sa’iin xat, "grave father") for a dead chief by his successor. It began with the observance of funeral obsequies and culminated with the raising of the memorial pole a year later by the chief's heir. The accession of the new chief was publicly validated at this time by members of the opposite lineage. In this potlatch, youths of the host's lineage were initiated into secret societies by chiefs of the opposite moiety. From the perspective of the host-donor, "The funeral potlatch marks the beginning of the career of a new chief and the
house building potlatch marks it apogee" (Rosman, Rubel, 1971:186).

Initiations into secret society dances were presided over by chiefs during potlatches. The town chiefs exercised the power of making supernatural spirits "come through" or "inspire" novices (Swanton, 1905a:38). There was a correlation between the number of times a person had been initiated and his or her rank. "A man high enough in rank could be inspired by a new spirit at each successive potlatch, provided they were not owned by a chief of the opposite clan" (Ibid.: 161). Certain chiefs owned certain dances and their prestige figured on the number of dances owned and the rank of the dances (for some dances ranked higher than others).

Among the people of the southern towns a man who was inspired could act in any way....People in the southern towns high enough in rank could act in any one of the various ways, from either clan indifferently. At other northern towns, each sort of possession seems to have been more strictly the property of some chief who would permit only those of his own family to use it. In both sections the spirit was put into a person by the town chief (Ibid.).

Thus, the "career" of a chief might also be seen as a consolidation of two kinds of power: control over the social world, the world of men and material goods; and control over the supernatural world, the world of spirit beings and actions.

Success in amassing and redistributing property was, according

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12 Swanton noted: "I have chosen to denominate the entire body of those possessed, or "the inspired" (sgä'gadas) as they were called, the "secret society".... Elsewhere he noted persons who had never been initiated were referred to as "those whose minds were stopped up". Such a person was said to have "had a dark face", or to be "one whose mind, nose, and ears were stopped up" (1905a:165, 170).
to Swanton, "the first requisite" of an heir to a chief \(\text{(Ibid.:38)}\).

A chief demonstrated his ability to control property by financing both the demonstration of his prerogatives and the conferring of prerogatives on initiates. Hence, secret society dances and initiations were another aspect of the Haida system of establishing and validating rank and prestige.\(^{13}\) To be inspired or enlightened in a spiritual sense and to be wealthy in a material sense were two sides of the same coin. In other words, to be inspired and wealthy, a person had to balance, and to some degree control, the social and the supernatural spheres of the Haida universe.

Of the six categories of dancing ceremonies named by Dawson (see p.143), two were occasions for which high-ranking participants wore frontlet headdresses. The first, the Sk̓á-ga, a dance of welcome performed by a host chief before his guests, has already been described at length. The next two dancing ceremonies he described, the Sk̓a-dul and the Kwai-o-guns-o-lung, appeared to him to be linked. Clearly one and perhaps both of these dances were occasions for which frontlet headdresses were worn:

\begin{quote}
The dance distinguished as Sk̓a-dul, appears to be merely the beginning of that known as the (3) Kwai-o-guns-o-lung. Any man who knows the mode of singing starts the dance alone, when it is called Sk̓a-dul, soon others join in, and it becomes No. 3. This is performed by no particular number of people, the more the better, and occurs only when a man desires shortly to make a house. The man himself
\end{quote}

\(^{13}\) Of course, the system applied to people other than chiefs as well. The initiation of a youth by a town chief was generously remunerated by the people of his or her mother's lineage. The number of times a person was "inspired" was commensurate with the lineage's ability to redistribute property.
does not dance nor does any giving away of property take place. The women occupy a prominent place in this dance, being carefully dressed with the little masks and na-xin or cloaks previously described. One man performs on a drum or tamborine to which all sing, or grunt in time, shuffling about with a jerky motion as they do so. There is a master of the ceremonies who leads off the chorus. Rattles are freely used. The song is in praise of the man who intends to build and also of the dancers. It eulogises his strength, riches, and so on, and is in the Tsimshian language (Dawson, 1880:128; emphasis added).

The Kwai-o-guns-o-lung was the only dance Dawson witnessed first-hand. In his eyewitness account which appeared in a popular journal, there was a more detailed description of the dancers and what they wore:

The performers, in this instance about twenty in number, were dressed according to no uniform plan, but attired in their best clothes, or at least their most showy ones, with the addition of certain badges or ornaments appropriate to the occasion. All, or nearly all, wore headdresses, variously ornamented with feathers, or, as in one case, with a bristling circle of the whiskers of the sea lion. Shoulder girdles made of cedar bark, colored, or ornamented with tassels, with puffin beaks strung together, which rattled as he moved. Many, if not all held sprigs of fresh spruce in the hand, and were covered about the head with downy feathers, which also floated in abundance in the warm air of the house.... Five women took part in the dance, standing in front in a row, and were dressed with some uniformity, several having the peculiarly valuable cedar bark or goat's-wool shawls made by the Tshimsiens. The head-dresses of the women were all alike, consisting in each case of a small mask or semblance of a face carved neatly in wood, and inlaid with pearly haliotis shell. These, attached to a cedar-bark frame, and trimmed with gay feathers and tassels, stood before the forehead, while at the back in some cases depended a train with ermine skins. The faces of both men and women engaged in the dance were gayly painted, vermillion being the favorite color (Dawson, 1882:405, 406; emphasis added).
The details of two dances described by one of Swanton's Skidegate informants are remarkably similar to those in Dawson's account of the Ska-dul and the Kwai-o-guns-o-lung. The sq'lā'dal ("coming in streams") followed by the "dancing mingled while they sing" were two dances which occurred just before a man hosted a Wa'igail or house-building potlatch. The conjunction of these two dances formed the series of events which took place before the people who went after the house timbers returned to the host's village. I submit that these dances are identical to those described by Dawson as the Ska-dul and the Kwai-o-guns-o-lung:

Before the people who went after the timbers returned, he who was about to give the potlatch called his friends. Those who were sent to summon them said, "They ask the chief to dress up," then they arrayed themselves, and painted their faces. They wore deer-skin blankets, and had feathers and weasel-skins in their hair. That completed, the whole town was called in with these words: "They tell the chief to look on." Then before the whole town they danced together into one house the dance called "coming in streams" (sq'lā'dal). Before entering, they struck the house-front with the palms of their hands. The song-leader stood up high on a box turned bottom-side up. When he began the songs, all joined in. All the women danced as well. That was called "dancing mingled while they sing." When they got the timbers up to the village the chief again called in the people for tobacco, and having smoked awhile, they sang a spirit-song. They kept time for the town chief, who sang and danced around the fire with feathers in his hands and all of his dancing-costume on (Swanton, 1905a: 163; emphasis added).

The fourth category of dancing ceremony identified by Dawson in which headdresses were probably worn is the Ka-ta-ka-gun. Though the account does not explicitly mention frontlet headdress, "dancers attired in their best" and their best clothes may be taken to refer to
the entire dancing costume — including the frontlet headdress. This
dance appears to have been performed near the end of a Wa'gal potlatch.

**Ka-ta-ka-gun.** This is performed by the male
relatives of a man's wife, and takes place when
a house has been finished, the owner at the same
time making a distribution of property. The
dancers are attired in their best, ornamented and
with faces painted, but no bird down is used. It
is performed in the newly finished house, and may
occupy half an hour or an hour. The man who makes
the distribution does not dance. All sing in the
Tsimshian language (Dawson, 1880:128; emphasis
added).

Neither Swanton nor Dawson reported the wearing of frontlet
headdresses beyond what has already been stated. However, in accounts
of the several secret society initiations, Swanton repeatedly mentioned
"chief's dancing hat", "dancing hat and dancing blanket", and "chief's
dancing costume". Given the contexts in which these objects were noted,
I believe these to be appellations for the frontlet headdress and the
costume with which is was associated.\(^\text{14}\)

There were five secret society initiations in which young
initiates concluded their possession by the dance spirit while wearing
a chief's dancing hat. They were: the U'šala (also called the WA'šala),

\(^{14}\) See especially Swanton's description of the Gágixl't
(1905a:173 and p. 158 below) where, "From the dancing hat, feathers flew
about the house". The only other "chief's hats" described in the ethno­
graphic literature for the Northwest Coast were conical, woven or carved
hats with spruce root "potlatch rings". These rings were indications of
the number of potlatches a chief had given. I do not believe these hats
were worn by people other than chiefs. The "chief's dancing hats" in
Swanton's descriptions were not worn by chiefs but by young initiates
who had been "inspired" by a spirit possession. Theoretically, the
initiate would not be entitled to wear a conical hat with potlatch rings,
although he or she would be entitled to wear a frontlet headdress as a
high-ranking person.
xuwodze (the Grisly Bear Dance), the Gāgixī't, the Ga sī'djidas ("Club Bearers"), and the K'u'yan sgā'nagw-i ("Dress Spirit") (See Table VIII). The basic format of these initiations were as follows:  

The town chief of the host's village danced, then "inspired" the principle novices by "throwing power" into them. This action took place as he threw a handful of eagle down on each one (Swanton, 1905a:163, 171-174. See also, Drucker, 1940:224). A noise was heard in the chief's body, (spirit) whistles were sounded and the novice fell to the ground and "something made a noise inside him" (Ibid.:164). When the novice was revived, he or she usually ran from the house and dashed wildly around the village. This was called a "spirit circuit" (Ibid.:164, 171-174). The novice usually disappeared from the village and sometimes remained in the bush for several days. He or she reappeared near the village and his "spirit-companions" (those who had previously been "inspired" by the same spirit) captured him with cedar bark rings. Together, they re-entered the dancehouse, or the "spirit-house" as it was sometimes called (Ibid.). At this time, many blankets were ripped to shreds by the novice and the companions in an act which they called the "spirit belt" (Ibid.). Those who had already been initiated danced and the novice re-entered society as an "inspired" person, a member of the secret society. While the re-entry by the novice for each of the initiations varied slightly from dance to dance, there is concurrence of several elements in each:  

1) For the ū'la'la dance (equated by Swanton to the Kwagiul
Cannibal dance) the novice was returned to the spirit house and ...

Some time after this they called the people to dress up. [Figure 4.8 illustrates some of the paraphernalia used in the U'lala.] They called both clans indiscriminately twice. The whole town entered the spirit house.... Those already initiated danced in curved lines, wearing dancing blankets and dancing hats.... (Ibid.:165-166; emphasis added.)

Next day in the evening they called the people twice, and putting on their good clothing, they went to look on. When the "spirits" (secret society) were ready to dance, the novice came out from behind the curtain. He wore cedar-bark rings around his head and neck, a dancing skirt and dance leggings (Ibid.: 166).

The novice was ritually "killed", his body taken behind the dance curtain inside the spirit house. After spirit songs were sung for him, he began to sing.

Then they sang a song for him called Q:i'iqi'igän, while he stood around and shook his rattle. After that was over, they put a dancing hat on him. He also wore a dancing blanket, and carried a rattle.... When they had sung two spirit-songs, they stopped and the spectators went home (Ibid.; emphasis added).

2) For the xuwodze or Grisly Bear Dance, the novice usually a female) returned to the dance house after being possessed.

When the dancing was started, they sang in a low voice repeating it twice. The novice held a rattle and a drum was beaten for her. They sang a song to rapid time for her. The novice, singing alone in a low voice, used a song owned by her family. After that they danced, wearing chief's dancing hats and dancing blankets. When they had sung two spirit-songs they stopped dancing (Ibid.:172; emphasis added).

3) For the dance called the Gagixi't, the novice became a wild person, and then re-entered the dance-house. The novice became the Gagixi't spirit first:

Then the Gagixi't came in, a true Gagixi't (i.e. one wearing a Gagixi't mask) with nose raised high up,
Figure 4.8. Paraphernalia used by the Haida U’lala dancers.
(From Boas, 1895:653; figures 201-204.) Boas noted that "all the northern tribes use headdresses which represent corpses" (Ibid.). All the specimens were collected by J.G. Swan (date unknown), and are in the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution (S.I.).
(A) "Haida wood carving representing the U’lala (S.I.#89039); (B) Haida U’lala whistle (S.I.#89158); (C) Haida headdress of U’lala (S.I.#89038); (D) Haida U’lala whistle (S.I.#89062); (E) Part of Haida headdress representing the U’lala (S.I.#89073); (F) Haida U’lala whistle (S.I.#89063).
teeth protruding forward, Ka'un fish and tom cod spines around his lips, eyes deep-set, and bony cheeks. When he got halfway in, he said "Cyu cu" (like the blowing of wind), and went backward behind the curtain (Ibid.:173).

Behind the curtain, the novice sang alone in a low voice, then...

...When he had finished, they ("the inspired") sang a song for him (while he stood still, shaking a rattle). He wore cedar bark rings, and a dancing skirt, and he carried a rattle. When that was over, they put a chief's dancing hat on his head, and began to sing a spirit song. All in the house, both men and women, began a spirit song for him. From the dancing hat, feathers flew about the house. They finished two spirit songs, and stopped; and the dance was over (Ibid.; emphasis added).

4) For the Ga si'djidas or Club-Bearer dance, the novice began the "closing dance":

The novice came in, wearing a mask which they always kept in the "spirit box". He (the novice) also sang alone in a low voice, and shook a rattle, the drum also sounded. That over, the song leader stood up with his baton and sang a song for him. Then they put a dancing hat upon him. He had on a dancing skirt and cedar bark rings, and carried a rattle. The song leader began singing a spirit song, whereupon all in the house - men and women - joined in. When the end of the spirit song was reached, he stopped dancing, and returned to his senses (literally, "became alive") (Ibid.:174; emphasis added).

5) For the Dress-Spirit or Ku'y'an sgä'nagw-i dance, the novice wears a dancing hat before re-entering the spirit house:

The one through whom the Dress spirit spoke went about the town. She wore a chief's dancing hat and a dancing blanket. She sang alone, holding a rattle. When the companions came in (to a house), they said "Look on" (i.e., "Do not be frightened").

16. Swanton recorded that, "Masks and rings lay in the "spirit box" behind the curtain. No one who "had a dark face" (i.e. was not initiated) could look into the 'spirit box'." (1905a:165).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Secret Society (Skidegate dialect)</th>
<th>Costume of Initiate</th>
<th>Sex of Initiate</th>
<th>Miscellaneous Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>U'lala</strong> (Wa'lala)²</td>
<td>1) naked</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1) Those already initiated wore dancing blankets &amp; dancing hats. 2) Haida counterpart of Kwagiul Cannibal Spirit. 3. Also included Dog Eaters.³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) cedar-bark rings, dancing skirt, leggings. 3) dancing hat, blanket, rattle.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>xuwodze</strong> (Grisly Bear Dance)⁴</td>
<td>1) black bear skins; faces concealed; dancing skirts. 2) chief's dancing hat, dancing blanket, new cedar bark rings.</td>
<td>Male or Female (Kloo informant said females only)</td>
<td>1) spirit companions wore: a) dancing skirts, rings of cedar bark; large oval rattles. b) chief's dancing hats, and dancing blankets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GāgiT'ít</strong> (Masset: Gāgi'd)</td>
<td>1) GāgiT'ít mask. 2) cedar bark rings, dancing skirt, rattle. 3) chief's dancing hat filled with feathers.</td>
<td>Males only</td>
<td>1) spirit is mentioned outside of the society as well as in it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ga sī'djididas</strong> (Club-Bearers)</td>
<td>1) mask and rattle. 2) dancing hat, cedar bark rings, dancing skirt and rattle.</td>
<td>Males only</td>
<td>1) Only those belonging to the wife's clan were inspired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>K'u'yan sqā' nagw-i</strong> (Dress-Spirit)</td>
<td>1) chief's dancing hat, blanket, rattle.</td>
<td>Female only</td>
<td>1) Chief wore dance-leggings, a dancing skirt; shook a large round rattle. 2) Town people danced with masks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Drucker notes that "The dances of the Masset Haida may not have constituted a real society, but merely individually owned privileges (1940:224)."  
(2) Drucker glosses this as ulala (Ibid.).  
(3) The woman's order of this dance was called sxala (Ibid.).  
(4) The Dog-Eaters (Xagatał) was not, according to Drucker, performed in the company of members of other societies. "The Dog-Eaters," he continues, "may have been an order rather than a real society among the Haida." (Ibid.).
She shook a rattle as she came in. "A la la la la!" she said, and the companions said the same. At that time the spirits made a noise. When she had said this twice, they went out of doors and entered all the houses in the village (Ibid.:172; emphasis added).

To sum up data provided in this section, frontlet headdresses were worn during Wa'gal and Sik'A potlatches as well as during secret society initiations associated with these events. The headdresses were worn by chiefs and other high-ranking people who had been initiated into various secret societies.

For at least two dances, the Ska-dul (which Swanton transcribed as sq'ā'dal) and the Kwai-o-guns-o-lung (translated by Swanton as "dancing mingled while they sing"), several participants wore frontlet headdresses. References to these two dances, which were performed in conjunction with one another in the feast preceding a house building potlatch, provided the only explicit mention of frontlet headdresses being worn during potlatches.

However, other references in Swanton's ethnography suggested that "dancing hats" or "chief's dancing hats" (the terms apparently being used interchangeably) worn by novices and members of secret societies appear to be what this paper has described as frontlet headdresses. Keeping in mind that Swanton's accounts of the secret society performances were based on literal translations from Masset and Skidegate informants, the difference in the appellations for this kind of headgear seems to be merely terminological. The significant description which gave rise to the conclusion that "frontlet headdress" and "chief's dancing hat" were synonymous was in Swanton's account of the Gagix'T't dance. He noted that the members of the society "...put a chief's dancing hat on [the novice's]
head...[and] from the dancing hat feathers flew about the house" (Swanton, 1905a:173; emphasis added).

Given that qualification, I conclude that it is plausible that the four other secret society dances in which "dancing hats" or "chief's dancing hats" were mentioned were occasions for the wearing of frontlet headdresses. These four dances or societies were: the U'lala (or Dog-Eaters), the xuwdze (or Grisly Bear Dance), the Ga sT'djidas (or Club Bearers), and the Kl'yu'yan sga'nagw'-i (or Dress-Spirit).

Each of these dances followed a similar pattern in the progression of events.\(^{17}\) And as Table VIII indicates, the novice in each of the five dances concluded his or her initiation by wearing a "chief's dancing hat" as well as a (chief's or dancing) blanket and skirt, cedar-bark rings, and by shaking a rattle. This description is concordant with those descriptions in Haida ethnography of the dancing costume which included the frontlet headdress and was worn by chiefs and other persons of high rank. Given the data gathered in this section, it might now be appropriate to amend that description to read that 'frontlet headdresses were worn by chiefs and other high ranking individuals who had been initiated into certain secret societies'.

The next step is to ask the question, "Why were frontlet headdresses worn on these occasions and what do they mean?" The answer is not explicit in the data. However, I believe there are two important aspects of the ritual process which allow us to speculate on the answer.

\(^{17}\)With the exception of the Kl'yu'yan sga'nagw'-i or dress-spirit dance. The data indicate the young woman began the initiation wearing a dancing hat and costume. At this time, I do not know how to interpret this progression of events for the data are incomplete.
The first is the use of bird down by the chief and, at least in one case, by the newly initiated person. The second is an over-view of the actions of the participants juxtaposed with a general description of the clothing worn at different stages of the event. The problem here is to link the images of chief, initiate, and spirit companions with the images of bird down, cedar-bark rings, dancing hat (frontlet headdress), blanket and rattle. Why were certain materials or costumes associated with certain actions and what is the signification of these associations?

The five dances described in this section were events marking the transfer of supernatural power from one person to another. The chief—a person with the highest social rank as well as the greatest supernatural power—"threw" the power or influence of a supernatural spirit into an initiate. The transference of power was symbolized by scattering bird down, a symbol of great supernatural power, on an individual. The power was so great that the initiates fell into a state of unconsciousness followed by a period of wildness. The initiates were out of control: they were stripped of the garment of culture. (In some instances, the initiate was stripped of clothing.) As persons possessed, they required the assistance of spirit companions to help them to manage their behaviour, in effect, to control the supernatural power affecting their mind and body. Those already "inspired" by the same spirit, the other members of the secret society, assuaged the possessed persons by performing the "spirit circuit" of the village, tearing blankets and making the "spirit belt", and by singing appropriate songs.

As they "captured" the wild persons with cedar-bark rings, and clothed them in a dancing skirt, and leggings, the initiates began to
regain control. When they became persons "in control", they were then clothed in a dancing headdress and given a rattle. Dressed in this ceremonial paraphernalia, they began to sing and to shake the rattle. The spirit whistles no longer sounded and the spirit house was filled with human voices. At this concluding stage, the initiates were said to have returned to their senses, or literally, as the Haida said, they "became alive". (Ibid.:174).

Transference of supernatural power in the ritual process of the secret society was an event predicated upon the cultural death of the initiates and their restoration to a new life. As fully initiated or "inspired" individuals, they were transformed from one social and ritual status to a higher one. Symbolically the transformation was marked by an evolution in ritual clothing. Metaphorically the individuals were "clothed" in the spirit of a great supernatural power - and they "died". The initiates' 'clothing' at this stage was the thrown power, symbolized by white bird down. The symbols of their cultural death were nakedness and wild or animal-like behaviour. As events marked their gradual return to life, they were clothed in cedar-bark rings, then a dancing skirt and leggings. The sound of the rattle they shook replaced the sound of hidden spirit whistles. The headdress worn above their forehead depicted a supernatural creature or scenario; the initiates' faces were visible. The image, as they shook the rattle and began to sing their own song, was of a social entity imbued with great supernatural power. Not only were they restored to life, but they were transformed individuals with a new social and spiritual identity.

Swanton's account of the Gagixi't provides an explicit example.
The initiate became a wild person after a chief threw power into him. He raged through the village, smashing things, then escaped to the bush. When he returned, he was masked, his social identity concealed, submerged beneath the image of a supernatural monster. As the wild spirit in him was brought under control, he re-entered the world of men. The culmination of this movement from a social state to a possessed state to an "inspired" one occurred when the novice was fully initiated. He returned to a cultural state as a social entity in possession of and mastering great supernatural power. Appropriately he was dressed (like other members of the secret society) in a ceremonial headdress. His face (or social identity) was exposed and above his forehead he wore a carved plaque representing a supernatural entity. From the headdress, bird down, symbolizing supernatural power, flowed freely. His image was one of possession of supernatural power synthesized with access to social power.

Generally the transformation may be represented as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. social entity (cultural)</th>
<th>2. a-social entity (non-cultural)</th>
<th>3. transformed entity (cultural)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;alive&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;dead&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;restored to life&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'normal clothes'</td>
<td>covered with down</td>
<td>&quot;fully dressed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- no ceremonial garb</td>
<td>- naked or masked</td>
<td>-dancing skirt, leggings, cedar-bark rings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cedar-bark rings, dance skirt, leg-gings.</td>
<td>-frontlet headress, blanket, rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social rank facilitated initiation into secret society</td>
<td>liminal state - all social/cultural affiliations suspended</td>
<td>social and spiritual rank validated and prestige increased</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The key element here is not power, but control over power. In
order to be initiated, one had to have access to sufficient social
prestige to be eligible for and to pay for participation in a secret
society dance. In order to be an inspired person, one had to manage the
possessing spirit. The image of a dancer with control over both superno-
natural and social power was the presentation of a social entity - the
dancer's face - synthesized with a supernatural entity - the 'face' of
the frontlet. One face appeared over the other - conjoined in a single,
yet dualistic image: the head crowned with a frontlet headdress. From
the head of the dancer spewed white bird down: the symbol of his amal-
gamated powers.


The third context in which the frontlet headdress was worn by
the Haida was for lying-in-state. The ethnographic data collected on
the details of this ritual event are minimal. However, the data do
reveal that a deceased chief was dressed in full ceremonial regalia -
including a frontlet headdress - and was placed in his house, surrounded
by the possessions and accoutrements which were indicative of his rank
and wealth (figure 4.9). Harrison noted:

When a chief was on the point of death all his goods
were brought forth and placed around him so he could
see his wealth....The day after the death, the
corpsse was placed on a trestle and covered with a
white cloth, and his effects were placed around him
(Harrison, 1925:78).

Niblack's description of the mortuary ceremonies for the
Tlingit and Kaigani Haida noted that while the methods of sepulture had
changed since contact, the attendant ceremonies had not altered much.
Figure 4.9. "Mortuary Display of the Body of Chief Skowl, inclosed in a Casket and lying in State in his House at Kasa-an, surrounded by his Personal Effects and the Tokens of his Wealth." [Drawing from a photograph by Niblack.]

Niblack recorded: "Chief Skowl died in the winter of 1882-'83, and, according to the custom of the region, his body was first displayed in state dressed in the ceremonial robes of a chief. Later it was inclosed in a casket and deposited, as shown, on a pile of boxes containing his clothing and ceremonial dance paraphernalia. The group is at the end of the building, opposite the entrance, between the two carved posts holding the rafters of the house. The piles of boxes, all full of valuables, the row of coppers, the bronze howitzer, etc., all indicate the rank and wealth of the deceased. Just below the casket are grouped his personal household utensils, consisting of porcelain bowls, platters, wooden buckets, spoons, etc., which are cared for as personal relics of the deceased. The figure on the left is that of a former slave of the chief; that on the right a Kaigani in full dance regalia, with painted body and hair bedecked with eagle's down." (1888/1970:Plate LXVII).
Clearly, from his account, lying-in-state ceremonies were not reserved exclusively for chiefs:

On the demise of an important personage in this region, it is customary to array the body in ceremonial apparel and surround it with the tokens of his or her wealth. Thus laid out in state, the relatives and friends of the deceased view the remains. In the case of the death of a great and well-known chief, Indians come from other villages, and the body is thus displayed until in an advanced stage of decomposition (Niblack, 1880/1970:357).

Swanton's Skidegate and Masset informants indicated that a frontlet headdress was part of the costume of the deceased for the mortuary ceremonies:

At Skidegate, after a man died, his body was set up on a box in the rear of the house, his face painted and a dancing hat placed upon his head. Then his friends came in and passed by, and if he were a chief, they sang a crying song, the men in this case joining with the women (Swanton, 1905a:52).

...and...

In Masset the funeral of a person was conducted by members of the opposite clan from that to which the dead belonged, and they were paid for their services. When a chief died, they painted his face, put his head-dress on, his rattle in his hand, and his blanket around him, as if he were going to the dance, and set him up on a box, while the people came to visit him (Ibid.:54).

The body of the deceased, arrayed in headdress and dancing costume, remained in public view for four to six days at Skidegate and from three to ten days at Masset. When the body was placed in a large covered box - a grave box - most of the elaborate costume was removed. At Skidegate, Swanton recorded, "If he were a chief, they wrapped his body in a dancing blanket." (Ibid:52). At Masset this seems to have been the exception.
In rare instances a chief's dancing blanket and other paraphernalia were placed with him. This was only in the case of chiefs who were much thought of (Ibid.:54).

Apparently, however, the length of time the body of a deceased important personage was laid out in state was longer before the turn of the century than it was during the years Swanton visited the Haida. Niblack, writing in 1888, noted:

It is the present custom, however, amongst the Kaigani Haida, and southern Tlingit when a chief or very wealthy person dies, to display the body in state for a while and enclose it in a casket, which remains in the house where the deceased lived, the other occupants moving out and finding quarters elsewhere. The casket is surrounded by the boxes containing the ceremonial apparel of the deceased, his household utensils, personal property, and tokens of wealth in general, and thus left for several years, admission being given from time to time to visitors to view the spectacle (Niblack, 1888/1970:360).

In summary, chiefs and other high-ranking people had the right to lie-in-state wearing a dancing costume. The costume would have been particularly appropriate in that it would symbolize — along with all the other wealth displayed around the body — the social and spiritual prerogatives the individual had attained in his life. Evidently, except in special instances, it was not essential that an individual be entombed arrayed in his entire dancing costume. It was important, however, that for the ceremonies commemorating his high birth and prowess in life, the deceased appeared in his or her last public presentation in apparel appropriate to the wealth and prestige attained through the successful manipulation of social and supernatural power. In this sense, lying-in-state rites would have been a final testimonial by the deceased as well as a last tribute to them by the members of his society.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF FRONTLET HEADDRESSES

Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have explored the social or ethno­
graphic reality of the use of frontlet headdresses among the Tsimshian,
Tlingit, and Haida. We summarized in those descriptions where and how
frontlet headdresses were worn. The task now becomes to suggest why a
frontlet headdress was appropriate in these contexts. This chapter will
move to answer questions about the iconography of the frontlet headdress:
viewed in the action context of its public presentation, what does a
frontlet headdress mean? I have approached this problem in two ways.

First, the frontlet headdress will be examined as a constellation
of parts, each part or constituent symbolizing a range of meaning, a
semantic domain. In this section, the constituents are discussed as
images and as such are treated as fonts of meaning. However, not all of
the parts are examined, nor are all the meanings 'revealed'. To do so
would require a lengthy treatment that is in the last analysis superfluous.
By selecting one dominant image - I have chosen eagle down - and by
exploring its multivocality and the links and overlapping boundaries it
shares with the images of other constituents, it is possible to approach
some of the profundity of these visual thoughts without doing violence
either to their eloquence or to their elegance.

The second approach uses an entirely different tack. The
frontlet headdress, as a 'total' image (i.e. the 'whole' of its 'parts')
is placed within the strictures of a systematic analysis. In this
section, the analysis becomes structural as it aligns concurrent 'elements'
in the image of the frontlet headdress, the GonaquAdé't myth, and the ritual presentation of the frontlet headdress.

1. The frontlet headdress downing: towards a new metaphor.

One of the most remarkable things a frontlet headdress did (in a physical, action sense) was to emit or spew forth eagle down.¹ Accounts by travellers, traders, missionaries and ethnographers reveal that they were all especially impressed by this feature of the frontlet headdress. The eagle down, coming out of the cage of sea-lion bristles, filling the house and covering everyone with white fluffy particles, struck a familiar note in their European metaphoric sensibilities; they described it as being like snow. The metaphor, a logical one in European tradition, fit the explanation native informants gave for the frontlet headdress ceremonial presentation: it was a dance of peace. The ethnographers' exegesis, using eagle down as a focal point or key idea, implicitly set up a logical sequence of symbolic relations:

| White/ silent/ amorphous/ light: Snow | Purity/ goodness/ calm: Peace |

This explanation suffers not only from ethnocentrism, but also from an uninteresting, linear, and somewhat simplistic set of associations which offer no real explanation at all. To begin with, the keystone of their logical sequence is incorrect: nowhere in the ethnographic record

¹Eagle down glosses: Tlingit = q'âL! (Swanton, 1908b:479) or q'oa'L! (Swanton, 1909:383); Haida = tA'ngó (Swanton, 1908b:479); Tsimshian = miyg'aiX (Barbeau, 1927: ROM notes to HN-754); mek-gaik (Duff, 1959:38).
of the Haida, Tlingit or Tsimshian does eagle down have a symbolic reference to snow. Moreover, the eagle down/snow correlation was not the main weakness of their 'explanation'. Rather, it was their failure to explore and probe the idea 'peace' given by their informants as the meaning of the frontlet headdress dance.

Implicitly, their explanations followed the logic that the headdress was presented in a competitive social context: in the presence of potentially conflicting groups, the snowy eagle down floating from the headdress symbolized an absence of hostility, and signaled social equilibrium or peace between groups of people. While I do not dispute their rationale, their logic is marked by the simplicity of unidirectional thought. The point is that they did not pursue what their informants meant by 'peace', nor how this idea correlated to the social relations involved. Once again ethnographers had become victims of their own metaphors. The splendid frontlet headdress dance was tagged a "peace dance" and the showy headdresses, bits of eagle down still clinging to the crowns, were tucked away on museum shelves.

Ethnographers used eagle down as the focal point for their understanding of the frontlet headdress and its use. In this section, I shall also use eagle down as the focus of analysis, though with a slightly different tack. By unravelling the metaphoric and symbolic referents of eagle down, and by showing concomitant relations between it and other components of the headdress, the analysis moves to a multidimensional framework in which constellations of symbols place in relief sets of social relationships and actions. The analysis will conclude by inducing the spectrum of meanings associated with the idea 'peace' as
it is linked to the total social reality of how and why frontlet head­
dresses were worn.

There are two fundamental shifts in perspective required by
this analysis of the frontlet headdress. First, in order to apprehend
the use of the frontlet headdress, we must look at it as a headdress
being danced with - a headdress, made of various components, in action.
Eagle down from this perspective is not a thing, a noun, but a predicate:
the headdress being danced with is **downing**. To understand the logic of
the frontlet headdress we must begin by perceiving its components as
being symbolically interrelated - as images linked in action.

Secondly, the components - and here we are using the eagle down
component as a focal point - do not have singular symbolic or metaphoric
referents, but (in Turner's sense) are multivocal symbols with a fan of
referents. The analysis then, begins with these perspectives and moves
to avoid committing the error of previous ethnographers who have linked
these referents to the social reality of the notion 'peace' expressed
by their informants. Earlier ethnographers did not bridge that intel­
lectual gap; the present analysis will offer suggestions toward that end
by constructing (in Geertz's terms) a 'thicker' description of the
frontlet headdress as a symbolic constellation linked to the semantic
domain 'peace'.

A. A methodological note: the point of inquiry.

The frontlet headdress being danced with is **downing**. The image
of that action is so strong, so impressive, that it seems logical to
begin deciphering the meanings or the iconographic content of the other
headdress components from the perspective of eagle down as the dominant symbol. In making this distinction, I am forming an analytical tool as much as I am committing an act of intuition. I do not know and cannot know if eagle down was a dominant symbol in Haida, Tlingit or Tsimshian thought. But used as a convenient handle for grasping levels of meaning, eagle down - in analysis - can be appended to the iconographic content of other constituents: sea-lion bristles; weasel skins, abalone shell, flicker feathers, etc.

This analysis makes no pretense to present the over-all blue-print of the entire constellation of symbols in a frontlet headdress: the attempt to do so would only 'muddy the canvas'. In addition, no single optic or no one sighting based on a singular constituent would highlight all the intricacies and sophistication of a mental construction that has, over time, blended harmonies of many intellectualizations on a common theme and placed them in such a spectacular image.

Instead, this analysis is in pursuit of the logic of the fundamental symbolic association in the constituents as they are organized into a frontlet headdress. By following this tack, the logic of their interrelatedness can be roughly diagramed, even though we may only capture glimpses of their symbolic and metaphoric identities. Once that step is completed, the next step is to relate this level of knowledge to ideas these people had about themselves, the society they lived in, and in short, the order of their universe - based, as it were, in the ideological theme: peace. At this point we have moved the state of the inquiry to answering the question, "Why a frontlet headdress?".
B. Eagle down: peace of chaos.

On the Northwest Coast, as elsewhere in North America, eagle feathers and eagle down were associated with things sacred. In the myths and rituals of the northern Northwest Coast, eagle down had at least three explicit levels of symbolic association with the supernatural: 1) as a medicament (both curative and preventive aspects being present); 2) as an indicator of the possession and protection of great supernatural power; and 3) as an indicator of wealth. To examine these associations separately is an artificial construct, but it will enable us to sketch the interrelatedness of ideas symbolized by eagle down and to consequently relate the notions expressed in the symbol 'eagle down' to the idea 'peace'.

i. Eagle down as medicine: curative and preventive.

Those special individuals in northern Northwest Coast societies who were in control of supernatural power dispensed down to effect cures and to prevent disease (cf. Swanton, 1908b:464; De Laguna, 1972:721-722). In a description of how a Tsimshian shaman protected village populations from disease, Boas provided a graphic example of eagle down being used as preventive medicine:

...they invite in all the people of the village, and when they are in the house, the shaman opens his rattle bag; takes out a small leather bag filled with red ochre, and passes it around among all the people in the house to paint their faces - men, women, and children. After all the people have painted their faces, the shaman takes a dried sea-lion bag filled with eagle down, passes it about among the people to put the down on their heads (Boas, 1916:360).
Similar incidents were reported for the Haida and Tlingit.

A theme equally predominant was the use of eagle down not only to cure ailments, but to effect the ultimate cure of restoring life to the dead. Swanton noted that "Eagle down and red paint were much used by shamans and are spoken of in the stories as the principle media in restoring the dead to life" (Swanton, 1908b:455; also Swanton, 1908b:464 and Boas, 1916:558, etc.). Boas recorded variations among all three northern groups of a myth about a girl who married a supernatural lake being; she died and was restored to life by the creature who placed eagle feathers on her body (Boas, 1916:839). Moreover, as Swanton recorded in the Tlingit version of this myth, this is the reason "eagle feathers are used a great deal at dances and in making peace" (Swanton, 1909:128; Boas, Ibid.; emphasis added).

The association between eagle down and regeneration may be extended to ideas about reincarnation. For example, in 1901 at Wrangell, Swanton recorded from a Tlingit man named Katishan "speeches delivered at a feast when a pole was erected for the dead". The text contained this address given by the Tałqoe'di:

I hope you will be saved at once in your grandfather's canoe. But we who are dancing here for you are not really ourselves. It is our long dead uncles who are dancing for you. [In the literal text: "Here for you ...we are dancing not we it is we are dancing. Long ago our uncles it is who are dancing here."] This eagle down will descend among you from their heads and will save you like

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2. He continued, "At the same time there appears to have been no special veneration paid to the eagle, as such, except by certain families like the NexA'di, which made a speciality of the eagle emblem." For a similar theme, see Boas' discussion of Tsimshian shamans, (1916:558-559) in which red ochre and eagle down are used.
good medicine. I hope you sleep well in all these feathers. That is all (Swanton, 1901: 383; literal text, p. 385; emphasis added).³

Thus far we have seen in myth and ritual the shamanistic uses of eagle down to effect and symbolize curative, preventive and regenerative acts. Eagle down, as a dominant symbol in these acts, represented more than a medication, for

As usual among Indians, the potency of medicines depended rather on supernatural rather than on medicinal properties, and their functions were fully as much to obtain positive advantages as to counteract sickness. That certain medicines and certain methods of treatment were of medicinal value is not doubted.... In most medicines, however, the symbolic and supernatural play a much greater part than the empirical (Swanton, 1908b:445-446).

How can the symbolic notions concerning the use of eagle down be related to the wearing of a frontlet headdress? One key is to look at the shaman-like role of the chief as he conducted the first initiation ceremonies. The dualistic nature of his position is apparent: he was a shaman as he controlled and directed supernatural power; he was a high-ranking chief - a fact emphasized by the social recognition of a high level of spiritual 'inspiration' commensurate with his ability to amass great material wealth. His social and spiritual status was synthesized and this synthesis was symbolically represented by the frontlet headdress he wore in the initiation ceremonies. A chief's supernatural

³Eagle down is elsewhere associated with regeneration/reincarnation themes (cf. Swanton, 1909:127, 373, 442, 462). Swanton, for example, noted that "Eagle feathers are often referred to nowdays in speeches. Thus people will say to one who is in mourning, 'You have been cold. Therefore I bring you these feathers that have been handed down from generation to generation.'" (Swanton, 1908b:451).
identity and his social identity were brought into symmetry when he wore a frontlet headdress: the supernatural scenario on the frontlet juxtaposed with an unmasked human face was the image of this dialectic.

As has been shown in the ethnographic data presented in previous chapters, curing/regeneration/reincarnation were pervasive themes in secret society initiations among the three northern Northwest Coast groups. In these initiations, eagle down was often a dominant symbol.

In the beginning of many of these rituals, the shaman/chief danced with a frontlet headdress filled with eagle down. The 'power' he 'threw' into the uninitiated novices was usually symbolized by the scattering of eagle down. The novices were unable at first to cope with the power that had been thrown into them and entered a liminal state in which they exhibited anti- or non-social behaviour. In this state they were culturally 'dead'. With the help of other members of the society, and by following prescribed procedures of their organization, the initiates learned to control their newly acquired power and returned to the cultural sphere. From a Haida viewpoint, they had been 'cured' of the "dark face" or "stopped up mind" of the uninitiated.

The newly initiated persons were regenerated from a symbolic death to the new life of the spiritually "inspired". This stage of the ceremony was usually accompanied by the dispersal of more eagle down - by the shaman/chief and/or the newly inspired individual. Often, the new secret society members wore a frontlet headdress. Like the shaman/chief who began their initiation, the new members sang a 'spirit song'. Their voice was soft and low, the words were precise and clear; there was no error as they sang - their delivery was well controlled. They had
evolved from the chaos of liminality to a state of peace. They had been cured of the dark ignorance of the uninitiated and regenerated or reborn into the ranks of the spiritually enlightened.

How does eagle down with its symbolic connotations of both curative and preventive medicine coincide with the ideological notion of 'peace'? Using 'peace' in the sense of being in harmonious or calm relations with any aspect of the total environment, then to be without sickness and in good health is to be at peace with one's body, with one's family or kin, and with society. Conversely, to be ill is to be in a state of disharmony or partial chaos. To be cured is to be restored to an equilibrium, to metaphorically remove all particles of chaos. Similarly, to prevent disease is to ensure that equilibrium prevails and that disease is abated.

To be dead (or insane, which is to suffer a cultural death) is, of course, the ultimate chaos. Correspondingly, to effect regeneration or reincarnation would be the ultimate curative act. Again, the symbolic action is the same: chaos is transformed into peace. Eagle down as medicine symbolizing peace is a statement about man's relationship to life and death. Because eagle down also symbolizes the denial of death - i.e. regeneration - it is also an expression of man's relationship to the universe.

Other constituents of the frontlet headdress may also be linked to ideas about shamans and chiefs and their curing and healing activities.  

4 For example, among northern Northwest Coast people, frogs were associated with healing and with shamans (cf. Dall, 1881-2:111; De Laguna, 1972:698; McClellan, 1963:127). Swanton noted that "there was a curious belief that frogs turned into abalones...." (1905a:28). Abalone inlay is usually found on the frontlet itself - in the corona, in the eyes, and/or in the teeth of the carved figures.
However, the pervasive theme of reincarnation (as the ultimate cure—the 'cure' for death) which has been shown to be symbolically connected to eagle's down, may also find its symbolic expression in the feather of a different bird: the flicker.

Flicker feathers were a major constituent of Haida, Tsimshian and Tlingit frontlet headdresses. The feathers, which came from the wing and tail of this woodpecker, were predominantly red, having a black tip and an almost metallic copper-coloured shaft. In the ethnographic literature and in the mythology, I have not found explicit references to flickers or to their feathers as having curative properties. However, given (1) their distinctive red colour, (2) the fact that on the headdress their only replacement was red felt, and (3) that red paint was a principle media in curative acts, it is not an unlikely assumption that flicker feathers carried symbolic connotations of curing, regeneration, and reincarnation. At this level then, the redness of the feather is more important than the fact that it is a flicker feather.

Flicker feathers were also, as I will show below, symbols of

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5. The colours of a flicker feather form a tight bundle of symbolic relationships. Black on the Northwest Coast was the colour of death and mourning (mourners painted their faces black); black was the symbolic colour for human death. Red, as we have noted above, was the colour symbolizing supernatural help, preventive medicine, and along with eagle down, "was the principle media in restoring the dead to life" (see p. 176 above); red was the colour of life and of life beyond death. The shaft of the feather was a brilliant, metallic-looking orange—the colour of new copper. Copper, of course, was the symbol of wealth on the Northwest Coast. As we have noted above, wealth was synthesized with the control of supernatural power. Red and black at the semantic level are symbolic oppositions, while red and copper are coextensive. For example, the Haida described Property Woman's child: "Its fingers, were red, like copper" (Swanton, 1905a:30; see also p. 146 for a description of "thumbs and fingers of copper").
wealth and of the supernatural, but at another level — within the semantic
domain of red — I believe that the flicker feather had a symbolic refer-
ence to reincarnation. Red was the colour of paint used in rituals
having regeneration themes; it was also the colour used to describe the
appearance of copper. In the mythology of the Northwest Coast, copper
is frequently associated with salmon and reincarnation. In the natural,
biological world of the West Pacific Coast, red is the colour of the
bodies of salmon returning to fresh water streams after living for four
or more years in the ocean. The salmon return to the site of their
birth to generate new life and then to die. The point of a salmon's
death, metaphorically speaking, is the point of his regeneration. In the
mythological world of the Northwest Coast people, it is the moment of his
reincarnation (cf. Swanton, 1905a:16).

6. See especially the Tsimshian myth about the son-in-law of Tsauda
(the father of Moon), who goes to Copper Creek at the head of the Skeena,
seeking copper. He spears salmon. The salmon turn to copper and the son-in-
law dies. Tsauda resuscitates the dead youth. The son-in-law and his wife
are taught how to 'kill live copper' (i.e. salmon) with fire. Versions of
this myth were recorded by Boas (1916:857; 304-305) and are nearly identical
to several Haida versions recorded by Swanton (1905a:146; 1908a:689-702).

7. See W.B. Scott and E.J. Crossman, Freshwater Fishes of Canada,

8. During the metamorphosis of the spawning salmon, the colour of
the body changes to a brilliant red and the head not only changes colour, but
is morphologically transformed as well. The animal's snout becomes elonga-
ted and curves toward the mouth like a hook. In another publication, I will
propose that the image of the salmon at this climacteric stage of its life was
in fact, what the literature has persistently labelled "hawk". "Hawk" is
not a figure in Northwest Coast myth or ritual, nor does it figure signifi-
cantly in the crest lists of the Tsimshian (see Halpin, 1973:158), Haida or
Tlingit. Salmon, on the other hand, as the primary food source, as a pre-
valent figure in myth and ritual, and as a major metaphor for reincarnation,
logically should be a dominant visual image. The paper will demonstrate
that the image in Northwest Coast Indian art that was conventionalized by a
figure with 'a recurved beak that enters its mouth' was not the image of the
obscure "hawk", but an image of salmon as he ensured the continuity of his
species, at the moment of its death.
Red, copper, salmon, eagle down and reincarnation figure pre-eminently in a major corpus of myths shared by the Haida, Tsimshian and Tlingit. The "Moldy-End" myths generally followed the same format: a young boy with a copper necklace was transformed into a salmon. The salmon/boy was speared by his human father as it returned upstream to spawn. As the salmon's human mother began to cut up the fish, she recognized the copper necklace of her son around its neck. The body of the salmon/boy was placed on a basket, sprinkled with eagle down and the basket was put on the roof of a house. At daybreak, a man (in some versions he was dressed as a shaman) emerged from the basket. 9

ii. Eagle down as supernatural possession, supernatural protection.

In the preceding section, the point was made that eagle down was a dominant symbol in mythical and ritual acts of curing, disease prevention, regeneration, and reincarnation. Explicit in that data was the symbolic association of eagle down with those individuals possessing and in control of great supernatural power. In myth and in the ethnographic reality, these individuals used eagle down as one of the visual images to symbolize their connection with the supernatural. 10


10. Other constituents of the frontlet headdress had symbolic associations with supernatural beings and/or supernatural power. For example:
   - In an explanation of the origin of secret societies, one of Swanton's Haida informants ("an old man from Kloo") told him that the sound of the "spirits" (secret society whistles) were caused by flickers (Swanton, 1905a: 158).
   - Flicker feathers were a typical offering to the Ocean People. "...As custodians of the principle food-supplies, especially as the dispensers of whales, these Ocean people were, of all supernatural beings, the most constantly in the thoughts of the Haida, and the oftenest called
   ....continued
10. (continued)

upon and sacrificed to" (Swanton, 1905a:17). Water and fire were the principle media of their transmission. For example, in Haida mythology, Raven told Master Fisherman to attach flicker feathers to his hook in order to ensure success in fishing. (There are several variants in which this instruction is given, see Swanton, 1905a:234, 130, 143; 1908a:301. Also, Boas, 1895:309; 1916:710-711.) Another supernatural woman, "Woman-upon-whose-property-the-sea-gulls-lay", granted fishermen success when flicker feathers were sent to her through the fire accompanied by these words: "Let salmon abound for me, chief woman!" (Swanton, 1905a:24).

- Swanton wrote about the dress of Haida shamans: "Sometimes when he got his power from one of the Ocean people, the shaman put two flicker feathers in his headdress" (Ibid.:40; for other references to flicker feathers and supernatural beings, see Swanton, 1905a:109, 111).

- The word 'abalone' was used in names given to people and to spirits (see Boas, 1960:960; Swanton, 1905a:275 and 1908a:313), though Swanton noted, "The abalone was very highly esteemed as an article of adornment, but the writer does not know if it was personified or addressed" (Swanton, 1908a:459). (See also Mauss, 1925/1970:112, 218-19.)

- In many Tlingit myths sea-lions appeared as powerful helpers. "The largest sea lions were called by a special name: g'at'Acuká'wn ("biggest-animal-sitting-on-the-edge-of-an-island") (Swanton, 1909:227). Harrison noted that the Haida, like the Tlingit, hunted the sea-lion and that "the sea-lion's bristles were the perquisite of the shaman and the chief for their ceremonial headdresses, and the hunters were applauded for their services" (1925:90-91). The animals were much respected for their size and strength and, like bears, were treated with ceremonial reverence after they were slain (Ibid.).
At one level, we can understand what a person having this great power could do with it - and how his or her actions were symbolized by eagle down. At another level, looking at the other side of the coin, so to speak, the question now arises, 'What did the possession and control of supernatural power do for the individual?'.

Two things come into focus by looking at the ethnographic record. First, the person who controlled and directed supernatural powers also controlled and directed social endeavours. By consolidating power in the social and supernatural world, an individual was both enlightened and wealthy (see above p.151). Secondly, a person in control of supernatural power was protected by the supernatural.

"Protection of the spirits" was a central theme in the first power ceremonies (t'si.k hala'it) given for all Tsimshian children (cf. Garfield, 1939:298-9). The powers that the children received "may be compared to the guardian spirits in that the power which the chief prepared the children to receive is that of their own lineage, belonging to their ancestors, and they, for the first time came in contact with the spirits" (Ibid.). Boas provided an explicit example of eagle down being used to symbolize the protective role of an individual's supernatural helper. Chief Mountain of the Nass River told Boas about his power over fire which was dramatized in a hala'it ceremony:

He [Chief Mountain] asked them (the G.it-xade’x) to build a large fire. He threw an iron hoop into it, moistened his hands, and covered his

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11. As was noted above in Chapter Two, it was on the occasion of a t’si.k hala’it that a frontlet headdress was worn by the chief who threw the power into the children (see p.63).
face, hair, and hands with eagle down. Then he stepped barefoot over the glowing embers, took the red-hot hoop, and carried it through the fire without burning his hands or feet (Boas, 1914:562-63).

Given that (1) supernatural power protected (in varying degrees) individuals who possessed it, and that (2) eagle down was a symbol for both the possession of supernatural power and the protection it afforded, I would like to turn now to the so-called 'peace dances', in which frontlet headdresses were worn, to suggest an interpretation of their performance as symbolic action.

The 'peace dances' were described by northern Northwest Coast informants as being performed to insure peace during a feast and to perpetuate friendship, goodwill and happiness. As noted in earlier chapters, during these dances, eagle down was dispensed by the hosts, and the fluffy particles covered everyone in the house. In this instance of "downing", the host is engulfing outsiders with his power -- as symbolized by the eagle down. Feast guests are categorically outsiders because they

12. Boas also noted that Chief Mountain repeated the "experiment" a few years ago; "but as he failed and burnt his hands and feet, he gave up his supernatural helper and became a Christian" (Ibid.).

13. Garfield's informants told her the dance was "to insure peace during the potlatch" (1939:203). Another Tsimshian informant, Alfred Sqat'ín, told Barbeau that peace dances were performed "as a sign of peace and goodwill. This process was called same'ang esk: to make friends of those fallen out" (Barbeau, 1927: notes to ROM HN-754(119)). Duff recorded that the dance meant "friendship and peace" as well as "welcome" (1959:38). Boas glossed the name of the dance as Gowagani (1916:338; see also Barbeau in Garfield, 1951:135-136).

The Haida told Dawson peace dances were performed "on occasions of joy... and [when] it is desired to manifest pleasure" (1880:127-128). Harrison recorded the dance was performed "as a sign of goodwill and peace" as well as "a sign of friendship and welcome" (1925:71).

The Tlingit told De Laguna that the dance was performed "as a relief from crying" (De Laguna, 1971:633).
are usually from another clan or phratry and sometimes from another village. Other outsiders—or strangers—that were treated similarly were European seamen and travellers (see pp. 101-104, above).

If a host engulfed his guests—who are outsiders, strangers—with eagle down, what are the symbolic associations between his 'dance of peace' and eagle down? I suggest that such occasions presented the nexus of two symbolic actions. First, the down as a symbol of the host's own supernatural power, engulfed and effectively 'smothered' the social and spiritual power that potentially aggressive guests bring with them. It was a form of symbolic 'one-upmanship' that could only take place in a host's own house. Indeed, as one of Garfield's informants told her, "to break the peace" was to insult the host and required compensation to be paid to the host (1939:203).

The term 'peace dance' was appropriate because conflict or aggression on the part of the guests was nullified or at least deferred. However, it is important to remember that such dances were generally performed in the opening ceremonies of a feast—an event in which the host was overtly competitive and aggressive. Garfield provides a graphic example:

Lage. 'x and his tribe came out with their hair tied in front like warriors. This indicated that they were now engaging in combat, the weapons of which were property. They came in blowing eagle down on the guests to insure peace during the potlatch. If anyone broke the peace, he must pay the host to whom he had thus insulted. ... Taunting songs were sung to the other tribes and his power to win this fight with property boasted (1930:203).

Peace, then, at this level may have represented an absence or quelling of the opposition's hostilities. It was, moreover, a condition imposed on
one group (outsiders) by another.

A second level of symbolic interaction may also have been implicit. As a symbol of supernatural protection, eagle down flowing from a frontlet headdress in dances of 'welcome' and 'goodwill' would signify that the host and his kin were shielded from the unknown powers that outsiders - both strangers and guests - brought with them. To use a metaphor I introduced earlier, outsiders, because they fall within the category 'strangers', potentially carried with them particles of chaos. Outsiders, as animate beings in the universe, possessed their own supernatural powers and were aided by supernatural helpers and, as such, could effectively disrupt the harmony and equilibrium of their host's ambience.

'Peace dances', as events marked by 'downing', were public expressions of both the possession of supernatural power and of the protection such power afforded. They were at once a demonstration of one's possession and control of great supernatural power when encountering outsiders who had concomitant powers, and a manifestation symbolizing the protection of one's supernatural helpers against the powers of strangers. The symbolic action may once again be phrased in terms of transforming potential chaos into peace. Eagle down as a dominant symbol in "peace dances" was an expression of the supernatural valence of social relationships.

iii. Eagle down as wealth.

In the beginning of this section, we noted that the ethnographers metaphorically described eagle down as being like snow. Using the metaphor as a focal point, they implicitly set up a sequence of
symbolic relations connecting eagle down with the notion 'peace'. I have already pointed out the weakness of this exegesis. First, for the people of the northern Northwest Coast, "snow" as a metaphor for either eagle down or peace, had no basis in their social reality or in their mythology. Secondly, the ethnographers did not explore the semantics of the etic category "peace".

Using a slightly different optic, I suggest that eagle down may also symbolize or be a metaphor for foam rather than snow. Sea foam in the natural world is, like snow, white, silent, amorphous and light enough to float about on the air. Let me briefly sketch some of the associations and connections which form this suggestion.

First, from an etic viewpoint, foam and eagle feathers have been drawn on paper by Northwest Coast Indian artists for ethnographers (see figure 5.1). Their depictions of the spray from the spout of a large sea mammal (which appears in the natural world as foam - or may cause a froth on the water surface) and of the eagle down spewing forth from the cage of sea-lion bristles on a frontlet headdress are nearly identical. Both are represented by a series of broken lines issuing from the top of the head (and above the face) of the animal or dancer.

Secondly, Swanton provides two important clues linking notions of wealth with foam. In his ethnology of the Tlingit, Swanton recorded, "when a killer whale was passing people threw their children into the wash raised by it and said 'I want to be very strong and healthy. Give me things'." (1909:457-458). He also recorded that the Sitka chief, Katlian, owned a box that contained articles that were supposed to bring wealth. One of the 'objects' was the foam created by a gonaqAdē't rising
1. "...Killer whale with a raven-beak at the end of its dorsal fin, or Raven-fin (Tciliilas)." Artist: John Cross of Skidegate. (In Swanton, 1905a: Plate XXI, No. 10.)

2. "...Killer-whale, principle crest of the Raven clan." Artist: John Cross of Skidegate. (In Swanton, 1905a: Plate XX, No. 11.)

3. black-whale

4. five-finned killer-whale

3 & 4. "...Crests of the Eagle clan." Artist: John Cross of Skidegate. (In Swanton, 1905a: Plate XX, No. 16 & 17.)

FIGURE 5.1. Depictions of foam and eagle down in drawings by Northwest Coast Indians.

5. Drawing by an unknown Bella Coola artist. "...A Sinakomek mask, the first of the Sissauch dances." (In Jacobsen, 1885: Plate 4.) The broken lines coming from the crown of the frontlet headdress are explicitly identified as representing eagle down.
out of the ocean. The gonaqAdé't, called Ginaxcamgé'tk among the Tsimshian, and Wasx or Susăan among the Masset Haida, and Wa'sgo among the Skidegate Haida, was a wealth-bringing monster who lived in the sea or in a lake and could assume any shape (Swanton, 1908a:460; 612-623; 1909:128, 119; etc.). He appeared to people as a huge copper house (Swanton, 1909:126), or as a huge housefront (Waterman, 1923:450), as a Great Bear (Ibid.), or a bear with sea-lion fins (Swanton, 1908a:612-624, etc.), or as a killer whale (Swanton, 1905a:18).  

In Tsimshian myths about Raven inviting sea monsters to his house, eagle down, red paint and foam are important elements. Boas summarized these myths:

...in this case all the monsters are enumerated by name. The chief Y'aga-k'umë'sk, invites the sea monsters, who appear using killer whales as their canoes. When they enter the house a flood of water comes in. The most dangerous sit in the rear of the house. He gives them fat, tobacco, red paint and eagle down. They promise not to kill people. The chief uses the dress of his guests as crests.

The people go to the Nass River and Y'aga-k'umë'sk puts up a stone totem pole at Little Crabapple Tree. At this feast he divides the animals and supernatural beings into the woods and sea. The monsters come in on waves of foam. When the foam disappears, they are seen wearing their crests (1916:718).

It is interesting to note that most frontlet headdresses have,

14 A further parallel between gonaqAdé't creatures and killer-whales is that each may be referred to as a supernatural being and/or a human-like being covered with a gonaqAdé't or killer whale skin. As Swanton noted: "...the Ocean People [this term was particularly applied to the Killer-Whales, sga'na - see footnote #9, Chapter Four] are said to be creatures like human beings, but covered with a killer-whale skin. In either case we seem to have a double incarnation, the supernatural being in the killer-whale, and both the supernatural being and the killer-whale in the natural feature" (1905a:17-18).
inside the crown of sea-lion bristles, a stiff leather tongue or thong which, when set into motion by the movements of a bobbing dancer, would toss the eagle down through the cage of bristles and into the air. Significantly, many of these leather pieces are in the shape of whale's flukes (see especially frontlets NMC VII-X-1147 and MAI 1/4297 in the Appendix). See drawing below, Figure 5.2.15

Figure 5.2. Leather "Whale Flukes" inside a frontlet headdress crown.

15 I am indebted to Dr. Halpin for drawing reader attention to the whale flukes on the frontlet headdresses illustrated in her dissertation (1973:230-231).
In addition, a frequent design element on frontlets is whale flukes. For example, in a major type of frontlet collected from the Tsimshian and identified by Halpin (1973:230-233), whale flukes were carved and painted in shallow relief around the 'eyebrows', 'cheeks', and 'upper lip' of a large central face with a long beak or 'nose'.

In the drawings (figure 5.3) of this paradigm of frontlet, I have indicated the presence of this element.

In conclusion, if eagle down may be considered a visual metaphor for foam, then the sequence of symbolic associations could be:

foam (eagle down) : supernatural sea monsters : wealth : power : peace

Again, at the level of symboling and at the level of "imaging", we find the congruence of wealth and great supernatural power. An individual possessing the harmonious symmetry of both has reached a state of equilibrium; he is 'in control'. Diagramatically the ratios are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{supernatural power} & : \text{supernatural (spiritual)} & : \text{frontlet} \\
\text{wealth} & : \text{social (material)} & : \text{face}
\end{align*}
\]

16. Haida and Tlingit artists also incorporated whale's flukes into many of their frontlets. In the future I hope to be able to explore in another essay this aspect of the iconography of Northwest Coast frontlets. The scope of such a study precludes its inclusion here.

17. Other constituents of the frontlet headdress are also symbolically associated with wealth or the wealthy and with the supernatural. For example:

- In the Tlingit origin myth of Ḷač'Atsgū'k, a Sitka KiksA'di man, Swanton recorded that the hero "said that that was a valuable rock out there, and that wherever one looked or stepped lay sea-lion bristles" (1909:227).

- Boas (1916:378) noted that abalone ornaments are described as being worn by a princess and as being "costly". Swanton noted that in Haida puberty rites for young women, a girl sat in seclusion under four small hemlock trees, "with property, abalone shells, etc., hanging upon them. continued ....
17. (continued)
Then when she grew older she would be rich" (1905a:48). He also commented on the fact that "abalone shells which were so highly prized by the Haida were bought from California by the Russians. The species native to the islands is small and has less lustre" (Ibid.:47).

- Boas noted that in Tsimshian mythology other under-water supernatural monsters aided people in obtaining wealth. For example, one such creature was a huge beaver with copper eyes, copper claws, copper ears, and copper teeth. Another was a supernatural frog with copper claws and copper eyebrows (1916:459). Copper, of course, has long been recognized as a symbol of rank and wealth on the Northwest Coast.

- Swanton noted several wealth-bringing spirits in Tlingit mythology. One, Lé'nAxxt'dAq, is identical to Skïl dja'adai or Property Woman of the Haida. One of her apparitions is a wave (1908b:460; 1905a:29-30).

- De Laguna wrote, "The flicker-feathers (kun t'awn) used in decorating...headdresses were very valuable. They were not obtainable at Yakutat, but are said to have been imported from the Tsimshian...." (1971:443).

- Swanton noted that eagle feathers were highly valued among the Tlingit (1909:128). And Boas, writing about Tsimshian offerings to the deity "Heaven", commented, "They offer everything that is considered valuable, eagle down, red paint, red cedar, bark, food, elkskins, lined, etc. The offering is burnt" (1916:543).

- Ermine skins, Chilkat blankets and aprons, and raven rattles were all acknowledged by ethnographers as being prestigious items owned and worn by only the very wealthy.

18. The word "imaging" was coined by Wilson Duff and I use it here in the same sense he does: "Images hold ideas apart so that they can be seen held together. "Imaging" is reflecting. "Imaging" is relating. "Imaging" is recognizing. "Imaging" is meaning. Images are meanings, which come out in the thinking." (1975:15).
Eagle down, with its symbolic connotation of power/wealth may, by analogy, coincide with the ideological notion of 'peace', for to be wealthy an individual is free from the chaos of poverty. Eagle down as a symbol of power/wealth is an expression about man's relationship to the world of material objects as well as to the spiritual world.

Summary

By selecting eagle down as the dominant symbol of the spectacular downing headdress, it has not been difficult to align its image with several symbolic configurations and to map, at least partially, some of its multi-vocalic dimensions. Graphically, those configurations may be described as:

```
EAGLE DOWN

medicine
  a. curative
  b. preventive

wealth
  (visual metaphor for FOAM)
  (relationship to material goods
  (other: abalone, copper, flicker feathers, sea-lion bristles, ermine, etc.)

Reincarnation/Regeneration
  (relationship to the universe; to life and death
  (other: red paint, salmon, flicker feathers, etc.)

supernatural power
  a. to be in control of it
  b. to be protected by it

Power
  (relationship to the supernatural;
  (relationship to other
  (other: flicker feathers, copper, abalone, etc.)
```
The ethnographic description tells us that informants at some level made a connection between the frontlet headdress being danced with and the ideological notion 'peace'. The ethnographies, unfortunately, do not supply us with the semantics of this notion. However, by paralleling carefully our own semantic domain, 'peace', and noting the symbolic configurations and relationships described above, we can suggest an iconographic interpretation of the frontlet headdress.

'Peace' in our semantic competence, is more than the absence of hostilities or the opposite of war. Understood in the sense of orderliness, calmness, and security, 'peace' is an expression of harmony and equilibrium in all spheres of human experience. In this sense, peace is more a state of being than a state of affairs. Conversely, 'peace' may be described as the absence of disturbance, perturbation, chaos.

As we have outlined above, eagle down, as a dominant symbol/image in a frontlet headdress, has symbolic references which may be correlated explicitly to the semantic domain peace and implicitly to the notion chaos:

(+) protection of supernatural power/
healing/curing
(−) illness/death

in control of supernatural power
hostilities/insanity

wealth
poverty

(implcitly)

Waterman, I believe, saw these connections after visiting the Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian and speaking to them. He wrote:

...These people, as is well known, lay tremendous stress on the possession of wealth. The accumulation of property stirrs them to their foundations, and religious ideas get mixed up with the pursuit of gain, in an emotional complex, or obsession. There are ways of becoming rich through the
supernatural. Thus there are 'property spirits', almost deities, the very sight of which makes one wealthy (1923:450).

Northwest Coast Indians' experience of themselves and of the world is expressed in two oppositions: (1) the possession/lack of supernatural power: the identification, taming, control of the powers at large, of the wealth givers, in opposition to evil (disease, insanity, death); (2) possession/lack of material wealth: wealth is harmony with one's needs, is integrity in opposition to scarcity, indigence, and the denial of one's wants. Being in unison with the world at large, in other words, the notion of oneness, implies a state of plenty in both man's spiritual and material dimensions. Franciscan friars need not apply!

These indissociable dimensions are reflected in the use of eagle down as a common symbol for both. We can now perceive 'peace' to stand for harmony, integrity, oneness, and identity. The frontlet headdress being danced with - or downing - is a multiple image of all that was in equilibrium. It is a symbolic expression of the state of affairs in which man is in harmony with the universe (with the forces of life and death), with the supernatural and with other men, and with the material world.

2. The frontlet headdress: image in art, in myth and in ritual.

One of the most important ideas that "comes out in the thinking" of the image of a frontlet headdress is that it is not a mask. It is, in fact, the opposite of a mask; the symbolism in its ritual presentation is the very antithesis of masking.
The potency of masking is predicated upon the concealment of the performer's natural/social identity. Masking gives license to defy the 'rules' because its remoteness from reality (through rendering the image in fantasy, parody, exaggeration, paradox, grotesqueness, etc.) serves as a cognitive link to strictures and structures. As Halpin has observed, using Tsimshian naxnox masked performances as an example, masking is a way of asserting the paradoxical similarity or identity of opposites (1975:3). Masks are paradoxes for they conceal the human identity in order to reveal that which is normally concealed. Masking is a dangerous and sacred activity. The power of this action is a result of the juxtaposition of structure and anti-structure or, in other words, the reversing of structure by means of anti-structural statements (Ibid.: 37). Halpin hypothesizes that

...the naxnox naming system and its ritual dramatization [which are masked performances] were continual reminders of the necessity of living within the rules of Tsimshian culture, and of the resultant spectre of death if these rules were ignored or violated (1975:13)... Rituals of reversal, such as naxnoxs, reveal that the "reversed" person or quality is so threatening to the normal social order that he or it must be virtually controlled (Ibid.:23).

She argues that "Tsimshian masks were metaphors predicated upon their collective audience or congregation" (Ibid.:3). The "reversed" person loses his individual identity; his social/supernatural affiliations are obliterated.

The potency of dancing in a frontlet headdress is predicated upon the revelation of the dancer's total identity, that is supernatural and social, expressed by the juxtaposition of the human face and the
supernatural scenario depicted on the frontlet. Through this explicit juxtaposition of the two faces of one's identity, the wearing of a frontlet headdress makes visible logical categories and the relations between them. Because the dancer's face is not concealed, his responsibility as an identifiable individual in society underlines the public display of his supernatural affiliation. At the same time, the very nature of the exhibition accentuates the legitimacy of the dancer's position in an ordered universe of social and supernatural relations. The dancer not only lives within the rules of his culture, he is the image of those rules. Thus, while wearing the frontlet headdress is a sacred activity, it is not a particularly dangerous one. The visual statement being made is an explicitly structural one in the sense that structure is "a model for thinking about nature, and culture, and ordering one's public life" (Turner, 1969:127). The visual symbolism in a frontlet headdress, as an object of contemplation, reveals the process of structural alignment by affirming all that is order: the classification and reclassification of reality and man's relationship to society, nature, and the supernatural.

Before continuing, let us again return to the data. By looking at the frontlet headdress as a visual complex of meanings, and by relating it to the logical structures in a given corpus of myths, it is possible to trace an analogous relationship to the ritual presentation of frontlet headdresses. In analysing the logical structuring of object to myth and ritual, cogent themes or sets of relations will be shown to be consistent in all three:

1) There is a synthesis of social and supernatural power.
2) These powers are juxtaposed in a dual image.

3) They are symbolized by a human or social identity conjoined with a supernatural or spiritual identity.

4) Because they are coextensive, neither one being ascendant, one legitimates the other.

5) As a logical opposition to masks and the anti-structural statements made in masking, frontlet headdresses and their presentation are visual statements about structure and the orderly process of society.

Put simply, frontlet headdresses are the opposite and equal of masks.

A. The Kaigani frontlet: image of GonaquAdé’t.

This chapter began by looking at the multi-vocality of the symbolic referents in the constituents of the frontlet headdress. Keeping those image/meanings in mind, this section will turn to an interpretation of the iconography of a singular frontlet - a frontlet which, in an impressionistic sense, may be said to be the "image" of wearing a frontlet headdress. The basis of this observation will be clear after looking at the images on this frontlet and attempting to explain their meanings.

The frontlet (figure 5.4), now in a private collection in Victoria, B.C., has been documented as coming from a Kaigani Haida village on Prince of Wales Island. This is the extent of the documentation. However, at a pre-iconographic level of description (after Panofsky, 1962) based on conventions of forms described in the literature

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19 I am indebted to Norman Feder for acquainting me with this frontlet and for supplying me with a slide of it.
on Northwest Coast Indian art, some significant observations can be made. I have reproduced the frontlet image in a series of related line drawings (figure 5.4a-d):

Figure 5.4. The Kaigani frontlet. Private Collection. Photograph courtesy of Norman Feder.
Figure 5.4b. The central or dominant figure is not only human but is explicitly so. Whereas animals are conventionally depicted as having ears over the forehead and "paws" with three to five digits but no opposable thumb, this figure has human ears on the side of the head and hands with an opposable thumb. The hands grasp a sea-creature. While the figure may have specific referents, i.e. man, woman, ancestor, supernatural being (or all of these), the form is undoubtedly human.
Figure 5.4c. The sea creature may be identified by its general shape, the lack of limbs, large symmetrical flukes of the caudal fin (which excludes the identification "shark" that would have non-symmetrical flukes – one lobe being larger than the other), and the presence of dorsal and pectoral fins. The figure may represent a generic sea creature or may specifically refer to a salmon or whale. The large square snout and the presence of teeth may indicate the latter.
Figure 5.4d. The human's head is surrounded by a large unidentifiable head. The forearms, paws, and flanks of this creature cover the back and sides of the human's head, behind the ears. The most significant aspect of this creature is its large toothed mouth which frames the forehead of the human, the teeth forming a shining corona around the central figure's face. The eyes of the creature are as open and alive as the human that "wears" its skin. Indeed, there is a sense that the human is clothed in this red creature rather than being devoured by it.
At a pre-iconographic level of description, the figures and their relationship are unambiguous: the human figure is the main actor, he grasps a sea-creature (most likely a whale) in his hands, and on his head he is wearing (or being engulfed by) a large, toothed creature. Moving into an iconographic level of interpretation, the ambiguities in the figures and their interactions are compelling. What human can carry a whale? Why would a human place his forehead in the large, toothed mouth of another creature and wear this animal as a headdress?

Clearly, the iconographic analysis requires new materials to aid in the interpretation. These materials basically consist of images in the conventionalized oral or visual traditions which are similar to the images or forms on the Kaigani frontlet in Figure 5.4. When the investigator can become familiar with a corpus of specific themes or concepts, then the equipment for iconographical interpretation is assembled (Panofsky, 1962:13-17).

Looking at visual traditions roughly contemporaneous with the Kaigani frontlet, we have found two other pieces of Kaigani sculpture that bear images similar to those of the frontlet. They are a pair of houseposts belonging to a house in Old Kasaan on Prince of Wales Island (see figure 5.5). Marius Barbeau has identified these carved figures as being representations of the GonaquAde' t or Konakadet (Barbeau, 1950/1964:297, 299, 429).

As an image in myth and in art, GonaquAde' t had many forms and many names. As I have mentioned previously (pp. 189-191), among the Haida he was known as Wasgo (Skidegate) and Wasx or Sus'an (Masset), and was often depicted as an aquatic wolf with killer whale features.
Figure 5.5. GonaquAdē’t houseposts in house at Old Kasaan, on Prince of Wales Island; (A) as they stood in the abandoned house, and (B) as they were preserved. (Swanton, 1950/1964:297, 429). Swanton described one of the pair of houseposts (C) as, "The Eagle (Bird-of-the-Air) helper and Konakadet capturing a sea monster. The Grizzly Bear and the woman at base." (Ibid.: 299, 429). The line drawing at right is a reconstruction of (C) based on (A) and (B). Note the similarity between these houseposts and the Kaigani frontlet in Figure 5.4.
Among the Kaigani and the Tlingit he was GonaquAde't and "his appearance [was] like unto that of a great bear, but he lives beneath the water. Sometimes he appears to lucky men...emerging slowly from the waves and towering like the side of a house" (Waterman, 1923:450; see also Swanton, 1901:172-73). Olson's Tlingit informants told him: "The Gonakade't is a great sea monster, sometimes several miles in length! Many children may be seen running along its back" (1967:121). The Tsimshian equivalent for GonaquAde't was called Ginaxcamgë'tk or Ganaxadate (Rasmussen in Gunther, 1966:78). Similar Tsimshian lake monsters were the Hagwelog (see the account of the Hagwelawrh in Barbeau, 1929:93 and in Gould, 1973:118-121) and the Gi'bélk (Halpin, 1973:234). Though his appearance may vary (see p. 191), this great monster is always associated with the sea or lakes, with whales, with great wealth, and with reincarnation. He also has a direct association with the frontlet headdress (as well as four other items of ceremonial paraphernalia: the raven rattle, the Chilkat blanket and shirt, the potlatch hat with potlatch rings and the carved 'chief's' box) for it was the GonaquAde't who gave the first frontlet headdress to humans (see p.99 ). Gould notes that the mythological records "attribute the Gonakadet with the origin of ceremonial prerogatives that were expressions of rank rather than clan identity (1973:78). McClellan noted that the GonaquAde't along with Raven, was "credited with originating many patterns of present-day potlatching" (1954:96). In a widespread corpus of myths found among the northern Northwest Coast groups, the skin of GonaquAde't (or analogous monsters) worn by a human, enables that person to perform the same kinds of supernatural feats as the GonaquAde't. Gould summarizes these associations:
The Gonakade't then, is associated with wealth and water; he is a chief in his own realm; he is an acknowledged source of chiefs' paraphernalia; and he is associated with the origin of the context in which these paraphernalia were displayed: the potlatch feast. In short, the Gonakade't is central to the context in which the raven rattle [and the frontlet headdress were] used (Gould, 1973:79).

But this is anticipating the next portion of the argument.

Returning for a moment to the frontlet, it is possible to suggest, on the basis of (1) the similarity between the frontlet image and the Old Kasaan houseposts, (2) the identification by Barbeau and (3) the literature's description of GonaquAde't images, that the Kaigani frontlet in Figure 5.4 contains the image and the logic of GonaquAde't. The next problem is to probe deeper into these images and meanings. Why are they appropriate to a frontlet headdress? Are there logical relationships between the image and the myth of GonaquAde't and the frontlet headdress?

B. The GonaquAde't myth: the legitimate claim to supernatural power.

There are many variants of the GonaquAde't myth - and an equal number of variants about GonaquAde't-like monsters. Generally though, they contain the same themes and elements as the variant reproduced below. This one was recorded by Keithan and is one of the most comprehensive:

20 Barbeau cites many variants in Totem Poles, Vol. I and illustrates them with totem poles bearing the images of a woman in shaman's paraphernalia and a man "wearing" a sea monster skin and carrying whales. See Barbeau, 1950/1964:302, 304, 307-315, 316-318 for images and myths of GonaquAde't (at Juneau, Klukwan, Wrangell, Old Kasaan), the Mother-in-law Staie (at Kayang - near Masset), Susän (at Masset and Kyusta; Skidegate), Qagwaai (at Skedans), The Young Outcast (at Masset), and Wasgo (at Skidegate).
There are many Gonakadet stories but the most popular one concerns a high-born young man who was having mother-in-law trouble. Being the wife of a chief and used to having her own way, she seems to have despised him because she could not dominate him as she would have liked to, and especially was she irked by his gambling. After each meal she would order the slaves to put out the fire so that he could not cook anything for himself. When the gambler would come into the community house long after dark, the woman would remark, sarcastically, "My fine son-in-law has been cutting wood for me." A similar remark would be flung at him at every opportunity.

Although the young man had a kind and loving wife he found that he could not endure her mother's constant nagging forever. At some distance back of the village there was a lake in which the monster Gonakadet was reputed to dwell. Here at the lakeside he built himself a small cedar cabin where he lived alone. But he was not idle since it was his intention to try to trap the monster. First he felled a tall cedar tree into the lake and carefully stripped it of its branches. Then with fire-hardened hardwood wedges and stone maul he split the log nearly to the butt. Next he inserted long cross pieces which sprung the two halves wide apart and held them there at great tension.

When summer came and the villagers left for the fishing grounds the young man went with them and caught many salmon. These he took to his cabin and with them baited his trap. By letting the bright red salmon down into the water on a line the Gonakadet was finally lured into the space between the sprung tree-halves, whereupon the monster knocked out the trigger and was trapped. For hours it thrashed about at times dragging the tree completely under water, but eventually it gave up the struggle and died.

Now the young man removed the Gonakadet from the trap, skinned it and carefully dried the skin. When it was cured he got into the hide and went into the water. As he had hoped, dressed in the skin, he had all the powers of the Gonakadet itself. He explored the lake bottom, finding there a beautiful house which had been the home of Gonakadet.

The secret of his good fortune he kept from everybody but his wife. She was charged to reveal it to no one.
The following spring found all the people's
dried salmon used up and the village was faced with
a famine. Then the young man put on his Gonakadet
skin and swam in the sea every night. Only his wife
knew of his where-abouts. To her only he revealed
the supernatural powers of his gift. "I will be
back each morning before the raven calls," he said,
"but if the raven calls before I return, do not
look for me, for I shall be dead."

That night he caught a salmon. Before the raven
called he brought it to the village and laid it on
the sand in front of his mother-in-law's house.
Rising early next morning this woman spied the salmon
and concluded that it had drifted there with the tide.
According to custom, the village was invited to par-
take of it.

The following night the young man caught two
salmon and left them in the same place. When the
mother-in-law found these she was overjoyed and
wondered what it was that brought her this good for-
tune. "It must be a spirit," she thought.

The son-in-law now slept during the day, being
tired from swimming in search of salmon all night.
His mother-in-law would berate him soundly, saying,
"Imagine men sleeping all day when there is a famine.
If it were not for me going around picking up dead
fish the whole village would starve!" His wife,
however, knew who was providing the salmon.

The next morning the woman found a halibut
before her door, and predicted two halibut would be
there on the morrow. The young man, hearing her
prediction, fulfilled it by catching two halibut.
Then she told her husband, the chief, to forbid
anyone to go on the beach until she had gone first,
giving as her reason that "she had a vision."
This was only to make sure that she should get full
credit for everything that was found. Then she pre-
dicted that she would find a seal. As she had fore-
told, a seal was there in the morning. The hair was
singed off, the skin scrubbed white and the seal
cooked whole for the benefit of the community.

People now began to regard her as a great
shaman, and she did everything in her power to
encourage such belief. She ordered a claw headdress
made, such as shamans wear, a rattle and an apron
decorated with puffin's beaks, and a mask which she
named "Food-Finding Spirit." She continually talked
about "her spirit" and sang songs about their power.
High caste people paid much attention to her and praised her spirits. Popularity made her still more cruel to her son-in-law and she now spoke of him derisively as the "Sleeping Man."

As time went on she called for two seals, one sea lion, two sea lions, one whale. Now she was selling food to the villagers and had so much stored away in boxes that the people were awed by her great wealth.

Each night the task had been getting greater for the young man and he had barely gotten in with the whale before the raven called. To his wife he cautioned, "Do not take any of that food unless she offers it." And then he added, "If I am found dead in this skin, put me along with the skin in the place where I used to hide it, and you will get help."

Then the day came when the mother-in-law called for two whales. The young man caught them, but to bring them in exceeded the strength even of the Gonakadet. All night long he struggled to get them ashore but just as he reached the beach the raven called and he fell dead.

The mother-in-law went out as usual and found the two whales with a strange monster lying dead between them. All the villagers came down to see it. It had claws like copper and a big head with long upright ears. Two great fins stood up on its back and it had a long curling tail. The simple villagers thought it must be one of the shaman woman's spirits.

Just then they heard someone crying and upon looking in that direction saw the chief's daughter approaching, weeping bitterly. "Why does the chief's daughter call that monster her husband?" they asked each other.

When the girl reached the shore she turned on her mother angrily, saying, "Where are your spirits now? You lied! You said you had spirits when you had none. That is why this happened to my husband."

Everyone in the village now crowded about. "Mother, is this your Food-Finding Spirit? Why did your spirit die? Real spirits never die. If this is your spirit bring it to life again."

Then the girl requested the help of someone who was clean. He opened the monster's mouth revealing the body of her husband. "He must have been killed by that monster," said the villagers.

When the young woman and her helpers went to
the lake to deposit the body according to the dead man's instructions, there they saw the trap and the tools he had made it with, and then for the first time they knew the truth. All the village went to see for themselves and to pay their respects to the man who had saved them from starving. That is, all but the mother-in-law, for her shame was more than she could bear and she died in convulsions, froth coming from her mouth.

Every evening the bereaved young woman went to the tree containing her husband's body and wept. But one evening she noticed a ripple on the waters of the lake and then she saw the Gonakadet rise. Then it said, "Get on my back and hold tight." She did, and down it plunged.

They still live there beneath the waters in a beautiful house and their children are the "Daughters of the Creek." They reside at the head of every stream and when they are seen or either of their spirit parents, they bring good luck. (Keithahn, in Barbeau, 1950/1964:296, 298).

Diagramatically, the binary oppositions in the myth may be seen as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother-in-law (♀)</th>
<th>Son-in-law (♂)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High social rank</td>
<td>High social rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(chief's wife) +</td>
<td>(marries chief's daughter) +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improper behaviour for rank</td>
<td>proper behaviour for rank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealthy, chief's wife</th>
<th>Poor, gambler</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate claims:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- assumes ascribed supernatural powers</td>
<td>- obtains supernatural power in shaman-like spirit quest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- brags about &quot;spirit&quot; possession</td>
<td>- keeps secret power possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- orders shaman's paraphernalia from villagers: headdress, mask, apron, rattles.</td>
<td>- systematically obtains skin of GonauAdër't</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manipulator of food</th>
<th>Provider of food</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- denies food and fire to a member of husband's lineage</td>
<td>- feeds all irrespective of lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- hoards food (improper behaviour)</td>
<td>- distributes food (proper behaviour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- wealth based on false claims (has food - but no power to obtain it).</td>
<td>- wealthy (power to obtain food)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

continued....
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mask symbolizes fabricated &quot;spirit&quot; (face concealed)</th>
<th>skin (in the visual images the skin is a headdress) symbolizes synthesis of human with supernatural identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>social identity concealed behind false supernatural identity</td>
<td>in visual images face is revealed supernatural face appears conjoined with human one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transformation on a social and supernatural level: false</td>
<td>transformation &quot;real&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dies a human death when false claims revealed</td>
<td>dies a supernatural &quot;death&quot; i.e. temporarily &quot;dead&quot; when prohibition violated, but is regenerated/reincarnated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basically these binary oppositions suggest a core theme or idea: the continuity of the universe is ensured through the synthesis of social and supernatural powers. Moreover, this synthesis must be (1) legitimate and (2) apparent. The myth images suggest an opposition of legitimate and illegitimate claims to supernatural power as symbolized by the opposition of headdress (skin) and mask.

Returning to the images on the Kaigani frontlet and houseposts, we can align their presentation with the depiction of the myth. Clearly the figures may be interpreted as that of the young man, wearing the powerful skin of the supernatural GonaquAdet' and carrying whales. The whales are more than representations of the events of the myth; they are symbols of the great supernatural power enjoyed by a man clothed in a GonaquAdet' skin. The interaction of these figures (headdress/human/whale) symbolizes the synthesis of supernatural and social domains.

The relationships between the images in the art are paralleled by the relationships between the elements in the myth. The man who wears the skin of GonaquAdet' is imbued with and controls great super-
natural power. In the myth a subtle distinction is made between the human and the supernatural monster: while he controls and assumes the power of GonaquAdé't, he does not become GonaquAdé't. When [the skin] was cured he got into the hide and went into the water. As he had hoped, dressed in the skin, he had all the powers of the Gonaquadet itself (Ibid.:296).

In the visual image and in the myth depiction, the human actor is clothed in the skin of GonaquAdé't, but the skin does not mask his humanness. In the myth, the youth dies when a prohibition regarding supernatural activity is broken: he fails to return from hunting "before the raven cries" and dawn (light) reveals his new identity. In the Kaigani carvings, the youth wears the monster as a headdress. (The animated expression of the "dead" monster skin may be a way of visually expressing that the skin is "alive" with power.) The monster's teeth form a corona around the human's forehead and the monster's face becomes an addition to the human face rather than a mask for it. The image in both myth and art is explicitly that of a transformed human - a natural and social entity in control of supernatural power. That his identity is synthesized with a supernatural identity is indicated by his "death" - a fate all supernatural beings face if they violate the prohibition of activity after dawn.

In contrast, the 'transformation' of the mother-in-law has a different set of connotations and associations:

People now began to regard her as a great shaman, and she did everything in her power to encourage such belief. She ordered a claw headdress made, such as shamans wear, a rattle and an apron decorated in puffin's beaks, and a mask which she named "Food-Finding Spirit." (Ibid.)
In a social sense she becomes transformed as she enacts her new role; "high caste people paid much attention to her and praised her spirits" (Ibid.). Her falsified new social identity is concealed by a mask representing a fabricated supernatural being. She dies after her illegitimate claims are exposed. Literally and metaphorically, she "loses face": her mask, as a symbol of her supernatural powers, and her social identity are destroyed. In some versions she "dies of shame", while in others she dies in "convulsions, bloody froth coming from her mouth". Both descriptions indicate the same consequence: illegitimate claims to supernatural power result in negated cultural identity which precludes social and natural life.

The transformed pair - mother-in-law and son-in-law - form other logical oppositions in the myth. With the aid of supernatural power, the youth is able to procure great quantities of food. This alleviates a village famine and ensures the continuity of natural life for all the people i.e. for both the people of his lineage and those of the opposite lineage (his mother-in-law, etc.). In the myth, he brings ever increasing quantities of sea animals for food; in the art, the abundant quantity of food he provides is symbolized by the greatest of sea animals - the whale.

Whereas the son-in-law is a provider of food, the mother-in-law is a manipulator of food. After the famine is alleviated, she hoards food and sells it to the villagers. She "had so much stored away in boxes that the people were awed by her great wealth" (Ibid.:298). Not only does she base her "wealth" on ill-gotten goods, so to speak, but she violates her social responsibilities by refusing food and fire
to her son-in-law - a member of her husband's lineage. There is some poetic justice in her retribution: a person who has (or who knows) no shame dies of it!

From a third point of view - that of the villagers - the opposition of mask (illegitimate claims to supernatural power) and headdress (legitimate claims to supernatural power) receive further emphasis. In the myth, the youth enters a shaman-like isolation and begins his quest for the supernatural lake monster. Through his own cunning he captures the GonaquAdé't, skins it, and "carefully" dries the hide. His efforts are rewarded and he gains the monster's powers. The mother-in-law does not work to obtain her "spirits" - instead she assumes powers and ability ascribed to her by the villagers. The youth keeps his transformed identity a secret; she ostentatiously brags about her "spirits" and displays shaman's paraphernalia. The woman wears a mask; the young man wears only the skin of the supernatural being. Her identity is concealed and false. His is revealed and apparent.

At first, the villagers speculate that the youth was slain by the monster. However, the synthesis of his social identity and great supernatural power becomes apparent to them:

*When the young woman and her helpers went to the lake to deposit the body according to the dead man's instructions, there they saw the trap and the tools he had made it with and then for the first time they knew the truth. All the village went to see for themselves and to pay respects to the man who had saved them from starving* (ibid.).

Exposed as a fraud, the mother-in-law dies on the beach, in front of the villagers,

*[the youth's wife] turned on her mother angrily,*
saying, "Where are your spirits now? You lied! You said you had spirits when you had none."
... Everyone in the village now crowded about. "Mother, is this your Food-Finding Spirit? Why did your spirit die? Real spirits never die. If this is your spirit bring it to life again."
(Ibid.)

Through their collective act of recognition, the villagers are witnesses to legitimate and illegitimate claims to supernatural power. Furthermore, once the mother-in-law dies, her role in the myth ends. The youth with GonaquAde't powers is restored to life ("Real spirits never die.") and he and his wife live beneath the lake waters in GonaquAde't's house as "spirit parents" to the "Daughters of the Creek." On the Kaigani frontlet, the GonaquAde't skin is painted red - the symbolic colour of regeneration/reincarnation. In the myth, the youth acquires supernatural powers in a proper - hence legitimate - fashion and ensures the continuity of the village (by saving it from famine)21 and the continuity of his own life (real spirits are reincarnated after "death"). The 'message' in the myth is clear: in the properly ordered and structured interactions between society, nature, and the supernatural, human communities will prosper and overcome the chaos of famine and death; the continuity of the universe will thus be ensured.

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21. The villagers will implicitly be free from the chaos of famine in the future as well, because the children of the GonaquAde't youth, the "Daughters-of-the-Creek", are the suppliers of salmon. It is to these supernatural women that the salmon swim upstream (Swanton, 1905a:23).
C. The socio-ritual presentation of the frontlet headdress: the synthesis of social and supernatural power.

How can a social entity in control of great supernatural power ensure the continuity of the universe? The answer is stated metaphorically in the myth and in the visual images - but it may also be found in the socio-ritual context in which the frontlet headdress is worn.

In the previous section we have seen parallels between the elements of the myth's depictions and the visual images. In this section, those parallel constructions may be extended to the underlying structures of the socio-ritual context of the headdress. The point is that, metaphorically, the dancer in a frontlet headdress is a youth in a *GonaquAdé't* skin. If this is true, then the image of the Kaigani frontlet is the "image" (i.e. the meaning) of wearing a frontlet headdress.

Obtaining supernatural power is the essential human activity. The person acquiring such powers while maintaining his social or human identity may, given this point of reference, be referred to as truly human. The youth who wears the skin of *GonaquAdé't* in the myth and on the Kaigani frontlet and house posts is an image of the true human being. The dancer wearing a frontlet headdress and its associated paraphernalia parallels this role.

The youth and the dancer are both high-ranking individuals who are perfected by obtaining supernatural powers. While they engage in

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22. I prefer this appellation to others such as 'supernatural human' or 'superhuman' which convey the idea of extraordinary powers simply added layer-like to those of normal human beings. Instead, the process is one of transformation of individuals into the cultural ideals. Such individuals become the repository, the embodiment of the dimensions of humanness as perceived by the northern Northwest Coast people.
shamanistic activities, their roles - both in the myth and in the "real" world - are differentiated from shamans. The youth obtains supernatural power after a shamanistic seclusion and after careful preparation and processing of the GonaquAde't skin. The dancer reaches his elevated spiritual position after a series of initiations - which are encounters with the supernatural. Both control supernatural power and, moreover, they do so in ritually prescribed fashion.

Both the youth and the dancer wear headdresses - as opposed to masks - and their social identity is not concealed. The youth wears a headdress of a supernatural creature's skin. In the visual images of this youth, the creature/headdress appears to be "alive". Digressing for a moment, it is interesting to note that GonaquAde't is said to wear a living headdress (Waterman, 1923:450). The most explicit identification of GonaquAde't's headdress was given to Waterman when informants described the lowest figures on the front of Chief Skowl's house at New Kasaan (Ibid.:449-451). (I shall refer to this again, below.) Also, it should be remembered that GonaquAde't gave the first headdress to humans.

The dancer's headdress is made of the skins of animals that have symbolic associations with wealth and the supernatural. Just as the youth obtains and "owns" the supernatural being that he uses for a headdress, the dancer "owns" the supernatural "crests" displayed on his frontlet. The legitimacy of this "ownership" is verified or authenticated by the public who collectively witness the dancer's performance. They have also been witnesses to the dancer's previous initiations and his elevations in spiritual (and material) status. The legitimacy of the
The youth's claim to supernatural powers is verified when the villagers witness his body in the supernatural skin and when they examine the "tools" he used to obtain it.

The youth and the dancer are providers of food. It is possible to describe food as a Northwest Coast symbol for wealth. The mythical mother-in-law "had so much [food] stored away in boxes that people were awed by her great wealth". Her son-in-law, however, is the real provider of food; it is his 'wealth' that feeds the village. After his reincarnation, the youth's children, the "Daughters-of-the-Creek", provide the villagers with the wealth of salmon. The dancer, as an actor in the real world of social and ritual interaction is usually the chief who distributes food to the collectivity of family, villagers, and guests. The feast and the great expense incurred to provide it are symbols of the chief's wealth, and a prerequisite for both his spiritual enlightenment and elevation in social status.

Copper is another wealth symbol on the Northwest Coast. The wealth/copper/redness symbols in the dancer's frontlet headdress have been mentioned previously. On the Kaigani frontlet, the wealth-bringing, supernatural creature's skin is red. The myth concludes by saying that people seeing the reincarnated youth or his children are assured of good luck (wealth). Repeatedly, in the literature, we have found mention of GonaquAdε't and GonaquAdε't-like creatures bestowing great wealth on humans who catch a glimpse of them. Moreover, these monsters often have copper toenails, claws, teeth, hair, etc. In a list of Sitka house names, Swanton records the following:
Returning to the image of GonaquAdet as it was described to Waterman, we find an interesting description of the supernatural creature's "living" headdress:

...the form of the copper, in the opinion of the Indians represents the forehead of the Gonaquadet. [he refers to the lowest figures on Chief Skowl's poles: Figure 5.6 in this text.] The rectangular part of the copper (the lower part) represents his frontal bone. The flaring part of the copper represents the space between the monster's ears. The "face" which is usually painted on this part of the copper represents the monster's animal [human?] headband. In the photograph [see figure 5.7-(a)] there are two broad bands above this smaller head, sloping down toward the tips of the monster's ears. These are represented by the top margin of the copper (Waterman, 1923:450-451).

The logic turns a full circle. The supernatural monster wears a headdress with a human face; the human wears a frontlet with a supernatural image on it. Both beings are wealth bringers, both wear headdresses which resemble the shape of a copper (see figure 5.7-(b)).

Regeneration/reincarnation is a paramount theme in the myth and in the ritual display of a frontlet headdress. In the first part of this chapter, it was suggested that the bundle of symbols contained in the frontlet headdress could be interpreted as multivocal referents for regeneration/reincarnation. In the myth, the youth employing supernatural power dies and is reborn again. It is interesting to note that the youth's movement from lake (fresh water) to sea (salt water) and return to the lake symbolically parallels the life cycle of the salmon - and the salmon (as discussed previously, p. 182) may be seen as an obvious natural symbol for reincarnation. In addition, the youth's powers are perpetuated in
Figure 5.6. Poles in front of Chief Skowl's house at Old Kasaan. Photos in Barbeau (1950/1964): (a) Close up of Emmons photo dated 1885 as it appears in Barbeau, p.574; (b) Frontal view of two lower figures described as being the image of GonaquAdé’ with a "living" headdress. The two poles, though carved by different people, are identical.
Figure 5.7. The image of a copper in (a) the forehead of GonaquAde't and in (b) the frontlet + face.
his supernatural children who also are associated with salmon. 23

The dancer wearing a frontlet headdress follows a similar journey. As a human, he must die; as a spiritually enlightened member of society, his reincarnation is assured and recognized. His power, and axiomatically, his wealth, are perpetuated in his children: he 'throws' power into them and bestows names and property upon them, and it is into the body of one of these children that his spirit will be reincarnated.

There is another parallel between the myth and social reality. When the youth died, his wife carried out his instructions to put him "along with the skin" in the place where he used to hide it. The dead youth, arrayed in the GonaquAde't skin, was viewed by the villagers when they went "to pay their respects to the man who had saved them from starving". In northern Northwest Coast society, when a high-ranking person was lying-in-state, he wore a frontlet headdress and was surrounded by the emblems of his wealth. The mourners, like the villagers in the myth, paid their last respects to the deceased at this time.

Finally, in the myth the youth is reborn and returns to live in GonaquAde't's beautiful house under the lake - an under-world house. The dancer wears not only a frontlet headdress, but a Chilkat blanket. The blanket is shaped like a house ( ) worn upside down ( ).

23 It is interesting to note that in the Tsimshian ranking system, the "princes and princesses" - i.e. the children of nobility who are to inherit names and prerogatives from their high-ranking parents - are called tkuwE'ksek: "bright and silvery young salmon" (Halpin, 1973:10).
Metaphorically the house-shaped blanket which engulfs the dancer is GonaquAdē't's under-world house.  

The youth and the dancer have parallel identities: they both claim a supernatural transformation which they validate through dispensation of material wealth. Having been spiritually begotten, they can assume the role of intermediary between human and supernatural worlds as human providers of wealth, as the assurance of a perpetuated society. Their images come together in the visual image on the Kaigani frontlet. The frontlet headdress is metaphorically the GonaquAdē't skin; the Kaigani frontlet carries the meaning of that image.

Summary

The second part of this chapter, dealing with the meaning of wearing a frontlet headdress, has revealed the parallels between a set of relationships contained in the image on a frontlet, the GonaquAdē't myth, and the socio-ritual presentation of a frontlet headdress. It has been shown that metaphorically, the dancer wearing a frontlet headdress was a human wearing a supernatural monster's skin. In this light, the multivocal symbols represented by the constituents of the headdress - discussed in the first part of this chapter - become even more compelling.

24. There are other numerous associations between GonaquAdē't and the dancer's paraphernalia. For example, the designs on the Chilkat blanket are frequently identified with the sea monster (cf. Emmons and Boas, 1907) as are similar designs on the "chief's box" that stores the paraphernalia (cf. Inverarity, 1950; Gunther, 1966:78). Gould has suggested that the "hawk" on the "belly" of the raven rattle is GonaquAdē't or similar property spirits (Gould, 1973:78, 177). And, as noted earlier, my interpretation of "hawk" would be that it is "salmon" as a visual metaphor for reincarnation.
The symbolic referents in the headdress itself suggest notions of harmony with the universe, with the supernatural and with other men, and with the material world. These same thematic referents are found in the myth about the youth in a GonaquAde't skin and in the activity of the dancer in a frontlet headdress. The dancer, like the youth, is a controller of great supernatural powers, a protector of his people (while he is himself protected by supernatural associations), and a wealth-bringer. He is the image of structure, of the fruits of an ordered and proper quest.

The contrast between mask and frontlet headdress is explicit in the myth, and in the socio-ritual contexts in which both were used, their opposition is vivified.

Why did the northern Northwest Coast people employ these highly contrasting sets of visual images: on the one hand the dangerous and anonymous masked actor and on the other the explicit bonding of great supernatural and human power of a particular individual? One suggestion may be that the masked dancer, as Marjorie Hapin has convincingly argued, was the image of anti-structural statements (Turner's communitas), in which the "hidden reality" of life's paradoxes are tightly contained, or juxtaposed, and given expression in masked performances. In opposition, the individual wearing a frontlet headdress presented an image of order and structure. The dancer in a frontlet headdress symbolized, at many levels of complexity, the interface between human and supernatural orders, between the profane and controlled sphere of social relations and the sacred and dangerous realm of supernatural powers. The fact that the frontlet headdress was worn in public made social what was personal, and made visible that which was unknown or hidden (see Turner, 1967:50). The
juxtaposition of the image of the masked dancer and the image of the dancer wearing a frontlet headdress carried the impact and immediacy of thoughts made visible, thus presenting all the dimensions of the dialectic simultaneously. Victor Turner writes that myths, symbols, rituals, philosophical systems and works of art...

...provide men with a set of templates or models which are, at one level, periodical reclassifications of reality and man's relationship to society, nature and culture. But they are more than classifications, since they incite men to action as well as to thought. Each of these productions has a multivocal character, having many meanings, and each is capable of moving people at many psychological levels simultaneously (1969:128-129).

I suggest that the images of mask and headdress form a dialectic, each with multivocal characters, inciting simultaneous levels of thought and action. But why was there this dialectic? I think Turner offers an important insight when he says that...

...the immediacy of communitas [anti-structure] gives way to the mediacy of structure, while in rites de passage, men are released from structure into communitas only to return to structure revitalized by their experience of communitas. What is certain is that no society can function adequately without this dialectic (Ibid.).

The dancer in a frontlet headdress was the image of an ideal made visible. He had made successful quests in the world of men and in the world of spirits. In the role of welcoming dancer or in the role of initiator, he was a social individual directing supernatural power. His actions fused the secular domain of everyday social relationships and the sacred domain of supernatural activity. The headdress he wore transformed his identity so that he became the image of those actions.
CONCLUSION

This thesis has been a study of the iconography of the frontlet headdress. The starting point of the thesis was the realization that the frontlet headdress was part of a ceremonial costume that was constructed and worn in precisely the same fashion by three groups of Northwest Coast people having otherwise distinct (though related) linguistic, socio-ritual and material culture backgrounds. The constituents of the headdress were described, noting their invariant relationship to one another. It was also apparent that a limited set of substitutions for these constituents was possible, though these substituted materials always approximated the sensory quality of the original constituent. The apparently prescribed assemblage of headdress constituents suggested that each was part of a configuration of symbols, and the spatio-temporal consistency in the distribution of these headdresses indicated a shared framework of symbolic reference among neighbouring people.

Next, the variable constituent of the headdress - the frontlet itself - was briefly discussed. The study of the iconography of frontlets requires a lengthy and complex analysis in itself, and therefore I have not included in the thesis my research into that area.* However, I have expanded on Erna Gunther's pre-iconographic description of the generic

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*The study requires an analysis of the "visual thinking" in frontlets and employs an unorthodox methodology of "reducing" the three-dimensional carving to a two-dimensional drawing. In this way, the 'parts' of the carving are visually dissected and 're-constructed' (see figure 5.3, Chapter V for an example). In this way visual puns and other complex relationships in the carvings may be studied and parallels may be drawn between frontlets - thus forming paradigms of visual thought as presented in the iconography of frontlets.
category "frontlet", noting especially that the dimensions of frontlets were consistently proportionate to the dimensions of the human face that was visible when a headdress was worn. After looking at hundreds of frontlets (see the Appendix), the overriding impression was that the meanings of frontlets were as individual as the people who wore them. Therefore, it was suggested that frontlet + face formed a visual dichotomy and that the human face must be considered as a constituent of the headdress in order to understand the iconography of frontlet headdresses. It was then suggested that the visual equation of frontlet + face exposed a balance of power between a supernatural identity and a social one. After examining the ethnographic records for the occasions in which frontlet headdresses were worn by the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida, it became apparent that this equation formed a dominant and recurring theme.

There were three ceremonial contexts in which headdresses were worn: 1) greeting or welcoming dances, 2) "potlatch" and/or secret society initiations, and 3) lying-in-state and/or mortuary rituals. It became clear that the headdress was part of a prestigious costume complex consisting of Chilkat blanket, dancing apron, raven rattle, and dance leggings. This costly and spectacular costume was only worn by high-ranking individuals whose wealth was commensurate with their high-level of spiritual enlightenment. In Northwest Coast tradition, these people usually held the office or rank of "chief". Significantly though (and this was especially evident in the ceremonial context of the secret society initiations), the actions and abilities of the chiefs in the sphere of ritual activities resembled, if not corresponded to, those of the shamans or "Indian doctors". Like the shamans, they demonstrated their ability to
summon and "throw" supernatural power into the initiates of secret societies. The chiefs also wore this headdress when scattering eagle down over feast guests and other 'outsiders'. As a symbolic action linked with the notion "peace", that suggested a display of not simply wealth and authority, but also of ability to direct supernatural power, the chief's dance was an act of coercion as much as an invitation for orderly participation in a feast. The last context in which a chief might wear a frontlet headdress was for a funeral feast - one given for others or for himself. The regalia for a chief's final social act - lying-in-state - was a frontlet headdress and its associated costume. It was an appropriate presentation, a final testimonial to the wealth and prestige attained by the individual through the successful manipulation of social and supernatural power. A notion implicitly central to all three contexts was that when a chief wore a frontlet headdress, his role cut across clan lines. What was important was that he was chief - an ideal person in the culture - who had attained the perfect balance between social and supernatural orders.

Finally, the question as to why the headdress was appropriate to the contexts discussed in the preceding ethnographic chapters was approached through two optics.

The first approach was directed toward examining the whole headdress as a configuration of invariant parts having identifiable and related symbolic referents. This section returned to the pre-iconographic description given in Chapter One and to the question of the significance of the constellations of symbols nested in the configurations of a frontlet headdress. Rather than attempting to map an exhaustive blueprint
of all the constituents' multi-vocal characters, eagle down was selected as a dominant image for analytical purposes, while the links and boundaries shared with the other parts were aligned with it. By exploring the notion "peace" which informants repeatedly used to describe the symbolic action of the downing headdress, a fan of referents for eagle down was constructed. These multi-vocal dimensions were roughly placed within three etic categories:

1. a medicine, having both curative and preventive properties. Themes of reincarnation and regeneration dominate this category and may be seen as symbolically connected to not only man's relationship with life and death, but to the entire order of the universe.

2. an indicator of being in control of and protected by supernatural power. Symbolically, eagle down indicated man's relationship to the supernatural and man's relationship with other men.

3. an indicator of wealth. Eagle down, it was suggested, was an appropriate metaphor for foam, a symbol of wealth. In this context, eagle down was symbolically linked to ideas about man's relationship to material goods.

Two fundamental oppositions were suggested by these categories of symbolic referents: 1) the possession/lack of supernatural power, and 2) the possession/lack of material wealth. "Peace" was perceived to stand for harmony, integrity, oneness and identity - indissociable dimensions reflected in the symbolic use of eagle down. The frontlet headdress being worn by a chief was an image of all that was in equilibrium - with the universe (with the forces of life and death), with the supernatural and with other men, and with the material world.

The second approach was directed toward examining the meaning of wearing a frontlet headdress by drawing parallels between a set of
relationships contained in the image on a frontlet, the GonaquAdé’t myth, and the socio-ritual presentation of a frontlet headdress. There was shown to be an analogous relationship between the myth of the wealth-bringing sea monster (a corpus of similar myths was found among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian) and the ritual presentation of frontlet headdresses. The cogent themes or sets of relations were consistent in the images of the headdress, the myth, and the ritual:

1. There was a synthesis of social and supernatural power.

2. These powers were juxtaposed in a dual image.

3. They were symbolized by a human or social identity cojoined with a supernatural or spiritual identity.

4. Because these identities were co-extensive, neither one being ascendant, one legitimized the other.

5. As a logical and explicit opposition to masks and the anti-structural statements made in masking, frontlet headdresses and their visual presentation were visual statements about structure and the orderly process of society.

Taking a lead from Victor Turner’s approach to the interpretation of ritual symbols, it was suggested that the opposition of mask and frontlet headdress formed a dialectic, inciting simultaneous levels of thought and action. This dialectic marks the process or movement from the perception of the ideal structures of a universe in harmony to "communitas", or the 'hidden reality' of life's paradoxes, and, ultimately, a return to structure, 'revitalized by the experience of communitas'. The dancer in a frontlet headdress was an individualistic image of the ideal structuring of the universe. His successful quests in the world
of spirits was symbolized by the frontlet headdress he wore, and in this sense, he was the image of those fruitful actions.
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APPENDIX

-FRONTLETS AND FRONTLET HEADDRESSES-
A PARTIAL SURVEY OF
NORTH AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN MUSEUMS
This Appendix comprises a catalogue of frontlets and frontlet headdresses that were found in a partial survey of over forty museums and collections in North America and Europe. (An index of the museums and collections follows.) Data for the artifacts came from published and unpublished sources, as well as from museum catalogues. Each page in this section contains the data for one object and, where possible, a photograph of the artifact. Each data page is spatially organized as follows:

- **Type of artifact (i.e. frontlet, frontlet headdress).**
- **Collector, place, date of collection.**
- **Date received in collection.**
- **Provenience. Village.**
- **Name of Museum or Collection. Catalogue Number of the Artifact.**
- **Description.**
- **Dimensions.**
- **Photograph or Negative Number.**
- **Notes by author (initialed clm).**
- **Places object published.**
- **Places object exhibited.**
- **Photograph(s).**
Entries in the Appendix are from the following museums and collections:

BCPM (British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.).
British Museum, London.
Brooklyn Museum, New York.
Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.
Cranbrook Institute of Science.
De Menil Collection at Rice University.
DAM (Denver Art Museum, Denver Colorado).
FM (Field Museum, Chicago).
Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Alberta.
Ipswich Museums, Ipswich, U.K.
Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.
Leningrad MAESAS (Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad).
Madrid Archaeological Museum.
Moscow AMLSU (Anthropological Museum of Lomonosov State University, Moscow).
MAI (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York).
Museum of Primitive Art, New York.
MV (Museum fur Volkerkunde, Basel, Switzerland).
NMC (National Museum of Canada, Ottawa).
Oakland Public Museum, California.
Penn, U.M. Pennsylvania University Museum).
PAM (Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon).
Pr. R.M. (Museum of the North, Prince Rupert, B.C.).
PUM-NH (Princeton University Museum of Natural History).
Private Collections (Individual entries; alphabetically by collection).
Royal Ethnological Museum, Berlin.
ROM (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ont.).
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.
Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska.
Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California.

(continued...)

University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, U.K.
UBC (University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver).
VCM (Vancouver City Museum).
WSM (Thomas Burke Memorial, Washington State Museum, Seattle).
Welcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London.
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"Semedeek, or Quaq, Chief of the Eagles at Kitwanga."

(From Gardner and MacDonald, 1972:45.)
Tługu headdress

Emmons, Akwe River, before 1888.

Tlingit
Yakutat

"Maskette representing the Spirit Above, detached from a headdress of swansdown and eagle and magpie tail feathers."

"Paraphernalia belonging to SEtAn, a Tłuk’waxAdi shaman, collected before 1888 from an old grave-house on Akwe River by George T. Emmons who writes, 'Some of these objects have descended through five generations of Doctors while other pieces have been added from time to time by the successors so that they represent different ages and types. The last Doctor now dead was Sa-ton.'" (De Laguna)
Tługu headdress

Emmons, Akwe River, before 1888.

"Headdress of eagle and magpie tail feathers with a maskette representing an eagle."
"Paraphernalia belonging to SEtAn, a TłukWaxAdi shaman, collected before 1888 from an old grave-house on Akwe River by George T. Emmons who writes, 'Some of these objects have descended through five generations of Doctors while other pieces have been added from time to time by the successors so that they represent different ages and types. The last Doctor now dead was Sa-ton.'" (De Laguna)

Unfinished frontlet. Attributed to Charlie Edenshaw.

AMNH catalogue: "made by Tahigan, a Haida."

Duff (1967): "This was the Haida name for Charlie Edenshaw."

Note: This frontlet is very similar to two BCPM frontlets: BCPM #95-1 and BCPM #10647 (also unfinished).

Beaver, Eagle.
Tsimshian
Nisqa

Inverarity: "Headdress carved in maple wood with other ornamentation inlaid abalone shell. The wood is painted black and red. The headdress represents the white owl and the surrounding figures are called "claw men". The small figures around the main face area are similar to plate 86 [BCPM 11481].

"Nisqa headdress representing White Owl." (Halpin)
Frontlet headdress

Haida

Haida crest headdress with beaver and frog

BCPM Neg. no. 323331
Frontlet Headdress

Tsimshian

"Tsimshian headdress with Hawk."

BCPM Neg. no. 323331
Headdress frontal

Pub.: Feder, 1971:XIX, object #88, no illustration (no data).
Headdress ornament  Tlingit  AMNH  19-917
George T. Emmons  Hawk. Wood, paint, haliotis inlay.  Collected by Emmons from a grave house near Port Frederick.
near Pt. Frederick  h. 4 3/16 ins

Pub.: Wardwell, 1964:35:#60 (no illustration).
Headdress ornament  Tlingit

George T. Emmons  Bear. Collected by Emmons from a grave
near Pt. Frederick  house near Port Frederick.

h. 5 3/4 ins

Pub.: Wardwell, 1964:31:#48
(no illustration).
Frontlet

Coll: G.T. Emmons

h. 6 3/4 ins

Wardwell, 1964:29:#37
(no illustration)

Tlingit

[Emmons] stated that the design is that of a devilfish, and that the mask was worn by a shaman when he was in enmity with other shamans.
Frontlet headdress

James Deans.
1891

Haida, Queen Charlotte Islands

"Bear, Haida. Looks like C. Edenshaw."
(W. Duff)

Grizzly Bear and Moon Crests, train of weasel skins.

(Compare with Holm/Reid, 1976).

Pub.: 1907 Guide, Plate XI
Tsimshian
Gitksan
Kitsegass (Kusgegas, Babine R.)

Carved wood figure, front of chief's headdress.

("Seems to be a bird figure head on torso." - MM Halpin).

A. Green, Kisgegass, 1898
Frontlet

A. Green, Skeena R. 1900

Amhalait. Carved wooden hawk crest. Eyes and teeth abalone. 5 heads on top.

"...representing head of owl or hawk, probably photographed in 1909 by Dr. C.F. Newcombe." (D. Savard)

Pub.: 1909 Guide, Plate XVI
Frontlet headdress
C.F. Newcombe, 1911
Face 7 1/2 ins. x 5 1/2 ins.

Haida
Masset
BCPM
1421

"complex, looks Tlingit" (W. Duff)

Chief's headdress, alder face, fringe of sealion whiskers, flicker's wing feathers, ermine skin on back, inlaid with abalone and carved thunderbird and whale; painted black, red, green.
Frontlet

C.F. Newcombe, 1913, Aiyansh, Nass R.

Amhalait, face of alder, carved hawk, with 13 small carved heads on top side, eyes and mouth inlaid with abalone, painted red and black, eyes of small figures in green.

7 1/4 ins. x 3/4 ins., nose of "hawk" 3 ins. long.
Frontlet headdress

C.F. Newcombe, 1913, Kitladamix

Face 7 ins. x 6 1/2 ins.

Amhalite, alder face, carved face with 3 figures on each side, four on top. Painted red, black, green and inlaid with abalone. Draperies of six rows of weasel skins. Fringed with sealion whiskers, 12 ins. long, flicker feathers on each side of face, and cap of cedar bark matting.

Wood microscopically identified as maple.
Frontlet (Amhalait)

C.F. Newcombe, 1913, Metlakatla

Amhalite. Alder, carved head of a bird painted red, black, and green. Five small heads on top, eyes inlaid with abalone, upper part of beak broken.

5 7/8 ins. x 6 ins.

("Heads on top owls" - MMHalpin).
Frontlet headdress

Kwaguil
Uclataw

C.F. Newcombe, 1911

"round hawk face, looks Bella Bella" (W. Duff)

Chief's headdress. Carved alder, face, hook nose, inlaid with looking glass and abalone, fringe of sea lion whiskers and ermine skins on back.
Frontlet

Dr. W.F. Tolmie, collected ca. 1852

6 3/4 ins. x 6 1/4 ins.

Pub.: Inverarity, 1950: illus. 86.

Duff et. al., 1967: #117 (not illustrated).


Tsimsian

Chief's headdress. Wood, carved human face surrounded by 11 small faces painted red, black, green, with outer rim of abalone. Abalone eyes and teeth.

Inverarity: "A chief's wooden headdress representing a human face surrounded by 11 small faces. Painted red, black, and green. The outer ring, the eyes and teeth are abalone shell." He continues with an aesthetic appraisal of the object which contains no ethnographic data. (clm)
Frontlet headdress
W. Duff, 1952
Mrs. J. Morrison

Tsimsian
Kispiox

"Complete headdress but plaque separated, Haida, Beaver." (W. Duff)

"Amalite, Beaver design. Haida made."
Frontlet headdress (Amhalait)

C.F. Newcombe, Lakalzap

Tsimshian  

Headdress. Face of birch, carved and painted, red, black, blue, inlaid with abalone, 5 rows of weasel skins, sea lion whiskers, flicker feathers.

Badly damaged by moth.
Frontlet headdress (Amhalait)

Priestly collection, Nass River. 26 April, 1909.

Ts'imshian
Nass River

Headdress (amhalait) carved face - inlaid with abalone, fringed with sea lion whiskers and draped with weasel skins.

Badly damaged.

Nearly identical to NMC VII-B-1095 (Neg. No. 72-9901).
Frontlet

C.F. Newcombe, Aiyansh, 1913
"Nymph Trip"

Amhalite, carved and inlaid hawk or owl surrounded by 11 small ones.
Painted red and black.

Wood microscopically analysed as being Maple.

7 3/4 ins. x 6 1/4 ins.
Frontlet headdress

Jelliman Collection

7 ins. x 6 ins.: wood piece headpiece: 8 1/2 ins. dia.

Haida

"Haida, beaver." (W. Duff)

"Headdress - Amhalait - skin head piece with carved beaver front. Sides strong - with baleen splints to which sea lion whiskers 1 ft. long are lashed - traces of flicker feathers - but ermine draperies destroyed by moth - painted red and inlaid abalone. Wood piece 7 ins. x 6 ins."
Frontlet

Jelliman Collection

9 ins. x 6 ins.

Haida

"Unpainted, Haida beaver" (W. Duff)

Headdress, carving for unfinished beaver.

Wood microscopically analysed as being Maple.

BCPM

10647
Frontlet headdress  
Kwagiuł  
Alert Bay  

from Agnes Cramner,  
Alert Bay  

Duff: "Hawk, Alert Bay."

Headpiece, carving is hawk, abalone inlay, eyes; baleen "whiskers"; swan's down; ermine and rabbit?

Bill Holm says swan's down recently added; other repairs including newly added ermine recently made.

Given to A. Cramner by Peter Smith, Turnout Island 10 yrs. ago. Danced with this for her uncle Tom Johnson with dance apron.
Frontlet headdress

Kwagiulth

Duff: "Bird head, looks Bella Bella."

Headdress frontlet: whale on top central bird face with moon in bear. 2 feet with human-like head in between at bottom, blue, black, red, white; mirrors Abalone around outside edge nailed on; splinters of baleen on top; eagle down around muslin head-band: ermine with red and green pieces of yarn.

l. 19 cm  
h. 27 cm  
w. 17 cm
Frontlet headdress

Kwagiulth
Fort Rupert

BCPM 13150

Duff: "Bear, looks Haida."

Figure of Bear, painted green over red (vermilion). Abalone inlay: eyes, nose, teeth, ears, hands, legs, feet, around edge, glued. Red outlining mouth and nose. Baleen structure; sea-lion whiskers, white velvet around head band and as trailers with black velvet and red wool cloth on trailers.

h. 21 cm
l. 6.5 cm
w. 16 cm
Frontlet headdress

MacDonald Collection

Tsimsian

Duff: "maybe Mountain's."

Belonged to Chief xstiya'ox. (Duff)

Note: BCPM Photo (PN.1180) taken by Newcombe in 1913 at Kincolith shows Chief Mountain (xstiya'ox) wearing this frontlet headdress.

h. 18.7 cm
w. 21.5 cm
l. 19.5 cm
Frontlet headdress  
MacDonald

"Belonged to Frank Bolton of Kincolith. Apparently Dr. MacDonald's father had loaned money to Bolton and the amhalite, Chilcat blanket, Chilcat leggings and apron had been left with MacDonald's father as collateral. At a later date Bolton gave the pieces to MacDonald. This amhalait is featured in PN #9636 as is the apron, leggings. Unfortunately there is no documentation for this photo." (Alder)
Frontlet headdress

P. McNair from Henry A. Bell (form. Mamalilikulla) now of Tsulquate Reserve at Port Hardy.

Purchased 1975/03/20

1. 1650 mm (incl. whiskers/train)
2. 231 mm (across plaque)
3. 240 mm

Kwagiulth
Memkumlis (at Village Island)

Duff: "whale face with dorsal fin, Bella Bella?"

This frontlet and BCPM 14767 date back to c. 1900. They have been in constant use and were filmed by the BCPM on Aug. 16/66 where they were worn during opening of Alert Bay Community Big House.
Frontlet headdress

Duff: "Complete headdress, round hawk face looks Bella Bella."

See BCPM 14766 – same data.

1. 1675 mm (whiskers and train)
w. 203 mm across plaque
d. 215 mm
Frontlet headdress

Kwakiutl

**Purch:** Peter Smith, a Tlawitsis man from Kalokwis living at Alert Bay by P. McNair 1961

l. 1680 mm
w. 588 mm
h. 205 mm

**Duff:** "Modern, Bella Bella."

Came to Peter Smith from his brother-in-law Harry Glendale a Tenaktok man from tsadsisnukwomi. It came as part of P. Smith's wife's dowry (nee Alice Glendale). The carver is unknown. It was repainted and had its beak replaced at the same time by P. Smith or someone delegated by him. Although apparently given to him, he recognized that title to it rested with his wife and it was she who gave final consent to sell. Head band trailer, ermine etc., were added and restored c. 1968 by P. Smith and his wife.
Headdress  Tlingit

Mask to wear on the head, carved in light wood and painted blue red and black. The upper part is pierced with holes and depressions for inlaying? and has in the centre a human face with protruding lower lips. The lower part is in the form of a grotesque face with a wide mouth, large eyes, and nostrils of copper. This mask has probably been inlaid with shell. Around the edge are small holes, in some of which are tufts of hair.

h. 7 3/4 ins
Frontlet (mask?)

Gift of H.J. Gardiner, Esq., Tavistock Sq.

Collected Vancouver Island

Copper mask, engraved.

h. 7 3/10 ins
Frontlet

Haida(?)

Purch. Mr. A.C. Stewart, 3 Grenville Place, S.W. 7.

h. 7 1/4 ins

Wooden carved totemic mask representing a hawk inlaid with haliotis shell; painted red and black on carved plaque.
Frontlet headdress

h. 6 1/2 ins


Nootka(?)
Tlingit(?)

Catalogued as "Nootka Sound(?) N. America."

Mask formed of a circular framework of whale bone covered with pieces of vegetable cloth or fibre (resembling 'tapa') the front is a piece of wood carved to resemble two faces painted green and red and having mother of pearl eyes the lower face seems to be intended for a fox or wolf, it has pieces of white shell? for teeth. The upper face is intended for human or perhaps an ape.

The shell for the eyes is the valve of the halieotis, used also for nose and ear pendants and commonly a very high price among the natives (R. Brown, Esq.)

This is the framework for a headdress and the carved place in front is worn above the forehead. The framework is usually covered with swans down and ermine skins hanging down the back. Worn with the chilkat blanket on ceremonial occasions. (E. Gunther 8.29.60.)

"Prob. contemp. with material collected by Captain Cook in 1778."
Frontlet
Pres. by Brenchly, Esq.
24.3.1870.

h. 10 3/4 ins
w. 9 3/4 ins

Pub.: Burland, 1965:45
(Hamlyn Library Photograph).
Inverarity, 1950:
illus. 83 (copy. Photo: BM).

Bella Coola (?)

"Northwest Coast of America.
Grotesque mask cut out of solid pale wood in the form of a human face with a bird's mouth. Five smaller animal-faced heads of graduated sizes are fixed about the rim, having tongs sliding into the main mask. The ears of the side figures incline toward the central one. Two arms are fixed to the lower part of the mask and the whole is painted with green, black and red."
Frontlet headdress

Bear frontlet with headdress. Complete.

1900.
Frontlet

Tlingit

"Part of wood and abalone headdress."
(post card)
Headdress

Haida(?)

Killer whale fin headdress on human head.

No date.
Frontlet

Dr. Glaesher, no date

Crude hawk with small face outlined in rope.
Headdress part
Mrs. J. Beasley, no date

Haida(?)
Headdress part with human figure. Body incrusted with mica.
Headdress ornament  
Tlingit

Coll: George T. Emmons at Sitka

According to Emmons, a dying man is shown.

h. 4 ins

Frontlet  

Tlingit  
(Tsimshian)

h. 7 1/8 ins (18.1 cm)  
w. 3 7/8 ins (9.8 cm)  
d. 2 1/4 ins (5.7 cm)

Pub.: Holm, Reid; 1965: 171, fig. 68.
Frontlet  Tlingit  

h. 7 1/4 ins (18.4 cm)  
w. 5 3/8 ins (13.7 cm)  
d. 2 ins (5.1 cm)  

Pub.: Holm, Reid, 1975:  
172; fig. 69.
Frontlet

Haida

"Bear with small human faces in the ears. The human faces have three-fingered hands projecting over the bear's forehead." (Reid)

Pub.: Holm, Reid, 1975: 175; fig. 70.

h. 6 7/8 ins (17.5 cm)  
w. 5 1/2 ins (14.0 cm)  
d. 2 5/8 ins (6.7 cm)
Frontlet

Bella Coola
(Bella Bella?)

h. 9 ins (22.9 cm)
w. 6 1/8 ins (15.6 cm)
d. 5 1/4 ins (13.3 cm)

Pub.: Holm, Reid, 1975:
178; fig. 71.
Frontlet

Bella Coola
(Bella Bella?)

h. 9 ins (22.9 cm)
w. 7 ins (17.8 cm)
d. 5 ins (12.7 cm)

Pub.: Holm, Reid, 1975:
181; fig. 72.
Frontlet

Tlingit
(Haida, or Tsimshian?)

"... it's not an ordinary frontlet at all, but about twice as big as most." (Holm)

h. 11 ins (27.9 cm)
w. 8 3/4 ins (22.2 cm)
d. 4 1/4 ins (10.8 cm)

Pub.: Holm, Reid, 1975: 182; fig. 73.
Frontlet

h. 9 7/8 ins (25.1 cm)
w. 9 1/4 ins (23.5 cm)
d. 6 3/4 ins (17.1 cm)

Pub.: Holm, Reid, 1975: 185; fig. 74.

Haida (?)

"The whole headdress is in one piece. Rather than having a constructed frame, with a fence of sea-lion whiskers attached, the whiskers were inserted in holes drilled in wood. A baleen or wooden frame went around the head just enough to hold the frontlet. It probably had a trailer of ermine skins as well, since that was part and parcel of this sort of headdress, but attached directly to the frontlet itself rather than to the frame.

"So, although it looks in general lay-out and shape like a frontlet, it's bigger than any other and has a different kind of construction." (Holm)
Frontlet

Haida(?)

Fig. 74

in, Holm, Reid, 1975
Headdress frontal
Edward Malin from Sam Hunt, at Ft. Rupert in 1948.
7 ins x 5 1/4 ins

Haida
Feder: "Hunt got it from the Bella Coola, but the actual carving is attributed to Charles Edenshaw."

Carved and painted wood inlaid with abalone. Sea lion's whiskers project from top. Band of swan's down runs around the back at the top.

Pub.: Feder, 1971:xx, object #111 (no illustration).
Holm, Reid, 1975: 176; illustration #70B.
Frontlet

E.E. Ayer collection
accession #112.

Haida

Carved front to headdress. Hawk with figure on breast. Red, black and green. Inlaid with abalone, 6 large pieces of which are missing.

1. 7 7/8 ins
w. 6 3/8 ins
Frontlet headdress

Haida
Queen Charlotte Islands

Dancers headdress with ermine tails, red feathers with black tips. Ravens head with animal head below feet.
Frontlet headdress
(Amhalait)
Mrs. O. Morrison, 1892
acc. 1893

Tsimshian
Skeena River

Dancer's headdress rep. a hawk – heavily inlaid with abalone shell. Black tipped red feathers. 4 rows of ermine skins. (Porcupine acc. to F. Boas).

Photo Neg. no. 1300.
Frontlet headdress  
(Amhalait)  

Mrs. O. Morrison, 1892  
acc. 1893  

Sent in exchange to National Museum, Copenhagen, 2/1/34.  

Photo Neg. no. 1299.

Tsimshian  

Chief's headdress rep. a beaver. 4 rows of ermine skin. Red and black feathers.
Frontlet

Phillip Jacobson collection accession #64.

Bella Coola

Frontispiece of headdress used in Sisauk dance. Small head surmounting large one. Inlaid with abalone around edge and in mouth. Red, black and blue.

h. 9 1/4 ins
Frontlet headdress

Kwagiul't

Chief's headdress. Walrus bristles.
Inlaid with shell in large pieces and all missing but one. Bark head covering inside. 2 square openings in rim.
Frontlet headdress

Kwagiłł

Hageubeck collection
accession #81

Chief's headdress. Walrus bristles. Red cotton cloth, old sacking. Inlaid with shell, one piece missing.
Frontlet

G. A. Dorsey, 1897

Face of dancing mask, inlaid with abalone shell.

Note by Dorsey says that 53059 - 53088 "were purchased from a medicine man."
Frontlet headdress

Lieut. G.T. Emmons, "Spuhn collection."

accession #807.

Tlingit, Chilkat
Kashw, Koluschan Stock

Ceremonial dancer headdress in totemic carvings. A framed work in front of which is a mask or head piece representing a hawk with the mythical sea monster. Inlaid with haliotis shell.
Tlingit

Note in Swan, 1884:10:8:253
"Figure 5 is the "Man in the Moon." Koong, the moon, discovered Eethlinga, the man, about to dip his bucket in the brook for water, so it sent down its arms or rays and grabbed the man, who, to save himself, seized hold of a big salal bush (Gaultheria shallon), but the moon being more powerful took man and bucket and bush up to itself, where they have eversince lived and can be seen every full moon when the weather is clear. The man is a friend of T'kul, the spirit of the winds, and at the proper signal empties his bucket, causing rain upon the earth."

Fig. 5: As drawn by Swan's Assistant, Johnny Kit Elswa.
Frontlet

Lieut. G.T. Emmons
"Spuhn collection."

accession #807.

Tlingit, Admiralty Islands.
Koluschan Stock

Ornamental portion of a dancing headdress. Worn by the chief
Carved, painted and inlaid to represent a
Raven with totemic emblems of the family.
Was attached to a framework covered with
human hair.

"of the Dashitoa family of the
"Hootzatoe" (?) tribe. Angoon, Admiralty
Islands."
Frontlet

Lieut. G.T. Emmons collection

accession #824

Tlingit, Chilkat
Kluckwan, Koluschan Stock

Wooden ornamental mask of the ceremonial headdress. Carved, painted and inlaid with haliotis shell, represents the red wing flicker sitting on the top of a tree.
Frontlet

Tlingit
South Eastern Alaska

Lieut. G.T. Emmons collection

Headdress mask. Carved painted and inlaid with abalone shells.

accession #829
Frontlet


H10-c. 2
Frontlet headdress
Tlingit

Beaver

Wood, paint, abalone inlay, glass, feathers, sea lion whiskers, ermine trailers (L. 5 ft).

Pub.: Duff, et. al., 1967:
#412 (not illustrated).

Exhibit.: Arts of the Raven,
Vancouver, B.C., 1967.
Frontlet headdress

Collected at Alert Bay.

Headdress:
  l. 157 cm (all over)
  w. 32 cm
Frontlet only:
  l. 19 cm
  w. 14.5 cm

Pub.: Duff, et. al., 1967:
#419 (not illustrated).

Exhibit.: Arts of the Raven,
Vancouver, B.C., 1967.

Haida
(Kwagiulth)

"The fur trailer is of ermine and our
catalogue data indicates that this headdress
was worn by Chief William Scow, hereditary
chief of the Ki-Kwa-Tineuk tribe of the
Kwakiutl Nations." (D.W. Light)

Hawk. Wood, paint, abalone inlay,
ermine trailers, sea lion whiskers.
Frontlet headdress

Glenbow - Alberta Institute (?)
Frontlet

Glenbow -
Alberta Institute (?)
Frontlet

Donated in 1948 by Mr. F.W.P. Marriott of Cringleford, Norfolk.

Raven head; sun in mouth; human/hawk face.

This headdress was part of the Marriott collection which had in it "a small number of Northwest Coast items. They include, two Numal masks, two food bowls, a Kwakiutl pipe with European motifs [Haida?] and a model canoe." (D.L. Jones)
Described as "Siwash Dancing Hat, mask and feathers." It consists of a small wooden mask representing a hawk (?), attached to a buckskin backing, decorated with feathers. (H.C. Adamson, 18/3/76).
Frontlet (?)  
Purchased from Mrs. E. Wilkie, 30 Greenhill Gardens.

Two dancing ornaments, one a wood bird head 7 ins. long. Wooden bird head, 7 ins. long. 
"We have been able to find only the one object." (H.C. Adamson, 18/3/76).
Frontal masks/ 
ceremonial headdress

Lisiansky Collection, 
1806.

Tlingit

Miniature human masks of wood, from 
ceremonial headdresses.

a. h. 9.5 cm 
   w. 4 cm
b. h. 5 cm 
   w. 3.5 cm

Pub.: Siebert and Forman, 
1967: Text illus. #6.
Frontal mask/headdress

Voznesensky Collection, 1839-1845

h. 17 cm
profile. 19 cm across


Tlingit

Frontal mask. The head of a hawk, with that of an eagle above it, it is carved from one piece of wood. The eyebrows are of copper strips; the hawk's head has skin ears.
Frontlet headdress

P. Doroshin Collection, 1850.

h. 20 cm
w. 16.5 cm

Pub.: Siebert and Forman, 1967: Plates 29-31; Text illus. #7, 8.

Tlingit

Ceremonial headdress. The front part is a wooden mask carved in the shape of a raven and decorated with inlaid haliotis shell.
Frontlet headdress

Tlingit

Ceremonial headdress. The front part is made of carved wood decorated with shell. It portrays a single sitting beaver. From an early collection.

h. 21 cm
w. 15 cm

Frontlet headdress

Tlingit

Ceremonial headdress. The front part shows two bird masks carved in wood. The eyes, teeth and sides are inlaid with haliotis shell.
From an early collection.

h. 22 cm
w. 19 cm

Frontlet

Tlingit

The front part of a ceremonial headdress. Wood carving, showing a stylized raven. Of unknown origin. Damaged.

h. 22 cm  
w. 15.5 cm

Frontlet

Collected by Malaspina, 1791

1. 20 cm
w. 21 cm

Pub.: Ruestow, 1939:174-176;
illustration #2.

See also: Gunther, 1972:161, 162.

Tlingit
Yakutat

"... shows a face with human form until the nose and upper lip on a light wooden ground. These (i.e. the nose and lip) are drawn together into a beak which is bent back into the mouth .... The body, which bears a blue-green painted feather garment in flat relief, has a broad mouth, spread lips with two rows of teeth made of mussel material ... The ears and paws are covered with copper; the pupils of the eyes are formed from the heads of iron nails. The top border of the forehead plate shows a row of small holes, which along with the eyebrows show traces of gum (resin) cement." (Ruestow)
Headdress

Capt. Maksutov's Collection, 1862-1867

l. 24 cm
h. 18 cm
w. 16 cm

Tlingit

Carved wooden mask (ceremonial headdress) in the form of a bear's head with a protruding tongue and two front paws. Painted in red, blue, black and white. From the back of the head hang many long braids of human hair; it is decorated with strips of red cloth, fur ears, feathers and eagle down. (Almost all the teeth have been lost and the fur has worn off.)

Frontlet

G.T. Emmons, 1932
from catalogue

Tsimshian

Ceremonial headdress mask of wood, "Am ha laid" (to dance with). It is of maple, shaped and carved to represent the sun. The central face, though human in features, indicated by the ears over the forehead is animal or supernatural. The rays of the sun are shown by the radiating arms painted in conventional sea monster faces on the ends. The mask is painted in red, black and the native blue green (azurite). It was a chief's ceremonial headdress mask, worn on dance occasions by a Tsimshian chief of the Nishka people. The teeth are of operculae.

This is a very beautiful piece of work ... and goes back to the early part of the 19th century.
Wood mask of the ceremonial head-dress "Am ha laid" (to dance with). It is carved to represent a raven. Surrounding the central bird figure, on the sides and top, small figures. This is a typical Nishka mask of the Nass River. It is painted in black, blue, and red ... From the interior village of Kitwankool of the Kitikshan division of the Tsim.
Frontlet

Collected by G.T. Emmons, ca. 1875.

Tsimshian
Niska, Nass River

"Carved cedar and inlaid with abalone. The face may represent the owner himself."
(Dockstader)

Pub.: Dockstader, 1973:49; Plate 151.
Frontlet

Collected by G.T. Emmons at Kit-lagh-damoks ca. 1875.

h. 7 1/2 ins

Pub.: Dockstader, 1973:49, Plate 152;
Douglas and D'armoncourt, 1941:28-29;

Tsimshian
Niska, Nass River

"The design represents a beaver. Headdress of this style were worn on important occasions to indicate the family or status of the wearer." (F.J. Dockstader)
Frontlet headdress (Amhalait)
G. T. Emmons
ca. 1907

Tsimshian
Kitladamiks
Ceremonial "chiefs" headdress. Nishka
Kit-lagh-damoks.
Haida
Skidegate, Q.C.I.

"Carved Frontlet. Carefully carved and painted in the form of a human, with inlaid abalone shell teeth, this plaque was worn on the forehead by wealthy individuals. Three hawk spirits are above the single figure, apparently representing his guardian spirits."
(Dockstader)
Frontlet

Tlingit
Alaska

Ornament from head decoration, wood, painted red and black, decorated with haliotis. The center is deeply carved; mythical bird and between his protruding wings a smaller bird head.

h. 17.5 cm
w. 14.5 cm

Pub.: Dockstader, 1969:
Object #340; Figure 25.
Frontlet Tsimshian
Kitlaxdamks

Frontlet

Tsimshian

Kitlaxdamks


Headdress of maple, beautifully carved to represent the head of an eagle, the feathers are graduated in size from the top of the head down. It is ornamental inlaid with the highly valued green-blue haliotis shell and decorated with red paint over the eyes, the edge of the bill and tongue. It was procured from a chief of the Laghskeek (in the Eagle) clan, of the Kishka people at the village of Kit-lagh-damoks on the Nass River in 1907. It was a family piece worn by the chief upon the most important ceremonial occasions when he represented the clan before the other clans, and was the most valued of all the family emblematic pieces.
Frontlet

Tlingit
Sitka, Alaska

Head from a mask decoration, wood, painted and decorated with hair, haliotis eyes, sea shell teeth and the open mouth. Wolf head.

h. 9.5 cm
l. 18 cm

Frontlet

Tlingit
(Niska?)

Mask (face), part of a head decoration, wood, painted. Teeth and eyes inlaid with haliotis, on the sides painted pieces of leather, copper pieces on eyebrows and upper lip. Depicts a hawk head at the top surrounded by four human faces.

Niska style but collected among the Tlingit at Admiralty Island, Alaska.

h. 17.5 cm
w. (at base) 19 cm

Pub.: Dockstader, 1969:
Object #268.
Frontlet

Tsimshian
Niska

Amhalait representing Eagle with human faces around it. "It is said to have been carved with beaver teeth in the latter half of the 18th Century before the acquisition of iron from Europeans."

Niska:
Frontlet headdress

G. T. Emmons, 1920

Exchanged to Julius Carlebach, July, 1944.

Tsimshian
Kitladamiks

Headdress mask of maple which was worn on the ceremonial headdress of swan's down surmounted by the crown of sea lion whiskers and the rows of ermine skin hanging down the back. This is a wonderful piece of carving representing an eagle's head, surmounted by five eagle figures, ornamentally painted and inlaid with haliotis shell. It is five generations old (in 1900). It was made by the Nishka, it was either captured or sold to a Haida chief and later came back to the Nishka of Kit-lagh-damoks on the Upper Nass. It belonged to the family of the Laghskeek (or eagle) and was worn by the chief on dance and ceremonial occasions.
Frontlet

Tlingit
Chilcat, Alaska

Flat mask, part of a head decoration.
Carved, painted, decorated with haliotis.
Hawk head with sea shell teeth.

h. 17 cm
w. 17.5 cm

Pub.: Dockstader, 1969:
Object #341; Figure 24.
Frontlet headdress

G. T. Emmons

Kwagiuł
Kitamaat, B.C.

"Chief's headdress representing a wolf, attached to a cedar bark headdress." (Feder)

h. 8 ins
w. 7 ins

Pub.: Feder, 1971:xvii,
Object #45, ill. 24, p. 40.
Frontlet headdress

Kwagiuł
Alert Bay

Head decoration, wide skin band; wooden mask (face) attached to the front, shaped as two bird heads over each other, the large has only head and front feet. Wood, painted green, red and black, inlaid with haliotis. At the back a long piece of cotton decorated with ermine skins.

h. of mask: 26.5 cm
w. 18 cm
l. of cloth: 120 cm

Pub.: Dockstader, 1969:
Object #242.
Frontlet headdress

Kwaguł
Alert Bay

Head decoration, wide skin band; wooden mask (face) attached to the front, shaped as a bird head, painted, inlaid with haliotis. At the back a large piece of cotton to which several big ermine skins are sewn.

Pub.: Dockstader, 1969; Object #241.
Frontlet headdress

Haida
Queen Charlotte Is.

Headdress, beaver, the animal body is wood painted in turquoise, black, red and white. Eyes, ears and teeth inlaid with haliotis. A small cotton cloth decorated with ermine hangs down the back. On the head attached to a cylindrical basket, divided in four, painted turquoise and decorated with an ermine skin at the top.

h. ca. 23 cm
l. 25 cm

Pub.: Dockstader, 1969;
Object #189.
"Forehead Ornament. Thin, carefully-carved wooden plaques, commonly called "frontlets," were an important part of the costume of many wealthy individuals. This example, portraying a hawk holding a fish in its talons, is painted and inlaid with abalone shell; sea lion whiskers project from the top." (Dockstader)
Frontlet (Amhalait)  
ca. 1928  

Tlingit  

Unfinished frontlet.
Frontlet

Tsimshian

Museum of Primitive Art
56.333

"A bear, a fish, and possibly a tufted-ear owl are portrayed. Carved and painted wood inlaid with abalone shell."

h. 7 3/8 ins


Duff, et. al., 1967: #104 (not illustrated).

Headdress ornament

Unknown

Origin unknown. A hawk is shown holding a bear.

h. 7 1/4 ins

Frontal headdress

Gift: Alfo. Iselin

Collected in 1888

Tlingit

Frontal mask.

Frontlet headdress


h. 12 3/4 ins (32 cm)
w. 8 1/8 ins (21 cm)
d. 8 1/8 ins (21 cm)

Neg. No. J-5045

Exhibit.: N.M.C. Bossom Exhibit, Ottawa, 1958.

Tlingit
Yakutat

"Ceremonial headdress worn at potlatch dances by the chief of the raven clan of the Yakutat tribe of the Tlingit. The rectangular wood carved front represents a raven's head with a smaller animal's head below. On each side of the animal head is a small animal figure with a protruding tongue. The woodcarving is painted blue-green, red, and black. The sides and top are inlaid with pieces of haliotis shell. The feathers decorating the headdress are those of the Pacific Coast red-wing flicker. The crown or hat is made of red flannel (?) and cotton yardage. Ermine skins decorate the side front and back in form long rows sewn to a length of cloth. Silver carved earrings, representing sharks teeth and a silver nose ring was worn with the headdress. There are 20 ermine skins. On each side are attached bright green and brown bird or duck feathers." (Bossom Catalogue)

"Smaller animal resembles a frog. Whalebone hoop frame for feathers and hat. Cotton strips tie under chin of wearer." (P. Robertson)
Frontlet headdress

Lord Bossom, Alaska, ca. 1900
Date Rec'd.: 1954.

H. 16 3/4 ins (42 cm)
W. 9 1/2 ins (24 cm)
D. 8 1/4 ins (21 cm)

Neg. No. J-5037

Exhibit: N.M.C. Bossom
Exhibit, Ottawa, 1958.
Roberson Centre, 1976.

Tlingit

"Headdress for important occasions. A bear with an animal in between the forelegs and paws—a carved wood piece inlaid with Haliotis around the rim—hung ermine skins down the back and trimmed with swan's down. Sea-lion bristles on the top." (Bossom Catalogue)

"Forepiece carving represents large and small beaver, not bear (prominent incisors, cross-hatched tail in front of belly). Painted red and blue, haliotis in eyes, ears, teeth, paws. Whalebone hoop framework supports sealion whiskers and burlap skull-cap. Flanking forepiece on each side are two rows of four small flat sticks painted red and black. Frame trimmed with swan-down. 12 ermines." (P. Robertson)

"Beaver with cub." (W. Duff)
Frontlet headdress

Lord Bossom, Wrangell, S.E. Alaska, ca. 1900.
Date Rec'd.: 1954

h. 16 1/2 ins (42 cm)
w. 11 ins (28 cm)
d. 4 1/4 ins (11 cm)

Neg. No. J-5045

Exhibit." N.M.C. Bossom Exhibit, Ottawa, 1958.

Tlingit
Stikine

"Chief's ceremonial headdress. The carved wooden piece in front represents a beaver, the family crest, with a stick in his paws and wrath. The stick, teeth, nose, ears and forepaws are inlaid with Haliotis shell. The sides and top of the wood piece are inlaid with haliotis shell. There is also a large piece of haliotis between the beaver's forelegs. The headpiece is surmounted with sea-lion bristles and red-wing flicker feathers of the west coast. Swan's down decorates the head dress on all sides except the front. It is sewn to a piece of navy-blue wool. There is a long piece of cloth hanging in the back with three long and narrow carved bone pieces attached horizontally. The wood piece is painted red, black, and blue." (Bossom Catalogue)

"Simple beaver." (W. Duff)
Frontlet headdress

Coll.: Lord Bossom, Wrangell, Alaska, ca. 1900.
Date Rec'd.: 1954

h. 19 ins (48 cm)
w. 11 ins (28 cm)
d. 7 ins (18 cm)

No photo. available.

Tlingit
Stikine

"Simple beaver." (W. Duff)

"Ceremonial headdress with carved inlaid haliotis front piece representing a beaver with a stick and forepaws. Crown of sea-lion bristles above the wood piece; flicker feathers (red-wing flicker of the Pacific Coast). Two ermine skins on either side of the wood; four hang from the back - eight from the end of the necklace. Some of the shell inlays were formerly used as pendants." (Lord Bossom)

"Beaver painted blue and red. Headpiece frame formed by two hoops of springy wood. All sewing done with commercial thread." (P. Robertson)
Frontlet headdress

Lord Bossom, Tougass Narrows, Alaska, ca. 1900.

Date Rec'd.: 1954.

h. 17 ins (43 cm)
w. 7 3/4 ins (19.5 cm)
d. 10 1/4 ins (26 cm)


Tlingit

"Hawk, etc." (W. Duff)

"Head dress with carved wood front piece - representing a "Thunderbird" with a similar one between its wings. Headband of cloth with checker-woven mat for top. Red-wing flicker feathers on sides, sea-lion bristles on top. Neck cloth has two wood stiffeners running across the cloth. There are 41 ermine skins on this; once there were 43 in 4 rows (from top down) of 10, 13, 10, 10. Crown filled with eagle down for dances, shaken out during the dance." (P. Robertson)

"Face painted green, red, and blue, surrounded by border inlaid with haliotis. Basketry skull cap and bristles suspended from whale-bone hoop frame." (P. Robertson)
Frontlet headdress

Lord A. Bossom, 
ca. 1900. 
Date Rec'd.: 1955.

h. 18 1/2 ins (47 cm) 
w. 8 1/2 ins (21 cm) 
(front to back) 
l. 15 3/4 ins (40 cm) 

Neg. No. J5055(?), 
71-3930, 
71-4223,*72-9401.

Tlingit(?)
Haida(?)

"Headdress with carved front piece representing a beaver with paws raised. Tail, teeth, foreleg, ear, inlaid with Haliotis. Rest of head piece is cloth with swan's down, red-wing flicker feathers and sea-lion bristles on top. No provenance given, but most likely Tlingit. No ermine skins."

(Bossom Catalogue)

"Beaver. (Charlie Edenshaw?)." (W. Duff)
Frontlet headdress

Lord Bossom, ca. 1900
Date Rec'd.: 1955.

h. 15 3/4 ins (40 cm)
w. 10 ins (25 cm)
d. 7 ins (18 cm)

Neg. No. J8816.

Tlingit

"Headdress with carved wood forepiece in totemic form. Represents a bear's head at the base, then a human head facing up toward a land otter. These two are connected with the tongue of the human. Red wool cloth backing, black felt lining. Topped by feathers of red-wing flicker; an ermine skin on either side of the fore-piece. Back is covered with down (swan? eagle?). Three ermine skins on neck piece." (Bossom Catalogue)

"Fore-piece painted red. Faces and background inlaid with haliotis shell; figures painted green, red, black. All stitching is sinew. Neck piece is plain white cotton cloth."
(P. Robertson)

"Otter with tongue (important piece)." (W. Duff)
Frontlet

Lord Bossom, ca. 1900
Date Rec'd.: 1960.

h. 7 1/2 ins (19 cm)
w. 4 1/2 ins (12 cm)

No photo. available.

N.M.C., 1965.

Tlingit

"FRONTLET PLAQUE: beaver with frog
Head of a beaver, body with elbows resting on knees. Frog's head fills body area.
Abalone inlay on eyes, nostrils, teeth, forehead and top of head of beaver. Also arms and legs. Frog's ears and eyes inlaid.
Body painted red.
Dr. Gunther notes 'would be attached to a frame with swan's downe and ermine skins. The design is of a beaver with a frog between his paws.'" (J. MacDonald)

"Bear with Cub." (W. Duff)
Frontlet

Dr. W.F. Tolmie, n.p., 1884.
Date Rec'd.: 1884.

Purchased from Alexander Mackenzie.

h. 7 5/8 ins (19.5 cm)
w. 6 1/2 ins (16.5 cm)
d. 2 3/4 ins (7 cm)

Neg. No. 71/161

Pub.: Mackenzie, Alexander, "Descriptive Notes on Certain Implements, Weapons, etc., from Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C."
Royal Society of Canada 1891. Proceedings and Transactions, Vol. IX, Section II.

Exhibit.: Carleton University, 1970.

"Dance head-dress carving (Haida Tsil-kwull). This represents a spirit face seen by the doctors in their trance or revery. The inlaid border of mother-of-pearl is made from the Abalone shell, brought in early days by trading vessels from California and the Sandwich Islands. Probably in still earlier times from the smaller native Haliotis."
(Mackenzie)  Note: Alexander Mackenzie was a representative of the Hudson's Bay Co. at Masset, Queen Charlotte Islands.

"Frontlet carved from single piece of wood; rectangular shape with female face carved in high relief and hollowed out from back. Face is surrounded by small rectangles of abalone shell, inlaid into wood in horseshoe-shaped pattern. Face has short black hair curling around face, eyebrows also black, mouth red. Eyes are outlined in black, pupils are black and area around pupils is white. Rest of face is natural wood."  (J. Thompson)

Note: "Portrait" frontlet. Like one illustrated in Emmons, 1914:65, illus. #6. See also: Smithsonian Institution #221176 and Oakland Public Museum #97. (clm)
Frontlet

I.W. Powell, Queen Charlotte Islands, 1879.
Date Rec'd.: 1879.

1. 8 1/2 ins w. 6 ins d. 2 ins

Neg. No. J19269

Pub.: Feder, 1971:xxi, plate III, cover, object #114.
Duff, et. al., 1967: #116 (not illustrated).

Exhibit.: National Art Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1927(?).
Two Hundred Years of North American Indian Art, New York, N.Y., 1971-72.

Haida
(Tsimshian?)

"FRONTLET: 2 full figures in corners Rectangular plaque, large human face in center, 1" wide border of abalone shell (most missing) around face. On top curve, 3 ear-like projections at each corner in each a figure with bent knees, and elbows, body painted red, narrow border of abalone shells, small face in between the 2 ears, also bordered with narrow row of abalone shells." (J. MacDonald)

"Faces and bodies bordered with abalone shells. Painted red. Although collected from the Haida, this is in Tsimshian style." (Feder)

Wood, paint, abalone inlay.
Frontlet

Aaronson, Skidegate, n.d., Queen Charlotte Islands. Date Rec'd.: 1899.

h. 7 3/4 ins
w. 6 3/4 ins
d. 2 ins

Neg. No. J2790, 83924

Pub.: Duff et. al., 1967: #107 (not illustrated)


Haida
(Tsimshian?)

"Frontlet: Hooked beak face, abalone border. Light yellow coloured wood, circular shape, large face in center with short beak bent into mouth. Teeth and eyes inlaid with abalone. Border of small rectangles of abalone set between green painted wood dividers. Outer rim and edge of mask painted red, lips and nostrils also." (J. MacDonald)

"Dance headdress representing the thunder bird. Hydah." (Aaronson)

"Hawk-like human. Wood, paint, abalone inlay." (Duff)
Frontlet

Aaronson, n.p., n.d.
Date Rec'd.: 1899.

h. 7 ins  
w. 6 1/4 ins  
d. 2 1/4 ins

Neg. No. J2785, J6760

Pub.: Gunther, 1962:79;  
#118, p. 17 (colour plate)

Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, 1951-1952.  
Mr. Molok, Ottawa, 1961.  
World's Fair, Seattle, 1962.  
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.  
Northwest Coast Hall, NMC, Ottawa, 1975.

Haida  
Skidegate, Q.C.I.

"Dance Headdress for Medicine Man and Chief belongs to the Sun crest. Inlaid to represent the sun. Hydah." (Aaronson's Catalogue)

According to letter from C.F. Newcombe to Sapir dated May 18, 1911, Aaronson's catalogue was made "by the late James Deans...mostly from guess-work."

"HEADDRESS FRONTLET: shell inlay. Circular plaque with collar of abalone inlay around edge, wider at bottom than top. Owl face in centre, beak with nostrils underneath and jaws protrude 2". Abalone inlay for eyes and teeth. Lips, nostrils and rim of circle painted red, eyebrows black." (J. MacDonald)
Frontlet
Aaronson, Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands.
Date Rec'd.: 1899.

h. 7 ins  
w. 6 ins  
d. 3 ins  

Neg. No. J18807-1, 
   J18715-19

"Headdress Plaque: Owl, abalone inlay. 
Typical rectangular shape with curved top edge 
and raised figure in middle. Owl face and 
body carved in high relief, back hollowed 
out slightly. Owl's face painted dark green, 
brows black, eye interiors red - also mouth 
and limbs. Green abalone inlay for eyes, 
nostrils, teeth, palms, and pads of feet. 
Rectangular pieces inlaid in the 1" wide green 
painted border. Design of face in owl's body."
(J. MacDonald)

Exhibit.: National Art 
Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 
1927(?)
Ex. Comm., Confederation Train, 
Frontlet

Haida (?)

NMC

VII-B-690
Frontlet headdress

Alex MacKenzie, Masset, Queen Charlotte Islands. Date Rec'd.: 1884.

h. 15 1/2 ins (39.2 cm)  w. 9 ins (23 cm)  d. 6 ins (15.4 cm)

Neg. No. 72-10140

Haida

"Beaver carved in forepiece, tail in front of chest, but lacking prominent incisors or stick. Painted red and black, inlaid with haliotis, bordered by row of haliotis. Whalebone hoop frame, sea-lion whiskers all around, swan-skin and red-wing flicker feathers on either side of forepiece. Woven cedar-bark skull-cap partially lined with black cloth. Whalebone stiffeners in cotton neck piece. 41 ermines in rows of 11, 7, 9, 9, 5. Cotton ribs tie headdress onto head of wearer." (P. Robertson)
Frontlet headdress

I.W. Powell, 1879.

Haida
Queen Charlotte Islands

(No catalogue data. clm)

Neg. No. 72-9901
Frontlet headdress

A. Aaronson, Queen Charlotte Islands, 1899
Date Rec'd.: July 7, 1899.

h. 7 ins
w. 5 1/2 ins
d. 2 1/2 ins

Neg. No. 77040, 77041
"Photo in B.C.P.M. (P.N.48), dated 1899, shows this headdress with other Aaronson material. Photo in Aaronson collector's file."

Pub.: Barbeau, 1953:36,80; illus. 18.

Haida

"Dance headdress used by the Chiefs only in their Great Dances and Potlatches. The headpiece represents the Thunderbird, the Frog and the Whale which the Thunderbird kills. It also shows what is known as the Hydah lip. The Indian women having a piece of bone or wood let into their lower lip as shown in the lip of the Thunderbird, showing that the Chief's wife was connected with the great Thunderbird. Inlaid with abalone shell, sea lion whiskers and ermine skins. (Aaronson) The catalogue belonging to Aaronson's collection was made by James Deans of (Victoria); mostly from guess-work. (letter C.F.Newcombe to Sapir, May 18, 1911')." (B. Allison)

"Crown is of woven cedar bark checker weave; inside and top lined with brown print cotton. Around top and bottom edges of crown is band of wood. To these are lashed uniform lengths of pieces of baleen, vertically, with cedar thread. To top ends of baleen are bound sea lion whiskers. At centre front plaque of thunderbird, frog and whale secured with sinew up either side. Planking sides of plaque are bunches of feathers inserted into a piece of red flannel. Train of beige canvas-like fabric hangs down back; folded up to form "bag" with top turned down and pinned with straight pin. "Bag" covered with ermine skins mostly dehaired; skins stitched along length of baleen which is threaded through fabric across bottom and tops." (B. Allison)

"Plaque for a chief's head-dress or crown, with the human-like face of the Thunderbird bearing the gill marks of the Shark on the forehead and on the cheeks. The labret inserted as a mark of high rank in the lower lip is a cultural feature of womanhood. The Frog is head down on the body of Shark-Woman. The inlays are of abalone shell. Although this plaque, which formed part of the Aaronson Collection (Aaronson was a curio dealer of Vancouver, about 1905) is said to be Haida, it may possibly be from the hands of a Nass River craftsman, as fine head-dresses and rattles were their specialty." (Barbeau)
Frontlet headdress

Haida
Frontlet (portion)

C.M. Barbeau, Masset, 1927.

Haida
Masset

Carving, part of a headdress. Belonged to old Edenshaw, of Masset, Haida. From Pat Phillipson who had it 6 or 8 years.

"Edenshaw carving." (M.M. Halpin)
Frontlet
I.W. Powell, Metlakatla, 1879.
Date Rec'd.: 1879.

h. 7 1/2 ins
w. 6 1/2 ins
d. 1 1/2 ins

Neg. No. 77039, 20074.

Pub.: Duff et. al., 1967: #114 (not illustrated).
Exhibit:
N.G.C., Ottawa, 1927(?)
C.N.R., , 1930.
Hand. Assoc. Can., Toronto, 1932
C.H.A., Toronto, 1933
C.N.E., Toronto, 1933
Fla. St. U., Tallahassee, 1951-52
Brazil, 1954

"FRONTLET: Figure of a man, abalone border. Rectangular frontlet, top edge carved. Border of rectangular pieces of abalone shell, some with drilled holes. Man's face with 3 vertical lines of abalone inlaid as well as eyes and teeth. Small body area, elbows rest on knees, limbs also inlaid with abalone."

(J. MacDonald)

Gunther notes the similarity between this one and NMC-C-1811. (clm)
Frontlet

Date Rec'd.: 1879.

h. 7 ins
w. 6 1/2 ins
d. 4 ins

Neg. No. 20074, 72-16846.

"FOREHEAD PLAQUE: bird face and border
Center of plaque a large face of a bird
with straight beak (Raven?), small red
piece holds bill open. Border around face
of small bird heads, narrow red border beyond
this. Traces of rickets blue around edge of
face and in crevasses of border. Lower face
of bird pale green, also bird faces of border."
(J. MacDonald)

NMC
VII-C-88
(333)

Exhibit.: National Art Gallery of Canada,
Ottawa, 1927(?)
Imp. Institute, London, 1929
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.
Frontlet

I.W. Powell, 1879.

Tsimshian
Fort Simpson

no data
Frontlet

Date Rec'd.: 1879

h. 7 1/2 ins
w. 6 ins

Neg. No. 20074, 71-6154

Tsimshian
Ft. Simpson

"Head Plaque: Bear Crest: old catalogue notes "Black Squall". Bear sitting with elbows on its knees. Face, body and border inlaid with 'haliotis' shell. None missing. Body painted red, border green."

(J. MacDonald)

See also: NMC VII-C-311 which W. Duff identifies as "Black Squall." (clm)

Exhibit:
National Gallery, Ottawa,
1927(?)
CNR, , 1930
1950-51
CIL-Pfeiffer, Montreal, 1961
Musées Classés, Bordeaux, 1962
Univ. of Wat., Waterloo, 1963
Commonwealth Loan, London,
Eng., 1965
Abenaki Res., Odonak, Que.,
1966.
Frontlet

I.W. Powell, Metlakatla, 1879.
Date Rec'd.: 1879.

h. 8 ins
w. 7 ins

Neg. No. 20074, J2791, 72-4318, 73-2454

Exhibit.:
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.

Tsimshian
Metlakatla

"Forehead Plaque: 'Mr. Moon' inlaid
Large natural wood face in center of plaque
with curved hawk-like nose. Abalone shell
set in for nostrils, teeth and eyes. Lips
and border around face painted red, rest of
circular-like border painted blue. The Moon
written on back in pencil. Also the word
'Leegaic'." (J. MacDonald)

(Not a mask, a frontlet?) Round face with
red and blue rim. 6 pairs of small holes
inside rim. Abalone nostrils, eyes, teeth.
In pencil inside: "The Moon," and "Leegaic."
(Halpin)
Frontlet

C.F. Newcombe, Kitkatla, 1895-01.
Date Rec'd.: 1909

h. 8 ins
w. 6 1/2 ins
d. 3 ins

Photo Neg. No. J2789.

Tsimshian
GitxaXa

"FOREHEAD PLAQUE: 'Hawk' figure: inlaid.
Face with hawk-like beak in center small face in body area, elbows rest on knees. Inside border painted red with somewhat rounded pieces of abalone set in. Outer border dark blue. Fine adze marks on both parts of border. Faces also painted dark blue, arms and legs red with shell inlay. Three fingers and a thumb painted on each hand in black." (J. MacDonald)

Exhibit:
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1927(?)
Acadia University, Wolfville, 1939
C.H.G., Montreal, 1939
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.
Frontlet

I.W. Powell, Kincolith, 1879.
Date Rec'd.: 1879.

h. 6 1/2 ins
w. 6 1/2 ins
d. 3 ins

Neg. No. 20074, 72-17138.

Exhibit:
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.

"FOREHEAD PLAQUE: Bird, Shell inlay border
Rectangular plaque with 1" border of inlaid
abalone rectangles all around. Large
pointed beak with downward hook attached
separately above open mouth with inlay teeth.
Eyes inlaid, also eyes on small bird profiles
carved on cheeks. Face natural. Beak
dark blue, brows black, lips, nostrils, red.
Written in pencil on back "This mask was
presented by Nil-Kahv, 18 July 1879."
(J. MacDonald)
Frontlet headdress
(Amhalait)

W.A. Newcombe, 1905.

h. 8 ins
w. 6 ins
(limbs project 1 in)


Pub.: Indians of Canada, Jenness, p. 77.

Exhibit, Stratford, 1960.
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.
Northwest Coast Hall, NMC, Ottawa, 1975.

Tsimshian
Angidah

"Ermine headdress with front plaque:
Central figure, abalone inlay on eyes, teeth, forearm, and shins, body painted red with animal design, painted black, and red with inlay. 19 pieces of abalone, laid in border. Attached to a skin headcap, which is covered with printed cotton on top, and red cloth on sides. 11 metal struts hold sea lion whiskers high in front, total 33 all around. 6 rows of ermine pelts, 8 to a row strung by nose on metal rod, attached to cotton train.

(J. MacDonald)
Frontlet

C. C. Perry, Nass River, 1911

Tsimshian
Nass River,
Gitwanshiltk (Gitwansilk)
(or Gitlaxdamks)

Chief of frog tribe, used in festivals of amalgamated tribes, Gitwanshiltk, Nass River, B.C., up to 1900.

"Black squall" (W. Duff) (See NMC VII-C-96, which is also catalogued as "Black Squall. clm.")
Frontlet

C.M. Barbeau, Skeena River, 1924.
Date Rec'd.: 1924

h. 7 ins
w. 6 3/4 ins
d. 2 ins

Neg. No. J 2787

Exhibit.:
Nat. Gall. of Canada, Ottawa, 1927(?)

Tsimshian
Gwinaho

"Headdress Plaque: Abalone inlay. Rectangular plaque, human face fills centre area. With 1" border all around of green-tone abalone shell. Eyes and teeth also inlaid. Brows painted black, rest of face natural. Face in low relief, back hollowed out." (J. MacDonald)

"Wooden carving of headdress with abalone decoration. From Sam Wiceks, Gisp. of Gwinaho, Nass River." (Halpin)
Frontlet

C.M. Barbeau, Skeena River, 1924.
Date Rec'd.: 1924.

h. 4 1/2 ins
w. 5 ins
d. 2 ins

Neg. No. J19261, 72-17137

Exhibit:
National Art Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1927(?)
Crawley Films, Ottawa, 1948
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967

Tsimshian
Kitsagu'kla

Maker: Kulatmiluk.

"HEADDRESS PLAQUE: Animal snout: painted rectangular outline, slightly curved at top with crinolated outline. Long narrow animal snout carved from same piece of wood. Area around eyes darkened with graphite. Some red under eyes also, small hands under snout. Mouth open slightly."

"Made by a Tsimshian of Gitsalas named Kulax'miluk. Used long ago for last time, before last one was made, about thirty years ago. From George Campbell, Gidzegukla."

"Animal snout: painted rectangular outline..."
(Charles Marius Barbeau)

"Headdress (plaque): loqombalaz (loq'omba'laq: Decayed corpse is Qisqast crest of III haxpæqwo'tu - also by extension IV ksq'c'omlaxE tisq.ast decayed corpse. Crest of the house of sgogæmlaxE gidzægukla. Nine generations ago." (Halpin)
Frontlet

C.V. Smith, Kitzegu'kla, 1919.
Date Rec'd.: 1925.

h. 5 ins
w. 5 ins
Neg. No. J19361-11

Exhibit.: National Art Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1927
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.

"Plaque headdress carving from kuxskan (living in Gitwang.E') but of Gitsegu'kla. The owl crest." (Charles Marius Barbeau)

"HEADRESS PLAQUE: Shape of owl's face with lower edge missing. Three small human faces project from top of owl's head. Details painted black, dark red and green. Smith notes 'The owl crest, good carving but in poor state of preservation obtained 6 years ago'." (J. MacDonald)
Frontlet headdress

C.V. Smith, Kislayaks, n.d.

Date Rec'd.: 1925.

1. (train) 3 ft 8 1/8 ins
h. (crown) 16 5/8 ins
dia. (crown) approx. 11 ins


Exhibit.: McGill University, Montreal, 1960, 1962.

Tsimshian

Kispayaks (KitwangE)

"Headdress with plaque 'amhalait'. Sea lion whiskers and trail with ermine. From Wilits or Frederick Benson's house of KitwangE who obtained it from Kispayaks." (Smith)

"Headdress consisting of a maskette mounted on a head-cap, set with sea lion whiskers and train of ermine skins down back. Crown is of woven spruce root; band part lined on inside with red cloth and around bottom edge inside with pink woolen cloth. Outside of top of cap lined with printed cotton. Maskette, carved anthropomorphic figure; feet, hands, teeth, nose, eyes and trim up beside figure of abalone shell. Frame around outside of band of baleen with vertical piece all around. The length around base and top wrapped with string and vertical piece lashed to them with string. To ends of these sea lion whiskers are bound with string; extend upwards. Bunch of orange feathers secured with black thread to piece of red cloth on either side of the maskette. Train down back of beige cloth. Wood and baleen sticks threaded through loop stitched in cloth across width of train in 3 places. Ermine skins dangle from these, held in place with cotton thread. Headdress held on by hide ties from either side of crown." (B. Allison)
Frontlet headdress
C.M. Barbeau, Gitsalas, 1927
Date Rec'd.: 1927.

h. (incl. whiskers) 16 ins (40 cm)
w. 8 3/4 ins (22 cm)
d. 10 ins (26 cm)

Neg. No. 72-10137

"Ceremonial headdress (amhal·a·it) from Sam Wise (Gitxon, Laxski.k), of Port Essington, formerly of Gitsalas. Obtained from the owner by Pat Phillipson [approx. 1915]. Carved (presumably) by Phillip Roberts, of Gitsemgalem, a very old man, who died about 1915 at the age of 75 or 80 yrs." (Charles Marius Barbeau)

"Forepiece of wood, with large face of thunderbird, beak protruding, with smaller human faces carved in cheeks, forehead, and in a border around top and sides of the forepiece. Framework composed of three hoops of thin springy steel, separated by whalebone spacers and sea-lion whiskers, which extend above the main body of the frame. Red felt cloth on either side of the fore-piece. Burlap skull-cap sewn inside, and covered by a piece of perforated leather in the inside top of the frame. Nine ermines hang from back of frame. Haliotis shell, red and blue paint on faces." (P. Robertson)
Frontlet

C.M. Barbeau, 1927

From Alfred Livingstone Skateen (Laxkibum Gisgansnat) of Gitlaxdamks

"Carved headdress (amhal.a.it) of Legex, Eagle chief of the Gispaxlots, Tsimsyan. This headdress was given by the Gispaxlots, to Wqatin to repay a debt of Legex to the grandfather of the present Sqatin. This happened in a previous generation (that is before the present Sqatin was born). Legex had married one of Sqatin's nieces; a quantity of food and other things was given to the couple by Sqatin — as was the custom. The husband must pay for these gifts (Called sequ.at: put on clothes). The food is called lgint: given food. Legex was unable to repay these before he died. So the amhal.a.it, which was a highly valuable possession, was given away by his heirs. A hal.ait song was also given away with it, and a ksonatk song and a naxnoq named Kwul.a.t: echo.

The crests represented on the headdress were xke.k and the qa.q: the Eagle and the Raven. The Association of the Eagle and the Raven here is puzzling, as these are the main crests of two different phratries. Sqatin suggested that possibly it was on account of Sqatin's father being a Raven.

Made of Maple." (Halpin)
Frontlet
C.M. Barbeau, 1929.

Tsimshian
Qaldoʔ(Kitsequˈkla)

"A headdress, unfinished, meant to represent the Bear (smax). Carved by Isaac Taens (Tsigwi), Fireweed, formerly of Gitseguyukla who lived at Hazelton, for his sons, who inherit their crest from their mother, a Wolf of Qaldo. The Bear is one of their crests." (Halpin)

Made of maple. Unfinished.
Frontlet

Dr. H.C. Wrinch, Skeena River, n.d.
Date Rec'd.: 1937.

h. 6 ins
w. 5 ins
d. 4 ins


Catalogued

Exhibit.:
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967.

Tsimshian
Skeena River

"PLAQUE HEADDRESS: 'owl and grouse' inlaid:
Plaque deeply curved, owl face in center with small wings and feet protruding below.
Inlay all abalone except for mother of pearl in one wing. Nine heads and bodies of grouse protrude from border of mask. Spaces between set with abalone. Wings and downward curve of beak attached separately. (wings by sinew). Most of painting red, some black outlines."
(J. MacDonald)
Frontlet

Dr. H.C. Wrinch Collection, n.p., n.d.
Date Rec'd.: 1937.

h. 7 1/4 ins
w. 7 ins
d. 2 ins

Neg. No. NMC:94257, J-18699-5
(Note: this negative also contains VII-X-469 and VII-C-1599).

   Duff et. al., 1967: #115 (colour plate).

Exhibit.: Arthur Price, Toronto, 1948
University of Montreal, Montreal, 1953
Art Museum, London, Ont., 1956
Crawley Films, Ottawa, 1957
Exhibit, Stratford, Ont., 1960
National Gallery, Mexico, 1961
Musees Classes, Bordeaux, 1962
NMC, Ottawa, 1963
Lowie Museum, Calif., 1964-1966
Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver 1967
Musee de l'Homme, Paris, Fr., 1968

Tsimshian
Skeena River

"Head Plaque: Frogs: Wood:
Central figure, inlaid Haliotis eyes, teeth, body painted red, bare knees & hands. Border consists of 8 frogs pointing down alternated with 7 rectangles of shell. Frogs have black stone inlay for eyes (some missing)."
(J. MacDonald)
Note: Nearly identical to NMC:VII-C-1811 (clm)

"Head-dress or plaque for the crown of a Tsimshyan chief, showing a human with a large face and small body surrounded by eight Frogs, heads down. Presumably carved on the Nass River, like most of such plaques. Inlays of abalone shells. Collected by H. C. Wrinch." (Barbeau)
Frontlet

D.C. Scott, n.d.
Gift of Mrs. D.C. Scott, 1953.

h. 7 ins
w. 6 ins
d. 1 in

Neg. No.: S-1964-17, J-70142, 72-17136, 75-10956

Pub.: Duff et. al., 1967: #113 (not illustrated)

Exhibit:
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1957
Exhibit, Stratford, 1960
Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchatel, 1961-1962
Lowie Museum, Calif., 1964-1966
Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver, 1967

Tsimshian(?)

"Head Plaque: Eagle Clan
The design of 2 eagles & 8 other bird faces represented the crest of the family in which it was worn. Was highly valued among the northern groups. Haliotis inlay for eyes, teeth, body design & joints. Projecting hands and feet from body."

(J. MacDonald)

Dr. Gunther notes: 'similar to VII-C-87 which is from Metlakatla collected by Powell. VII-C-1811 might have been taken with Kwakiutl material because much of that came to them through Kitimat'.

Note: Object was formerly VII-X-469. (clm)

Note also: nearly identical to NMC VII-C-1599 (clm)
Frontlet

Mrs. L. Gow, n.p., n.d.
Date Rec'd.: 1960.

h. 7 ins
w. 6 ins

Neg. No. J18699-5, 72-4116

Exhibit:
Exhibit, Stratford, 1960
Musée d'ethno., Newchatel, 1961-1962
NMC - 2nd Floor, Ottawa, 1967

Tsimshian

"FOREHEAD PLAQUE: 'Man and Frogs' inlaid. Rectangular shape plaque with full figure of a man in center and small frogs in each corner, all carved in high relief. All figures inset with abalone shell, man red shirt, black trousers, frogs also red and black. Narrow red painted border inset all around with abalone, lower edge plain and laced with thong. Peter Macnair says this is a forehead piece of ceremonial headdress belonging to Totem clan of Geden Skemish." (J. MacDonald)

"Crude human with frogs." (W. Duff)
Figure 354 in Niblack, 1888/1971 illustrates a dancer wearing a bear's ears headdress.
Frontlet headdress

Lord Bossom, n.p., n.d.
Date Rec'd.: 1954.

h. 17 5/8 ins (44.8 cm)
w. 8 ins (20 cm)
d. 8 ins (20 cm)

Neg. No. 72-9316

Tlingit (?)

"Wood head dress, carved face painted black, red, and blue numerous haliotis inlays (37 - 1 missing). Cloth band, stiffened with spruce (?) root and with porcupine quill decoration. Reeds at top. Has long cloth down back (cf. Foreign Legion). Badly moth-eaten. (Tlingit ?)." (Bossom Catalogue)

"Faces may be bears. Haliotis border around sides and top, flanked by green felt and swan's down. Burlap and velvet skull cap inside frame of whalebone hoops and vertical spacers Sea-lion bristles all around, as well as a band of red-wing flicker quills, less plumage, with black tufts of feather at intervals." (P. Robertson)
Frontlet headdress

Lord A. Bossom, ca. 1900.
Date Rec'd.: 1955.

h. 15 1/2 ins (39 cm)
w. (front to back) 11 1/2 ins (29 cm)
l. 3 ft 2 ins (96 cm)

Neg. No. 71-3929, 71-4222, 72-16780.

Tsimshian (?)

"A beautifully carved chief's ceremonial headdress. The front piece of wood is carved and painted to represent a bird with haliotis shell and painted red and black. Around the top of the crown are sea-lion bristles. The back has a long piece of cloth trailing with 31 ermine skins (originally 33) attached.

There is also a piece of leather shaped like a fish or whale tail attached to the top of the crown, in back. Possibly Haida or Tlingit.

The carving and painting have Haida characteristics." (Bossom Catalogue)
Frontlet headdress

Lord A. Bossom, ca. 1900.
Date Rec'd.: 1955.

h. 15 3/4 ins (40 cm)
(incl. whiskers, excl. burlap).
w. 8 5/8 ins (22 cm)
d. 8 1/4 ins (21 cm)

Neg. No. 71/142

Exhibit.: Carleton University, 1970.

Haida (?)

"Headdress with carved wood front piece and cloth band. Represents a beaver sitting up. Haliotis inlay all around, eyes, ears, forelegs, teeth, but tail is painted blue. Red-wing flicker feathers at side, sea-lion bristles at top. No ermine skins. Crown of hat looks like felt, neck piece of burlap." (Bossom Catalogue)

"Frontlet of wood with figure of beaver carved in high relief. Abalone inlay, other areas painted red, blue and blue-green. Frontlet is attached to front of hat made of tanned skin, with skin ties for attachment to head. Frame of wood splints surrounds hat behind frontlet and long rectangle of beige burlap is attached to frame and hangs free at bottom for 52 cm. Sea-lion whiskers are attached to frame and project above frontlet. Solid band of eagle down encircles back of hat. Orange feathers, black-tipped, are attached at either side of frontlet." (J. Thompson)

"Beaver." (W. Duff)
Frontlet

Lord Bossom, ca. 1900.

Neg. No. J5039

Tlingit

Wood fore-piece for headdress. Represents a raven carrying fire. Painted blue around eyes, red below, black beak and trim. Five small raven's faces above.

"Funny flat Tlingit frontlet." (W. Duff)
Frontlet

W.H. Birmingham, 1950-1971
Date Rec'd.: 1971.

h. 8 ins (20.3 cm)
w. 6 1/4 ins (16 cm)
d. 8 ins (20.5 cm)

No photo. available.

"Head Mask: Raven, Frontlet wood painted, dull green, red, abalone inlay, faces above and below and on paws. Old paint on back. Pegged. Superb frontlet - needs some repair."
(Birmingham)

"Frontlet, wood. Carved to represent raven, with long, projecting beak. Animal ears, upraised hands with small head carved in each palm. Head with crown carved separately and attached between ears, with string laces and wooden peg to main piece. Small head also carved between hands, under beak. Frontlet is painted dull blue, green and red. There is abalone inlay for eyes, teeth, ears, and crown on small head. Back is attached to Raven head with sinew lacing and wooden pegs. (some metal nails subsequently added) Cross-hatch painting in black on reverse side." (J. Thompson)

"Large Bella Bella, with Big-beaked Raven."
(W. Duff)

"Carved frontlet - artistically a superior piece, despite the heavy paint and the missing abalone inlays from the eyes and elsewhere. (W. Duff)

Note: "A similar frontlet is illustrated in McIlwraith, T.F. "The Bella Coola Indians", vol. 1, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1948, Plate 15." (J. Thompson)
Frontlet

Tlingit

Wood, paint, abalone inlay.

h. 7 1/4 ins

Pub.: Duff, et. al., 1967:
Plate 119.

Exhibit.: Arts of the Raven,
Vancouver, B.C., 1967.
Frontlet  

Collected by E.G. Fast
1867-68.
Frontlet headdress

Tlingit

"A carved wooden headdress known as 'The Mystery of the Sea'." (Burland)

"Ceremonial headdress representing a marmot with its prey, a bat." (Shotridge)

Note: resembles Leningrad MAESAS #2448-21.

Shotridge, 1919:X:1-2;
Plate V.
Frontlet headdress

Tlingit

"Ceremonial headdress representing the Grizzly Bear crest sustained by the wolf emblem."

Pub.: Shotridge, 1919:X:1-2; Plate VI.
Frontlet headdress

Tlingit

"Ceremonial headdress representing a sea-lion taking a plunge from a rock." (Shotridge)

Pub.: Shotridge, 1919:X:1-2; Plate IV.
Frontlet headdress

Louis Shotridge

h. 10 ins
l. 13 1/2 ins with flanges

Pub.: Gunther, 1962:31
(no illustration)

Exhibit.: Seattle World's Fair, 1962.

Tlingit

This is a headdress carved of wood and decorated with flanges of painted walrus hide and 5 wealth rings woven of spruce root basketry with an ermine skin inserted in the top one. The eyes and nostrils are inlaid with haliotis shell and the mouth is set with teeth. The ears are decorated with human hair. The face is painted blue with edges of red. This headdress belonged to the Taequedi clan of the Tlingit and the wearing of it is an inherited dance privilege.
Photo - Burland,
1965:36.
Frontlet headdress

Haida

Rev. C. Harrison, March 1891.

Frontlet plaque
1. 19.7 cm
w. 18.8 cm

Sea lion whiskers
1. 30.7 cm

Trailer
1. 39 cm
w. 32 cm

Pub.: Harrison, 1925:70.

Erna Gunther, Washington State Museum says:
"Chief's headdress: the frontlet plaque is carved of yellow cedar or maple and represents a bear with a frog holding the tip of his tongue. The face has curled nostrils and a protruding red tongue. On a level with the mouth are two human hands with fingers folded downward and palms showing, inlaid with abalone. The elbows rest on drawn up knees, legs terminating in bears' paws facing inward. The ankle joint is inlaid with abalone. Between these is the figure of a frog, dorsal side, with oblong piece of abalone on back. The bear has erect ears inlaid with two pieces of abalone each. A border of abalone pieces, oblong frame the carving on the vertical sides. The crown is a piece of plaited cedar bark matting on a framework on small wooden staves. At the back of the crown is a piece of rawhide shaped like the tail fin of a whale which is a flap to help spread the eagles' down that is shaken out of the crown during a dance. The trailer is made of flour sacking and spread with strips of baleen. There are 4 rows of ermine, 7 to 8 to the row. On the crown there are small pieces of hide showing where there had been swansdown. Said to have belonged to Chief Edenshaw."
Frontlet headdress

Haida

Pitt Rivers Museum
1891.49.11
Frontlet headdress

Rev. C. Harrison, March 1891

Frontlet plaque
  h. at center 16.7 cm
  w. 16 cm

Sea lion whiskers
  l. c. 34.5 cm

Trailer
  l. 1'6 cm
  w. 36 cm

Haida

Erna Gunther, Washington State Museum says:
"Chief's headdress: the frontlet plaque is carved of yellow cedar or maple and represents the face of a hawk with wings at the sides and a tail held between human hands. The face is natural wood color with red nostrils and mouth. The eyes, teeth and ears are inlaid with abalone (haliotis) shell. The body, hands and wings are painted red, the wings inlaid with abalone (1 piece missing). Oblong pieces of abalone form a frame around the face. The crown or inside cap is a piece of brown sacking on a frame of baleen. A small cluster of flicker feathers is at each side of the carved plaque. The crown is set with sea lion whiskers. A trailer of flour sacking is covered with ermine skins, 7 or 8 to a row, 4 rows. The sacking is spread with strips of baleen."
Frontlet headdress

Haida

Pitt Rivers Museum
1891.49.12
Frontlet headdress


From Cranmore Museum, d.d. Mrs. H.G. Beasley.

Frontlet and headdress; haliotis inset; ermine hangings.

"Ceremonial head-dress, carved wooden front, inset with haliotis shell, swansdown circlet, and ermine hangings." (T.O.)

From Cranmore Museum, d.d. Mrs. H.G. Beasley.

Haida

Frontlet and headdress; haliotis inset; ermine hangings.

"Ceremonial head-dress, carved wooden front, inset with haliotis shell, swansdown circlet, and ermine hangings." (T.O.)
Frontlet

Rasmussen Col. #3496

George T. Emmons
May 29, 1943.

1. 7 5/8 ins (19.4 cm)
w. 7 3/8 ins (18.8 cm)

Photo 17-39.


Kwagiulth
Quatsino Sound

Emmons quote: "Ceremonial headdress mask, of wood, worn by a chief of the Quatsino band of the Kwakiutl of the NWC of Vancouver Is., B.C. The central figure represents an eagle. Sides inlaid with haliotis shell ... The face between the wings represents the tail. The small head above is ornamental only."

Gunther: "A frontlet plaque of alder, painted green, red and black with abalone shell inlay. The central figure is an eagle. There is no headdress with this plaque."
Frontlet headdress

G.T. Emmons, May 29, 1943.

h. 9 3/4 ins (24.7 cm)  
l. 6 3/8 ins (16.2 cm)  
w. 5 7/8 ins (14.9 cm)

Gunther, 1966:219, 100; illus. p.98 (cat. #216).

Kwagiul?  
Vancouver Island.

G. T. Emmons: "... and falling behind 3 parallel rows of ermine skins. It is carved to represent a thunderbird, identified by the recurved bill ... The two small figures are, above, a bat, below a frog, only ornamental."

Gunther: "The frontlet plaque is of alder wood painted green, red and brown .... The eyes of the bat are inset with brass headed nails. The border of the plaque is inlaid with abalone shell. The framework of the headdress is covered with swansdown and surmounted with sea lion's whiskers (p. 219). The frontlet has four rectangles of abalone on each side and the eyes of the thunderbird are circular pieces of the same shell."

N.B.: beak is carved as recurved - painted as if un-recurved(!). (clm)
Frontlet

Massmussen Col. #238.


l. 7 1/8 ins (18.9 cm)
w. 5 7/8 ins (15.0 cm)

Photo 3-31
also: Monner PAM 64-39.

Pub.: "Eth. '81:119-20; Eth. '90:711ff; Eth. '96:415-6, 486-7; Eth. '88:479. cf. Index also. 6/14/29. Hudson's Bay." (?)


Tlingit (?)
exact origin unknown

A carved wood frontlet plaque painted black, red and blue-green and inlaid with abalone. The main figures are a thunderbird and a whale. There is no headdress with this plaque." (Gunther, p. 219).

Catalogue: "A face is carved on the breast of the bird and there is a small human face above the head of the T-bird .... 31 pieces of abalone shell are inlaid. 9 of these have unnecessary holes, showing that they were formerly used for other purposes such as earrings or pendants."

Gunther (p. 102): "In style of carving and mounting, there is no difference between these and the Kwakiutl headdresses." Then she makes specific reference to 48.3.425.
Frontlet headdress

Rassmussen Catalogue #3632

Collected from Mrs. Willie Lee, May 21, 1944.

Vendor: Earl Stendahl.

h. 6 1/2 ins
w. 6 1/4 ins
2 3/4 ins thick

Photo: Wm. Grand #70-31.


Tlingit
Klukwan, Alaska

"These colours have been gone over in recent times with 'crayonex' but the result is not disagreeable since the colours have been softened somewhat by handling. The upper beak is curved downward but not so much as the hawk. Lee says the carving represents ---- (omitted). It is fastened in 6 places to a commercial fur that looks something like bear but is not, made in a headband. N.B.: fur is real - strips of rectangular hide sewn together to make band.

Gunther (220): The plaque consists of a bird mask surrounded by 15 "rays." The bird may be an owl." (105-6). "The colours - red, black, and green .... There is no inlay. The unusual character of the piece is in its mounting: it is attached to a circlet of commercial bear fur. There is no other decoration or framework on which it is built. The simplicity of the piece is enlightening, for the fur circlet is reminiscent of the shaman's crown from which it is possible that this style of headdress may be partially derived."
Frontlet headdress

Rassmussen Cat. #2876

E.L. Keithahn
6.22.38

1. 8 3/4 ins (22.3 cm)
w. 6 3/8 ins (16.3 cm)

Photo 2-16

Davis, 1949:#23.

Exhibit.: AFA Travel Exhibition (1959-60), #24.

Tlingit
Douglas & Klukwan, Alaska

"The frontlet plaque is carved of alder. The main figure is a thunderbird; it is holding a raven and there is a mountain goat below. The carving is inlaid with abalone. The frame, which is not the original one, is covered with flour sacking and edged with red flannel. Two ermine skins are attached to either side. There are sea lion's whiskers and heave bird quills around the top. A flap of moose hide inside the crown was used for scattering eagle down ... The frontlet was found in 1938 by a man working for the road commission near Douglas. He gave it to Mr. Keithahn ... from whom Mr. Rassmussen purchased it, June 22, 1938. The frame belonged to Chief Kadoucha. Mr. Rassmussen bought it from Maggie Kadoucha, Oct. 5, 1937. The plaque belonging to the frame was sold to Steve Sheldon." (Gunther, p. 220). Frame was #2749.
Frontlet headdress

Vendor: Earl Stendahl obtained from J. Pruell, Jan. 24, 1931.

h. 8 ins
w. 6 1/2 ins

Photo: Al Monner PAM 65-81

Pub.: Gunther, 1966:220, 102; illus. p. 103; object #220.
Davis, 1949:pl. III.


Tlingit
Ketchikan

"The frontlet plaque is carved of wood and represents a grizzly bear with a frog on its breast. It is painted black, blue-green and vermillion and is inlaid with abalone. The frame of the headdress is made of small staves of wood and whalebone covered with red cloth and swansdown. The headdress is ornamented with ermine skins hanging singly from the framework, and there are flicker feathers and sea lion's bristles at the top. There is no trailer." (Gunther, 220).

Catalogue: "Mrs. Dan Miller identified this and 48.3.710 as "the bear afraid of the frog."

PAM
48.3.431
Frontlet headdress
(Shakeyet)

Purchase, Indian Collection
Subscription fund - to be
known as Axel Rasmussen Coll.

Vendor: Earl Stendahl
purchased in 1949.

1. 7 1/4 x 6 ins (width)

Sold to the St. Paul Gallery,
1959.

Rasmussen Catalogue #2465: "The carving
appears to be of alder, representing an animal,
probably the bear, showing 4 paws, with the
head of an eagle and the head and front legs
of a frog on the breast and abdomen of the bear.
Painted green, red and black. The green has
been retouched with ball bluing. There is a
row of abalone inlay on the top and each side
and abalone inlays on the bear's paws, eyes,
nostrils, eagle's eyes and frog's eyes and
forehead .... The frame of wood and whale bone
has 21 sealion whiskers and feathers of the red
shafted flicker, cotton trailer and a pewter
medal of Wellington tied to one of the tie
lines. 9/26/36. Henry Moses."
Frontlet headdress

Rassmussen Cat. #1545

Obtained from Chester Worthington who got the piece from Jim Kardatoo. June 12, 1933.

h. 7 3/4 ins  
w. 6 1/8 ins

Barbeau, 1953:227; illus. #193.

Exhibit.: Scripps College, Claremont, Calif., Jan., 1950.

Tlingit  
Yakutat

"The carving is described by Mr. Rassmussen as that of a raven with wings coming together over the breast and the face of a thunderbird below." (Gunther, 105).

Catalogue: "Chester's [Worthington] Letter states it represents a beaver, but he must be mistaken. Mrs. Henry, a Yakutat says, 1940, it represents Gidiuk [a mythical monster] on a rock."

"One informant called them the sun, a thunderbird, and a raven, ..." (Gunther, 220). "It is a large frontlet in rectangular form with the upper face, which reminds one of the round plaques on many of the Tsimshian frontlets. The frame is outlined and the eyes and joints of the figures are also inlaid." (Gunther, 105).

- has a trailer of ermine dotted with tufts of green, orange, purple and yellow coloured wool yarn. N.B.: similar description by Vancouver at Lynn Canal in 1794.

Barbeau, (1953:230) writes, "carved by a Niskæ."
Frontlet headdress
(Shakeyet)
(Sold to Cleveland Museum of Nat'l History; Aug. 2, 1956)
Axel Rasmussen Collection.

h. 7 ins (17.8 cm)
w. 6 1/2 ins (16.6 cm)

Bought from Earl Stendahl ('49).

Tlingit
Sitka, Alaska

Rasmussen Catalogue #2677: "The carving is not old. It shows the thunderbird: with arms and legs and a mask on its breast. Abalone inlays. The carving is good but the inlays & paint are poor .... Frame trimmed with red cloth, flour sack, 5 sea lion whiskers, yellowish feathers of the flicker, (young red-shafted?) with ermine skins and imitation ermine skins. It was bought from Mrs. Billy Williams, Sitka. 3/-/37. Rev. J.L. Webster."
Frontlet headdress

Acquired from Charlie Jones
6 May 1931

Frontlet:
  h. 6 5/8 ins
  w. 6 1/8 ins

Pub.: Gunther, 1966:
220-221;105; object #222.
Swanton, 1904:420.

Tlingit (possibly Tsimshian)
Wrangell

"The carving on the frontlet plaque represents "Gate," the "spirit of the storm cloud." The carving is superb. It is painted in light red, dark brown, black and blue-green and is inlaid with abalone. The frame is of whale-bone and is covered with red cloth in front. There are sea lion whiskers across the top of the headdress. The ermine trailer is almost 4 feet long, which is exceptional. The crown itself is leather with leather straps ... This headdress was supposedly captured by the Tlingit from the Tsimshian when they fought near the mouth of the Stikine River." (E. Gunther)

Note in catalogue: "Willis Hoagland says this and PAM 48.3.710 were captured by the Tlingit from the Tsimshian ...."
Frontlet Headdress

Obtained from: Capt. Acton
23 January 1934

Frontlet:
  h. 7 7/8 ins
  w. 6 ins

Pub.: Gunther, 1966:221;
     object #223.

"The carving on the frontlet represents a woman and a frog. It is carved of maple or some other hard wood and has been glued to the back of the frontlet, which is of cedar and which is inlaid with abalone on the two sides and across the top. The framework of the headdress is of wood and whalebone. A hat of cedar bark has been pulled over this frame and a cotton trailer with ermine skins attached. The top of the headdress is decorated with flicker feathers, sea lion whiskers and stiff brass wire. The frontlet is painted vermilion and black, and the eyes, mouth, hands and feet of the figures are inlaid with abalone."

(E. Gunther).

Note: 6 'bristles' make the "cage" - 3 are sea lion whiskers, and 3 are stiff brass wires. Also noted in catalogue, "Carving represents a woman with a frog, according to Chief Johnson of whom Acton purchased it ..." The carving is wired to the hat with copper wire.
Frontlet headdress

No collection data

Frontlet:
  h. 7 3/4 ins
  w. 6 1/2 ins

Pub.: Gunther, 1966:221;102, object #224.

Tlingit
(unknown origin)

"... a tag once attached to [the headdress] read "headdress - Octopus, rock and den(?) - Tlingit."

The two faces on the frontlet have been variously interpreted. The top figure is a bird with a curved beak and eyes inlaid with abalone. The nostrils and eyes of the lower figure are also inlaid with abalone. Perforated strips of copper, which might be interpreted as the tentacles of an octopus, outline both faces. The frontlet is painted a soft blue throughout; the eyebrows of the faces are black, the lips are red. The top and both sides of the frontlet are inlaid with abalone. A band of swansdown encircles the back of the headdress and the top is decorated with flicker feathers and sea lion whiskers. There is no trailer. (E. Gunther)

Note: the major part of the carving is inset into the corona.
Frontlet headdress

Mrs. Chester Worthington obtained it from Jim Tagook. 26 June, 1936.

h. 8 3/8 ins  
w. 6 ins

Pub.: Gunther, 1966:221; object #225.  
Barbeau, 1953:130; fig. 104.

Tlingit
Juneau

"The frontlet carving represents a bear with two cubs on her breast. It is painted red and blue-green and is inlaid with abalone. The headdress is constructed on a framework of thin wood. A red cloth trailer with ermine skins is attached and the top is decorated with flicker feathers and sea lion whiskers. There are two heavy leather flaps inside the crown which were used to scatter eagle down." (E. Gunther)

Note: Middle bear has three toes, bottom bear has four toes, and the "momma" bear has five toes. The bears have identical profiles except that the largest bear has incisors. Catalogue says this is a "recent carving." (clm)

Photo. of "Chief Jim Tagook (Juneau)" shown wearing this frontlet. Photograph courtesy of Prince Rupert Museum of the North Archives.
Frontlet headdress
(Shakeyet)

Sold to Virginia Museum
1956

l. 6 ins (15.3 cm)
w. 4 1/8 ins (10.4 cm)

Rassmussen Catalogue #1134: "Headdress. Sea Lion Bristle ... Two bird carvings, ... Belonged to Joe Hayes, Haines, Alaska. The main figure is a bird looking like a raven with something in its beak. There is a halo of abalone shell around its head. The lower bird is on the breast of the upper and has the mouth open as if it were being fed. Frame of wood, edged with sealion whiskers and feathers of the red-shafted flicker. Covered with red felt, swan breast & ermine with an ermine trailer. The carving is wired on with copper wire. Painted black, blue-green and vermilion. 5/12/32. Sheldon."

Right wing of mask broken off & repaired.
Frontlet headdress

Obtained from:
E.L. Keithahn
8 July 1938.

Pub.: Gunther, 1966:221;
object #226.

Native Arts of the
Pacific Northwest. Davis,
1949:#68.

Exhibit.: Vancouver Art
Gallery, Vancouver, B.C.,
Dayton Art Institute,
Dayton, Ohio, Jan 9 –
Feb. 15, 1959.

Tlingit
Ketchikan

"The frontlet plaque is made of [commercial] copper in the form of a shark's head with a face and four gill slits. Another, much smaller face is set in the forehead. The eyes, gill slits, mouth and ears are all inlaid with abalone. The frame of the headdress is whalebone, and the trailer is flour sacking with ermine skins attached."

(E. Gunther)

Note: There are 5 rows of ermine skins. (clm)
Frontlet headdress

Acquired from a "native woman" (formerly belonged to Johnny Drahbel) 14 August 1932.

Frontlet:
  h. 7 1/2 ins
  w. 6 7/8 ins

Pub.: Gunther, 1966:222; object #227
     Davis, 1949:#86.

     Arts of the Raven, Vancouver, B.C.

Kwagiulth
Alert Bay

"The frontlet plaque is round and is carved of wood. The figure represents a bird, possibly a hawk. The frontlet is painted red and black and is inlaid with abalone. The headdress proper is of cedar bark matting supported with wood. The trailer is a piece of cloth with a floral design; it is partially covered with ermine skins. The headdress is decorated with sea lion whiskers across the top. It formerly belonged to Johnny Drahbel, whose family crest was the sun." (E. Gunther)

Note: This frontlet is painted in a red and black geometric pattern on the back. (clm)
Frontlet headdress

Collected by Waters

Vendor: Earl Stendahl
Exchanged for PAM 53.5 (a NWC horn spoon - no details).

Small chip missing - 1. ear.
Crack in 4. ear.

1. 6 7/8 ins
w. 5 3/8 ins.

Pub.: Native Arts of the Pac. NW, Stanford U. Press, 1949:#18;
Barbeau, 80; illus. #17.

Haida
Haidaburg, Alaska

Rassmussen Catalogue #653: "Head Set (Sea Lion Bristles). Haida. The carving is very fine and represents a bear with his paws held so that the soles of his feet are visible. On the breast of the bear is a frog. Decorated with abalone shell and painted red, green, white, black and blue. The frame is of whalebone and iron wire & is covered with black & white calico. Six wooden replicas of red flicker feathers, painted red and black are attached. The mask had a trailer of ermine when Mr. Waters bought it but he removed it when it became infested with moths. Mr. Emmons offered $75 for this a year ago. There are 38 long sealion whiskers on this head-dress. In Field Museum is shown the head-band of a chilcat shaman ornamented with wooden replicas of red flicker feathers which look very much like those on this headdress. This and #822 (48.3.431) represent 'the bear afraid of the frog,' Mrs. Dan Miller thinks. 5/1/30. Waters."
Frontlet headdress
(Shakeyet)

Vendor: Earl Stendahl
Axel Rasmussen Collection

Sold to Meltzer NY, July 31, 1957.

1. 7 ins.
w. 5 3/4 ins

6 inlays missing

Tlingit
Wrangell, Alaska

Rasmussen #1518: "Head Dress, Sea lion whiskers, Bear .... The wood carving is 7 x 6" and represents the bear, with a mask on the body. It is inlaid with abalone. The carving is painted black, red and native blue green. It is fastened to the frame with sinew. The frame is of whale bone and wood, has 2 strips of green cloth in the front & a flour-sack trailer without ermine. There are 22 sealion-whiskers. The carving is old and in fine condition. It appears to have been fastened to another frame at one time. Willis hoagland states that this and the 'gate' headdress #905 (48.3.435) were captured from the Tsimshian Chief Shakes. Mrs. Shakes says it belonged to Emma's great-grandfather. 4/26/33. Mrs. Mary Shakes."
Frontlet headdress
(Shakeyet)

Sold to Birmingham Museum in 1956

Vendor: Earl Stendahl
Axel Rassmussen Collection
Purchased: 11 Jan. '49.

1. 7 3/4 ins
w. 5 1/2 ins

1 inlay missing

Pub.: Barbeau, 1953:130; illus. #104.

Tlingit
Gambier Bay, Alaska

Rassmussen #629: "Head Dress (Sea Lion Bristles). This belonged to Gambier Bay Jim, an Indian Shaman who died in 1928. The carving represents an eagle with wings held forward. An eagle's head is carved below, between the wings and an animal face is at the bottom. Painted red, green, white and black, and inlaid with abalone shell. The bird's left wing has been restored. The frame is of wood covered with flour sack and with a flour sack trailer ornamented with 23 ermine skins. The top is ornamented with sea lion bristles and feathers from the r.s. flicker. There was swan's down at the back but most of this is gone. A flapper of white man's leather is in the down compartment to help throw the down out. Gambier Bay Jim had 5 of these head sets and 4 Chilcat blankets. 4/18/30. Waters."
Frontlet headdress (Shakeyet)

Sold to Meltzer NY May 1, 1958.


1. 7 1/2 ins w. 6 ins

Number of inlays missing; front and back feet on right side have small pieces missing.

Tlingit Hoonah, Alaska

Rasmussen #887: "A leather cap of 5 pieces is surmounted by a frame of whale bone to which is attached a wood carving which looks like a bird (raven) but has 4 feet. The mask is painted black, dark red and blue-green and is inlaid with abalone and backed with red felt. To the sinew-lashed frame are attached 10 feathers of the r-s. woodpecker or flicker but none of the usual sea-lion whiskers. The leather cap had mallard skins of the green heads sewed in front. Not quite equal in carving to the average 'shakeyet'; 4.20.31. Simpson."
Frontlet

Donated or sold by George Cunningham, Port Essington

1. 15 cm
w. 14.3 cm
Beak extends 5.5 cm

Tsimshian
Kitsum Kalum (?)

"Thunder bird or hawk frontal mask for chief for centre of chief's ceremonial headdress. Seven human figures are carved along the top. Bodies of figures are painted red, mouths are red, brows are black, eye area is green, raised rim, then red line border. Mouth is red, brows and eyes are black. Beak, area around eyes and lower face are green. Mask is slightly curved. Four tiny holes made on mask in four corners. White cotton twine strung through the top two holes."

Comment in catalogue: "Tsimshian. Probably from Kitsum Kalum (most at Port Essington were,)"
Frontlet

Dr. R.G. Large
acc. 1951

l. 25.9 cm
w. 25.7 cm
h. 21 cm
Mask or Headdress Ornament

Rev. Sheldon Jackson

h. 6 ins
w. 11 1/2 ins


Exhibit.: Seattle World's Fair, 1962.

Tlingit

"Mask or Headdress Ornament. A mask or an ornament from the front of a headdress, made of iron. The face of it represents a shark with the drooping eyes, large mouth turned down at the corners, and the three gill slits. Along the sides on a level with the eyes are some small scrolls which resemble the design on the iron hair ornament. The surface of the face is scored with parallel lines. The mask is dark with oxidation."

Note: compare this item with PAM 48.3.440 and British Museum 1910 6-8 1. (clm)
Frontlet

Collected by Col. E.G. Fast
1867-68.
Headdress ornament

William S. Libbey, a gravehouse near Port Mulgrave, 1886

Tlingit
Yakutat

Headdress ornament of an unknown Yakutat shaman. "Maskette, probably for a headdress." (De Laguna)

Pub.: De Laguna, 1971: III:1093; Plate 175.
Headdress ornament

William S. Libbey, a gravehouse near Port Mulgrave, 1886


Tlingit Yakutat PUM-NH 3919

Headdress ornaments of an unknown Yakutat shaman. "Maskette, probably for a headdress, representing the spirit of a bear (?)." (De Laguna)

"This small mask may have been a decoration on a large headdress, since it is less than face size. It represents a bear, recognized by his protruding tongue and large teeth, as well as by the curled nostrils and erect ears. The piece is made of wood and is painted in dark colors." (Gunther)

Note: Gunther notes that the object was collected by the Rev. Sheldon Jackson between 1877-1903. (clm)
Headdress ornament

William S. Libbey, a gravehouse near Port Mulgrave, 1886

Tlingit Yakutat

Headdress ornament of an unknown Yakutat shaman.

"maskette, probably for a headdress, representing the spirit of a fish (?). (De Laguna)

Frontlet
(Shakeyet)

Rev. Sheldon Jackson
in 19th century

w. 11 ins
h. 6 ins

Haida/Tlingit
Iron shark headdress.
Iron and brass.

Feder: "-identified as probably Haida by Princeton, but possibly of Tlingit manufacture."

Pub.: Feder, 1971:xix,
object #94 (no illus.)
Frontal headdress

Haida

Attributed to Charles Edenshaw. Bear with faces in ears. Wood and shell.

Pub.: Feder, 1971:xxi, object #112 (no illus. or data).
Frontlet headdress

Bella Bella (?)

Wood carved and painted with abalone shell and copper inlay.

h. 8 1/4 ins

Frontlet

bear.

wood, paint, abalone.

h. 7 ins


Frontlet  Kwakiutl  Gaston T. de Havenon

hawk.

wood, paint, abalone inlay.

h. 7 1/4 ins

Pub.: Duff, et al., 1967:
#110 (not illustrated).

Argillite figure of person with headdress

Haida

"A fine carving of a chief wearing a blanket of unusual design, a rope of cedar-bark over one shoulder and a small headdress. The monumental character of the carving is obvious."

h. 9 3/4 ins
w. 3 3/4 ins
d. 2 1/4 ins

Argillite figure of person with headdress

Haida

Private Collection
R.B. Inverarity
Inverarity: "A well-designed, carved, and painted headdress inlaid with abalone shell. This excellent carving was originally draped with ermine tails and surmounted with bristles. The design represents a myth of the whale and the raven and is in the general style of headdresses of this type. In many of the works of art from the Northwest Coast animals are represented as coming out of the mouths of humans or other animals."
Frontlet

Haida (Kaigani)
Prince of Wales

"...rather positively identified as the work of Albert Edward [Edenshaw]..."
(Feder)
Frontlet headdress

Collected at Alert Bay

Haida

Wood, paint, shell inlays. A bear with faces in ears is the main carving. Attributed to Charles Edenshaw.

Morton I. Sosland Collection: "...with little naturalistic faces, in the ears, that look like Edenshaw faces." (Holm, Reid, 1975:176.)

Pub.: Feder, 1971:xxi, (no illus.)
Holm, Reid, 1975:174, 176; illus. 70A.
Frontlet headdress

Tlingit

"Crown with carved wooden plaque, flicker feathers, and ermine skins, of a chief presumably Tlingit, whose crest is the Thunderbird, profusely decorated with abalone shells. Made, any years ago, by a Niskæ carver...." (Barbeau, 1953:229)

NMC neg. no. 103001

Pub.: Barbeau, 1953:221; illustration #186.
Headdress ornament

(Tlingit)

Hawk. Origin unknown. It is probably of Tlingit origin. Wood, paint, hide.

w. 6 1/2 ins

Pub.: Hôtel Drouot; fig. 194.
Museum of Primitive Art, 1960, #64, ill. pl. 29.
Frontlet headdress


Tlingit
Yakutat

Private Collection
(Yakutat owner, Unspecified)

"A Golden Eagle headdress made by a Tsimshian and purchased by a Yakutat man of the Drum house Teqwedii, *xaw-*II-gau, Yaqwan, before 1886. The eyebrows are painted black, the mouth, throat and forelegs are red, and the remainder (including the small figure - perhaps the ground hog - caught by the Golden Eagle) is blue-green. The "groundhog" was said to have been added "just to fancy the mask." The teeth and eyes of both figures, the ears of the "groundhog", and the rim of the mask, are all inlaid with abalone shell. The headdress is surmounted by sealion whiskers and flicker feathers (fastened to a felt crown). A long cape of ermine skins backed by canvas would fall to the shoulders of the wearer." (De Laguna)
Frontlet


Tlingit

Private Collection
(Yakutat owner, Unspecified)

"A wooden maskette for a headdress said to have been owned by Kaž-da-xete, Teqwedi chief of Shark House, probably Chief Minaman or Daqusetc, who died in 1890. This maskette represents a Golden Eagle grasping a creature (frog?) between whose eyes is a large red disk. In its mouth, the creature holds three human faces said to represent the Eagle's children. The faces are all blue-green; the lips red; and the Eagle's brows and the spaces around the creature's eyes are black. Abalone shell inlay was used for the eyes and around the upper edges of the maskette. Most of the inlay has fallen out, as have the flicker feathers and sealion whiskers that surmounted the top edge. This headdress is not the same worn by Chief Yen-aht-setl when photographed by William S. Libbey in 1886." (De Laguna)
Head Ring of Mei'la

Collected by A. Jacobsen

Tsimshian

"[Mei'la society members'] headress is a heavy ring of red cedar bark with a beaver tail standing up in its middle. The ring is studded with small sticks which represent arrows." (Drawing of this headdress is illustrated and described in Boas, 1895: 654-655).

Frontlet headdress

Tsimshian

Collected by A. Jacobsen
Frontlet

Tsimshian

Collected by A. Jacobsen

Pub.: Amerikas Nordwest-kuste 
Neuste. Ergebnisse Ethnologi-
scher Reisen Aus Den Sammlugen 
Der Königlichen Museen Zu 
Berlin Herausg egeben. Von Der 
Direction Der Ethnologisen, 
1883, Berlin: Verlag Von A. 
Asher & Co.
Frontlet headdress

Tsimshian

h. 14 1/2 ins
w. 8 ins

"Wood partly painted, inlaid with abalone shell; sea lion or walrus whiskers; red-shafted flicker feathers on cloth; eagle down; ermine tails on seal skin.

Late 19th Century.

Probably representing loon or dipper."


Frontlet headdress

Tsimshian

"Representing a beaver, late 19th Century....Painted wood inlaid with abalone shell; sea lion whiskers; red-shafted flicker feathers; ermine tails on cloth."

(ROM catalogue, 1959).

h. 8 ins
w. 9 1/2 ins


Frontlet headdress

Tsimshian

ROM
929.21.9

"Representing a bear, circa 1910.... Painted wood inlaid with abalone shell; sea lion whiskers; ermine tails on cloth." (ROM catalogue, 1959).

h. 17 ins
w. 8 ins


Exhib.: Masks, the Many Faces of Man, ROM, 1959.
Frontlet headdress
(Amhalait)

C.M. Barbeau, 1924 purchased through CMB, 1924.

Tsimshian
Nass River

Headdress with ermine trail. Carved wooden front inlaid with abalone shell, surmounted by sea-lion (whiskers) barbs.

From Maggie Derrick who obtained it from Richard Derrick, Nass River.

Headdress represents Eagle crest of owner.
Frontlet headdress

Tsimshian

Purchased from
Mr. Wm. Beynon through
C.M. Barbeau
Nov. 1924.

Headdress representing the gnawing beaver, chewing through a stick. Decorated with black, white and red feathers and protruding sea-lion barbs; abalone shell inlay; ermine and cotton trail; painted black, red, white, green. Crest represents non-royal family of Eagle tribe Tsimshian.
Frontlet

Obtained from W. Beynon through Mr. Barbeau, Nov. 1924.

Tsimshian
Port Simpson


7 1/2 ins
Frontlet headdress
(Amhalait)

MønEsk's collection.
MønEsk is the head-chief of the Eagle phratry at Gitlaxdamks

Gitlaxdamks

"Crown of the Gi.ebalk (amal.a.idam gi.ebalk). This is the first headdress of MønEsk. The carving and the sea-lion barbs are ancient. The weasels have been replaced. The carving and the little faces around it are a representation of the Gi.ebalk crest as it was first seen (accounted for in the family myth).

It was carved by Amgilsa'i, a very good carver "of ages past." His name as a carver of the Giebalk has been handed down. Amgilsa'i was a laxkibu (wolf) of the house of nøgwa’ón (gigE’nix tribe). "He must have died before the white man first came." Whenever it was used, it was previously cleaned with sandpaper. For that reason it may look newer than it is.

The sæmEk.

Xut'sa is the blue paint, which was found above Gitlaxdamks (about 9 miles). The spot where to get it seems to have been lost lately. Mixed with fish eggs. Headdress made of maple. The red; Cedarbark was chewed together with steel-head (salmon) eggs; red ochre was pulverized and added to this liquid."

(Barbeau, 1927 - unpub. MS.)
Frontlet Tsimshian
Nass River

C.M. Barbeau, Oct. 1929

Wooden mask for headdress. Representing giebolk, a monster of the sea; long broken nose; abalone shell teeth and eyes; carved figures and faces around edges; red, green and black paint.

Photo Neg. No. 61 AA 857.
Frontlet

C.M. Barbeau,
Oct. 1929

h. 7 1/16 ins
w. 5 5/8 ins

Photo Neg. No. 67 Eth 13.

Pub.: Gunther, 1962:87; #161
(no illustration).
    Duff, et. al., 1967:
    #118 (no illustration).

Exhibit.: Seattle World's Fair,
1962.
Arts of the Raven, Vancouver,
B.C., 1967.

Tsimshian
Nass River

Wooden mask for headdress. "Blinking."
Carved figure with bent arms resting on
knees; solid inlay of abalone shell around
3 sides; shell eyes, teeth; inlay in feet,
arms, and central section; red and black
paint. (Halpin)

Erna Gunther notes the similarity between
this one and ROM HN-900 (929.21.7).
Frontlet headdress (Amhalait)

C.M. Barbeau, Oct. 1929

Tsimshian
Nass River

Headdress of "Gilse i"; carved wooden front representing a bird; long beak, shell eyes; square pieces of abalone shell inset around three sides; circular wooden framework with long reed stalks projecting above; cloth at top and base of framework.
Nass River.
Frontlet headdress (Amhalait)

C.M. Barbeau, Oct. 1929

Tsimshian
Nass River

Headdress of the Bear with ermine trail. Carved wooden frontpiece represents a bear heavily inlaid with abalone; wooden framework covered with red felt; long print trail decorated with ermine; long sea-lion barbs. Nass.
Frontlet headdress
(Amhalait)

C.M. Barbeau, 1929

h. 15 ins (including sea lion whiskers)
w. 8 ins

Photo Neg. No. 68 Eth 126


Exhibit.: Masks, the Many Faces of Man, ROM, 1959.

Tsimshian
Nass River

Headdress of thunder. Frontpiece representing the thunderbird with a fish held in two claws; carved figures and abalone shell pieces around 3 sides; bird inlaid with shell. Sea lion barbs.

Frontlet headdress  
(Amhalait)  

C.M. Barbeau, 1929  

Tsimshian  
Nass River  

Headdress of "Qawq"; frontlet representing a bird; wings projecting forward; whole inlaid with abalone shell; black and red paint; circular wooden framework covered with cloth; strip of red felt at either side of frontpiece; cloth trail; sea lion barbs. Nass River.

"Whale tail (unpainted) inside crown."

(M.M. Halpin)
Frontlet headdress
(Amhalait)

C.M. Barbeau, 1929

Tsimshian
Nass River

Headdress of the Rainbow. Carved wooden frontpiece representing a human face; eyes and teeth of abalone shell; flattened nose; shell inlay on four sides; black and red paint; circular wooden framework covered with cloth and red felt; purple, red and white striped trailer decorated with 5 rows of ermine; sealion barbs.
Nass River.
Frontlet

Haida
Queen Charlotte Islands

no collector, no date

Bird head from a piece of whale vertebra; copper eyes.
Frontlet headdress

Tlingit

"Tlingit ceremonial headdress or Friendship Hat; frontlet a wooden carved hawk's head with human face below; inlaid with abalone; sea lion whiskers upright; trailer of ermine skins." (post card)
Frontlet

E. Very (during Wilkes Exploring Expedition).

h. 11 1/4 ins

Pub.: Dall, 1882:118; Plate XXI, Figure 47.
Holm, 1914:27, (illustrated).

Tlingit

birch

... "the mask has been hollowed out by a small gouge probably made from a beaver tooth. The light places in the figure at the eyes, teeth, spots below the claws, &c., are thin flat pieces of haliotis (H. Kamchatkana, native to the region) fastened on with spruce gum, mostly with a hole in each piece of shell. The colours are dark brown or black, red and green; the bare wood shows in a few places. The part of the carving which is behind the lower figure was applied to the forehead and is hollowed out for that purpose, showing signs of having been worn. The head-dress to which it was attached did not accompany it. The lower figure in the front is a conventionalized figure of the sparrow hawk (Tinnunculus sparverius L.); the upper large one that of the beaver; a close inspection shows that the apparent beak was intended to represent two large incisors. The figure which is on a scale of one fifth linear represents it as more rounded in front than in reality, and the median line dividing the two incisors, which is quite indistinct in the original, has been overlooked by the artist. The cancellated appendage between the feet is intended to represent the tail of the beaver." (Dall)

Smithsonian Institution
2662
"The figure is one fourth as long as the original. The eyes and certain patches visible above the hands and feet are formed of pieces of Haliotis shell cemented with spruce gum. The arms, tongue and feet are red. The rest is more or less blackened. The figure above is the otter, with his tongue out; that below is the frog; both are familiars of the medicine men, to one of whom this carving undoubtedly appertained. The headdress, of which it originally formed a part did not come to hand. This belonged to some shamanistic paraphernalia."
Frontal headdress

Haida

Skidegate

James G. Swan
acc. in 1883 by NMNH-SI

Pub.: Feder, 1971:xxi,
object #115 (no illus.,
no data).
"Ceremonial headdress mask representing the bust of the deceased daughter of a Haida chief." (Emmons)

"...Presents the bust of a young girl naturally posed and dressed in the style of a generation ago; it is said to represent the favorite daughter of a Haida chief whose untimely death so saddened the father that he had her image carved in this manner so that he might wear it on ceremonial occasions on the front of his head-dress." (Emmons)

Note: Compare this frontlet with Oakland Public Museum #97 and NMC VII-B-25. (clm).
Frontlet headdress

Louis Jerome Gillespie Memorial Collection

Pub.: Masterkey, Jan. 1934: VIII:1:30; cover photo.

Haida

Beaver with human head on tail; stick in paws and teeth.

"Ceremonial headdress of a Haida chief."

"Among the objects in the Louis Jerome Gillespie Collection ... is a beautifully carved headdress that had been worn on ceremonial occasions by a chief of the Skidegate tribe of the Haida Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, but is of the kind used also by chief in dances from Vancouver Island to Controller Bay, Alaska. The cap frame of the headdress is of cedar or spruce twigs covered with cotton cloth. In front is the crest mask, beautifully carved to represent a beaver with a stick in his fore-paws, ornamentally painted in black, red-brown, red, and blue, as shown in the illustration on our cover. Rising above the cap is a crown of sealion whiskers; when used in dances this space was filled with eagle down. On the back and falling behind is a strip of cotton cloth hung with parallel rows of ermine skins."
Frontlet

W. Mitchell, pre 1912
Chief Officer, "Columbia"

1. 165 mm
w. 137 mm

Vancouver Island
(or Ft. Simpson)

Hawk with "grinning" human face on chest.
Relatively simple, "with decoration in
black, red, and blue paint in wood."

Faintly written on back "Chief's mask for
L?n???y from Fort Simpson".
Frontlet

Raley Collection
acc. 1948

h. 7 3/4 ins

Pub.: Hawthorn, 1967;
Fig. 224.

Frontlet

Tsimshian
Lakalzap (Niska),
"Raven Clan"

Wood and abalone shell; red, black.

Central human figure, squatting.
Frontlet

Raley Collection
acc. 1948

h. 6 ins

Pub.: Hawthorn, 1967;
Fig. 227.

Tsimshian
Aiyansh

Wood and abalone teeth (missing) red,
blue, black.

Central human face surrounded by 10 human
figures.

(MMMHalpin: "See similar headdress with
11 figures (human?) worn by Manoesk, head
chief, Eagle clans, Upper Nass, Barbeau
photo, 1927 or 1929 in Garfield, 1966,
Pl. VII, a.").
Frontlet

Rev. G.H. Raley Collection, 1939.

h. 6 1/4 ins

NMC Neg. No. 87236

    Barbeau, 1953:226;
    illus. #192.

N. Kwagiulit
Kitamaat

"Double eagle design. Wood; black, red." (Hawthorn)

"Carved by Livingstone, of Kitlope (Kitamaat), a sea-coast Tsimshian village of the south." (Barbeau)
Frontlet  
MacMillan Purchase.  

Kwagiul
Alert Bay

"Raven design."

Frontlet

MacMillan Purchase, 1953.

h. 8 1/2 ins


Kwagiulth
Alert Bay

"Raven and sisuitl."

Wood; green, blue, black, yellow.
Frontlet

Kwagiulth
Sullivan Bay

"Hawk design. Wood; green, black, red."


h. 5 1/2 ins

Frontlet headdress
Kwagiul
Sullivan Bay
"Hawk design."


Frontlet


Kwagiulth
Sullivan Bay

"Eagle design. Wood and abalone shell; green, red, black."

Frontlet

C.H. Raley Collection

1. 7 1/2 ins
Wingspread of eagle: 12 ins


Kwagiulth
Kitamaat

"Eagle design, used by Sonahed people up to 1888. Wood; brown, black, white."
Frontlet

Raley Collection
acc. 1948.

8 1/2 ins

Frontlet

MacMillan Purchase, 1951.

h. 9 1/4 ins

Kwagiulth
Kingcome Inlet

"Raven design. Wood and abalone shell; black, red, blue."

Frontlet headdress

MacMillan Purchase, 1951.

h. 8 1/2 ins


Kwagiul
Alert Bay

"Sun and raven design. Wood, cloth and sealion whiskers; red, green, black."
Frontlet

MacMillan Purchase, 1953.

h. 6 1/4 ins


Kwagiul
Kingcome Inlet

"Hawk."

"Hawk design. Wood with abalone shell inlay missing; red, green, black."
Frontlet

MacMillan Purchase, 1953.

Kwagiulth
Ft. Rupert

"Raven design. Wood and abalone shell; black, blue, red."

h. 8 ins.

Frontlet

MacMillan Purchase, 1953

h. 11 ins


Kwagiulth
Allison Harbour

"Hawk design. Wood and abalone shell; with glass eyes; black, green, blue, red."
Frontlet

MacMillan Purchase, 1953.

h. 8 1/2 ins

Kwagiulth
Blunden Harbour

"Bear design. Wood with abalone shell inlay missing; red, yellow, black."

Frontlet

Collector, MacKay
Acc. 1959.


h. 7 1/2 ins

Tsimshian
Nass River
Greenville

Bear.

Wood and abalone. Red and black.

Pub.: Hawthorn, 1967: plate XII, B.
Frontlet headdress


h. 8 ins

Pub.: Hawthorn, 1967: Plate XI; B.

Kwagiuł
Ft. Rupert

"Bear design. Kwakiutl chief's headdress from Fort Rupert, with bear design. Wood, abalone shell, sea lion whiskers, ermine, cloth mantle; black, red, blue."
Frontlet
MacMillan Purchase, 1963

Bella Coola
"Wood and abalone shell; blue, red, black."

h. 11 ins

Frontlet


Bella Coola

"Unfinished. Unpainted alderwood."

h. 11 ins

Frontlet headdress

Collected in 1885.

h. 10 1/2 ins


Kwagiulth
Ft. Rupert

"Sun design, abalone shell, and cedar bark; green, black."
Figure with headdress

Haida

Argillite.
Human warrior figure; hide armour coat and rod armour on legs, wearing eagle head piece.
Wood base attached.

h. 5 9/16 ins
w. 2 11/16 ins

Photo Neg. No. NA9:32
9:33.
(Frontlet?) mask

1. 15 ins
w. 6 3/4 ins

Photo Neg. no. 5264.

Pub.: Yakutat South.

Exhibit.: Art Inst., Chicago,
13 March - 26 April, 1964.

Tsimshian
(or Tlingit)

Alder, natural wood, loon mask, long narrow beak, red on eyebrows and along beak, abalone inlay in eyes and teeth; seven small human heads on loon's forehead with red painted features and abalone inlay in teeth and eyes.

Notes on back of archives photo: "Raven mask, Nass River, Tsimshian."

Bill Holm suggested ethnic identification.
Headdress
Accession 42.40
Vendor: Mrs. A.D. Fish

Tsimshian

Red Cedar.
Eagle headdress of the Sun Clan; Eagle face with sides of plaque in form of wings, beak separate and attached tail projects from top; another bird’s head in front of tail; negative (?) paints of black, red, greens, gold; inlaid in various places with bits of mirror; internal head support of bent twigs bound with comm. string.

Belonged to Chief Collison of Kitkatla, the grand uncle of Mrs. Hattie Ferguson. H.F. wore the headdress when she inherited the title 'Espiówa' – "Wherever the Sun Shines."
Headdress

Accession 42.40

Vendor: Mrs. A.D. Fish

h. 13 ins
w. 8 1/2 ins

Photo Neg. no. NA10:17, 10:18.

Tsimshian

Red Cedar, bird face with sides in form of wings, tail projects from top, another bird's head in front of tail; native (?) paints of black, red, greens, gold; inlaid in various places with bits of mirror; internal head support of wire bound with cloth.
Frontlet headdress

Haida

Chief's headdress, maple (?) frontal piece, beaver design with broken stick in hands, face on tail, inlaid with abalone shell; sea-lion whiskers on top; feathers at sides; ermine skins down back.

Halpin and Holm give this piece a Haida (rather than Tsimshian) provenance.
Frontlet headdress

Accession 1.60

Vendor: Wm. Cadwallader from Ft. Rupert, Pt. Hardy, B.C., 1 Jan. 1960. (Wm. Cadwallader is grandson of last HBC factor at Ft. Rupert.)

w. 7 3/4 ins
h. 7 5/8 ins


Haida (?)

Chief's headdress, maple frontal piece with carved beaver; abalone inlay around edges of plaque and in eyes, ears and other parts of beaver; black, turquoise, blue, red (vermilion) and bound with commercial string; bits of white weasel fur still attached to head frame; sea lion whiskers on top (some replaced with sticks).

Detail observation: right side of beaver's stick is broken on the end; four toes, four claws; no back painting; major face hollowed in back; one piece of wood; repaired by sewing in lower right.
Headdress

Accession 72.60

Vendor: Landes Furs Ltd.

h. 8 ins
w. 11 ins

Nootka(?)

Artist: Jimmy John, Nootka, Nanaimo, B.C.

Used in wood figure dance or crow dance. Chief's headdress or dancing hat; yellow cedar; bird (hawk?), top circled with points; black, red, white, blue, green paint, varnished; wings projecting forward; 2 green frogs on either side; triangular inlay of mother-of-pearl(?) above beak; also inlay on eyes, nose and other parts.
Frontlet

Accession 61.60

Vendor: Mrs. Maggie Clair, native Kwagiul living in Quatsino who was 72 in 1960.

1. 8 1/8 ins
w. 6 ins

Photo Neg. no. NA18:2
(dated March 7 1972).

Kwakiutl(?)

Alder(?); sea-lion, abalone inlay, red, green, black paint.

Ethnic identification suggested by Marjorie Halpin and Bill Holm.
Figure with headdress

Haida

Attributed to Thomas Collison of Skidegate.

Yellow cedar; chief wearing headdress with inlaid abalone, and quills or sea-lion whiskers set in top, object missing from right hand; robe and apron, red and black (native?) paint.

h. 29 1/2 ins.
Figure with headdress

Accession 971.107.239

Lipsett Collection (No. 598)

1. 16 ins
w. 5 ins
d. 4 1/2 ins

Photo Neg. no. NA92:7

Tsimshian

Model of Tsimshian chief wearing a Chilcat blanket and helmet with eagle down. Carved from yellow cedar. Painted: black, yellow, blue, and red.

Lipsett notes: Indian chief in ceremonial robes. Chilcat blanket woven of the wool of the mt. goat, headdress of ermine skins, surmounted by the bristles of the sea lion. Crest of the chief in front, crown shaped receptacle of the head is filled with down from the breast of the eagle or swan, as he dances in and out among his guests he bows before each, causing the down to fall on them, as a token of respect and honour.

Missing 1 appendage from left front of helmet headdress.
Accession 70.18-1


Collected, 1969 at Bella Coola by M. Johnson

Photo Neg. No. NA121:3 & 4, add. negs: P 170.
Photo date: 11, 1970.


Bella Coola

Chief's frontlet, wood, hawk, face underneath and above hawk, top face wearing headdress; hands projecting from either side of face; bits of mirror inlay around frontlet and in eyes; blue and orange commercial paint, lower jaw of hawk broken.
"Although collected among the Kwakiutl, this frontlet is apparently of Bella Coola manufacture. The circular rim is fairly frequently seen on frontlets from all parts of the coast. The representation here is of the killer whale. The beaklike ridge running down over the upper lip is a stylized feature of the killer whale in Kwakiutl and Bella Coola carvings. The small human face modeled with intersecting convex planes in the Bella Coola style forms the joint of the double-fluked tail at the top of the frontlet, flanked by the whale's flippers. The Northwest Coast artist's ability to reduce an animal to its essential features and compose them in a restricted space is beautifully illustrated in this classic Bella Coola dancing headdress. A rich cobalt blue is the predominant colour, with details of the lips and nostrils painted in vermilion, the eyebrows black, and the eyesockets of the killer whale green." (Holm)
Frontlet

h. 7 ins

Pub.: Holm, 1972:29; (illus. #19).

Kwakiutl

"This example is certainly Kwakiutl, however, judging by the stylization of the carving and painting. The figure is a hawk or thunder bird with folded wings. The slightly flared rim with its gabled upper edge and inlay of small separated pieces of abalone shell is typical of southern Kwakiutl frontlets. Several of the pieces are pierced with small round holes, a sign that the abalone shell was salvaged from previous use on a blanket or a decorated article." (Holm)
Headdress ornament

Coll.: George T. Emmons at Kluckwan before 1909.

h. 6 1/2 ins

Tlingit

The mask was worn in front of a shaman's headdress.

Pub.: Inverarity, 1950: illustration #76.
Frontlet headdress

G.T. Emmons

w. 9 ins

Pub.: Inverarity: 1950, illus. 81.

Tlingit

Inverarity: "Ceremonial headdress representing a raven, the owner's totemic emblem, carved in wood, painted blue-green, red, and black, and inlaid with abalone shell. Above the mask rise sea-lion bristles and flicker feathers; the remainder of the headdress is decorated with ermine skin."
Frontlet

No date

"by courtesy of the Wellcome Trustees."

19.0 x 16.8 cm

Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine

Tsimshian

Beaver with human face on tail. Richly inlaid with haliotis shell.

Front piece of chief's ceremonial headdress of carved wood painted red and inlaid with abalone shell. The carved figure represents the beaver, a totemic animal frequently used in n.w. coast designs.

Tsimshian, British Columbia, n.w. coast America.

The beaver is gnawing his symbolic stick. Human figure on the beaver's tail (traditionally cross-hatched as here) shows supernatural powers. These objects are called masks, but in fact they are frontlets worn above the forehead as part of an elaborate headdress.
Headdress ornament

Ex Coll: MAI-Heye Foundation 9/7875

Coll: George T. Emmons from the Chilkat in 1919.

h. 7 ins


Tlingit

Wood, paint, haliotis shell inlay, human hair.