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THE TSIMSHIAN CREST SYSTEM:  
A STUDY BASED ON MUSEUM SPECIMENS  
AND THE MARIUS BARBEAU AND WILLIAM BEYNON FIELD NOTES

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the relationship of art and society. Specifically, it investigates Tsimshian crest art and its relationship to social organization. The analytical framework is structural, with explanatory formulations derived in part from the writings of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Victor Turner. The study is unusual in that it is based upon museum specimens and records, data not often perceived as amenable to treatment within the context of contemporary social anthropology. It is also the most systematic examination of Northwest Coast iconography yet undertaken.

The data include the field notes of Marius Barbeau and William Beynon, collected from the Tsimshian between 1914 and 1957, and preserved in the National Museum of Man. These data were used to construct an iconographic framework or grid within which Tsimshian objects in museums can be identified as crests.

The crest system was analyzed as a series of statements about Tsimshian social structure. There are several hundred distinct named crests in the Tsimshian system (these are listed in an appendix), which is considerably more elaborate than the crest systems of their neighbours, the Haida and Tlingit. This elaboration was principally produced by the application of a series of "operators" (attributes) to crest animals in order to produce new forms. Thus, the Haida had a single raven crest, while the Tsimshian had over a dozen (White Raven, Split Raven, All Copper Raven, etc.). Still other forms were produced by merging features of different animals into composite "monsters."

This complexity of forms is related in the thesis to a parallel elaboration and complexity in social structure, notably the greater elaboration of ranking and chieftainship in Tsimshian society. An analytical distinction was developed between "crests of differentiation" and "crests of integration." Crests of differentiation are totemic; that is, they employ distinctions between natural species in order to express differences between human descent groups. Crests of integration are iconographically monsters, which blur the natural (species) distinctions upon which totemic systems are based, in order to express integrative tendencies in social organization at both clan and "tribal" levels.

A sub-category of complex monster crests was defined and shown to be related to a cannibal theme in Tsimshian mythology. The cannibal was interpreted as a metaphor expressing the redistributive function of the chiefly role. Representations of complex monsters were found on totem poles, house front paintings, frontlets, and raven rattles (the face on its "stomach"). A number of these representations are illustrated.

While the focus of the study is crest art, a non-crest iconographic system based on spirit (naxn>'x) names was also defined and illustrated. This iconographic system is presented as the first ethnographically substantiated interpretation of Tsimshian masks.

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### Acknowledgment

This study is based on materials collected by Marius Barbeau and William Beynon, his Tsimshian associate. I have a great indebtedness to these two ethnographers, and to the quality and quantity of the data they collected. I hope that I have in part discharged this debt with the dissertation itself. Barbeau did not do these same data justice in his many publications, with the result that his and Beynon's great service to the discipline in collecting them has not been adequately recognized. Since this is the first major study to have been done by someone else using the Barbeau/Beynon field notes, it may direct new attention to their singular and significant contribution.

The Barbeau/Beynon notes were generously made available to me by Professor Wilson Duff, who is also Chairman of my Advisory Committee. His continued generosity and patience in helping me to understand the data, and the underlying order of which they are reflections, was the very best kind of teaching a grateful student can receive. The other members of my committee, Professor Michael Ames, K. O. L. Burrige, Harry Hawthorn, and Barrie Morrison, were critical and helpful readers of earlier versions of the dissertation. Professor Ames also contributed to its structural orientation through his rigorous course in structural theory. Another of my teachers whose influence is obvious in these pages is Professor David Aberle, who kindly read and criticized Chapter Three.

I photographed Tsimshian collections and gathered additional information for this study in a number of museums, and wish to acknowledge here the privileges extended to me by the B.C. Provincial Museum, the Museum of Anthropology of the University of British Columbia, the National Museum of Man, the Museum of the American Indian, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Thomas Burke Memorial Museum of the University of Washington, and the Field Museum. I also received helpful information by mail from the U.S. National Museum and the Museum and Laboratories of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA.

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## Phonetic Key<sup>1</sup>

The orthography used in this study is Marius Barbeau's field orthography, which he developed at the National Museum with the help of his colleague, Edward Sapir. It has been slightly simplified.

### Vowels

i as in "seek"

e as in "late"

E as in "pet"

a as in "father"

ɔ as in "again"

o as in "mole"

ɔ as in "law"

u as in "boot"

### Consonants

p b t d k g as in English

q.g. farther back than k and g

k' g' (k<sup>y</sup> g<sup>y</sup>) farther forward than k and g, adding a y sound,  
as in "thank you"

s z as in English

ɬ surd l, like the thl in "athlete," whispered and slurred  
into a single sound with tongue in l position

x as in German "ich"

c t plus s, as in "cats"

ʔ the glottal stop, as in "Hawai'i"

---

1. The English equivalents of Tsimshian sounds and the description of Barbeau's popular system are from Duff. (1964: 109-110).

Phonetic Key cont.

Accent or stress (') after the vowel of the stressed syllable.

Length vowels marked with a dot are sounded for double the normal length of time.

Barbeau's Popular Orthography

In his publications Barbeau used a system based on the English alphabet. Correspondence between this popular system and the preceding field system are as follows:

<u>Popular System</u>	<u>Field System</u>
ae	E
aw	ɔ
r	g.
rh	x
hl	ɬ
gy	g'

Examples:

Gitrhahla	g'itxa'la	(Kitkatla)
Legyarh	legE'x	(Legaic)
Gitrhawn	g'itxɔn	(Gitkun)
Rhaida	xay'dɔ	(Haida)

There is no point in proposing a museum study of folk classifications, or of ethnoesthetics, or of attitudes about objects, or of the detailed relations between material culture and social organization, for the data do not exist in museums.

William C. Sturtevant, 1973

## INTRODUCTION

This is a study in museum anthropology, to which I have had a personal commitment since 1963, when I was hired as the Smithsonian Institution's first docent (interpreter) in anthropology. Since 1968, I have been participating in a modest renaissance in object-oriented<sup>1</sup> research at the University of British Columbia, stimulated by the example and teachings of Professor Wilson Duff. My choice of a problem in museum anthropology for this dissertation was a result of these two influences on my personal and scholarly development.

In order to make any kind of concrete fact meaningful -- whether it be event or thing -- it is necessary to interpret it in terms of a theoretical construct or analytical framework. This basic stricture of science has been overlooked by most anthropologists who write about objects in museum collections, with the result that we have a great many catalogues which increase our familiarity with particular pieces, but do little to increase our understanding of them. In this sense, we can say that the art of the Northwest Coast Indians is one of the best-known and least understood aesthetic expressions of the non-Western world. The notable exception in studies of this art is Bill Holm's Northwest Coast Art: An Analysis of Form (1965), which masterfully explicated some of the formal principles of the art style. The present study is an attempt to explicate some of the principles underlying its iconography.

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1. The term "object-oriented research" comes from Scott and Segmen (1970: 1005).

According to Panofsky (1962: 3), "iconography is that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form." If we follow his well-known distinctions, a description of the "primary or natural meanings" of a work of art is a "pre-iconographical" description (ibid.: 5). This would be the description, for example, of the subject matter of a painting as a woman holding a child. It is when we connect such representations with themes or concepts which have meaning in terms of the culture of their origin, which he calls turning motifs into images, that we reach the domain of "iconography in the narrow sense" (ibid.: 6). This would be the identification of the woman and child as the Virgin Mary and Jesus. Iconography in the narrow sense is the principal domain of the present study, although it will also attempt to fathom what Panofsky calls "iconography in a deeper sense": "those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation" (ibid.: 8).

I am specifically concerned with those images which had meaning to the Tsimshian as crests, although in order to adequately understand crests I have had to look at certain systems of non-crest representations. Fortunately, rather than working from the motif to its meaning, as have previous investigators of Northwest Coast iconography, I have had data at my disposal which permitted me to work from a system of meanings to motifs. This was possible because of the systematic and classificatory nature of the Tsimshian crest system, but should also be possible for other bodies of totemic art.

Tsimshian crests formed a classification system of the type defined by Lévi-Strauss (1966) as totemic, that is, an ethno-logical

construct used to classify social groups. The terms in a totemic classification, as in other taxonomic systems of non-literate peoples, are primarily drawn from nature, the distinctions between plant and animal species being used to represent differences between human groups.

The dissertation is based on lists of several hundreds of crests owned by specified houses or lineages of the Tsimshian, and represented iconographically on certain items of material culture. These lists were compiled from the unpublished field notes of Marius Barbeau and William Beynon and are contained in Appendix II. They constitute one of the most comprehensive lists of "totemic" crests ever made available. A previous list of Gitksan crests was published by Barbeau (1929: 158-169), although their systemic character appears to have gone unnoticed, even by Barbeau himself. The present lists include also the crests of the Niska and Coast Tsimshian, and the Gitksan crests are reported more accurately and in more detail than in Barbeau's 1929 list.

The crest lists were analyzed for regularities or patterns suggestive of the rules underlying both their generation and their distribution throughout the social system.

One of the most significant and surprising discoveries based on the crest lists was a class of "monster" crests, defined as animal-like forms without natural prototypes, but composed of attributes such as wings, fins, and beaks borrowed from nature. They thus blur the species distinctions upon which a totemic system is based, and represent a new and evolving order of crests. Otherwise careful scho-



lars have consistently classified these monster forms as hawks, killer-whales, bears, or other animals on the basis of certain perceived similarities in Tsimshian art to natural species on the pre-iconographic level, and thus they have with equal consistency misinterpreted the meaning of these crests.

A sub-class of complex monster crests was defined and found to be related to a pervasive Cannibal theme in Tsimshian thought. This, too, was unexpected and had not been anticipated from the literature, which deals only with a form of ritual cannibalistic dramatization believed to be recently borrowed from the Northern Kwakiutl.

I interpret monster crests as a movement or transformation in the Tsimshian crest system from differentiation to integration, from diversity to unity. A similar and parallel process was found in Tsimshian social organization. The development toward the two unities, the one metaphorical, the other societal, is reflected most clearly in the roles and symbols of the chief, especially among the Coast Tsimshian. This suggested, using the developmental stages of contemporary cultural evolutionists, that the evolving social system was in transition from a tribal level of integration to a chiefdom level.

Potlatches were the ritual context in which crests were validated and displayed, with attendant distribution of wealth to guest-witnesses. Potlatches permitted, in effect, communal participation in and authorization of the construction of the metaphorical structure and ensured its fit or congruity with the social structure. The potlatch can thus be interpreted, following Leach (1965), as a ritual celebration of Tsimshian social organization.

After investigating crests as a system of meanings, I used the system in identifying and interpreting crest images in Tsimshian art. These were found to be far less ubiquitous than previously thought, and not to be synonymous with animal representations (i.e., an animal image is not always a crest). In the process of establishing a residual category of non-crest images, I defined a previously undescribed system of mask iconography -- naxnɔ'x or spirit names and their representation in masked dramas. It is the first ethnographically substantiated interpretation of Tsimshian masks in the literature.

Tsimshian crest art was a special use of artistic images to make Tsimshian social structure visible. This suggests that art, at least totemic art, is more than aesthetic design; it is an intellectual or cognitive process by means of which man explores his world and renders it meaningful and intelligible. As Lévi-Strauss has argued, the so-called primitive artist, and those who commission and use his art, are more cerebral than many have thought.

There are seven chapters, with two appendices that contain supporting data. Chapter One is an introduction to the culture and contains a taxonomy of local groups, intended to help the reader through a plethora of local and village names. Chapter Two describes the museum data and collections used in this study. Chapter Three, "Social Organization," is a critical background chapter to the rest of the argument, which depends upon an analytical distinction between two structural orders in Tsimshian society. Chapters Four through Six describe the

crest system and present the major substantive findings of the dissertation. The Epilogue is a concluding statement. Appendix I contains a synoptic presentation of Tsimshian lineages by rank, tribe, and clan. Appendix II contains a classification of a series of crest lists, the basic data upon which the study is based.

I have tried to spare the reader from the necessity of learning to recognize Tsimshian words. However, there are six which cannot be avoided. These include the names of the four clans: laxsk'i'k, laxk'ibu', g.anha'də, and g'ispəwudwa'də. The last two cannot be translated and it would be misleading to use them while translating the other two into English. The other two words are naxnə'x, which can be glossed as "spirit," and hala'it, which is a general word that can mean, according to its context, "shaman," or "dancer," as well as rituals such as secret society initiations in which supernatural powers are involved.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE TSIMSHIAN

The Tsimshian live in northwestern British Columbia, along the Nass and Skeena Rivers and on the coast and islands between their two estuaries and extending as far south as Milbanke Sound. With their neighbours, the Haida and Tlingit, they comprise a distinct and distinctive cultural grouping, known in Northwest Coast studies as the Northern Province.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the modern period, which can be said to have begun about 1880, the traditional cultures of the Northern Province shared a number of structural features which combined to give them the essential unity recognized in this anthropological classification. These included totemism, the potlatch, matrilineal descent, preferential marriage, preferred avunculocal residence, and ranking (see Rosman and Rubel, 1971: 7, 34).<sup>2</sup> They also shared a great many cultural traits, ranging from tobacco chewing to art and folkloristic motifs, which reinforce our perceptions of their relatedness.<sup>3</sup>

Within the unity of the Northern Province, however, the distinctiveness of Tsimshian culture is beginning to receive increasing attention. In 1951, Viola Garfield summarized the then-current view of

1. The Northern Province was defined by Drucker (1955a: 187), who also included the northern Kwakiutl Haisla as marginal members.
2. Not all of these features, of course, were unique to the Northern Province; the combination was.
3. The Northern Province was, in fact, defined by Drucker on the basis of trait lists (see 1955a: Chapter Nine).

the differences between the Tsimshian and their neighbours as follows:

Three elements of Tsimshian culture set them off most distinctly from their neighbors. The language is distinct and, to date, no relationship between it and any others in the area has been demonstrated. The Tsimshian have four exogamous kinship divisions in contrast to the dual divisions of the Tlingit and Haida, though all four phratries are not represented in every Tsimshian town. The Coast Tsimshian and Nisga elevated certain lineage heads to tribal chiefs whose prestige was greatly enhanced by tribal economic support and properties, and by tribute from all members of the local group regardless of clan affiliation (Garfield, 1966 [1951]: 4).

In contrast, the present generation of anthropologists studying the Northwest Coast are concerned with discovering basic structural and cognitive features of these cultures. The most significant published result of the application of structural anthropology to the Northwest Coast is Abraham Rosman and Paula Rubel's Feasting with Mine Enemy (1971), in which they investigate the relationships between the structure of the potlatch and aspects of social structure for six Northwest Coast societies. They conclude that significant social structural differences in the Northern Province are that "the Tsimshian have matrilineal cross-cousin marriage while the Tlingit and Haida have patrilineal cross-cousin marriage" (ibid.: 7) and "the Tsimshian exhibit a complex ranking of groups in relation to one another while the Haida and Tlingit do not" (ibid.: 194). They then examine and explain potlatch variations in the societies in terms of a model developed from these variables.

This study is another attempt to penetrate the patent oneness of the Northern Province and to discover structural variables underlying differences in ritual and art. It does not look at the Tlingit and Haida, except in passing, but focusses rather on differences between the three divisions of the Tsimshian -- the Coast Tsimshian, the Niska, and the Gitksan.

While the reader can be referred to the published literature for general summaries of Tsimshian culture (Garfield, 1939, 1966; Boas, 1916), some of its basic patterns are reviewed here.

The Tsimshian include both coastal and inland peoples, and oppositions of land and sea, coast and interior, and the animals and plants characteristic of each, provided a major symbolic theme running throughout their expressive culture. This coastal : interior opposition was mediated by the two great rivers -- the Nass and Skeena -- which united them and provided their main food resource: salmon.

Every family owned salmon fishing territories along the river banks, where they spent the summer months catching the running salmon and smoking and drying them for winter. Another river-spawning fish whose periodicity had great influence on Tsimshian life was the eulachon, which ascended the Nass River in prodigious numbers in the early spring. This was said to be a time of famine or near-famine for the Tsimshian, and they all moved eagerly to the mouth of the Nass to intercept the eulachon, whose arrival heralded the plenty of summer. Eulachon grease was a much prized commodity and condiment on the Northwest Coast, and the Tsimshian gained great wealth from trading it to the Tlingit and

Haida, who owned no eulachon fishing grounds and who came to the Nass in the spring to trade for it. Nass River eulachon grease was famous all over the Northwest Coast for its special flavour.

Winter brought the "time of taboos" and the people moved back into their great cedar plank houses in permanent "totem pole" or winter villages to wait again for spring. This was the ritual season, the time when the spirits came down from the mountains to lurk in the forests surrounding the villages. Certain houses were sanctified for the season by placing sacred rings of red cedar bark on the doors; inside the members of dancing societies initiated new members and people possessed by the Cannibal and Dog Eater spirits roamed the woods.

It was also a time for feasting. People traveled from all over the Tsimshian country to attend the potlatches of the great chiefs, which lasted for days, were staged with great pomp and ceremony, and were remembered for generations. Guests at potlatches were invited to witness the ritual transfer of names and privileges from their custodians in one generation to the successors in the next. Succession was matrilineal, and the most elaborate potlatches were those held to mark the assumption of a chief's name -- perhaps "name-title" is more descriptive -- by his successor, ideally his sister's son. These were the occasions at which the new chief erected a totem pole as a memorial to his predecessor.

Before the potlatch, the Tsimshian often held special dramatic performances involving another kind of name: spirit (naxnɔ'x) names.<sup>4</sup>

4. Among the Gitksan especially, the chief's name itself was often a naxnɔ'x name.

These were events of pure theatre, involving humour, suspense, and denouement; song and dance; masks, costumes, and props. The audience itself was often brought into the action and, as well as we can determine from the fragmentary record, everyone present seems to have thoroughly enjoyed these occasions. The plot, as it were, of the dramatic presentation was the acting out of the meaning of a name. It was usually done in the manner of a charade, the audience being presented with various clues as to the meaning of the name being dramatized.

All of these ritual events -- dancing society initiations, potlatches, and spirit name dramatizations -- required wealth to stage, and some of them required inherited privilege or right, so that they were normally affairs of the chiefly families. Except for the dancing society initiations, however, the entire community was often involved, at least in the capacity of audience if not minor participants.

To be a high-ranking Tsimshian man was to be Tsimshian in the fullest sense the culture afforded. It was to be highborn and pure in descent, to have assumed important names at potlatches of proper pomp, to speak well and observe, most carefully, the rules of right behaviour and etiquette, to have been well-raised by one's parents and carefully taught by one's uncle. It was to have ritually encountered and controlled dangerous supernatural powers, and to demonstrate this control several times more at considerable expense. It was to assume the noblesse oblige of one's rank and, above all, it was to accept the great responsibilities of one's name and the moral imperative to expend one's life and one's wealth in efforts to elevate it.



As were their neighbours in the Northern Province, the Tsimshian were masters of the northern style of Northwest Coast art, the style characterized by Haida artist Bill Reid as one of "classical control" (Duff, et al, 1967: n.p.). It is the meaning or iconography of this art, its ritual context, and its social motivations that concern this study. We will also look at some outstanding examples of its form.

\* \* \* \* \*

There is confusion and inconsistency in the literature regarding linguistic, cultural, and geographic divisions of Tsimshian-speaking peoples. The following classification is proposed and used herein to avoid ambiguity and clearly distinguish linguistic (e.g., Tsimshian) and major (e.g., Coast Tsimshian) and minor (e.g., Lower Skeena Tsimshian) cultural-geographic units or divisions:

<sup>5</sup>  
Tsimshian is a linguistic designation for people speaking two related languages (Rigsby, 1969):

- <sup>6</sup>  
 1. Coast Tsimshian
2. Nass-Gitksan.

These two language groups are divided into three broad cultural and geographic divisions:

- <sup>6</sup>  
 I. Coast Tsimshian, living along the lower Skeena River up to and including its canyon, and the coasts and islands from the mouth of the Nass south to Milbanke Sound;

- 
5. Native speakers use "Tsimshian" to refer to the Coast Tsimshian language only, and normally distinguish between Niska and Gitksan dialects.
  6. Although the classification uses "Coast Tsimshian" to refer to both a language and a cultural group, the two are coterminous.

- II. Niska, living along the Nass River and Portland Canal.
- III. Gitksan, living along the upper Skeena River or its tributaries.

The Coast Tsimshian and Niska are further subdivided:

- I. Coast Tsimshian
  - A. Southern Tsimshian
  - B. Lower Skeena Tsimshian
  - C. Canyon Tsimshian
- II. Niska
  - A. Lower Nass
  - B. Upper Nass.

The Gitksan are often referred to in the literature as the people of the Upper Skeena.

#### Tribes:

The Tsimshian lived in some twenty-six local groups usually referred to as tribes. Each tribe customarily occupied a single winter village, often of the same name. The tribes are listed below according to the preceding geo-cultural divisions. The numbers of the tribes (1-26) are sometimes used in this study and in Appendix II as a shorthand designation for the tribal name. The spelling of tribal names is based upon Marius Barbeau's field orthography and English translations are approximations derived from his field notes, except where another source is given. The accepted names and spellings of present Tsimshian bands are given in brackets (from Duff, 1964: 18-20). Minimal discussion of population movements is included, primarily to aid in provenience designations of museum specimens.

# I. Coast Tsimshian

## A. Southern Tsimshian

The three southernmost tribes had territories on the outer coasts and islands, although the traditional narratives of the g'idzstsu' and g'itg.a''atə tell of migrations from the Skeena River. The g'idzstsu' now live in the modern village of Klemtu with the HaiHais Kwakiutl.

1. g'idzstsu' (meaning?) [Kitasoo]
2. g'itg.a''atə ("people of the [ceremonial] cane") [Hartley Bay]
3. g'itxa'la ("people of the channel" [Garfield, 1939: 176]) [Kitkatla].

## B. Lower Skeena Tsimshian

These ten tribes had winter villages on the lower Skeena River until late prehistoric times when they extended their territories coastward, at the expense of the Tlingit, and built winter villages on the islands of Metlakatla Pass, where the weather was milder. They continued to return to their territories on the Skeena in the summers. After the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Simpson in 1834, nine of the tribes (the g'itwilksəbE' became extinct as a tribe) moved their winter houses and rebuilt them on separate village sections near the Fort.

These tribes now comprise the Port Simpson and Metlakatla bands in British Columbia, and there is an offshoot population at New  
7  
Metlakatla on Annette Island in Alaska.

7. New Metlakatla was founded in 1887 by the Anglican missionary William Duncan and some 800 Christian Tsimshian from the earlier Christian village of Metlakatla, which was built on the precontact site of the winter villages of the ten Lower Skeena Tsimshian tribes (see Duff, 1964: 92-94; Arctander, 1909).

4. g'itwilg'ɔ'ts ("people of the kelp" [Garfield, 1939: 176])
5. g'itzaxɪE'ɪ ("people of the \_\_\_\_\_," an elderberry-like shrub, sp. unknown)
6. g'itsi's ("people of the salmon trap")
7. g'inax'ang'i'k ("people of the mosquitos")
8. g'ina'dɔ'iks ("people of the swift water")
9. g'it'andɔ' ("people of the weirs")
10. g'ispaxɪɔ'ts ("people of the elderberries")
11. g'itwilksɔbE' (meaning?)
12. g'ilodza'uɔ ("people of the way inside," referring to a canoe route through a slough in the Skeena)
13. g'itɪE'n ("people of two passing canoes," referring to the shape of two mountains).

#### C. Canyon Tsimshian

The g'itsɔla'sɔ lived in two winter villages on either side of Kitselas Canyon on the Skeena. These villages were abandoned between 1870 and 1890, the people moving to New Kitselas and Port Essington. The g'itsɔmg.E'ɪɔm lived below them near the mouth of the Kitsumkalum River.

14. g'itsɔmg.E'ɪɔm ("people of the plateau") [Kitsumkalum]
15. g'itsɔla'sɔ ("people of the canyon") [Kitselas]
  - a. g'itlaxdzɔ'ks ("people at the foot of the slide" or "people at the edge of a precipice")
  - b. g'itxtsE'x ("people at the edge of the lake").

## II. Niska

Generally speaking, the four Niska tribes have not retained clear and separate identities to the same degree as have their Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan neighbours. There was considerable population movement in this area, and the people who comprised the tribes and lived in the different villages are not always clearly distinguishable on the basis of present data.

### A. Lower Nass

The people of the lower Nass called themselves the g'itxat'i'n and were divided into two tribes: the g'itxat'i'n (proper) and the g'itg'ig'E'nix, who were a small offshoot population that moved a short distance upriver to the village of antegwalE'.

The g'itxat'i'n did not conform to the usual pattern of living in a single winter village, and they and the g'itg'ig'E'nix experienced a number of population shifts so that their history of settlement is complicated. Since the late decades of the 19th century they have been living at the two modern villages of Kincolith ("place of scalps") and Greenville or laxg.aldzap ("on deserted village site"). The four villages listed below for the g'itxat'i'n were 19th century "totem pole" villages.

16. g'itxat'i'n ("people using fish traps") [Kincolith and Greenville]
  - a. g'it'iks ("people of iks!" an exclamation)
  - b. kwunwɔ'q ("where people sleep" when travelling)
  - c. ang'edE' ("where they catch eulachon with rakes")
  - d. g'itlax'a'us ("people on the sandbar")

17. g'itg'ig'E.nix ("people of up the river") [Kincolith and Greenville]

a. antegwale' ("place of happiness").

#### B. Upper Nass

The people of the upper Nass were the g'it<sub>2</sub>nwilliks ("people staying temporarily," referring to their movement down the river at eulachon fishing time). They were divided into two tribes: the g'itw<sub>2</sub>nk<sub>2</sub>si'k, who lived at the canyon, and the dominant g'itlaxda'mks, who lived a few miles above them.

Around the turn of the century the old village of g'itw<sub>2</sub>nk<sub>2</sub>si'k burned down and the people settled at Gwinaha. They have since moved to Canyon City. The Christians of g'itlaxda'mks moved to the missionary village ai'ya'nc ("early leaves") and, when it was flooded ca. 1918, they returned to g'itlaxda'mks, which was then given the name ai'ya'nc. Recently, the g'itlaxda'mks have moved to the modern village of New Aiyansh.

18. g'itw<sub>2</sub>nk<sub>2</sub>si'k ("people of the place of lizards") [Canyon City]

19. g'itlaxda'mks ("people on the place of springs") [Gitlakadamix]

### III. Gitksan

The seven Gitksan tribes each occupied a single winter village, six of them on or near the Skeena and one, k'itw<sub>2</sub>nk<sub>2</sub>ku'l, to the north on the "grease trail" to the Nass. About 1880 another small tribe, the anlag.as<sub>2</sub>mdE'x, joined the k'isg.ag.a's.

Three Christian communities were founded between 1890 and 1910.

Glen Vowell, the only one still in existence, drew its converts from k'ispayaks, k'isg.ag.a's, and qaldɔ'; Andimaul ("where they fish with hand lines") mostly from k'itsəgu'kla; and Meanskinisht ("at the base of the big mountain") from k'itwang.E' and k'itwəniku'1.

g'it'anma'ks, at the site of the white settlement of Skeena Forks or Hazelton (founded in the late 1860s), attracted people from neighbouring villages and its originally small population now exceeds all of the others; the k'isg.ag.a's have now completely amalgamated with them. The people of qaldɔ' have amalgamated with k'ispayaks, and many of the k'itwəniku'1 moved to the Nass in the late 19th century to live at Aiyanish and Kincolith.

The tribes in their order upriver are:

20. k'itwəng.E' ("people of the place of rabbits") [Kitwanga]
21. k'itwəniku'1 ("people of the little place" or "people of the narrow valley") [Kitwancool]
22. k'itsəgu'kla ("people of səgu'kla," a mountain) [Kitsegukla]
23. g'it'anma'ks ("people where they fish by torch light")  
[Hazelton]
24. k'ispayaks ("people of the hiding place") [Kispiox]
25. k'isg.ag.a's ("people of the sea-gulls"?) [Kisgegas]
26. qaldɔ' ("wilderness") [Kuldo].

## CHAPTER TWO

"ETHNOLOGY UNDER GLASS"<sup>1</sup>

Mary Douglas, an outsider to Northwest Coast studies, reviewed<sup>2</sup> the published ethnographic literature on the Tsimshian and concluded that, "alas, very little is known about this tribe," and that one wishing to study them "has to make do with very poor ethnographic materials" (Douglas, 1967: 66). In the pages to follow, I shall have occasion to evaluate the adequacy of such published ethnography as there is; here I am more concerned to establish its scarcity. For Mary Douglas was quite right; the student who wishes to understand the traditional Tsimshian way of life must work with spotty and incomplete ethnographic reportage.

There are only three published monographic sources on the Tsimshian: one on Coast Tsimshian social organization (Garfield, 1939), one on Coast Tsimshian myths (Boas, 1916), and one on Gitksan totem poles (Barbeau, 1929). There are also two collections of Nass River texts (Boas, 1902, 1912), important early articles on social organization (Sapir, 1915; Barbeau, 1917a) and kinship terms (Sapir, 1920), a missionary's biography (Arctander, 1909), a lengthy book review (Barbeau, 1917b, on Boas, 1916), a short description of language (Boas, 1910), collections of myths (Barbeau, 1953, 1961), some original data on totem

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1. The chapter title was taken from Harrison (1937).

2. In order to assess Levi-Strauss' (1967a) structural analysis of the Tsimshian myth of Asdiwal.



poles, dancing societies, and shamanism in larger works (Barbeau, 1950; Boas, 1897; Drucker, 1940; Barbeau, 1958), and a brief history of Kitwancool (Duff, 1959). There are two popular summaries (Garfield, 1966; Drucker, 1965, Chapter 7), and four recent doctoral theses: one on contemporary Coast Tsimshian reserve life (Inglis, 1970), one on Coast Tsimshian phonology (Dunn, 1970), and two on the contemporary Gitksan (J. and A. Adams, Harvard)<sup>3</sup>. There are a few more published articles, plus some unpublished papers in circulation (notably, Rigsby, 1967 and 1969), but the sources cited here constitute the basic literature on which ethnological understanding of Tsimshian culture and society must be based.

Hence, the existence of Marius Barbeau's so-called "Tsimshian File" in the Division of Folklore at the National Museum of Man assumes considerable importance. It consists of the field records of Barbeau and William Beynon, his Tsimshian interpreter and collaborator, and an ethnographer in his own right, and spans a period of 43 years, from Barbeau's arrival in Port Simpson in December, 1914, until Beynon's death in 1957 (Barbeau died in 1969). The range of data in the File has been described by Wilson Duff (1964b), who spent the pre-xerox year 1958-59 in Ottawa, copying its contents and working on it with Barbeau. Briefly, the File contains extensive lists of names, crests, houses (lineages and branch lineages), and territories, plus several hundred house-owned narratives and variants of the traditional histories of

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3. I was denied access to J. Adams' thesis by the author, and have therefore written this study without the benefit of either thesis.

the Tsimshian people. Scattered throughout are brief ethnographic observations, but there is only one systematic observer's account in the File -- a valuable description by Beynon of five days of potlatches, dances, and totem pole raisings at Kitsegukla in 1945. Some 407 of the narratives and variants were compiled by Barbeau into four typed manuscripts, one for each clan, which he hoped to have published. He titled them The Gwenhoot of Alaska in Search of a Bounteous Land (laxsk'i'k), Temlarh'am: The Land of Plenty on the North Pacific Coast (g'ispəwudwa'də), The Larhkibu Migrate South (laxk'ibu'), and The Kanhada Outlaws (g.anha'də). The rest of the data now in Duff's copy of the File are in the form of his handwritten abstracts of Barbeau's and Beynon's notes.

The time period the field notes refer to cannot be firmly established. Barbeau worked with Indian people between 1914 and 1929 who were in their 60s and 70s, and who were reaching back in memory to periods when traditional systems of Tsimshian culture were still functioning. This would suggest the period ca. 1860 to 1880, although dated historical events which occurred both before and after that time are mentioned in traditional contexts. As is probably true in most cases of memory ethnography, the people were attempting to describe what they perceived as the essentially timeless cultural patterns of, or persisting from, an immediately preceding traditional age. In the case of two of the primary classes of the field data used in the present study -- crests and names -- it does not matter whether the Indian people were referring to the pre-1860 period or later. These were inherited names and entities which were, to the Tsimshian, theoretically constant.

The data in the File form the basis of a long series of publications by Barbeau, one matched and exceeded in Northwest Coast ethnography only by Franz Boas (Duff, 1964b; see the bibliography for a partial list of Barbeau's publications).<sup>4</sup> The relationship between the field data and the publications based on them make an indisputable case for the archival preservation of anthropological field notes. For the data were collected and recorded consistently and diligently by men who knew and understood the people they were working with (and Beynon was fluent in the two Tsimshian languages), whereas Barbeau's publications are contaminated by outmoded and eccentric theoretical pre-occupations and poor, even sloppy, scholarship. Duff (1964b) has examined and refuted or modified a number of Barbeau's most misleading conclusions, which need not be re-examined here, and anyone who has attempted to use his exhaustive survey of Northwest Coast totem poles (Barbeau, 1950) has endured his awkward orthography<sup>5</sup> and suffered from his inconsistency, inadequate documentation, and the generally poor organization of the book.

Yet, the field records remain, preserved unaltered and unexcelled as primary documents on Tsimshian traditional history. In 1969, when I was attempting to formulate a research project to investigate Northwest Coast art, Wilson Duff made his copy of the Tsimshian

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4. To date, no anthropological obituary and list of publications has appeared for Barbeau and, to the best of my knowledge, none is in preparation. There is a short popular biography of Barbeau in Swayze, 1960.
  5. I am referring here to his published or popular orthography only; Barbeau's field orthography seems quite adequate.

File available to me. The data it contains provide information on Tsimshian iconography which was not, and could not now be, matched or exceeded for any other Northwest Coast society. While I was first familiarizing myself with the content of the File, I re-read Lévi-Strauss' The Savage Mind (1966) and realized that the data on crests could be used to test his model of totemism, and, combined with the study of museum specimens, could extend it by adding another dimension: the visual symbols (art) by which totemic messages (crests) were communicated.

I therefore formulated a research design to explore the relationships between Tsimshian cognitive systems, as these are reflected in the Barbeau/Beynon notes, and their visual expressions, as these are preserved in museums. These are relationships which can no longer be tested in the field, and I hope that their explication will demonstrate the usefulness of museum documentation and collections in anthropological research. I do not, in this dissertation, investigate the entire range of Tsimshian material culture, but focus on crest art, or totemic art, which is the visual expression of a complicated classification system and one, moreover, for which the field data are especially complete. In the process of defining crests and distinguishing their representations from other artistic representations, however, I deal to a considerable extent with certain categories of non-crest art, notably masks.

The first stage in the research was to master the contents of the File and transfer what emerged as data significant to the problem

at hand to 5 x 8" cards, so that it would be retrievable as needed. As I worked through the data, another category of information which had visual or artistic expression became increasingly significant: the masked dramatizations of spirit (naxnɔ'x) names. These comprised a separate and uniquely Tsimshian ritual expression previously unreported in the literature (although noted by Duff, 1964b: 68-69). Not only did this system warrant description, it also provides an analytically useful contrast to the totemic system already being investigated.

The contrast between these two systems -- totemic and spirit name -- in turn suggested a new way of conceptualizing Tsimshian social organization. I began to see it in terms of two distinct structural orders -- which I call the potlatch order and the hala'it order -- that employ distinct kinds of material culture and distinct forms of ritual expression. This led, again, to a broadening of the scope of the study to include a long chapter (Chapter Three) on Tsimshian social organization.

Three categories of data, then, in addition to ethnographic observations, were extracted from the Barbeau Tsimshian File to form the basis of the present study. They are 1) lists and descriptions of crests, 2) ranked lists of houses or lineages, and 3) lists of spirit names, plus some data as to how these were dramatized. Each of these categories of data will be discussed separately.

The master list of crests (Appendix II) was compiled from hundreds of partial lists and references in crest myths (ada'ox) recorded by Barbeau and Beynon from dozens of Tsimshian people between

1914 and Beynon's death in 1957. While the lists recorded from different people were seldom in complete agreement, they overlapped and complemented each other in numerous ways so as to make possible a master list which is more complete and more balanced than could have been known or remembered by any single person.

In order to appreciate the necessity of working from a composite list, and to better appreciate the completeness of the Barbeau/Beynon data, it is helpful to refer to the much shorter Tsimshian crest list recorded by Henry Tate and published by Boas (1916: 503-506). Tate said at the time that "there were only a few old women who remember the crests" (ibid.: 503), which was demonstrated to be untrue by Barbeau's later work in the same area, and Boas pointed out discrepancies in the published list with "a list written about seven years ago," apparently also by Tate. Not only does the second list omit some of the important animal crests of the Coast Tsimshian (e.g., mountain goat, shark, mosquito), the crests listed "are, in many cases, inaccurate, and never indicate their owner" (Barbeau, 1917b: 561).

Sapir's (1915) published list of Niska crests is also inaccurate and incomplete (Wilson Duff was given a copy of this article with extensive correctional marginal notes by Barbeau). It is, however, a far more useful list than Tate's.

Discrepancies in the various recorded lists of crests are due to more than faulty memory and faulty recording. Crest ownership was enormously important to the Tsimshian. Crests were a measure of prestige to a people who competed fiercely for prestige, and it is to

be expected that someone would list the crests owned by his or her own house in considerably more detail than he would list the crests of others. Each person, then, reported on this highly complex system from the perspective of his own participation in it, and some used the occasion of reporting to enhance their own positions. Another source of discrepancy in the lists was the tendency of people to overlook the more general or widely owned crests in favour of the more highly specialized and prestigious crests associated with high rank. Those which were commonly owned tended to be taken for granted.

Undoubtedly, some crests were simply forgotten, especially by the Coast Tsimshian living around Port Simpson. The population of these tribes dropped from an estimated 3,000 in 1835 to 632 in 1924<sup>6</sup> (Garfield, 1939: 332-333). The crest system as it survived in the memory of this remnant population must have been mutilated. Fortunately, disease, trader, and missionary activity were less active in the other, more remote Tsimshian settlements.

The Coast Tsimshian also retained fewer of the tangible expressions of their crests into the twentieth century than did the Niska and Gitksan, both of whom used totem poles as memory aids when working on crest lists with Barbeau. In 1862, James Deans (1899: 7) visited Fort Simpson and "was astonished at the amount of carvings and paintings on the houses and tall columns, to be seen everywhere." But by 1878, George Dawson (1880: 115B) reported that "among the

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6. This drop would include the 823 people who moved to New Metlakatla with Duncan (Garfield, 1939: 333).

Tshimsians at Port Simpson, most of the original carved posts have been cut down as missionary influence spread among the people." In contrast, the totem poles at Gitlakdamiks on the upper Nass were not destroyed out of Christian zeal until 1917 or 1918 (Barbeau, 1929: 1, footnote) and those of the Gitksan never were.

Similarly, if the records of such industrious collectors as the Newcombes, Emmons, and Barbeau himself are accurate reflections of what there was still to be collected, the people of Port Simpson had very little movable material culture left to sell (or, by inference, to use as memory aids) by the turn of the century.

Crest data extracted from the Barbeau file have been classified and are included herein as Appendix II. These data include the names of the crests in Coast Tsimshian and Nass-Gitksan, English translations, such descriptions of the material representations of the crests as were reported, rules of use, and the houses (lineages) claiming each crest. Certain additional data, such as important crest conflicts and notes on the transfer of crests from one house to another by capture or in compensation for murder, are included as footnotes. The crests are listed by clans -- laxk'ibu', g'ispwudwa'də, g.anha'də, laxak'i'k -- and by divisions -- Coast Tsimshian, Niska, Gitksan -- within each clan. They are classified into the following categories, which are discussed in Chapter Five: primary animal, secondary animal, human, monster, plant, natural phenomenon, and artifact.

Ranked lists of Tsimshian houses arranged by clan and tribe are included in Appendix I. These lists were synthesized by myself and



Wilson Duff from a number of lists Barbeau recorded from Tsimshian people (Duff prepared the Coast Tsimshian lists, which have been minimally expanded by Halpin, and Halpin prepared the others from data which had been partially ordered by Duff).

These lists must not be taken as infallible or "true" in any absolute sense. They do represent a consensus of the data provided by Barbeau's Tsimshian teachers and, as such, probably correspond closely to ranking arrangements as they existed in the minds of the Tsimshian generally -- at the time Barbeau recorded them (between 1914 and 1929). There is no reason to question the clan assignments, since these did not change (except under extreme conditions, such as incestuous marriages), and the Coast Tsimshian division of houses into two status levels<sup>7</sup> was probably relatively static and unchanging. But the rankings, expressed in the lists by Roman numerals, were in constant flux, and could have, theoretically, changed each time a potlatch occurred (see Rosman and Rubel, 1971, Chs. II and VIII), although such changes, if they had been recorded, would probably have shown a very slow and variable rise and fall of houses in rank. It was a system not meant to be written down and frozen in time. The implications of rank order among the Tsimshian, and the differences between the three divisions, are further discussed in Chapter Three.

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7. I am using the term "status levels" in this study in place of the more traditional term "class"; the difference is discussed in Chapter Three.

The particular value of the lists here is that they permit the arrangement of crests according to the houses which owned them in order to give a visual picture of Tsimshian social organization. The arrangements reveal sufficient patterning to suggest some rules for the generation of crests as material expressions of social position. The lists also provide a guide to clan and village affiliations of names and houses, which can be very confusing when encountered in the literature.

The Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan lists of houses are probably very close to complete, and the internal evidence of the lists provided by different people suggests that the social organizations of these two divisions were fairly stable. The situation on the Nass was another story, and there was significant disagreement among those who gave lists to Barbeau. Part of this was undoubtedly due to the movements of population from village to village during the historic period (see Chapter One), but it is also likely that the social organization of the Niska had never stabilized to the same extent as in the other two divisions due to their constant warring, marrying, and trading with Haida, Tlingit, and other Tsimshian who came to the Nass River fishing grounds during eulachon season. It should also be pointed out that Barbeau spent less time on the Nass than he did among the Gitksan and Coast Tsimshian, and that there is very little published or unpublished data from the Nass which can be used to amplify his notes. I have, therefore, not attempted to reconcile the different versions of rank order for the Niska, but have included in Appendix II each significant version recorded.

Barbeau and Beynon recorded 662 spirit (naxnɔ'x) names from specified houses of the three divisions of the Tsimshian (when the same name was claimed by more than one house, I counted it separately each time it was recorded). Each name was recorded in Coast Tsimshian or Nass-Gitksan, with English translations, and for well over half of the names he also recorded brief, usually one-line, descriptions of the manner in which the name was dramatized. While these descriptions are significant, they are too truncated to permit understanding of spirit name enactments as a dramatic form. Fortunately, however, the Baynon account of the potlatch series at Kitsegukla in 1945 contains his eye-witness record of some two dozen naxnɔ'x performances. These permit construction of a model for the dramatic form, by means of which the other 662 naxnɔ'x names recorded by Barbeau can be interpreted. While the naxnɔ'x system must still await a full description and analysis, I have described its major features in Chapter Four and illustrated some of the masks, with their attendant documentation, in Chapter Six.

In the early spring of 1971, having worked through the Barbeau/Beynon notes, I turned to museums to search out Tsimshian artifacts which would add a palpable three-dimensional reality to the data on Tsimshian social organization, crests, and spirit names. From clues in the literature, notably John E. Hunter's Inventory of Ethnological Collections in Museums of the United States and Canada (1967), I chose to visit the following museums which were likely to have significant

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Tsimshian collections (hereinafter abbreviated as indicated):

British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria (PM)

University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology,  
Vancouver (UBC)

National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada,  
Ottawa (NMC)

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (ROM)

Museum of the American Indian, New York (MAI)

Field Museum, Chicago (FM).

Other potentially significant Tsimshian collections are in the American Museum of Natural History (Emmons, Boas), the University Museum of Philadelphia (Louis Shotridge), the Museum of Ethnic Arts and Technology, UCLA (items collected by Beynon for Sir Henry Wellcome), and the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (Swan).

Museum research has its own kinds of tribulations (see Sturtevant, 1973, for an expert's introduction). In the first place, the objects preserved in museum collections are about a sampling, collected by others and normally according to aesthetic rather than scientific criteria, of the total universe of objects they represent. Again,

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8. I also visited the Thomas Burke Memorial Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, where there are some dozen, poorly documented Tsimshian pieces collected by Emmons and Walter C. Waters. They are not included in this study.

I had also intended to visit the American Museum of Natural History, New York, but in spite of two letters from me and one from my advisor (none of which were answered), they had made no provisions for me to view objects in their collection. Rather than press my case there, I used the time I had left in New York for further work at the MAI where Vincent Wilcox, Curator of Research, was especially helpful.

of the artifacts one believes to be in a collection, because they are listed in the museum's catalogue, there will be a significant proportion unavailable to the visiting researcher because 1) they are in special storage, 2) they are on exhibit and cannot or will not be removed, and 3) no one can find them.

Then, as in most kinds of anthropological investigation, the researcher is an outsider to a closed system, one in which people perform customary duties within a seemingly (at first) inexplicable context of values and social hierarchies, and one in which there are no institutionalized roles or facilities for the stranger or outsider. Inexcusably, to me, one's anticipated colleague and counterpart, the resident museum ethnologist, all too often does not share the visiting researcher's enthusiasm for and interest in the collections under his or her care, and the visitor must seek out a photographer, registrar, or technician for sympathetic and knowledgeable assistance.

9. Fortunately, I did not have any experiences quite as frustrating as the one reported by Sturtevant (1969: 635) when 83 percent of the specimens he selected from the catalogue of an unnamed European museum could not be found.
10. In spite of claims to the contrary; Sturtevant (1973: 14) believes that this is because research visitors are so infrequent and notes that museum "ideals support research." I would qualify this and say that museum ideals, as revealed by museum staff behaviour, support research by in-house researchers. I am basing this observation not only on my experiences as a graduate student doing museum research for this study (in which case my low status can be expected to have accorded me different receptions from those accorded Dr. Sturtevant), but also upon some seven years' experience on the staffs of a national museum and a university museum. However, I am sympathetic, as is Sturtevant (ibid.: 14), with the chronic museum problems of "low staffing, lack of space, lost specimens, mislaid records, and the demands of exhibit programs" which are normally offered in apology.

The rewards of museum research are simple enough. First, finding artifacts of the kinds one has predicted or hoped would be there, and, second, finding, all too rarely, that the field collector had collected supporting documentation pertinent to one's problem. Of the collectors responsible for the Tsimshian pieces upon which this study is based, only one -- and it was Marius Barbeau himself -- collected supporting documentation adequate to my purposes. The others, and they include some of the best-known and respected collectors who have worked on the Northwest Coast, were primarily collectors of objects only, and to judge from the records they made, had little interest in the people and cultures these objects represented. This is, in itself, an historical problem worth investigation: "the history of collecting and of museums is part of Euroamerican cultural and intellectual history that ought to be examined as evidence on the changing interests in exotic peoples and ideas about them" (Sturtevant, 1973: 13). The only published examination of collectors' attitudes toward donor populations on the Northwest Coast is Macnair (1971),<sup>11</sup> although current opinions about collecting practices of the past are shared freely in private conversations.

Some fifteen collectors were responsible for most of the Tsimshian pieces in the museums I visited.<sup>12</sup> They fall into two groups,

11. Macnair's references to "Mr. Collector" in this article are thinly veiled references to C.F. Newcombe.
12. This includes principal collectors only; pieces acquired by auction, from dealers, or single and in small lots (e.g., there is one item at the NMC [VII-C-19] collected by Franz Boas) are not included.

separated on the basis of their collecting purposes, which have significant implications for the quality of supporting documentation associated with their collections.

The first group, who might be called field collectors, are those persons, resident outside of Tsimshian territory, who made trips to that area for the express purpose of collecting artifacts from the Tsimshian, or, if resident in the area, were commissioned by persons from outside to make such collections. With two exceptions, which are in themselves instructive, the quality of supporting documentation for the collections made by this group is superior to the documentation of the other group.

The second group of collectors, who might be called resident collectors, are those non-Tsimshian who were resident in the Tsimshian area for purposes other than collecting, and whose collections were therefore made incidental to these other and prior purposes. These are essentially "curio" collections: the objects being acquired more as mementos of the period of residence than in and for themselves. It is therefore understandable that the collector usually had little or no interest in documentation. Regrettably, these tend to be earlier collections than those more purposefully made.

Paradoxically, the resident collectors were in a better position to acquire the more complete documentation, due to prolonged contact with the donor population, had he but seen this as a desirable end.

The two exceptions to this classification are the I.W. Powell and C.V. Smith collections. Powell's primary purpose for visiting

Tsimshian territory was his role as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, although he collected artifacts from them in 1879 on commission from the Geological Survey in Ottawa (the forerunner of the National Museums). Hence, in terms of this classification, his dual purpose might be said to have diluted or worked at cross-purposes with the field collector's purpose and, therefore, to account at least in part for his poor documentation. G.V. Smith was a Hazelton resident who amassed a collection which he sold to the National Museum in 1925. As a resident collector, he predictably provided no documentation. However, Barbeau, a field collector, was able to secure good documentation for the collection from other informed persons. Hence, a resident collector's collection has the level of documentation normally provided by a field collector.

These principal collectors and their collections are listed below, together with dates, pertinent ranges of museum catalogue numbers (not necessarily continuously Tsimshian; other pieces are often interspersed), proveniences, some indication of the range of items in the collection, and notes as to the quality of the supporting documentation.

#### Field Collectors:

##### C.M. Barbeau, anthropologist and folklorist, National Museum of Canada

1915 (Jan. - Mar.). Coast Tsimshian.

NMC. VII-C-491 - VII-C-728. Well-balanced ethnographic collection. Documentation includes tribe, owner, native name for specimens, notes on use and iconography.



1920-21 (Aug. - Jan.). Gitksan.

NMC. VII-C-739 - VII-C-1047. Well-balanced ethnographic collection. Documentation more detailed than for 1915 collection. Includes tribe, owner, maker, native name, notes on use and iconography.

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1923 (summer). Gitksan.

NMC. VII-C-1048 - VII-C-1099. Large collection of masks, other items. Documentation similar to 1920-21 collection. Includes tribe, owner, maker, native name, notes on use and iconography.

1924. Gitksan and Niska.

NMC. VII-C-1103 - VII-C-1182. Ethnographic collection. Documentation includes tribe, owner, maker, native name, notes on use and iconography.

ROM. HN-613 - HN-654. Coast Tsimshian, Kitlope, Nass River (some pieces collected by Beynon; some purchased from Pat Phillipson, Prince Rupert dealer). Includes well-documented series of chief's paraphernalia from sqat'i'n (laxk'ibu) and m̓nEsk (laxsk'i'k) of g'itlaxda'mks. Documentation poor for Beynon and Phillipson pieces.

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13. Duff (1964b: 65) does not list a field trip for Barbeau in 1923; however, Barbeau's typed field notes for this collection are under the heading "List of specimens collected in summer of 1923 by C.M. Barbeau in the Upper Skeena Country, B.C. (mostly Gitksan specimens)."

1927 (summer). Kispayaks, Kisgegas, and Gitlaxdamiks.

ROM. HN-680 - HN-826. Ethnographic collection. Documentation includes tribe, native name, owner, and excellent notes on use and iconography.

(July-Sept.). Gitksan and Niska.

NMC. VII-C-1364 - VII-C-1426. Ethnographic collection, includes some items purchased from Pat Phillipson, Prince Rupert dealer. Documentation includes tribe, owner, native name, and notes on use and iconography.

1929 (summer). Gitksan and Niska.

NMC. VII-C-1441 - VII-C-1476. Ethnographic collection. Documentation similar to above.

(June). Gitksan.

ROM. HN-1214 - HN-1263. Collection of shamans' paraphernalia from Kispiox made for Dr. Harold M. Tovell, who presented it to the Academy of Medicine, Toronto, in 1930. Now in the ROM.

\_\_\_\_\_. Coast Tsimshian, Nass River.

ROM. HN-867-HN-926. Primarily headdresses and masks. Documentation not as complete as usual.

George A. Dorsey, anthropologist.

1897. Gitksan.

FM. Accession No. 537 (accessioned October 30, 1897). Catalogue Numbers 53051-53142. This collection resulted from a

field trip to Hazelton in August, 1897, and includes some items purchased from Cunningham & Son, Port Essington. Documentation is disappointing; provenience given as "Port Essington" or "Hazelton" only, although the collector did try to get the names of the masks (e.g., "Peace Maker" or "representing Sicanee Indians").

G.T. Emmons, retired U.S. naval officer, professional collector.

MAI. Specimens from all three divisions of the Tsimshian, although primarily Niska and Gitksan. Between 1905 and 1936, the MAI accessioned between 200 and 300 Tsimshian pieces (that I was able to locate) received from Emmons. This museum does not maintain an accession record or other catalogue retrieval system to facilitate searching its holdings. It is necessary to go one by one through some one million catalogue cards or to work directly from the specimens in storage. Hence, it is likely that some Tsimshian collections were missed. Catalogue numbers for Emmons' collections which include Tsimshian pieces are listed below, together with the approximate dates they were received in the museum (accession dates are not entered on the catalogue cards; these dates were taken from a catalogue number/date key maintained in the Research Annex):

1905	4316	1919	9/6730-9/6742
1907	1/4165-1/4368	1920	9/7843-9/8152
1909	2/4318-2/4335		9/8010
1910-12	2/6934-2/6998	1921	10/4576-10/4585
1914	3/5008-3/5037	1922	11/1741-11/1825
1915	4/508-4/534		11/3843-11/3929
1916	5/5017-5/5071		11/5400-11/5464
	5/5424-5/5425	1924	12/6628
	5/6896-5/6906		13/3955-13/4049
	5/8805-5/8823	1926	15/1321-15/1367
1917	6/524-6/549	1928	15/8947-15/8998
	6/6279-6/6326	1936	19/765-19/812
1918	7/4411-7/4437		
	8/2606-8/2609		
	8/7996-8/8016		
	8/8466-8/8470		

The above collections include a wide range of artifact types, including an especially good selection of masks and four complete Gitksan shamans' bundles. The documentation is variable, ranging from provenience given as "Tsimshian," to village attributions, to occasional pieces with the name of the owner and notes on use and iconography. I was able to locate Emmons' original catalogue notes only for the 1914 (3/5008-3/5037), 1915 (4/508-4/534), 1918 (8/7996-8/8016), and 1920 (9/7843-9/8152) collections. There is also a catalogue dated 1932,

"Lt. G.T. Emmons Northwest Coast Collection (1-193)" but MAI catalogue numbers are not included, so that correlation of the notes with specific pieces is difficult.

Sir Alfred Bossom, 1881-1965, English architect.

NMC. VII-C-1710 - VII-C-1797. Coast Tsimshian, Niska, Kispiox. Accessioned 1955, 1960. This collection was quite certainly made for Bossom by Emmons, probably between 1903 and 1916. Bossom wrote as follows in "Some personal notes on the creating of this collection of the works of the North West Coast Indians" (n.d., ms. in Ethnology Division, NMC): "to help me gathering this large assortment of the Arts and Crafts of these people for about fifty years I was most fortunate in enlisting the aid of an old and highly respected American friend, Captain Emmons, who knew these Indians well." Barbeau wrote in a memorandum regarding the collection (n.d., Ethnology Division, NMC): "the collection was made, I believe, from 1900 to 1910. How did Sir Alfred Bossom acquire this collection? Solely through Lieut. G.T. Emmons of the U.S. Navy in Alaska .... I met Lt. Emmons in Victoria in the spring of 1916; he was then an old man."

The collection includes some 95 pieces identified as Tsimshian. Some of them are among the finest known examples of Tsimshian art. Artifact types include masks, rattles, spoons, gambling sticks, and a few other pieces. Many of them were included in an exhibit at the Imperial Institute, London, November, 1954 - January, 1955.

The NMC received with the collection a typed catalogue prepared by someone with the initials E.H.S. It makes several references to an "original" catalogue which cannot now be located, but which must have been made by Emmons. The style in which entries in the second catalogue were written is still unmistakably Emmons' style. Compare the following entries from the Emmons catalogue notes at the MAI with the Bossom collection catalogue at the NMC:

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MAI 7/8044. Shaman's mask of maple, representing the face of a very old woman of high caste, the wrinkles and the grey hair representing the age, and while this is also represented by the size of the labret, yet its size and inlaying of halio-tis shell also show the rank. The labret is a very large and beautiful specimen, and was originally worn by a woman, and later the mask was made in order to use it. From the Nishka village of Aiyansh on the upper Nass River. It was worn by the shaman in his practice about the sick and represented a particular spirit (italics added).

NMC VII-C-1759. Wood mask representing the face of a land otter woman. The mask is painted with a black face, red (nostrils), ears, and lips. The mouth is open and the wood teeth unpainted. The forehead is ornamented with black bear fur. The old belief throughout the Northwest Coast from the Skeena River to the Copper Delta was that the drowned turned into half land otter and half human beings. The Tlingit called them "Koushta" (land otter) "KA" (man) and believed when people were drowning their beings assumed a human form and came offering to save them. The mask was worn by the Shaman in his practice about the sick and bewitched. Niska (italics added).

MAI 9/7879. Headdress ornament of wood that can be attached to a head piece or wooden hat. It is carved to represent a double-headed sea animal of the snake variety, a wholly imaginary animal .... Used in the winter dances which are theatri-

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14. Tsimshian shamans did not wear masks in their role as shamans. Emmons is obviously extrapolating here from his knowledge of the Tlingit, whose shamans did wear masks while curing.

cal in character, each one trying to surpass in grotesqueness and originality everyone else, in masks and dress. From the Nishka (*italics added*).

NMC VII-C-1713. Dance implement used in the more theatrical winter dances. It represents the crest of the dancer, a beaver. It is a wood head, carved as a beaver with copper teeth holding a stick of wood that is divided on each side in three parts that can be opened and closed by the dancer. It is held by the carrier between the teeth by means of a stick, projecting out of the rear of the beaver head. Painted red and black. Niska (*italics added*).

Mrs. O. Morison, Tsimshian collector.

1892. Nass and Skeena Rivers.

FM. Accession 60, Catalogue Numbers 14609, 17826, 18001-18646. Mrs. Morison was a Tsimshian, described by James Deans (1899, quoted in Barbeau, 1950: 460) as "an exceedingly intelligent half caste, her mother being a native Simshian." She made this collection of some 50 pieces in 1892, commissioned by Franz Boas for the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. The collection includes a wide range of artifact types, including three house models which can no longer be found (Nos. 17826, 18001, 18003). FM catalogue notes indicate that the first two were sent to the Brooklyn Museum, which has no record of them. This is a real loss, for her records describe housefront paintings and totem pole models which could be exceedingly important.

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15. I have recently heard that the housefronts (only) were seen at the Field Museum within the last few years, but have no details.

She provided rich documentation in English and Tsimshian (although the orthography is somewhat idiosyncratic). Her notes (13 typed pages) are useful primary documents in themselves, for they go beyond describing and naming the specimens and include some observations on chiefs, secret societies, and the relationship of iconography to myths. Regrettably, she did not provide provenience data other than, and in only some cases, "Nass River," or "Skeena River."

C.F. Newcombe, medical doctor and professional collector, also associated with the B.C. Provincial Museum.

1913. Niska, some Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan pieces.

PM. 1499 - 1663. Niska ethnographic collection, good series of masks, shamans' charms.

9534 - 9548. Niska collection, more charms.

9715 - 10067. Niska, Gitksan; seems to fit into the 1499-1663 series.

The Newcombe collection was accessioned by himself for the Provincial Museum; he did not distinguish between collecting and accession dates. His most significant Tsimshian collecting trip seems to have been in 1913, although he dates other pieces 1911, 1912, and 1914. The Newcombe papers have not yet been sorted and analyzed by the Ethnology Division (they are in the B.C. Provincial Archives); when this is done the documentation should be improved. Existing documentation on these pieces is principally village provenience, although some



masks are more fully documented (e.g., "potlatch mask, blue grouse, owner's crest").

W.A. Newcombe, professional collector and associate of his father (above).

1905 (Nov. - Dec.). Niska.

NMC. VII-C-105 - VII-C-294. Ethnographic collection. Accessioned with this collection are some few pieces from Kitkatla which were collected by C.F. Newcombe between 1895-1901. Village provenience only as documentation.

Dr. Israel Wood Powell (1837-1915), Victoria medical doctor and first Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia, 1872.

1879. Coast Tsimshian and Niska.

NMC. VII-C-2 - VII-C-104; VII-C-329 - VII-C-350; VII-C-434 - VII-C-435; VII-C-483.

In 1873, Powell made a trip on the H.M.S. Boxer to the Queen Charlotte Islands, which seems to have awakened his interest in Indian art (Robinson, 1942). In 1879, he was commissioned by the Director of the Geological Survey in Ottawa to collect Indian artifacts; some 350 pieces were sent to Ottawa in December of that year to become the nucleus of the collection in the present National Museum of Man. The pieces were primarily Haida, Nootka, Coast Tsimshian, and Niska. The Tsimshian pieces include horn spoons, dishes, chilkats, ambelans, amhalaits, a house model, masks (including one of stone), boxes, charms, and rattles. The collection is practically

undocumented, excepting for loose provenience attributions (e.g., "Tsimshian," "Fort Simpson," "Nass River"), some of which are questionable. For example, mask VII-C-2, identified as "Skeena River," is almost certainly Nootka. There is a small notebook in the B.C. Provincial Archives (No. AE, P87, 2) with some scribbled pencil notations by Powell which could, with considerable detective work, be used to amplify the records at the NMC. It contains such cryptic notes as "Kincolith, 20 July, additional curios purchased; war club, \$20.00; 2 masks, \$20.00." Some pieces collected by Powell on this or another trip were sold by Emmons to the MAI. MAI 3/5010, a canoe figure head, MAI 3/5011, a staff, and MAI 3/5013, a headdress, were said by Emmons to have been "collected in the 70s by the British Columbia Commissioner of Indian Affairs."

Harlan I. Smith, archeologist, National Museum of Canada.

1925. Gitksan.

NMC. VII-C-1276 - VII-C-1345. Village provenience only.

1926. Gitksan.

NMC. VII-C-1347 - VII-C-1354. Some dozen well-documented pieces purchased from Chief sɔmedi'ks, Kitwanga.

1927. Gitksan.

NMC. VII-C-1427 - VII-C-1436. Masks, other ritual pieces, "bought of a Gitksan woman at Hazelton." No other documentation.

Resident Collectors:

Thomas Crosby (1840-1914), Methodist missionary at Fort Simpson, 1870s and 1880s.

1870s, 1880s? Coast Tsimshian.

MAI. 1/8900 - 1/8957, 1/8020 - 1/8199. Purchased by the MAI in 1908. Primarily items from Port Simpson and Kitimat; includes rattles, masks, chests, dishes. Some pieces said to have been collected from the Tsimshian in 1874. Documentation poor, principally provenience data such as "Kitamat," "Port Simpson," and "Tsimshian."

NMC. VII-C-68, VII-C-84, VII-C-93. Crosby pieces purchased in 1886.

Charles Clifton Perry, Indian Agent, Metlakatla.

(1880s?) Primarily Niska.

NMC. VII-C-311 - VII-C-325, VII-C-331 - VII-C-336, VII-C-354 - VII-C-355, VII-C-360 - VII-C-391, VII-C-407 - VII-C-408, VII-C-414 - VII-C-423, VII-C-451 - VII-C-453, VII-C-474 - VII-C-477. Collection sold to the NMC in 1911. Includes an especially fine collection of about a dozen Niska masks. Documentation is useful, though spotty. Provenience ranges from "Aiyansh" to "Nass"; some notes on use (e.g., "Neishga Indian Dancing Mask, Halaid Dance, up to 1890"). There are no indications as to when the collection was made.

Priestly (no data on collector).

Nass River.

PM. 9619 - 9696. Accessioned 1909. A typical curio collection: charms, horn spoons, soul catchers, etc. Four masks,

one frontlet, and a kerfed box. Documentation "Nass River" only.

Dr. George H. Raley, Methodist minister to Kitamaat, 1893; Port Simpson, 1906; Principal of Coqualeetza Residential School, Sardis, 1914.

(ca. 1893-1914). Coast Tsimshian, Niska, Gitksan.

UBC. A-1482 - A-6568 (intermittent). The Raley collection covers the entire coast, and includes some 30 good Tsimshian pieces. It is essentially a connoisseur's collection, acquired piecemeal over the years. Documentation includes provenience data only, ranging from such attributions as "Skeena River" and "Nass River" to specific localities, e.g., "Port Essington," "Metlakatla," and "Kitkatla." Dr. Raley sold the collection to UBC in 1948.

C.V. Smith, Hazelton.

Gitksan.

NMC. VII-C-1183 - VII-C-1275. A well-balanced Gitksan collection. The pieces were purchased by the NMC in 1925 and documented by Barbeau, apparently in the field and probably before they were shipped to Ottawa (rather than from photographs). Villages and oftentimes owners' names for many pieces, plus some additional information, though not of the calibre of Barbeau's documentation for pieces he himself collected.

Dr. W.F. Tolmie (1812-1886), medical doctor and Hudson's Bay Company fur trader.

(ca. 1852). Coast Tsimshian.

PM. 4102 - 4123. A small collection of dishes, rattle, front-let, masks, charms purchased in 1927. No documentation. Museum identifications "Tsimshian" or "Tsimshian or Haida," possibly made by Newcombe.

We know from Tolmie's diary (Tolmie, 1963) that he was at Fort McLoughlin (Bella Bella) from 1833 to 1836, and that he visited Fort Simpson in 1834. He mentions in a letter dated 1838 that he had made a list of ethnological specimens for the Inverness Museum (which has no record of having received a collection from Tolmie), so we know he was collecting by this time, although no Tsimshian pieces are specifically mentioned.

Dr. H.C. Wrinch, Methodist medical missionary.

Gitksan.

NMC. VII-C-1483 - VII-C-1700. Wide range of artifact types, including silver jewelry, gambling stick sets, masks. Wrinch arrived in Kispiox in 1901 and opened a hospital in Hazelton in 1904. This collection was purchased by the NMC in 1937, shortly before his death in 1939. Documentation is "Skeena River" only.

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Of the Tsimshian-made and Tsimshian-used artifacts in these collections, I selected a working sample of some 1645 pieces, which I judged to have potential (i.e., discoverable) iconographic and symbolic meanings (excluding basketry and native-made textiles other than Chilkat

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 blankets). Most of these are items decorated in the Northwest Coast art style, but some, such as abalone earrings and labrets, are not. Of these pieces, I was able to photograph or purchase photographs of somewhat more than 1,000, some in color, some in black and white, some in both. In addition to the museum specimens, I studied field photographs taken by Barbeau, H.I. Smith, Emmons, C.F. Newcombe, and others, in the PM and the NMC. I also studied the photographs of Tsimshian totem poles published by Barbeau (1929, 1950), and a collection of photographs taken by Wilson Duff in 1952 of totem poles at Gitanmaks, Kispiox, Kitsegukla, Kitwanga, and Kitwancool, now in the PM (see Duff, 1952).<sup>17</sup>

To conclude this chapter, it is important to consider the relationships between the two classes of data used in the study: the Barbeau/Beynon notes and the museum specimens.

Sturtevant (1973: 9-10) distinguishes between two types of museum studies: contextual studies, which "treat the relation between the objects and some non-artifactual aspect such as social structure, ritual, psychology, or the character and life history of individual artists," and formal studies, which "treat the context as given and analyse the objects themselves." This study is of the first or contextual type. By analyzing the Barbeau/Beynon field data, it seeks to erect a contextual framework, or grid, within which items of Tsimshian material culture can be interpreted or made meaningful. While the field data,

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16. The horn spoons in this sample include only those for which some specific data were collected. There are hundreds more in the collection.

17. The Ethnology Division of the PM graciously supplied me with prints of most of these photographs free of charge.

notably the lists of crests and spirit names, certainly cannot be considered complete, they are an adequate sample of the idea systems they represent for the purpose at hand. Further, because of acculturative loss of these idea systems by the contemporary Tsimshian, they are data which cannot be significantly increased.

The sample of material representations or embodiments of these idea systems -- the museum specimens used in the research -- is not an adequate sample of the larger universe it represents. Fortunately, it can be increased as more of the Tsimshian artifacts in the world's museums are identified and interpreted in the context developed here. The museum sample used is, however, adequate to establish the reliability of the interpretive framework, in that crest representations with the specific attributes described in the crest lists were found in museums. But a great many more museum specimens must be brought into this framework before the goal of a reasonably complete material culture re-presentation of the Tsimshian crest and spirit name systems will be accomplished. Then, it will be possible in Sturtevant's words, to "treat the context as given and analyze the objects themselves." For the present, the sample of artifacts is only adequate to be used as illustrations of a larger universe we now know was created, and can only hope has been preserved.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The following outline of Tsimshian social organization is included as background for the analysis which follows in later chapters. It is not a complete statement, in that it does not develop a formal model and systematically follow its implications for Tsimshian social behaviour. However, it does amplify the discussions of Tsimshian social organization in the published literature, and therefore makes an original contribution.

The focus of the chapter is the development of an analytical distinction between two structural orders in Tsimshian society: the one ritually expressed in the potlatch, the other in hala'it's.<sup>1</sup> The potlatch reflects and celebrates the order of descent groups and affinal ties, of clanship and exogamy. Conceptually opposed and based upon a different structural principle -- that of controlling supernatural power -- is the hala'it order, which results in sodalities cutting across the clan structure.

Tsimshian chieftainship was originally a positional locus in the potlatch order; that is, chiefs were clan chiefs and sub-clan chiefs. Among the Coast Tsimshian, however, an office of tribal chief<sup>2</sup> had developed which extended the chief's hegemony to include the local lineages

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1. See page 74 for a definition of hala'it.
  2. "Tribe" is used herein to refer to the 26 local groups of the Tsimshian (g'itxa'ta, g'ispaxl'w'ts, g'itxat'i'n, k'itwang.E', etc.). Since each group usually occupied a single winter village, "tribe" is essentially synonymous with "village." See p. 13 ff. above.



of other clans. Concomitantly, the chief was extending the structural basis of his power vis-a-vis the hala'it order. The same process, although less developed, can also be seen among the Niska and Gitksan. I interpret this intermeshing of the two orders in the position of chief as evidence of a development in Tsimshian social organization from a tribal level of integration to a chiefdom level. Rather than attempting to account for the changing power of the chief by reference to economic or other factors, I will discuss the way in which the transition is mirrored in ritual and in the metaphors, both material and non-material, with which the Tsimshian expressed the role and functions of the chief.

Other aspects of social organization are discussed as they bear upon the above distinction or, as in the problems of post-marital residence and status levels, in order to clarify what I see as issues left unclear or unresolved in the existing literature. The chapter is organized as follows: descent and succession, marriage, descent groups, chiefs and sodalities, rank, status levels, and trading relationships. Appendix I is a synoptic presentation of tribal and descent group organization, prepared in support and amplification of the present chapter.

In what follows, cultural details, in the sense that these constitute the idiom of social relationships, have been kept to a minimum. This follows a conception of the relationship of society and culture which has been succinctly expressed by Geertz (1967: 233-234): "one of the most useful ways ... of distinguishing between culture and social system is to see the former as an ordered system of meaning and

symbols, in terms of which social interaction takes place; and to see the latter as the pattern of social interaction itself." The purpose of the present chapter is to present an outline of those enduring or repetitive ties which bind the Tsimshian together and define their constituent parts. They are the relationships celebrated in ritual (see Leach, 1965: 15-16) and expressed in art. The goal of the chapter, then, is to express these relationships in anthropological terms; the goal of the next three chapters will be to show how the Tsimshian express some of these same relationships with their art.

### Descent and Succession

Descent was reckoned matrilineally, with succession to names and positions going in general to the eldest man most closely related to an incumbent. Garfield (1939: 179) ranks succession in the following order, one that is obviously predicated on an avunculocal residence pattern in which the successor would have been resident with and trained by his predecessor:

1. own next younger brother (same mother)
2. own eldest sister's eldest son
3. next younger parallel cousin (man having same maternal grandmother as holder)
4. eldest house nephew (son of a woman of the same house and generation as holder)<sup>3</sup>

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3. This was probably the son of one of Ego's matrilinear parallel cousins.

5. eldest man of a related house, in own or another tribe
6. adopted man.

While this may reflect an ideal order, actual succession involved a number of situational factors, and there was often controversy among potential successors. Rosman and Rubel (1971: 32-33) argue convincingly that "the lack of fixed rules of succession makes the ability to potlatch first an important requirement for succession."

### Marriage

The Tsimshian are said to have a rule of preference for marriage with mother's brother's daughter (Boas, 1916: 440; Garfield, 1939: 231; 1966: 23). This was probably the case, but the evidence is exceedingly slim. Boas (1916: 440) says that this was the "normal type of marriage, as described in the traditions," but has no evidence other than myths to offer. Garfield also bases her statement regarding marriage preference on myths, with a footnote reference to the same statement by Boas: "the normal marriage, according to the myths, is with a cross-cousin" (1939: 231). In her later popular summary of Tsimshian culture, she again relies on the evidence from myths: "the ideal marriage, indicated time and again in Tsimshian mythology, was between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother" (Garfield, 1966: 23).

The only corroborative statement regarding cross-cousin marriage contained in the Barbeau/Beynon field notes is the following from Robert Stewart of the Niska to Beynon in 1948-49: "the matches most sought were with first cousins (ᑭᑭᑭ'xa'ᑭ') to retain the wealth of two

closely related families, e.g., brother and sister." According to Sapir (1920: 263), the kin term kwutxa'w<sup>-</sup>'i denotes "my cross cousin, i.e., father's sister's child, mother's brother's child."

There are almost no data at all as to how frequent such marriages were. Garfield says only that "in the genealogies obtained a very small number have been cousin marriages, even with the relationships further removed than first cousins. Three first cousin marriages are known in Port Simpson now" (1939: 232).

Both myths and descriptions of marriage ceremonies recorded by Barbeau refer to the bride accompanying her husband to his home. The problem with a matrilineal society such as the Tsimshian is to determine where the husband's home was -- with his parents or his maternal uncle. In 1916, Boas decided it was with his parents: "the evidence of Tsimshian mythology shows that children grew up in the houses of their parents, and that the newly married couple lived with the young husband's parents" (Boas, 1916: 499). However, by 1935 he had evidently reconsidered and chosen to avoid the issue altogether, although he hinted at an avunculocal solution: "cross-cousin marriage is favored. The young couple live in the husband's home. There are many references to the relation between a man and his sister's son"<sup>4</sup> (Boas, 1966, 1935: 303).

4. Apparently, avunculocal post-marital residence patterns were often confusing to earlier generations of anthropologists. Referring to Birket-Smith and De Laguna's 1938 work on the Eyak, Murdock (1949: 220) wrote: "the authors, being unfamiliar with the category of avunculocal residence, devote considerable space to the conflicting statements of different informants as to whether the residence rule is matrilocal or patrilocal. Since a similar confusion is usual for demonstrably avunculocal societies, and since avunculocal residence is common in the region, being found for example among the Tlingit, it seemed likely that the Eyak follow the same rule."

Lévi-Strauss also considered the problem of Tsimshian post-marital residence in his structural analysis of the myth of Asdiwal (1967a). Here he faced the situation sometimes found in the myths where residence following marriage with supernatural beings is sometimes patrilocal, and sometimes matrilocal. He concluded that "mythical speculation about types of residence which are exclusively patrilocal or matrilocal do not ... have anything to do with the reality of the structure of Tsimshian society, but rather with its inherent possibilities and its latent potentialities" (1967a: 30). Reasonable enough. However, his further conclusions as to what the Tsimshian pattern actually was seems unnecessarily complicated:

In real life, the [male] children grew up in the patrilocal home. Then they went to finish their education at their maternal uncle's home; after marrying, they returned to live with their parents, bringing their wives with them, and they settled in their uncle's village only when they were called upon to succeed him. Such, at any rate, was the case among the nobility, whose mythology formed a real "court literature" (Lévi-Strauss, 1967a: 30).

Although there are no explicit ethnographic statements of Tsimshian post-marital residence preference, it seems preferable to me to posit a straightforward avunculocal residence pattern in which the boy went to live with his mother's brother as a child and continued to live there, later bringing his wife to join him, and eventually succeeded to his uncle's position while already resident with him and under his continued tutelage. In the case of preferred cross-cousin marriage, his wife, being his mother's brother's daughter, would already be resident in the same household, and it seems unlikely that the newly married couple would leave to live with his parents, and then return after his uncle (her father) had died.

This is supported by Garfield's (1939: 277) description of the normal composition of the household:

In the winter dwelling lived the head, his mother if she were a widow, his wife and small children, his widowed or divorced sisters and their small children, also his younger brothers and cousins (mother's sister's sons) and his grown nephews with their wives and children. There would also be other relatives, according to circumstances, but these were the usual ones represented.

Avunculocal post-marital residence, as suggested above, probably should, however, be considered a preferred rather than an absolute pattern or rule, leaving open the possibility that younger sons, i.e., those not likely to succeed to an uncle's position, perhaps did reside after marriage with their parents. This would mean, of course, that they would be living in dwellings owned and controlled by men not of their clan.

There is some comparative data from the Tlingit which supports an avunculocal post-marital residence pattern.<sup>5</sup> Olson (1967: 5) says that Tlingit post-marital residence was patrilocal, but also that since it was customary to send boys of seven or eight years to live with mother's brother, "all males of the household above that age belonged to the clan 'owning' the house." He also describes the male composition of the household as consisting of "various combinations of brothers, married nephews of these, or men considered as 'children of sisters' [men "who would normally go to live with their mother's

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5. The data for the Haida are not as clear; although Murdock (1949: 72) believes their residence pattern to be avunculocal. The Haida case was complicated by a period of matrilocal bride service not shared by the Tlingit and Tsimshian (Swanton, 1905: 50).

brothers, who would often be members of the same household"] (loc. cit.). Finally, he reports that "when a house chief died, his successor was chosen from among his housemates on the basis of wealth and wisdom. But the nephew was usually the heir designate" (ibid.: 6).

More explicit and repeatedly confirmed by Tsimshian people's statements to Barbeau and Beynon was the rule among the Coast Tsimshian that marriages of the upper or chiefly status level be endogamous. Among the Gitksan and Niska, who did not have as clearly defined status levels (see discussion below), it was specified that the children of a chief marry into other chiefly families: "it is a very strict law that a chief is not allowed to marry a common woman, his children could never become chiefs" (people of Kitwancool, in Duff, 1959: 38). According to one of Beynon's Coast Tsimshian teachers, "if a royal prince marries a woman of the common class against the will of his people, his children are looked upon as wa'ayin (lower class) children and he loses his chief standing." Garfield, however, says that the children of such unions could be elevated to high rank: "a child who had one parent of chiefly rank and one of common rank could not hope to secure recognition as a member of the higher class except through the most lavish giving of potlatches by his parent and himself" (Garfield, 1939: 232).

One result of the rule to marry within the upper status level was that marriages were continually contracted between the chiefly houses of different tribes, serving to ally them. Important chiefs were said to

have married many women, often coming from several different tribes.

### Descent Groups

Houses: The basic social unit in all three divisions of the Tsimshian was a corporate matrilineage called a "house" (wəlp) and named after its highest-ranking chief's name. Larger lineages fissioned into branch lineages, each named after its own house chief, but subordinate to the highest-ranking chief of its major branch or segment. The house as a matrilineal descent group was not coterminous with the household, discussed above, in which lived members of the matrilineage plus their affines and children belonging to other lineages. The larger matrilineages often occupied more than one dwelling, which were named according to a different system: dwelling names were inherited as crests (ayuks), of which high-ranking lineages usually owned several. Branch lineages could draw upon the stock of house names owned by the parent house.

The house was the principal resource-owning corporation in Tsimshian society. Its resources included fishing, hunting, and gathering territories or localities, which were exploited under the direction of the house chief. The house also owned a stock of ceremonial privileges: names (of several types), crests, myths, songs, and feast prerogatives, which were also under the control or stewardship of its chief.

We know that houses fluctuated widely in size, at times resorting to adoption to prevent extinction, at other times growing so

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6. The sections below on rank and status levels contain additional information on chiefly marriages.



large that they fissioned into two or more separate houses. But there are no descriptions in the Barbeau notes, or in the published literature, of intra-house composition and dynamics. The lines of fission mentioned in traditional narratives were between brothers.

Clans: Each house and individual belonged to a larger, exogamic, stipulated, matrilineal kin group which is usually called a phratry in the literature, but which I am calling a clan.<sup>7</sup> There were four, each represented in all three divisions (the names of two of them change with the Gitksan), although not all four clans were to be found in all tribes. The names and principal crests of each clan are as follows:

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7. Boas vacillated on descent group terminology. He usually translated the Tsimshian word ptEx as "clan" but he also used "clan" to refer to what I am calling a "sub-clan" (see Boas, 1916: 488, 500 footnote). When he wished to avoid all ambiguity, he called the larger groups simply "exogamic groups" (*ibid.*: 488). Garfield, whose field work was done under Boas' direction, called the larger groups "clans" in her dissertation (1939), but later switched to "phratry" (1966). Barbeau consistently used "phratry" in his publications, and can probably be credited with its general popularity.

I have abandoned the term "phratry" because of its misleading connotations. A phratry, by definition, is a group of clans, cf. Bohanan (1963: 142): "a phratry is a collection of clans (whatever that may mean) joined, usually on nonkinship principles." The use of the term is therefore inappropriate in the Tsimshian instance, for the larger exogamic groups sometimes called phratries are not, in fact, groups of smaller unilineal stipulated groups or clans. They do contain some clearly defined alliances of lineages which I am calling sub-clans. These are not, however, uniformly discernible (see discussion of sub-clans in the text).

Clans

Coast Tsimshian	g.anha'də* (?)	laxk'ibu' ("on the wolf")	g'ispəwudwa'də (?)	laxsk'i:k ("on the eagle")
Niska	"	"	"	"
Gitksan	laxse'l** (g.anha'də in Kitsegukla)	"	g'ist.a'st ("people of the fireweed")	"

Crests

Raven	Wolf	Killerwhale	Eagle
Frog	Bear	Grizzly	Beaver

\* g.anha'də may be derived from the Tlingit Raven clan name ganaxadi ("people of ganax") (Garfield, 1966: 19).

\*\* laxse'l may be derived from the Tsimshian word for the Tlingit village at Cape Fox: laxselə.

Table I. Tsimshian Clans and Their Principal Crest Animals

Clan exogamy was extended to the corresponding clans (moieties) of the neighbouring Tlingit and Haida, for which the four Tsimshian clans were grouped in two pairs, as follows:

	Haida Ravens Tlingit Wolves	Tlingit Ravens Haida Eagles	
	crests		
Tsimshian	grizzly killerwhale	raven frog	Tsimshian
g'ispəwudwa'də g'isg.a'st			g.anha'də laxse'l
laxk'ibu'	wolf bear	eagle beaver	laxsk'i:k

Table II. Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit Clans and Crests

In the preceding table (II), which includes the correspondences of the eight major crest animals of the Tsimshian with those of the Haida and Tlingit, the Tsimshian g'ispəwudwa'də and laxk'ibu' are paired with the Haida Ravens and Tlingit Wolves, and the Tsimshian g.anha'də and laxsk'i'k with the Haida Eagles and Tlingit Ravens.

This two-pair grouping of Tsimshian clans corresponding to Haida/Tlingit moieties is significant, for it may reflect an original moiety division shared by the Tsimshian with their two neighbours in the Northern Province. In other words, the Tsimshian four-clan system may have developed from an earlier two-clan system. The available evidence, in addition to the crest correspondences themselves, is far from conclusive. It is certainly suggestive, however, that the two largest and, on the basis of the traditional narratives, original or indigenous Tsimshian clans are the untranslatable g.anha'də and g'ispəwudwa'də, and that most houses of the laxsk'i'k ("on the eagle") and laxk'ibu' ("on the wolf") consider themselves immigrants from the Haida, Tlingit, and Tahltan. Also, there is the evidence of a subclan within the Niska laxsk'i'k whose members called themselves the laxsəmə'lix ("on the beaver"). The laxsəmə'lix could not use the dominant eagle crest of their clan, but used the beaver instead, and seem to have considered themselves quite distinct from the other laxsk'i'k. This case might be a recent example of the same process whereby the laxsk'i'k and laxk'ibu' separated from their two parent clans. Still another pertinent example from the Niska is the laxtiyqə sub-clan which was laxk'ibu' at g'itwinksiik, g'ispəwudwa'də at g'itlaxda'mks, and called themselves laxkibumg'isg.a'st ("wolf of fireweed") among the g'itxat'i'n. One of the members of this

group (Lazarus Moody, wihɔn) described them as "more laxk'ibu' than they are g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ. A man of this family may marry a g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ. From the beginning this family could not marry a laxk'ibu'. They are not real g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ." What seems to be happening here is that a g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ sub-clan is in the process of redefining itself as laxk'ibu'. It is probable that a detailed analysis of the Tsimshian narratives might shed additional light on this postulated earlier two-clan system.

Clan members shared a feeling of kinship and expected hospitality from each other. Among the Coast Tsimshian, they called each other wulE'isk ("relatives"). According to one person, clan loyalties overrode tribal ones: "in case of warfare between the Tsimshian and the Haida, a Tsimshian would help one of the same crest among the Haida, and vice-versa. In times of peace, it is a law that one in one crest will help another in the same crest. There is a bond of relationship between them all in one crest" (Herbert Wallace).<sup>8</sup>

Notice that the English word "crest" is used above to refer to the clan. The Tsimshian word in the same context would have been ptEx. This is usually translated as "clan" or "exogamic group," but it is also used to refer to the primary crest animal of a clan, which I believe to be its principal or original referent (see discussion of this point on page 113 below).

The importance of affinal relationships between clans, and their continued renewal by new generations, was clearly recognized. On the

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8. Direct quotations from the Barbeau/Beynon notes are identified herein, wherever possible, by the name of the person supplying the information.

Nass, for example, "the laxsk'i.k chose their women from the kwaxcu (laxk'ibu') group and the laxk'ibu' always married into the laxsk'i.k group. So though at times there was open strife, they often lived together in peace; always the two groups were united by marriage" (Peter Calder). Many crest and migration myths (ada'ox) begin with two intermarrying clans living in separate villages, usually across a river from each other. Since a matrilinear cross-cousin marriage system requires at least three intermarrying groups, it is probable that the other clan was divided into two groups, one of which included father's lineage and the other of which included wife's lineage. Affinal relationships were "honoured" in potlatches by non-returnable contributions from in-marrying lineages to the host lineage's potlatch fund.

Affinal relationships between clans were also expressed in a relational naming system unique to the Tsimshian on the Northwest Coast. This is a system of children's names which were owned by the matrilineage but referred to physical and behavioural characteristics ("various ways and manners," according to one person) of the major crest animal or animals of the father's clan. The names have both a short or abbreviated form and a long form. Some examples owned by g'itxa'la houses are as follows:

I. House of hE.l, g'ispwudwa'də

(short form): g.amaya.m

(long form): g.amhaiyaim g.Ex  
(only mocking) (raven)

(translation): "mocking raven"

(father's clan): g.anha'də

## II. House of hE.l, g'ispəwudwa'də

(short form): g.ayE'

(long form): 'wat'i gayE.m gipaikəɬ xski.k  
 (never) (zigzag) (flying of) (eagle)

(translation): "the eagle never flies crooked (but flies straight)"

(father's clan): laxsk'i.k

## III. House of 'ExɬEwE.lə, g.anha'də

(short form): dzag.am txE nE'Ex

(long form): dzag.ə m txE nE'Exɬ 'nE.xɬ  
 (towards shore) (flat) (fin of) (killerwhale)

(translation): "the killerwhale swims towards shore with flat fin"

(father's clan): g'ispəwudwa'də

## IV. House of 'wəka's, g.anha'də

(short form): 'ni.s'a'yin

(long form): 'ayinɬ'na g.a'pət xski.k  
 (no) (of) (food) (eagle)

(translation): "the eagle has nothing to eat"

(father's clan): laxsk'i.k

## V. House of 'aya'ig.ansk. g.anha'də

(short form): lag.alEmdzəx

(long form): lag.axlEmdzəɬ 'nakɬkəɬ gibEo  
 (at each end entering) (offspring of) (wolf)

(translation): "the offspring of the wolf enters from each end"

(father's clan): laxk'ibu'

Sapir (1915: 26) seems to have first understood and named these names, calling them "cross-phratric" names; in the context of this paper, they would be properly called "cross-clan" names.

Duff (1964b: 67-68) believes that the short form of the name could be completed by adding an appropriate reference to any of the other three clans to which the father might belong. He gives the example of a g.anha'dø name from Kitsegukla, ni.gamks ("on sunshine") which, if father was of the g'isg.a'st clan, might be completed as "sunshine glinting on the wet dorsal fin of the emerging Killer Whale"; if father belonged to the laxsk'i'k, the same name might be completed as "sunshine glinting on the white head of the Eagle" (loc. cit.). This may have been true in some cases, but does not accord with native theory, nor with my own reading of the evidence presented by the names themselves.

According to several people, the names were originally bestowed by the father, after which they remained permanently in the possession of the matrilineage, to be bestowed on successive children born to them from a father of the same clan: "the children's names were given by the father, according to the different crests of his house. And these names remain in the children's family (mother's side) and are reapplied in their own family. In this manner the children's names spread in all directions" (H. Wallace). This and similar statements suggest to me that the entire name was formulated by the father with reference to his own crest. Given the assumption that marriages continued to unite the same two lineages or clans, there would be no difficulty in reapplying them to later children. There are no indications in the field notes as to what circumstances would elicit the creation of a new name by the father, as opposed to giving the child a name already owned by the mother's house.

The above interpretation is borne out by examination of the names themselves. There are simply too many short forms of the names on record that have direct and unmistakable reference to specific crest animals to have been applied equally well to bears, frogs, eagles, wolves, fire-weeds, and ravens. The following short forms of Kispiox names referring to frogs (major crest animals of the laxse'1 clan) seem to me to bear this out: "out from shore jumps" (the small frog), "on drift log" (on which sits the small frog), "to wrinkle up" (the hips of the small frog), "among grass" (the frog), "entirely covered with green" (the frog), "drink throat" (the small frog; the small frog drinks water with the soft parts under the chin), "across flabby" (the belly of the large frog), "into water jumps" (the small frog), (like) "red salmon" (the small frog; the offspring of the frog has a red belly like the salmon). Similarly, the following short forms describe wolves too well to have been also applied, for example, to frogs: "together hunt" (the small wolves), "together attacking" (the wolves), "far away moving" (the wolf, whenever anybody comes to live nearby), "taking away dog" (the large wolf), "prowl around" (the offspring of wolf), "under between its legs" (the wolf places its tail).

Detailed linguistic and semantic analysis is needed before the cross-clan naming system is completely understood. It would also be instructive to analyze the names with reference to the past marriage preferences they record, i.e., do certain lineages own a preponderance of cross-clan names which refer to their continually marrying into one clan rather than the other two from which their marriage partners might also have been selected.



Sub-clans: Lineages which shared the same myth and crests considered themselves to be more closely related than other clan members, and form a distinct intermediate category of Tsimshian descent groups. These are not, however, uniformly distributed or discernible, and seem to have been emerging only at certain nodes in the clan structure, probably as a result of greater population growth at these points.

Barbeau (1917a), Sapir (1915), and the later Garfield (1966: 18-22) called these groups of lineages "clans"; Boas (1916: 488) considered them not "sufficiently well marked to be called 'clans' in contrast to the larger exogamic divisions"; and I am calling them sub-clans.

A Coast Tsimshian called other sub-clan members "my brothers" (wE'kyEyot) and "my sisters" (ɬəm'kti.tkw) and was said to stand in a "brother" (wE'kət, sing.) relationship to them or to "be wEkət." That the sub-clans were ritually, though not economically, corporate was explained in a myth as follows: "at Temlaham lived three brothers, tsibasE', alimla.xE', and ni.shaiwaxs. Each was a chief, each had his own group, his own house, and his own hunting territories. But all had the same myths, dirges, nursery songs, and crests in common. Each had his own individual naxnɔ'x's [spirit names]" (Prevost and Aukland). Other people explained the different degrees of relatedness between sub-clan and clan members thus: "when many people have the same myth of origin they term each other wE'kət ("brother"); in other cases they term each other wulE'isk ("relatives, but not blood relatives)" (Wallace and Ryan).

The sub-clans stand out most clearly among the Coast Tsimshian g'ispɔwudwa'də and the Niska laxsk'i.k and laxk'ibu'. Among the Coast

g'ispwudwa'də, the houses which claimed the Temlaham myth of origin in the interior, and those whose ancestors went to the undersea house of the monster nagunaks, called themselves g'it'mlax'am and g'itnagunaks, respectively. Among the Niska laxsk'i.k, there were important sub-clans named s'mlaxsk'i.k ("real on the eagle") and laxs'mE'lix ("on the beaver"). Important laxk'ibu' sub-clans were the g'isg.ansna.t ("people of the saskatoon bushes") and g'itwilnagE'el ("people by themselves"). Another Nass River sub-clan, the laxtiy,qł ("on the tiy,qł," said to be a place near Rivers Inlet), has already been described as being laxk'ibu' in one tribe, g'ispwudwa'də in another, and intermediate between the two clans in a third. Only for the Niska did people consistently list houses by sub-clans which, in turn, were ranked within clans (see Appendix I and Barbeau, 1917a, for the names of other sub-clans of the Niska and Coast Tsimshian).

The names of "clans" (my sub-clans) Barbeau reports for the Gitksan (see 1929: 18-22) are, in fact, names he coined himself from myths shared by related houses (hence, his "Frog-Woman," "Tongue-Licked," "Water-Lily," "Wild-Rice," etc., clans are not called such by the people themselves). Gitksan people did specify that certain houses were more closely related than others, notably those that shared the same myth and crests, but there are no indications in the Barbeau/Beynon notes that they formed distinct named sub-clans such as were reported for the Coast Tsimshian and Niska.

The structurally most significant characteristic of the sub-clans named above is that they potlatched to rather than with each other. "When one of the laxk'ibu' groups, such as the g'isg.ansna.t, gave a feast they would invite the other laxk'ibu' groups as guests, but would be assisted

only by their own groups" (Peter Adams, g'isg.ansna.t). The ni.yuks group of Coast Tsimshian g'ispwudwa'də "in feasts ... go together with suhalait [chief of the g'ispaxlɔ'ts]. The latter is the only one (of the g'ispwudwa'də) who contributes to his yE'ɔk [potlatch]. Temlaham and Gitnagunaks are invited as guests" (Johnson). "There were now two distinct laxk'ibu' groups. They did not intermarry, but neither did they ... contribute to each other's potlatches. At a funeral feast of the g'isg.ansna.t, only they paid dewəl or death duties; the g'itwilnagE'el came as guests, like the laxsk'i.k and g.anha'də" (Matthew Gurney and Emma Wright).

Data such as the above direct quotations from Tsimshian people are few, but they leave no doubt that sub-clans existed which potlatched to each other in the same way that clans did, i.e., they stood to each other in the relationship of hosts to guests. Unlike clans, however, they did not intermarry.

While the major premise of Rosman and Rubel's (1971: 204) model of the potlatch type society that "one potlatches to one's affines" is generally correct, the potlatching of sub-clans within a clan shows that potlatching and exogamy are not necessarily linked in Tsimshian thought. Group relationships of opposition and economic exchange can be expressed independently of exogamy and exchange of women. It may be argued, and is probably true, that sub-clan potlatching functioned to define groups which were moving towards exogamic relationships and full clan status. It might also be argued, in terms of Rosman and Rubel's model (1971: 26) that sub-clan potlatching "supports the distinction between ego's lineage, father's lineage, and spouse's lineage," if it could be shown that father's lineage and spouse's

lineage belonged to different sub-clans. There are not data sufficient to establish this at present.

It is clear, however, that sub-clan formation is a correlate of population size. Of the houses (lineages and branch lineages) listed for the Coast Tsimshian, 128 are g'ispəwudwa'də, 119 g.anha'də, 80 laxsk'i'k, and 42 laxk'ibu'. Only among the largest clan, the g'ispəwudwa'də, are sub-clans clearly emergent as potlatching groups, although they may have been forming among the g.anha'də. On the Nass, 49 houses are laxk'ibu', 48 laxsk'i'k, 22 g'ispəwudwa'də, and 20 g.anha'də. The two largest clans, the laxsk'i'k and laxk'ibu', contained sub-clans. People specified that the laxk'ibu' sub-clans potlatched to each other; it can be reasonably inferred that the laxsk'i'k did too.

If the population size/sub-clan correlation is a causal one, it would suggest that the Tsimshian four-clan system developed from an earlier two-clan system as a result of population growth.

Chiefs and Sodalties: The roles of chiefs and their control over the hala'it, or supernatural power rituals, were different in the three divisions of the Tsimshian, and will be discussed separately for each.

#### Coast Tsimshian

The Coast Tsimshian tribes were characterized by a higher degree of social integration than was to be found elsewhere on the Northwest Coast. This was principally due to a set of integrative mechanisms which cut across the clan structure and were related to the ritual aspects of

the role of tribal chief. There were no supra-tribal organizations or confederacies of tribes among the Tsimshian.<sup>9</sup>

The tribal chief was the chief (headman) of the highest-ranking house in the tribe, and all of the houses of all four clans were arranged in a single or continuous rank order under his. In most contexts, the tribal chief was called səmo'ɔig'Et (səmə: "real"; g'Et: "person"), as were other high-ranking chiefs of his and other upper status level houses.

The chief had great prestige and influence in his tribe and acted as its representative in inter-tribal affairs. His family was expected to observe the most exemplary conduct and act as models of right behaviour for the people of the tribe.

He was advised by a council of house chiefs, the ləkag'ig'Et, whose consent was necessary for important actions, such as his choice of successor. He had no police force, but he could threaten supernatural retaliation for non-participation in dancing society obligations, and he controlled a group of artists and stage managers, the g'it'sɔ'ntk, which had some coercive powers in hala'it affairs (see below).

The tribal chief ordered the annual movement to the Nass for eulachon fishing in the spring, but seems to have had few other direct and institutionalized economic functions. legEx on the lower Skeena and sag.u'wE'n (Chief Mountain) on the Nass had middleman monopolies on trade

9. legEx, chief of the g'ispaxlɔ'ʔts, was generally acknowledged to be the leading or highest-ranking chief of the Lower Skeena River tribes at Fort Simpson. However, this does not mean that he had any pan-tribal role other than that which would normally accrue to one of such high prestige.

with the Gitksan and the Tsetsaut, respectively, but this was not a regular function of tribal chieftainship. Chief tsibasE' of g'itxa'la was said to have become wealthy from trading sea otter and seal furs to white fur traders.

The chief's main duties were ritual in nature (see Garfield, 1939: 182-184). He was expected to potlatch to chiefs of other tribes, in which he was supported by contributions from all of the houses in his tribe, regardless of his or their clans. He, in turn, distributed food and wealth he received at potlatches to his tribe. Garfield (1939: 182) suggests that the chief had other (non-ritual) economic support from and obligations to the tribe, but is not specific:

While a chief can expect constant and liberal economic support from his tribesmen, he does not contribute to potlatches given by them. He is responsible for their economic welfare, must feed them when necessary and has to lay aside supplies for this purpose.

Narratives from g'itxa'la report that chiefs received tribute in the form of the first sea otter and seal caught by each canoe of sea hunters and "other fur animals captured by hunters." Similar tribute may have been extracted by the chiefs of other tribes. tsibasE', a tyrant chief despised and feared by his tribe, was also said to have received wealth in the form of ransoms from enslaving his own headmen.

Unfortunately, for neither his redistribution of received potlatch goods, nor his role as general provider for his tribe, are the data adequate to say to what extent the chief was "tribal banker" or "central distributive agent" in Tsimshian society (see Sahlins, 1958: 3-5). If one accepts Sahlins' thesis that "power, privilege, and prestige appear to be

generated primarily in the process of goods distribution" (ibid.: 3), one would expect to find that considerable quantities of goods passed through the chief's hands.

Perhaps the chief's strongest control over the tribe, and a source of considerable wealth, was his role as wihala'it, or "great dancer."<sup>10</sup> When acting this role, he was addressed by a supernatural "power" name.<sup>11</sup> The basic premise of the wihala'it role was that the chief had greater supernatural power 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.

He was assisted and advised by a group called the g'it'sɔ'ntk (g'it: "person"; sɔn: "in seclusion"). This is the group Garfield (1939: 304) described as "the professional group of artists, song composers and organizers of the dramatizations [who] were all men who had received supernatural powers .... The ability to carve, plan and operate novel mechanical masks or other objects, or compose songs was considered a manifestation of the powers which the individual had received." According to one person (Heber Clifton), they were a powerful group: "the g'it'sɔ'ntk were the

10. wi: "great"; hala'it: "dancer." hala'it is a very important word that cannot be easily translated, but which can be taken as a signal that supernatural beings or forces are involved. It is variously translated as "dancer," "shaman," "dance," "power," "power dramatization," and "initiation." It is also used as an adjective that can be roughly glossed as "sacred."
11. The list of chief's supernatural power names in Boas (1916: 513) includes some naxnɔ'x names, but seems also to include another category of names, those referring to the heavens (laxha), which might have been special wihala'it names.

song composers, the naxnɔ'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 powers of life and death." Although their sources of wealth were not specified, the g'it'sɔ'ntk were paid handsomely for their services. ni.slu't of g'ina'dj'iks was said to have been a wealthy and influential man, partly because of his position as a leading artist of the g'it'sɔ'ntk. He was of the common or councillor (lɔkag'ig'Et) status level, although there are no statements as to whether all of the g'it'sɔ'ntk were of this status level. They probably were.

Barbeau (1950: 780-790) describes in some detail the role of the g'it'sɔ'ntk among the g'itg.a'atɔ of the Southern Tsimshian. When young, they were selected from certain families and specially trained for their role. They were "controlled by various secret societies with which they associated" as well as being "employed by most of the chiefs" and hired out to other tribes (ibid.: 790. Barbeau's use of the word "employed" is probably misleading here. It is more probable that they were attached to the chief's household. Interestingly, I was told by Norman Tait, a Niska carver from Kincolith, that his father had said it was ill-advised for a carver to marry since, in the old days, he would have been continually moving from place to place.

There were also said to be g'it'sɔ'ntk among the Bella Bella, from whom the Tsimshian were said to have borrowed dancing societies, strengthening the association between this group and the dancing societies headed by the chiefs.



Most significantly, the g'it's, 'ntk were clearly distinguished from the carvers of totem poles and crest art, who were called the ukgihlə and were not permitted to carve masks and hala'it paraphernalia. They did not work in secret as did the g'it's, 'ntk, and their status was lower (*ibid.*: 790).

The g'it's, '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's, '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 members of the tribe were expected to be initiated into either the Dog Eaters or Dancers dancing societies, and hence to have participated in the dramatizations 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.

This is the same paradox Lévi-Strauss investigates in an article on shamanism (1967b), where he refers to a Koskimo shaman (described by Boas [1930, II: 1-41]) who went mad in his attempts to resolve it. The shaman, who himself used trickery in his practice, tried to get

another shaman, who has bested him and subjected him to ridicule, to admit that his healing performances were also trickery. When the second shaman refused to speak, the first shaman, unable to face his possible genuineness, went mad and shortly died (Lévi-Strauss, 1967b: 169-176).

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. He also seems to be suggesting that the shamanistic performance offers the audience a chance to participate in some form of anti-structural exploration: "it is this vital experience of a universe of symbolic effusions which the patient, because he is ill, and the sorcerer because he is neurotic<sup>12</sup> -- in other words, both having types of experience which cannot otherwise be integrated -- allow the public to glimpse as 'fireworks' from a safe distance" (*ibid.*: 176).

It should be noted, in this connection, that the hala'it performance and idiom of expression are derived from shamanism. One meaning of the word hala'it is "shaman," and there are a number of correspondences in the use of cedar bark, red ochre, bearskin robes, songs, etc., used by the shaman and the dancing society initiate. naxnɔ'x or 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."

12. Lévi-Strauss acknowledged in a footnote written later (1967b: 180, footnote #19) that his use of "neurotic" here was an oversimplification.

The hala'it season, called gwEndəsm hala'it ("arrival [on earth] hala'it") was officially declared open at a potlatch by ni.swE'xs of g'inadə'iks, whose privilege it was, and observed by all of the Lower Skeena River Tsimshian at the same time (different chiefs opened the season for the Southern Tsimshian). The season ran for the entire winter or time of tabu (ha'wE'iks: "tabu"). Quite often it was not completed by the time the people moved to the Nass in the early spring, and novices completed their initiations there. 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. naxnə'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 (ləkag'ig'Et), which advised the chief on secular matters.

All members of the tribe participated in the hala'it system, which was described as a series of "steps" or elevations in supernatural power by means of initiation ceremonies.

The first step in hala'it elevation was a "throwing ceremony," tsi.k (the word for dentalium) or səmhala'it (səm: "real"; hala'it: "dance"), which all children were given and which could be sponsored by

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either the father or the mother's brother. The English name of the ceremony refers to the chief's wrestling with and "throwing" his power into the children, who were hidden under new cedarbark mats supplied by their father's sisters, who acted as their assistants. After this ceremony, the child was known as amg'Et (am: "good"; g'Et: "person")<sup>14</sup> and considered ready for initiation into a dancing society.

The second step in supernatural elevation was to join either the Dog Eaters (nu'lm) or Dancers (mila) dancing societies (Boas' "secret societies"). 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'ən (killed at an early age by the powers of the hala'it). Probably the only adult Tsimshian who were not dancing society members were those of the wa'ayin category (see below, under Status Levels).

Membership in the dancing societies had the effect of dividing Coast Tsimshian tribes into two groups, cross-cutting clan member-

13. There is some confusion about the name of the first power ceremony. Garfield (1939: 198) says that a second power ceremony was called səmhalā'it, which name Drucker (1940: 221) and Boas (1895: 575) give to the first power ceremony. The throwing ceremony of the Gitksan is called su-ha-lide (Duff, 1959: 40), which is perhaps related to səmhalā'it. A resolution of the problem might lie in Drucker's equation of the səmhalā'it with the koxumhalait (g.ɔ'g.ɔm "nodding" hala'it) or "head-shaking" dance (*ibid.*: 222), which he also calls a "crest-display" dance. This is the chief's welcoming dance at potlatches, during which he shakes eagle down, a symbol of peace, from his headdress over the guests. The chief's attire and actions in the throwing ceremony and welcome dance are very similar (see Boas, 1916: 515 and 539-540), suggesting that an earlier səmhalā'it became part of both the potlatch and hala'it system.
14. Some people said that amg'Et was a second step after the throwing ceremony, but there are no recorded descriptions of a ceremony intermediate between it and the dancing society initiations, and other informants said specifically that the word amg'Et referred to the status or condition of a person ready to enter a dancing society.

ship. The two groups were said to be about equal in membership. "The initiates enter either the society of father or maternal uncle, whoever actually shouldered the whole expense, or that of the other, if they both agreed, as it was always to the advantage of the house to divide membership, but in no way had the clan or phraytral (sic) relationship anything to do with it" (Beynon, field notes). This second step was called "ascending into the heavens" (hilaxE'), referring to the initiate's supposed ascent into the heavens while under possession by the spirits.

The tribal chief was the leader or wihala'it of one of the dancing societies, and another high-ranking chief was wihala'it of the other. Thus, for example, legEx was wihala'it for the Dog Eaters at g'ispaxlɔ'ʔts, and ni.swa'amak, another laxsk'i.k chief, was wihala'it for the Dancers. (At g'ina'dɔ'iks, the laxk'ibu' chiefly house was extinct, and ni.swExs became wihala'it for both dancing societies. This was regarded as an exception to the rule.)

The general sequence of initiation, which took place in a special hala'it house set aside for each society, was the transfer of the spirit of the wihala'it into the initiate, for which the chief was compensated, and the disappearance of the initiate, who was now completely in the power or possession of the spirit. The initiate, who was supposed to have disappeared into the heavens, was secreted behind the partition (p'tɔl) at the rear of the house. At this time, gifts were distributed to the members of the dancing society, who sang and witnessed the disappearance. After a time, the initiate returned, riding offshore

in a contrivance built to resemble his crest animal, and the power was removed from him by the wihala'it, who was again compensated. It took him several ritual procedures to restore the initiate to a normal state.

Garfield (1939: 303) reports that "a full fledged member of the Dog Eaters had to demonstrate contact with the spirit on two different occasions, each accompanied by a distribution of wealth to the guests invited to witness the event. Four such potlatches<sup>15</sup> during a lifetime was reported as necessary before a person could retire with honors from the society. Older men who had fulfilled all the obligations of feasts and property distribution could step out of the secret society and give their positions to younger persons. At the fourth ceremony the giver announced his intention of retiring and at the same time initiated a younger person to take his place." There are no confirmations of retirement, transfer of "places," or the obligation to give four hala'it feasts in the Barbeau/Beynon notes. However, there is confirmation in museum specimens and their accompanying documentation that initiates gave up to four hala'it feasts or demonstrations. For example, there is a four-row dancing society headdress of red cedar-bark, collected by Barbeau from sqat'i'n, laxk'ibu' head-chief of g'itlaxda'mks, in the ROM whose "rows indicate that the owner had danced four times" (ROM, HN-765, Barbeau catalogue notes). We know from the

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15. While hala'it's involved property distributions, it is probably inaccurate to call them potlatches. See the discussion of potlatches in Chapter Four.

notes on another specimen, a cedarbark collar (ROM,HN-765), that squat'i'n was a member of the Dog Eaters, and it can therefore be inferred that this was a headdress of the Dog Eater society. A three-row headdress of the same type was collected by Emmons, also from Gitlaxdamiks, and is now in the MAI (1/4209). Although he does not say from whom he collected it, we can assume it was someone who had "danced" in the Dog Eaters three times. Both headdresses are illustrated below.



Plate 1. squat'i'n's four-row cedarbark headdress. ROM, HN-765. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, Gitlaxdamiks, 1927. Probably Dog Eaters dancing society.



Plate 2. Three-row cedarbark headdress from Gitlaxdamiks. MAI, 1/4209. Collected ca. 1907 by G.T. Emmons. Probably Dog Eaters dancing society.

At the end of the hala'it season, the wihala'it purified the hala'it house, which was once again used as a normal dwelling, and the tribe began its spring and summer food-gathering activities.

Certain chiefs had the privilege of being initiated by other supernatural powers. These were the Cannibal spirit (xg'Edt: x-: "to partake or consume"; g'Et: "person"; also called u'lala, from the Kwakiutl o'lala) and the Destroyer spirit (ludzist'E' or wi'nanał; in Niska, ho.nanał; from the Kwakiutl hawi'nalał). These were not societies, as among the Kwakiutl, but personal chiefly privileges, acquired directly from the northern Kwakiutl. There is, however, no clear indication of how they were acquired. Boas (1916: 510) says that they were acquired "through intermarriage," but does not elaborate, even though there are no provisions in Tsimshian marriage rules for the



transfer of privileges between affines. A Tsimshian version of the Kitimat myth of the origin of dancing societies casts their acquisition into traditional Tsimshian terms. Of the four young men who first saw the dances in supernatural dwellings that rose out of a lake near Kitamat, two were chief's nephews, and two were of the councillor (lɔkag'ig'Et) status level. The first two gave the Cannibal and Destroyer dances as gifts to their uncles, and these became the exclusive property of chiefs. Since the other two young men were not of the chiefly status level, the Dog Eaters and Dancers were open to everyone (see one version of the myth in Garfield, 1939: 293-294).

One of Beynon's Tsimshian teachers said that sgagwe't, chief of the g'it'andɔ' tribe, was initiated into the Cannibals, contributions came from the tribe as a whole, not just from his relatives. Garfield (1939: 296) reports that initiations into the Destroyers were financed by all of the members of the Dancers of a chief's tribe. These data suggest that chiefly initiations into the Cannibals and Destroyers paralleled chief's potlatches as affairs supported by the entire tribe.

The chief's two roles, as sɔmo'ɔ'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. Both parents contribute to the child's advancement in both orders, but the father has a more direct role in sponsoring the child's hala'it

advancement: "a father may finance the entire hala'it process himself. It has not the same association of the 'ix (potlatch) feast, wherein the whole responsibility is maternal and the paternal side only assists" (Gray and Johnson).

Advancement in both orders was necessary to properly assume one's place in Tsimshian society. There are some indications that participation in the hala'it was beginning to overshadow potlatch participation: "It was of more importance in the social standard to have been hala'it, than really to have assumed a name" (Beynon, field notes). This is especially interesting in light of the general assumption, made by both anthropologists and Tsimshian, that the dancing societies were recent borrowings of the Tsimshian from the Bella Bella. Boas dated the spread of the Cannibal dance to the Tsimshian and southern Kwakiutl as follows (1897: 664):

The Kwakiutl state uniformly that the custom of devouring men was introduced among their tribe about sixty years ago [ca. 1835], and that it was derived from the Heiltsuq. We also have conclusive evidence that the custom was acquired by the Tsimshian not more than seventy years ago [ca. 1825] and that they also obtained it from the Heiltsuq (emphasis added).

Unfortunately, Boas does not go on to say what this "conclusive evidence" is, and I cannot find reference to it in any of his other writings on the Tsimshian. Given his famous caution in drawing conclusions of any kind, one wants to believe that it is a well-founded statement, especially since there is no direct evidence from other sources as to when the Tsim-  
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shian acquired the dancing societies. Boas was, of course, only refer-

16. Ethnohistorical research may shed light on this, although unfortunately there was little contact by Europeans with the Tsimshian in the early historical period.

ring to the adoption of the Cannibal dance, and it is quite possible that the other dancing societies were acquired at a different time. Except for the myth of their origin at Kitamat referred to above, dancing societies are not mentioned in Coast Tsimshian myths, which would support their recency, and the use of Kwakiutl names has already been established.

It is tempting to explore the implications of Boas' date of 1825 for the introduction of the Cannibal Dance to the Tsimshian (positing, for the moment, that the Dog Eaters and Dancers were adopted in the same period). Although I do not agree with Service (1962) that Northwest Coast societies should be categorized as fully developed chiefdoms as he defines them, his discussion of the changing nature of religious sodalities as mechanisms of social integration at the chiefdom level of sociopolitical development is appropriate here:

Religion in chiefdoms is markedly different from that of tribes and bands. It is not so much that the antecedent religion is altered, but rather that it is augmented in content and with new forms superimposed. The shamanistic practices and local life-cycle rituals remain, but ceremonies and rituals serving wider social purposes become more numerous ....

Related to all this are new kinds of religious practitioners who may be said to form a priesthood. Whereas a shaman achieves his position by personal qualifications, a priest occupies a permanent office in the society. The differences between these two resembles the differences between the occasional leader of tribal society and the true chief. Chieftainship and priesthood, in fact, seem to arise together as twin forms of authority, distinct with respect to the contexts in which the authority is wielded but otherwise similar, if not identical. Ordinarily priestly offices descend in the same family line as the secular offices; further, sometimes the priest and the chief are the same person (Service, 1962: 171).

With this model in mind, one can view the dancing societies as new rituals "serving wider social purposes," notably to cut across kinship ties;

the chief in his role of wihala'it as priest; and the g'it's,ntk as an incipient priesthood. Service (1962: 145) points out that "no one has observed the actual origin of a chiefdom," but perhaps in the Tsimshian case we can see glimpses of the dynamics of chiefly consolidation of secular and religious authority in a redistributive society. Significantly, this occurred, if we accept Boas' date, after the beginnings of the fur trade (which began in force after 1785) and about the same time that Fort Simpson was established, which suggests that the impetus toward chiefly consolidation of power lay in changes initiated by the intrusion of the whiteman and resulting alterations in aboriginal social relationships and sources of wealth.

Niska: There are no ethnographic descriptions of the role and functions of Nass River chiefs in the published literature, and there are only scattered and occasional references to them in the Barbeau/Beynon notes, which, unfortunately, are not sufficient to draw a chiefly portrait comparable to the preceding one for the Coast Tsimshian.

It is clear, however, that their office in society, their hegemony, was that of clan and sub-clan leaders within a tribe, and that they had no institutionalized office of tribal chief, as did the Coast Tsimshian. The progression of chiefly authority seems to be that the chief of the highest ranking sub-clan in a clan was the head-chief of the clan, and that the head-chief of the largest clan in a tribe or winter village had prestige and rank comparable to a Coast Tsimshian tribal chief, although he did not hold tribal "office" as

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such. Nor were all the houses of all the clans in a tribe arranged in a single rank order, as among the Coast Tsimshian. Niska society was organized according to a clan principle, with greater development and differentiation of sub-clans within a clan than was to be found among either the Coast Tsimshian or the Gitksan.

The differences in the Coast Tsimshian and Niska rank and authority structures are reflected in the ranked lists of houses and clans in Appendix I. Whereas Coast Tsimshian people listed houses of all four clans in a single rank order under the tribal chief, Niska people listed houses in rank order within clans or sub-clans, which were also ranked relative to each other.

Non-clan or extra-clan leadership was developing on the Nass, however. At g'itlaxda'mks, for example, the g'isg.a'st sub-clan under pi'l recognized the laxk'ibu' chief sqat'i'n as their chief, and so were classified in the ranked lists under laxk'ibu'. In other words, houses of one clan recognized the leadership of a chief belonging to another clan.

There was also a tendency for head-chiefs of clans in a tribe to claim first-ranking position of their clan for the entire Nass (sqat'i'n, for example, was one of those said to be highest ranking laxk'ibu' on the Nass), and at least one chief, kwaxcu, attempted to be recognized as "Number One Chief Nass River," although his claim was rejected.

17. There were two head-chiefs at g'itlaxda'mks: sqat'i'n of the laxk'ibu' and mənE'sk of the laxsk'i'k. In a potlatch order collected by Beynon from Peter ni.sygqł, sqat'i'n ranked ahead of mənE'sk, which accords with the general front-ranking position of the laxk'ibu' over the other clans on the Nass.

Sapir (1915: 28) reports three dancing societies as "inheritable" privileges: Cannibals, Dog Eaters, and Destroyers; Boas (1897: 651) reports "six": the səmhalá'it, Dancers, Dog Eaters, Cannibals, nānestā't, and Destroyers, in rank order from lowest to highest. He says that the Niska nānestā't is equivalent to the Kwakiutl nōntsistā'laL (*ibid.*: 652) which he later (*ibid.*: 654) says is also equivalent to the Destroyers (Niska hōnān'al), leaving us to deduce that nānestā't and hōnān'al are two different names for the Destroyer society among the Niska, and that he is, in fact, reporting five societies rather than "six."

In contrast to published information like that in the preceding paragraph, museum specimens and accompanying documentation can be used to decipher the dancing society complex on the Nass with some precision, especially with reference to the better known complex of the Coast Tsimshian.

Accompanying a trumpet of the Dog Eaters society (ROM, HN-695) are Barbeau's notes that it was "used when initiating a boy or girl into the lułim (Dog Eaters)," telling us that children were initiated into these societies as on the Coast. Quite a number of other pieces from the Nass, collected by Barbeau for the ROM, are identified as being used in the Dog Eaters and Dancers societies, confirming their presence  
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on the Nass. There are also objects used in the Cannibal dance col-

18. Both of the Newcombes and Emmons collected more objects from the Nass River than did Barbeau, but they neglected to record the names of the dancing societies for the dancing society paraphernalia they collected so that, as usual, their documentation is insufficient for ethnographic purposes.

lected from sqat'i'n (e.g., ROM, HN-771) and Dog Eater paraphernalia collected from both sqat'i'n and mənE'sk (e.g., ROM, HN-775 and HN-695).<sup>19</sup> Catalogue notes for a cedarbark collar (ROM, HN-798) report that sqat'i'n was "mənhalā'it, the chief of the halā'it," which most probably corresponds to the wihala'it role of the Coast Tsimshian chiefs. Finally, a trumpet collected from sqat'i'n (ROM, HN-708) was described by Barbeau as follows: "it was always kept secret, and was made by the sig'idzən: behind the scene, that is, the people behind the scene." In other words, it was made by the Nass River equivalent of the g'it'z>ntk.

No specimens said to belong to the Destroyers were encountered. This does not necessarily contradict Sapir and Boas, but does suggest that membership in that society was not as widespread as membership in the Dog Eaters, Dancers, and Cannibals.

The general picture of dancing societies which emerges from these fragmented data is similar to that of the Coast Tsimshian with at least one important difference: both sqat'i'n and mənE'sk, head-chiefs of g'itlaxda'mks, were members of the Dog Eaters. Among the Coast Tsimshian, the two highest ranking chiefs in a tribe would have belonged to different societies of this grade.

Interestingly enough, the myth of origin for the Niska dancing societies is different from that of the Coast Tsimshian, although it is also localized at Bella Bella and Kitamat (Boas, 1897: 651-653). It mentions only the three societies confirmed by the museum specimens: the

19. Cf., the two Nass River Dog Eater headdresses illustrated on pages 82 and 83.

Dog Eaters, Dancers, and Cannibals, which were said to have been given by a chief living in a cave to a hunter who had been led there by a bear.

Gitksan: Gitksan chiefs were house chiefs, and the chief of the highest-ranking house in a clan was clan chief for his tribe. There are no indications that larger hegemonies were forming.

Unlike the Niska, whose chiefs vied for superiority over one another, the Gitksan chiefs maintained an egalitarian posture. When the Kitsegukla were invited to a potlatch, for example, "they would call a chief from each clan in turn, otherwise a difference in standing would be implied, and one group would be offended" (Charles Mark). Similarly, the arrangement of dwellings at both Kitwancool and Kitsegukla placed the two clan chiefs -- the laxk'ibu' and laxse.1 at Kitwancool and the g.anha'd2 and g'isg.a'st at Kitsegukla -- side by side in the middle of the village, with the other houses of their clans ranged out on either side, ideally in descending rank order (the Kitwancool g'isg.a'st were newcomers and were not considered a clan equal to the other two).

In recent years, presumably because neither one of the clan chiefs was a tribal chief, the people of Kitwancool have established an office of village president, whose incumbent is not a chief but who has the authority to deal with outside interests and authorities for the tribe as a whole (see Duff, 1959: 12, 36). In 1938, "all the chiefs and the young men held a meeting in Kitwancool. They created a pact or law of agreement among the chiefs of the village, and this then formed a union between the Frog and Wolf clans. In other words, these clans united as



one, and under this agreement they swear to protect all the lands and natural resources belonging to the people of Kitwancool" (people of Kitwancool, in Duff, 1959: 37). These two events, couched in the thoroughly Eurocanadian terms of "president" and "pact or law of agreement," permit the Kitwancool to present a united face to the outside world; there were no traditional Gitksan mechanisms they could have invoked to do the same.

According to Drucker (1940: 222), whose brief account is the only one in the literature, there were two dancing societies among the Gitksan: the Dog Eaters (g.aluṭim) and Dancers (g.amila), although there were chiefly rights to the Cannibal dance at Kitsegukla, Kitwancool, and perhaps Kitwanga and Kispayaks, and to the Destroyers (winalaṭ, which Drucker calls a "War Dance") at places not specified. As among the Niska, the chief dancer (presumably of each society) is called mṇhala.ṭit (loc. cit.).

The view of the Gitksan dancing societies from the neighbouring Carrier permits us to glimpse some of the dynamics of membership. Jenness (1943: 571) tells of a rich but "low-born youth of Kispiox," who determined to enter the Cannibals (wilala). "He made his ambition known, but the members of the wilala and kaluṭlim societies, at a joint meeting, decided that his low birth debarred him from the wilala society, but allowed him to enter the inferior kaluṭlim."

The linking of the Cannibals and Dog Eaters implied above by their joint meeting is further signified by Barbeau's catalogue documentation for a beautifully painted wooden screen from the house of wudaxhayEts, laxse.ṭ1, Kitwancool (NMC, VII-C-1130; see Plate 69). The

screen was named pt. 2 mwil' E. q ("partition of dragon fly") and showed a large dragon fly in the middle, which the "owner ...had not adopted ... as a crest, but as a decoration," and which was flanked by crest figures named Half Exposed Person. The partition was used by the g.aluim hala'it for two occasions, first for the g.aluim and second for the ulala.<sup>20</sup> This suggests that those two societies perhaps held joint initiations (at least they used the same hala'it dwelling), or were otherwise linked in native thought. Ritual dog eating can perhaps be viewed as a weaker or less intense form of cannibalism. Perhaps it was only the Dog Eater chiefs who were allowed to become Cannibals.

A similar association for the Dancers and Destroyers is suggested by another museum specimen. It is a cedar club (NMC, VII-C-1073) collected by Barbeau from the house of lu.laq, laxse'l, Kitwanga, which was said to be "for g.amila society outfit" and used as follows: "the young hala'it brought this club with him in the feast house, hit the door posts with it before entering, and when he saw a good thing in the house he hit it, and paid for it afterwards." Thus, while the club belonged to a Dancers outfit, its use was unquestionably that of the Destroyers society (see Boas, 1916: 551-553).

Other museum specimens shed additional light on the dancing society complex. At the ROM is a whistle from Kispiox (HN-750) of which Barbeau says: "these whistles were always kept hidden. If a man by chance happened to see a whistle or anybody blowing a whistle he was

20. The complete documentation for this specimen is given on pages 246 and 247.

killed and no indemnity was paid. It was acknowledged legal to kill him. If he had sufficient means he could buy himself out. His life was then spared and he became a member of the secret society." Although there is no mention of a g'it's, 'ntk organization among the Gitksan, this custom implies that the same sort of secrecy and control they maintained for the dancing societies of the Coast Tsimshian was in force here too.

There are catalogue notes for a number of cedar bark head rings which tell us that dancing society members were expected to stage a number of power demonstrations during their careers, as among the Coast Tsimshian and Niska. For example, a Cannibal head ring belonging to nEqt, laxse'1, Kispiox, has three rings (NMC, VII-C-1173): "one ring was added to represent each time the hala'it was given; and neqt has given three" (Barbeau catalogue notes).

The owner of a Cannibal whistle, Richard Morrison of Kispiox, told Barbeau that he thought it (ROM, HN-752) was made about 1866, at the time when the Great Western Union Telegraph line was constructed. He added that the last Cannibal ritual was performed at Kispiox about 1892.

Finally, to conclude this section, the differences in phrasing or in emphasis regarding the Cannibals and Dog Eaters among the Gitksan and the Carrier, who borrowed the rituals from them, are instructive. A Carrier looked upon the onset of the spirit as a supernatural possession or sickness, called the kyan sickness, which he would gladly avoid; it was painful and dangerous, and could only be cured by exorcism by the kyanyuantan (society members), after which he joined their ranks. The Gitksan, however, regarded membership in the societies as highly desirable

and, as in the case of the low-born Kispiox man referred to above, actively sought out possession by the spirits and what appears to be simulation of the "sickness":

To the one people the society is primarily a group of medicine men joined together to treat a peculiar and dangerous disease; to the other it is an organization for conferring prestige and influence on a limited section of the community by means of a spectacular initiation rite that invokes the sanction of the supernatural (Jenness, 1943: 571).

### Rank

The Northwest Coast institution of ranking is apparently a difficult one for ethnologists to understand, and much has been written about it, especially in its relationship to social classes.

In Appendix I, houses or lineages of all three divisions of the Tsimshian are listed in rank order, as these were recorded from Indian tellers. The nature of the rank orders differs: houses ranked by tribe (Coast Tsimshian), houses ranked by sub-clan or clan (Niska), and houses ranked by clan (Gitksan). Further, clans in a tribe are ranked for the Gitksan, and sub-clans within a clan and clans within a tribe are ranked for the Niska. Although not included here, lists of potlatch rankings were also collected in which chiefs (representing houses) from various tribes were ranked. Finally, within a house, names are considered to be "high-" or "low-ranking."

Ranking was obviously an important way of classifying individuals and social groups to the Tsimshian.

But it was not an absolute determined by birth, some kind of fixed "Chain of Being," as is sometimes implied. Rank was an ideology, a linear pattern used by the Tsimshian to determine priorities in different

social contexts. Conceivably, each concrete ranking one might observe might differ from every other, depending upon the context, the population units involved, and the privileges being called forth for the event.

This has been best expressed by Sapir (1967: 33):

The ranking orders thus arrived at by seating, distribution of gifts, invitations to feasts, and in various other ways ... might be expected to coincide. To a certain extent they do tend to approximate, and the highest rank in a community will nearly always be found to head any such list that might be constructed. In practice, however, one finds that the various orders do not necessarily strictly correspond, in other words, that a person might individually be of lesser rank than another from the point of view of seating, but would have a prior claim to be invited, say. This curious state of affairs shows clearly enough that at last analysis rank is not a permanent status, which is expressed in a number of absolutely fixed ways, but is rather the resultant standing attained by the inheritance of a considerable number of theoretically independent privileges which do, indeed, tend in most cases to be associated in certain ways, but may nevertheless be independently transmitted from generation to generation.

Any ranked lists, then, which were volunteered by Tsimshian people or written down by ethnographers from their own observations of seating, gift size, etc., are "true" for that moment or event only. My own concept of rank is of a motion picture of houses slowly rising and falling along multiple vertical axes. At any point in time, say a potlatch, the operator of the camera might stop or freeze the action, permitting the anthropologist to make a list of what he sees. But then the movie continues, and it would be a mistake for the observer to pack up his notebook and leave without noticing that the action had begun again. It would also be a mistake for him to assume that the order he had observed would be agreed upon by all of the actors involved.

We cannot expect, then, to find symbolic expressions of minute rank gradations, say as between the houses numbered III and IV or X and XIII in the lists contained in Appendix I. Such symbolizations could have been invalidated at the next potlatch.

What we can expect to find, however, are symbolic expressions of wide rank differences, as between houses ranked II and VIII in a list, or between those of high and low rank. Which brings us to categories of rank. Here we find another principle of social differentiation -- into vertical strata -- which has symbolic expression. It will be later shown to be one of the principal social organizational features to be expressed or communicated by Tsimshian material culture.

### Status Levels

The time is probably long overdue for anthropologists to drop the word "class" from their descriptions of Northwest Coast societies. This was, indeed, called for by Drucker (1968 [1939]) as long ago as 1939, although for somewhat different reasons. The term "class" is being applied with definitional rigor by such theorists as Marshall Sahlins (1958, 1968), who reject its applicability to societies at this level of sociopolitical integration.

A chiefdom is not a class society. Although a stage beyond primitive equalitarianism, it is not divided into a ruling stratum in command of the strategic means of production or political coercion and a disenfranchised lower class. It is a structure of degrees of interest: of graded familial priorities in the control of wealth and force; in claims to others' services, in access to divine power, and in material styles of life -- such that, if all people are kinsmen and members of the society, still some are more members than others. For some are of superior descent. Yet, where rank is thus linked to descent, status positions are often so

subtly differentiated that no one can say, or will admit, where "chieflihood" leaves off and "commonality" begins (Sahlins, 1968: 24).

Accordingly, I have adopted Sahlins' (1958: 3) term "status levels," in place of "class," to designate categories of rank among the Tsimshian.

Even so, there are difficult problems to be solved in working out an accommodation between native or "conscious" models and the "statistical" models suggested by other evidence (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1967c). There is a strong ideology of mutually exclusive categories of rank among the Tsimshian and other Northwest Coast peoples which is incompatible with the kinship-based social organization of these societies.

A most revealing discussion of the difficulty of reconciling a "class" ideology with social reality is reported by Colson (1953: 202-226) for the Makah. While the people spoke of slave, common people, and chiefly "classes," there was little agreement as to who belonged in each group or as to the criteria for membership, especially for the chiefly "class":

To some, 'chief' is coterminous with household or family head and is purely an ascribed status. They insist that only the first-born son and daughter of the household head could inherit his status as 'chief', and that their position was not dependent upon individual merit. Others prefer to believe that all members of the 'chief's' family inherited his status .... To others, the 'chief' class is largely an achieved status, for they insist that the potential 'chief' had to justify his position through great deeds ... or he dropped back into the class of commoners to be replaced by a younger brother or cousin who was more successful and thus was recognized as more worthy to lead the family. Others say that any person who could acquire sufficient wealth, by any means, to hold large potlatches in his own name became a chief (Colson, 1953: 203).

Colson says that "indeed, it seems as though each individual has received a particular revelation with regard to what earlier Makah behaviour and belief were in this respect" (ibid.: 202). Her conclusions are that "the Makah today therefore do not possess a common coherent picture of their former social organization" and that "a class system theoretically exists, but it is impossible for the observer to place any single person in his proper class because there are no generally accepted standards as to what constitutes a valid claim to class status" (ibid.: 204). She further says the whole system is "incomprehensible" to the observer (loc. cit.).

A key to understanding the contemporary Makah situation, and the general problem of status levels on the Northwest Coast, is perhaps contained in the concept of prestige, defined by Fried (1967: 32) as "the ideological component of status." He says, too, that "I see no way to deal with prestige in the absence of symbols, for prestige, stripped to its essentials, depends upon shared evaluations of status" (loc. cit.). When we ask what conferred prestige on the Northwest Coast the answer, of course, is preeminently the potlatch. It can thus be seen as the medium through which Fried's "shared evaluations of status" were created and maintained. Among the Makah of the 1940s, which was when Colson did her fieldwork, the potlatch system was no longer operative. People could thus make claims to high or chiefly status, but there was no instrument through which these claims could be legitimized and community consensus obtained.

While prestige was achieved through potlatching, the idiom with which it was expressed was descent. There was an implicit understanding that the ability to potlatch was linked with high, usually chiefly, descent.



The interlocking of descent and potlatching among the Tsimshian can be seen very clearly in the case of crests, which indeed were the symbols Fried views as necessary in dealing with prestige. Although one had to have an inherited right to a particular crest, this right had to be validated by a potlatch before the crest could be displayed. There was then a necessary, if paradoxical (to us), relationship between ascribed and achieved status, between descent and wealth. Drucker says that "status ... was derived from kinship and expressed in terms of wealth" (1958: 141). I am arguing the reverse: that status was derived from wealth, but expressed in terms of kinship.

Thus, the Coast Tsimshian categories of rank, which are listed below, were said to be based on descent. Notice, however, that the category wa'ayin, the "Unhealed People," which is usually glossed as "lower class," is a category of individuals and not lineages. Presumably, those people were born into lineages which belonged to other categories of rank.

The Coast Tsimshian had a strong ideology of vertical stratification of their society into four groups: səmg'ig'Et, ləkag'ig'Et, wa'ayin, and łEło.ng'it. Translations for these terms, and descriptions of their members, are as follows:

1. səmg'ig'Et (səm: "real"; g'ig'Et: "persons"): the Real People, also referred to as "ripe." The houses or lineages of chiefs, called "royal houses" or "royalty" in English by the Tsimshian. 21

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21. The translations of Tsimshian terms into English words such as "royal," "royalty," "nobles," "prince," and "princess," are those of Tsimshian people themselves.

They are composed of the following groups:

- a) samo'ig'Et ("real person"): the chief himself;
- b) sigidəm hanax (-hanax: "wife"): Chief Woman, the chief's wife(s).
- c) ikuwE'ksək (iku- refers to "bright and silvery young salmon"): the "princes and princesses," children of the chief;
- d) g'ibəwE'əksək (translated by Garfield 1939: 177 as the "little nobility"): the referent of this term isn't clear.

H. Wallace indicated in one place that it referred to the chiefly status level as a whole; at another place in the field notes he said that it referred to the men who were potential successors to the chief, excepting his nephews or adopted heirs: "the g'ibəwE'əksək are those primarily eligible .... If the chief has no nephews or had adopted no children then these g'ibəwE'əksək come next in rank for chief. And those who elect select the one most fit."<sup>22</sup>

This is consistent with Garfield's statement that it is "those people belonging to chiefs' lineages who do not hold ranking names" (1939: 177).

- 2. lakag'ig'Et (meaning?): the councillors to a chief, headmen of non-chiefly lineages. The name refers both to the council of headmen and to their status level as a whole.

22. David Aberle has pointed out to me the similarity between this distinction and that made in European royalty between "heir apparent" and "heir presumptive" (see Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary). It seems, on the basis of the European analogy, as if the Tsimshian were dividing the chiefly group into heirs apparent (one of which would normally succeed) and potential heirs presumptive (e.g., in the absence of heirs apparent, one of the g'ibəwE'əksək would succeed).

3. wa'ayin (wa: "never"; 'ayin: "healed"): Unhealed People, also called "green" (as opposed to the chiefly group which was called "ripe"). "Honours have never been bestowed on them .... They have to go through ceremonies to be given a name, and then he (sic) becomes a lɔkag'ig'Et. The one who cannot do that remains in the lower class. Once the name has been raised to the rank of lɔkag'ig'Et it is inherited in his family" (Mrs. Dudoward).

My understanding is that this is essentially a category of individuals, rather than lineages. It is composed of deviant relatives of the lɔkag'ig'Et status level (although it may include former members of the chiefly status level as well), bastards, miscreants, and the children of slaves. "wa'ayin is a class a free man reaches by coming from either of the upper classes, simply by his conduct and behaviour he reaches that class. A person of continued bad character or bad temper can reach this class. Sometimes a man is placed in this class by his own relatives to break his unruly temper. A person can rise again from the wa'ayin. A bastard child is classed in this class and may never rise above wa'ayin. And if a royal prince marries a woman of the common class against the will of his people, his children are looked upon as wa'ayin children and he loses his chief standing. Children of slave parents, if they get the consent of the chief, may become of the wa'ayin class." (Joshua tsibasa).

4. ɬEɬo.ng'it (pl. of Tlingit): slaves, war captives.

These four categories of rank, as described by the Tsimshian themselves, are not of equal order. The most stressed and fundamental division in Coast Tsimshian society was between the chiefly category and the councillor (lɔkag'ig'Et) category. In theory, they did not exchange members. "Nobody of the lɔkag'ig'Et may become royal or pass into the upper house" (Mrs. Dudoward). "One of the lɔkag'ig'Et may never pass into the noble class or g'ibawE'ksɔk; and he may never assume the title of chief. Never known of any such instance of passage from the lower [i.e., lɔkag'ig'Et] to higher class" (H. Wallace and Nelson). The attribution of chiefly status or councillor status was consistently made by Coast Tsimshian people, especially when providing the ranked lists of houses contained in Appendix I (the division between the two status levels is indicated by a solid horizontal line in the lists; it is missing only at g'itsɔmg.E'lɔm, where A. Stevens said "no lɔkag'ig'Et. The system resembles the Gitksan in that each head of the group was recognized as chief of his own group"). The wa'ayin are not represented in the house lists, confirming my impression that this was a category of individuals, and not of lineages.

The "purity" of chiefly status level houses or lines was maintained, even when the lineage was threatened with extinction, by the adoption or exchange of successors and women from chiefly status level houses in other tribes. "In case of one house of the royal family becoming extinct, we have to turn to the noble class of another tribe; providing they are relatives and of the same crest. In case of absence of relatives anywhere of the extinct royal family, one of another house

and crest, royal family, would be adopted. The g'ispaxlɔʹts have so done for their present chief legEx, who was formerly of the royal family of the g'itʹandɔʹ laxskʹi.k" (Wallace and Nelson). Some of the chiefly houses of the g'ispɔwudwaʹdɔ had formalized their exchanges of women ("these houses have a system of providing each other with women to prevent their lines from going extinct," Beynon field notes, 1917). If the house of wiceks of g'inaxʹangʹi.k were faced with going extinct through lack of women to bear a successor, seks of g'itxaʹta would send one of his nieces. The same relationship obtained between the houses of hE.1, g'itxaʹta, and ni.swE.xs, g'inaʹdɔʹiks. These were closely related houses, and the exchange of women relationship did not extend to the houses of ni.sɬkɔmi.k of g'ilodzaʹuɔ, or saxsa.axt of g'itwilgɔʹts. People said that these two houses came to saltwater at a different time and did not reside for a time among the g'itxaʹta, as did the wiceks group. ni.sɬkɔmi.k exchanged women with the Nass River g'ispɔwudwaʹdɔ because they were more closely related.

Houses of the councillor category were the bulk of the population. They were the solid economic and moral support of the chiefs. In a potlatch speech, they were referred to as "lɔkagʹigʹEt, who are the strength of the chiefs of all the different tribes." "Whenever the head chief gives a potlatch, the lɔkagʹigʹEt have to contribute property; they give it to the chief before the great potlatch is given. The one who can contribute more to the chief's potlatch is the biggest man" (Mrs. Dudoward).

The waʹayin, the Unhealed People, were less a status level than a moral condition. There is no way to know how many people it represented,

but reference is consistently made to wa'ayin individuals, not houses. It seems to me to be of precisely the same character as the "worthless people" category of the Coast Salish (Suttles, 1966). Suttles describes them as a "lower class," which contained "those who, through their own or their forebears' misfortune or foolishness, had lost their links with the past and their knowledge of good conduct." Such people were difficult to find; their existence was whispered and rumored, but no one would acknowledge to being of this category. Hence, we might conclude that they were more of a "symbol" than a social "fact." Suttles decides that they were a small group, useful to maintain "the myth that morality is the private property of the upper class" (ibid.: 175). "This myth made it necessary (or at least useful) for a lower class to exist as evidence for its truth, but the myth probably also acted as a check on the growth of the lower class. If the lower class grew too large, its existence would no longer be compatible with the myth; a large lower class would be seen by the upper class as a threat to society, and the attitude of the upper class would become intolerable to the lower class" (loc. cit.). Banishment to the category of the "unhealed" for the Tsimshian, too, seems to have been used as an agent of social control. I would go one step further than Suttles, however, and say that it was a category or residue of deviants -- those who would not or could not accept the morality of Tsimshian society. It was not, then, a "lower class" of Tsimshian society, but a deviant category of people who did not fit elsewhere in Tsimshian society.

The wa'ayin were also described as being people of "doubtful origin." They had assumed no honoured names, had no crests, no myth, and no past. In contrast to the chiefly and councillor categories, they almost seem to be non-persons, at least incomplete persons. This is probably the sense of the expressions "unhealed" and "green" which were applied to them. One is reminded of Lévi-Strauss' (1969) concepts of "the raw and the cooked," with which he opposes the natural and cultural orders. Because the wa'ayin did not participate in the two great social and moral orders of Tsimshian society -- the hala'it order and the potlatch order -- there was little to define them as Tsimshian, or even human. A person who had no crests, no myth, no grandfather, and no knowledge of his ancestral home -- undoubtedly a wa'ayin -- was said (by John Brown) to be "like a wild animal" (see page 120 below). Slaves, at least, had the identities previously assumed in the contexts of their own cultures.

Coast Tsimshian categories of rank, in sum, classified people (excluding slaves) into three groups on the basis of their being more and less Tsimshian: 1) the Real People or chiefly category (Tsimshian +), 2) the ordinary people or councillor category (Tsimshian), and 3) the Unhealed People or deviant category (Tsimshian -). Membership in the first two categories was expressed in terms of descent, whereas the criteria for membership in the category of the Unhealed were explicitly moral qualities, or a condition of being deviant. These people could come from (be born into) either of the other two categories. To call them either a "lower class" or a "lower status level" would be misleading.

My conclusion is that Coast Tsimshian society consisted of two status levels -- a chiefly status level and a councillor status level -- plus slaves and deviant Tsimshian, both of whom were essentially outside the society. At least ideally, marriages within status levels were endogamous. Distinctions between the two status levels were maintained by, if not created by, the potlatch system, one of its purposes being the manipulation of prestige symbols (crests).

The above conclusion, it should be emphasized, contradicts the opinions of Tsimshian people and other anthropologists alike, who have maintained that Tsimshian society was divided into three vertical strata or classes, usually said to be upper, middle, and lower classes, plus slaves.

The Niska used the same categories of rank as the Coast Tsimshian, but they maintained one important structural difference: Niska councillor houses were "feeder" lineages for chiefly houses and, when a chiefly house was faced with extinction, they supplied women to bear its successors. "The status of the ləkag'ig'Et among the Coast Tsimshian and Niska differed in this way: among the Tsimshian, the ləkag'Et (sing.) can never hold royal rank and may never become chiefs. Among the Niska, the ləkag'Et's, as they may be called, are in reality chiefs of their own household and are recognized as princes but not of the high chief rank as chief of the group. But one of their duties is when the house of kwaxcu, for example, is threatened by extinction through no more women, a woman may be taken from the ləkag'Et chief's household to become a female member of the head chief's household, and her offspring are recognized as the head chief's own house, not as of the ləkag'Et house. The ləkag'Et



has the same privilege; a woman of the chief's household may become a member of his household, as do her children. This has occurred many times between this group" (Peter Calder). A chiefly house may have several lɔkag'ig'Et houses standing in this "feeder" relationship to it; conversely, a lɔkag'ig'Et house may stand as supplier of women to more than one chiefly house.

Being thus united by these exchanges of women and their progeny, chiefly and councillor houses of the Niska were not differentiated into status levels. My conclusion is that Niska society was essentially a single status level society, in which differences between high and low rank had not yet resulted in endogamous strata.

Categories of rank for the Gitksan were not explicitly described in the Barbeau/Beynon notes. However, we know from Jenness, who spent part of the winter of 1923 at Hazelton, that they classified people into chiefs, nobles, commoners, and slaves, categories borrowed by the Carrier. Interestingly, the Carrier "now consider everyone a noble, at least potentially" (Jenness, 1943: 571). The Gitksan also spoke of "chiefly families," and of people being of "low" and "high" rank. A chief among the Gitksan was any lineage headman, although the chiefs of the first-ranking house in a clan in a tribe or village had considerably greater prestige than the others.

Extrapolating from these slim data, and using the Niska case as a model, I would hypothesize that the Gitksan had a single status level society, plus slaves, in which the extremes of rank were of considerable importance. Although they may not have had a named category of rank com-

parable to the wa'ayin among the Coast Tsimshian and Niska, Gitksan society must have also included a structurally defined group of people who were outside of the potlatch and hala'it systems.

In his comparative study of Polynesian societies, Sahlins (1958: 6) considered that "a society with a greater number of status levels than another can be considered more stratified." He then relates the degree of stratification in Polynesian societies to a distinction between "chief and nonchief in distribution function," based upon productivity, so that: "the greater the productivity, the greater the differentiation between distributors (chiefs) and producers (nonchiefs) and the greater the tendency for this distinction to extend itself into other aspects of culture" (ibid.: 249). If Sahlin's theoretical model of the relationships between productivity, distribution, and stratification is correct, we should be able to predict that the ideological emphasis upon status level distinctions in Coast Tsimshian society was related to a greater differentiation between distributor and producer than existed in Niska and Gitksan societies. To test this, of course, would require another thesis.

### Trade Relationships

The greatest aboriginal trading center on the northern Northwest Coast was the mouth of the Nass River during eulachon fishing season in the early spring. Tlingit, Haida, Gitksan, and people from the upper Nass converged each February on the area from Red Bluff to Fishery Bay to trade with the Niska and Coast Tsimshian, who owned fishing grounds there.

Other trade relationships existed between the Coast Tsimshian and the Gitksan, the Niska and the Tsetsaut, the Niska and the Carrier, and the Gitksan and the Carrier, in which foods from the Coast were traded for furs from the interior. After the fur trade began, two chiefs, legEx of the g'ispaxlɔ''ts and sagau'wE'n (Chief Mountain) of the lower Nass, seized monopolies over two of these trading patterns.

Chief Mountain lived for a while at knɔg.ɔli ("place of scalps"), which was convenient for trade with the trading ships and the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Simpson. A predecessor of his had already established a trading relationship with a group of Tsetsaut, who had no canoes, and whom he exploited, getting their furs "for almost nothing." This group, who were laxk'ibu', are still referred to as xatksɔm t'sɔtsE'utgɔs sɔm'ɔg'idɔm sk'a'nis (slaves of Tsetsaut of Chief of Mountain): "the Tsetsaut slaves of Chief Mountain." The missionary Tomlinson established a mission at Kincolith and gave the Tsetsaut better prices for their furs and invited them to Kincolith. Chief Mountain was very bitter over the loss of his trading privilege, but there was nothing he could do about it, and he moved back to g'it'iks.

legEx proclaimed an exclusive trading right for himself and the g'ispaxlɔ''ts with the Gitksan. In this trade, his goods were the first sold, and he exacted a tribute from affinal relatives he permitted to accompany his expeditions. They usually went to the Gitksan country three times a year, exchanging "saltwater foods" for berries and furs. About 1850, he extended his trading expeditions to the Carrier, eliminating the Gitksan, who had been middlemen, and for several years held a

yearly trading market at the junction of the Skeena and Bulkley rivers (Jenness, 1943: 478).

A narrative collected from a g'itxa'la person (James Lewis) mentions a series of Coast Tsimshian trading relationships which may indicate an aboriginal precursor of legEx and the g'ispaxlɔ''ts trading privilege with the Gitksan. If so, they had a prior claim to their fur trade monopoly and did not seize the commerce after the fur trade period began, as has been assumed. The trading relationships referred to are as follows (the trading partners of the nine Lower Skeena tribes were not more specifically defined):

	23	
g'inax'ang'i.k	:	Stikine Tlingit
g'ilodza'uə	:	Haida of Prince of Wales Island
g'itlE'n	:	Nass River
g'itwilgɔ''ts	:	Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands
g'itzaxɬE'ɬ) g'itsi's )	:	Those Tlingit with whom they had intermarried
g'ispaxlɔ''ts	:	Upper Skeena
g'it'andɔ'	:	g'itsɬla'sə (Canyon)
	24	
g'itxa'la	:	Kitamaat and Bella Bella

"Thus all had exclusive trading areas" (loc. cit.). The same narrative reports that the g'inax'ang'i.k secured their exclusive trading privilege

23. The narrative contains a long account of the purchase by wiseks, with the assistance of his g'inax'ang'i.k tribesmen, of a famous copper from Chief Shakes of the Stikine. Because all of the tribe had contributed to its purchase, the copper was considered tribal property, although cared for by the chief.

24. Swanton (1905: 79) reports that the g'itxa'la also had close associations with the Haida of Skedans. Although he doesn't mention trade, he does say that the people of Skedans received "new crests, new stories, and new features of the potlatch" from the g'itxa'la.

with the Stikine "by virtue of having proclaimed it as their right and by distributing gifts to all the guests at a potlatch." There are indications in another narrative collected from a g'ispaxl 'ts man (John Tate) that legEx's trading privilege with the Gitksan had also been proclaimed and witnessed at a potlatch.

An important result of these trading patterns, in terms of this and other museum studies, is that artifacts were often collected from people who had not made them, and provenience records are thus often misleading.

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The most significant aspect of Tsimshian social organization described in the preceding chapter, in terms of its influence on material culture, is the distinction developed between what was called the potlatch order and the hala'it order. Each finds ritual expression in contexts involving formally and iconographically distinct categories of material culture. Within the potlatch order, the predominant iconographic system is that composed of "crests," which are the subject of the following chapters.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE CREST CONTEXT

This chapter is included to put crests into ethnographic context, and to describe essential relationships between the crest system and certain related systems in Tsimshian culture.

Tsimshian crests are a series of named, totemic representations, usually of animals, applied to totem poles, house fronts, ceremonial headdresses and robes, and certain other objects of material culture.

The Tsimshian use the English word "crest" to replace three different lexical categories in their own languages: ptEx, ayuks, and <sup>1</sup>dzepk. The differences between them are significant.

Boas (1916: 970), Sapir (1915: 3), and Garfield (1939: 336) translate the Tsimshian word ptEx to mean the clan itself, and it is often used by the Tsimshian in this way. But there is also evidence that another meaning of the word is the main totemic animal or animals used by the clan to generate crests. Direct statements to Barbeau that "the killer-whale is the ptEx of all the g'ispawudwa'də groups. The grizzly would go together with the killerwhale as ptEx of the g'ispawudwa'də. The g'ispawudwa'də have really two ptEx. The other phratries (sic) have only one ptEx." Or, "the grizzly is both a ptEx and a dzepk [material representation of a crest, see below]" and "eagle is their ptEx and dzepk" suggest

1. Boas (1916: 500) mentions a fourth word for crests: sEnlai'duks, which he translates as "symbols," "marks," or "signs." I have found no other reference to this word.

to me that the word ptEx primarily denotes the clan animal, and only by extension the clan itself. It is easy to see how the meaning of the word was extended to the clan, especially since laxsk'i.k means "on the eagle" and laxk'ibu' "on the wolf" (g'ispɔwudwa'də and g.anha'də are untranslatable). This use of the same word to refer to crest animal and clan is indicative of the close symbolic association of the clan with the animal.

ayuks is the crest itself. It is the named, totemic entity that is owned by a house and represented on certain of its possessions in material form. Whereas ptEx is the animal species from which certain principal 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. The crest lists in Appendix II are lists of ayuks.

Barbeau's Tsimshian teachers rarely used the word ayuks, preferring to use the more concrete dzepek, which refers to the material representation of a crest, the man-made thing or artifact. According to Sapir (1917: 56): "dzapk is clearly a derivative of the verb dzab 'to make,' -k being a mediopassive suffix; dzab-k may thus be interpreted as 'what is made' or 'what is represented in visible form,' referring probably to the carvings and other plastic representations of crests."

The differences in the three terms are exemplified in the following example:

<u>ptEx</u> (clan)	: <u>laxsk'i.k</u> ("on the eagle")
<u>ptEx</u> (animal)	: <u>xsk.i.k</u> ("eagle")
<u>ayuks</u>	: <u>xski'gəm lɔ.b</u> ("eagle of stone")

dzepk : Eagle form pecked in sandstone boulder,  
 belonging to the house of mənEsk,  
laxsk'i.k, g'itlaxda.mks, Nass River  
 (NMC, VII-C-1481) (see photo in Barbeau,  
 1950: 37, specimen on the right).

One of the concerns of this study is to investigate the relationship between the ayuks -- the named crest -- and its dzepk's -- its material representations. Another is to search for the rules by which new crests (ayuks) were generated, since this was an expanding system. These will be discussed in the next chapter. Unless otherwise specified, "crest" will be used here in its ayuks sense.

Crests were owned by houses, and were jealously guarded possessions. They were a legacy from myth-time, acquired by the ancestors, and held in perpetuity by their lineal descendants. To display the crest of another house, without having secured the right to do so, was a challenge to the integrity and the very identity of the house. Crests were sometimes captured in war and displayed by the victors as humiliating reminders of defeat until purchased back by their owners. Some were not repurchased and show in crest lists as possessions of alien houses. They were also taken as compensation for murder. Sometimes crests were loaned, usually to clan relatives, as gestures of generosity and solidarity and, on rare occasions, they were given away. When they had been forcibly seized, they were no longer displayed by their original owners; when they were loaned or given away voluntarily, the original owners continued to display them. Crests were never sold or transferred in marriage by the Tsimshian: such actions would have been in violation of their very meaning.



The ownership of common crests implied a kinship relationship, and membership in the same clan or sub-clan. Clan kinship was extended on the basis of crest correspondences to the Haida, Tlingit, Bella Bella, and neighbouring Athapascans. Between the Gitksan and the Tsetsaut, this was celebrated by a ritual feast: "at the feast the Indians joined their crests. The Tsetsaut laxse'1 became relatives of the Kisgegas laxse'1, and the laxk'ibu' the same. Before they linked together in this way there was always murder and treachery" (Arthur Hankin).<sup>2</sup>

Although crests were the property of the house, they were vested in its highest-ranking names, and under the control of its chief or headman. The house was perpetuated through its names, which were assumed or occupied by successive generations of matrilineally related men and women. Becoming Tsimshian, in the sense of becoming a fully adult, moral member of the community, was to publicly assume these names in a sequence of increasing importance and responsibility (see Duff, 1959: 40; Garfield, 1939: 224-226; Boas, 1916: 510-513). The chief or headman of the house was the man, or woman, who had assumed its most important name.

Names were assumed at potlatches. A person who attempted to take a name without giving or participating in a potlatch was subject to ridicule. At the potlatch, the name was assumed in context or association with crests owned by the house. Normally, the person assuming the name was also invested with the right to wear or display crests of the same general degree of importance as his new name. In the case of succession

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2. This occurred after the settling of a boundary dispute. Hankin said (in 1923) that the man who had brought the settlement about was still living, indicating that it happened some time after ca. 1850.

to the name of a deceased chief, the new incumbent erected a memorial totem pole which displayed important crests of the house. Crests were also transferred by a chief to his successor during his lifetime, in which case he was making a public investiture in his successor.

It is important to distinguish between kinds of potlatches and between a potlatch and what I call a ritual series. The latter is often called a potlatch in the literature, but is a larger ritual event that includes a potlatch. Many collectors failed to make this important distinction, with the result that masks, for example, can be found identified in museum catalogues as "potlatch masks," when in fact they were used in non-potlatch contexts in a ritual series.

The general term for potlatch is ya'ɔk<sup>u</sup>, and its most obvious constant or defining features were 1) the division of the people involved into two groups: hosts and guests, and 2) the public distribution of wealth by the hosts to the guests. According to their purpose -- the event the guests were invited to witness -- potlatches can be classified into types. For example, there were house-building, marriage, and iyɔksɔ ("to cleanse"), or cleansing potlatches at which a mistake or indignity was "washed away." This is the kind of potlatch often referred to in the literature as a "face-saving" potlatch.

The most important and frequent type of potlatch was what I am calling the 'ɔix potlatch ('ɔix: "to proclaim," "to make known"). This was "the feast of assuming a name ... when assuming or exhibiting a new crest, or erecting a new totem pole" (Joshua tsibasa). 'ɔix was either the name of the potlatch or referred to its central event, or both; the

notes aren't clear. Rivalries and challenges were typically expressed through crest displays and crest assumptions within the 'ix potlatch framework.

Ritual series were large-scale events which might include potlatches, throwing ceremonies, naxnɔ'x dramatizations, and dancing society initiations. The events diagrammed by Rosman and Rubel (1971: 24-25, based on Garfield, 1939: 198-201, 299-301, 305-309) as a typical "Tsimshian potlatch," are in fact a ritual series, including a throwing ceremony, secret society initiations, and potlatch proper. The ritual series observed by Beynon in 1945 at Kitsegukla included potlatches and naxnɔ'x dramatizations. The distinction is important. The Tsimshian themselves distinguished between hala'it and potlatch (ya'ɔk<sup>u</sup>) events (Garfield, 1939: 192), and it was argued in Chapter Three that these represent two separate orders or structures in Tsimshian society. Garfield says that "it is often difficult to clearly separate the ya'ɔk<sup>u</sup> from hala'it activities, since the supernatural names and powers taken in the hala'it are often as strictly the property of particular lineages as the crests and house names and are dramatized in much the same way and often at the same event" (1939: 192). I suggest that she was focussing on inappropriate features, and that attention to other features, including material culture, will in most cases make the distinction readily apparent. The more diagnostic of these are contrasted below:

hala'it featureschief addressed as wihala'it

no myth recited

initiates wear cedar-bark neck  
rings and head rings (in secret  
society)chief's costume: gwəshala'it (Chilkat)  
amhala'it (frontlet)  
Raven Rattle

use of trumpets and whistles

actors wear masks (in naxnɔ'x's)name is dramatized (in naxnɔ'x's)potlatch featureschief addressed as samo'ɔig'Et

myth recitation prominent

recipient of name wears crest  
robe and headdresschief's costume: crest robe and  
headdress

trumpets and whistles absent

principals wear headdresses;  
their faces are not coveredname never dramatized (although  
there may be a dramatization of  
a crest

These distinctions will be reinforced in Chapter Six, where items of the material culture involved in each order will be illustrated.

Crests were linked with houses by myths (ada'ox), which were also owned. The relationship between the myth and the crest was a necessary one. This was recognized immediately by Barbeau and became one of the basic themes in all of his publications. In his review of Boas' Tsimshian Mythology (1916), written during his first field season, Barbeau described this relationship more succinctly than he ever did later: "A crest without a myth to explain its origin and its connection with the owner was an impossibility; and such a myth was in the patrimony of a clan or a family" (Barbeau, 1917b: 560).<sup>3</sup>

3. The significance of the crest-myth relationship had been missed by Boas, an unfortunate result of his reliance on Henry Tate, who recorded the 1916 collection of myths for him. Whereas Boas believed that it formed "the bulk of the important traditions of the Tsimshian" (1916: 31), the fact of the matter was that the collection consisted of those myths which (continued next page ....)

The relationship between crests and myths was a complex one. Persons who had no myth, probably those of the wa'ayin category, had no past, no crests, no identity: "a group that could not tell their traditions would be ridiculed with the remark, 'What is your ada'ox?' And if you could not give it, you were laughed at. 'What is your grandfather's name? And where is your crest? How do you know of your past, where you have lived? You have no grandfather. You cannot speak to me, because I have one. You have no ancestral home. You are like a wild animal, you have

3. (continued ...) were of the least (functional) importance to the Tsimshian. Most of the myths Tate collected were from what Boas called The Raven Cycle, and were not only known by all Tsimshian but by their Tlingit and Haida neighbours as well. Almost totally absent from the collection were the numerous ada'ox or myths which told of migrations and supernatural encounters during which crests were acquired. Since these latter number in the many hundreds and form the bulk of the data collected by Barbeau and Beynon over a period of 43 years, it is indeed a sobering thought that they were overlooked by Boas, the great collector and publisher of myths. It is worthwhile quoting Barbeau's explanation in full:

Why did Tate collect general myths and tales rather than local or special ones? The reasons for this are fairly clear. The narratives of the first type are the property of all; any informant at large may know and repeat them. Quite on the contrary, the second belong restrictively to a clan, a house or a chief. Not even the breakdown of the old order of things has yet abolished the deeply seated jealousy of the natives as to what formerly was their exclusive privilege. No native, especially in the presence of another, will relate the tradition that concerns another; it would be, to say the least, a breach of etiquette. We have noticed, moreover, that these are little known, except by hearsay, to outsiders. Tate, who shared in his compatriots' corrosive diffidence, does not seem to have overcome these barriers. He is not likely to have consulted many outside of his own family members. Hardly any of our twenty-five representative informants had been utilized by him. The fact that he himself belonged to the lower class ... may not have made him persona grata with most of the chiefs -- royal or others (Barbeau, 1917b: 553).

no abode.' nyae' and ada'ox, grandfather and tradition, are practically the same thing" (John Brown).

In a manifest functional sense, the telling of a myth at a potlatch validated one's right to claim and display the crests associated with it. There were at least three, and probably four, necessary features involved in such a validation:

1. The action must be ritually "framed" in a potlatch context.
2. The action must include some formal presentation of the crest or crests being validated. They may be represented on a new totem pole which is being raised, painted on the front of a new dwelling which is being dedicated, worn on the person of someone who is receiving a name, or dramatically presented in a staged performance. Such a performance may be the occasion for the potlatch. That is, the formal reason for giving a potlatch may be to display a crest in a dramatic and memorable (and therefore prestigious) fashion. This is likely to be the case when a crest has been challenged, or to itself constitute a challenge to the previously accepted owner of a crest. More typically, the reason for giving a potlatch is to commemorate a dead chief, assume a new name, or raise a totem pole (all three of which are usually involved in a chief's mortuary potlatch), and crest display is included as a part of the series of actions performed to achieve the more inclusive end.

2a. If the crests were to be represented on a totem pole, the carver had to be selected from the father's lineage of the owner of the crests: "... the privilege of carving the pole and

rendering specific ceremonial services for a liberal stipend fell to a smaller circle of strangers [people belonging to another clan], who may be termed allies or relatives by marriage. Not every artist, though a stranger, could be invited to carve a pole, as has often been supposed even among ethnologists. Far from it. He must, indeed, be selected from among the 'fathers' of the deceased or his heir; in other words, he must be one of the 'fathers' of the members of this family or one of their immediate relatives according to native computation" (Barbeau, 1929: 7). If no carver stood in the appropriate relationship, one of the "fathers" appointed a substitute to do the actual carving while he "stood over him" (loc. cit.).

3. It is the telling of the associated myth that transforms a crest display into a crest validation. The two above features must be present, however, for the simple telling of a myth in a non-potlatch context does not constitute crest validation. The types of myths involved will be examined in more detail in the chapter to follow. They must, however, include two details in order to accomplish crest validation: they must describe the events, usually involving a journey, when the crest or the crest animal was encountered, and they must indicate in some way the relationship of the teller of the myth to an ancestor involved in that encounter.

4. A formal speech by a guest acknowledging the myth teller's right to the myth and/or the congruence of the told version with some previously heard and acknowledged version of the same myth (or, perhaps, to some native myth model), may or may not be necessary. The data are inadequate on this point. Such a formal acknowledgement is included in

each of the crest validation scenes at the Kitsegukla potlatch series, but it also seems possible that the accepting of gifts distributed by the myth teller might constitute sufficient acknowledgement on the part of the guests.

In a dispute over a crest at the Kitsegukla potlatches, the house opposing another house's right to display a particular crest on its new totem pole sang the following taunting song (Beynon, field notes):

I gaze up to the sky  
I gaze up to the sky  
Where I see my uncle  
Who never lies about his myth.

At the potlatch following the pole raising, the chief explained his right to the crest in question by reciting his myth and the details of its acquisition, and the visiting chiefs made speeches confirming his claim. The opposing house was forced to accept the situation.

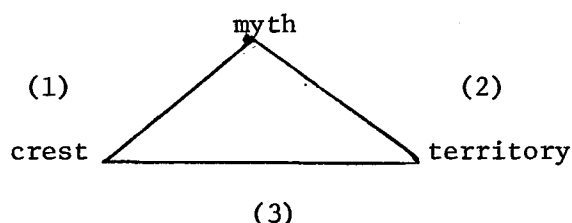
The myth-crest relationship also has an important, though normally latent, economic aspect, which helps to account for the functional significance of public crest validation. The same myth (ada'ox) through which a crest is validated also expresses the house's claim to its territories. Territorial claims may not be expressed in the version of the myth recited at the crest validation, since the necessary elements for this version of the myth have to do with the ancestor's acquisition of the crest. But the full myth contains, or can be expanded to contain, an account of the ancestor's, or the ancestral group's, migration to and/or possession of the territories owned by the house, as well as an enumeration of these territories. Not many such full territorial extensions of Tsimshian myths have been recorded. None have been published,



although even published versions of most Tsimshian myths contain hints  
 4  
 of territorial preoccupations.

The clearest, and most redundant, territorial expressions are to be found in the myths of the migrations of the laxk'ibu' from the headwaters of the Stikine, their settling for a time here and there with other laxk'ibu', who permitted the newcomers to exploit their territories for a while before expelling them, and their final settlement on territories of their own on the Nass. The events dealing with crest acquisition during these migrations seem incidental in comparison to the search for land.

The relationships involved in the crest-myth-territory complex, as I hypothesize them, can be represented diagrammatically as follows:



The house owns a myth which (1) validates its right to display a crest, and (2) expresses its claims to its territories. Depending on to what end the myth is being told, the teller will stress those events in the myth which deal with either (1) or (2). His audience, however, is well aware that if they accept and acknowledge the events in version (1), they are also accepting the events included in version (2), thus creating

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4. Barbeau, unfortunately, published only those versions of the myths he recorded which he judged to have "literary" merit, and which he could relate to such "universal" themes as Orpheus, Samson, and Jonah (see Barbeau, 1950: 269-272 for an example), or those which dealt with such dramatic Northwest Coast themes as the Bear Husband. Hence, his published versions of Tsimshian myths give an unbalanced picture of the total corpus he collected.

the symbolic relationship (3) between crests and territory. Therefore, in the shorthand of ritual action, the crest becomes a visual symbol of the economic resources of the house that is displaying it. This must be what the people of Kitwancool meant when they wrote in their history, "when a clan raises a totem-pole and puts their rightful crests on the pole, it means a great deal to them, as every pole has a hunting-ground" (in Duff, 1959: 37). I think that they were referring to this territory-symbolling function of crests, one that I do not believe has been adequately recognized in the anthropological literature on the Northwest Coast.

The function commonly ascribed to crests in the literature is that they express the social identity of their owners. To be sure, they do. By displaying his crests the owner expresses his clan affiliation, in some cases his house membership, and, among the Coast Tsimshian, some clues to his status level and his rank therein. It will be a major burden of the following analysis to explain how these qualities are expressed. But here it must be pointed out that these are qualities of his social position that are already known to his fellow actors. They do not need to "read" a pole or a crest robe in order to know how to act towards its owner.<sup>5</sup> Nor are crest emblems worn in everyday social interaction. Sapir (1915: 6) reports that "one cannot even pay a neighbour a visit and wear a garment decorated with a minor crest without justifying the use of such regalia by the expenditure of property at the

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5. A possible exception might be the wearing of clan headdresses in warfare, where quick clan identification may be necessary.

house visited." Barbeau's Tsimshian teachers were quite specific that crest-bearing costume items were worn at potlatches.

Crests, therefore, are worn and displayed in ritual contexts where they express features of social position which are already known. Which suggests that we are dealing with the kind of ritual function described by Leach (1965: 15-16):

In sum, then, my view here is that ritual action and belief are to be understood as forms of symbolic statement about the social order. Although I do not claim that anthropologists are always in a position to interpret such symbolism, I hold nevertheless that the main task of social anthropology is to attempt such interpretation ....

Ritual in its cultural context is a pattern of symbols; the words into which I interpret it are another pattern of symbols composed largely of technical terms devised by anthropologists -- words like lineage, rank, status and so on. The two symbol systems have something in common, namely a common structure .... This is what I mean when I say that ritual makes explicit the social structure.

The structure which is symbolised in ritual is the system of socially approved "proper" relations between individuals and groups. These relations are not formally recognised at all times .... Indeed I am prepared to argue that ... neglect of formal structure is essential if ordinary social activities are to be pursued at all.

Nevertheless if anarchy is to be avoided, the individuals who make up a society must from time to time be reminded, at least in symbol, of the underlying order that is supposed to guide their social activities. Ritual performances have this function for the participating group as a whole; they momentarily make explicit what is otherwise a fiction.

Following Leach, the main task of the following chapters will be to interpret crests as a system of ritual statements about the Tsimshian social order. A secondary purpose will be to interpret certain items of Tsimshian material culture as crests.

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### The naxnɔ'x System:

Before turning to the crests themselves, it is instructive to contrast crests and crest displays with another iconographic and ritual system of the Tsimshian: naxnɔ'x dramatizations. naxnɔ'x is the Tsimshian word for "spirit" or "supernatural being," and in this context it refers primarily to lineage-owned names which were dramatized in public performances.

The Tsimshian classify naxnɔ'x dramatizations as hala'it's-- dances or power demonstrations -- which are both conceptually and as event sequences distinct from ya'ɔk<sup>u</sup> or potlatches. However, there are many concrete instances in the crest lists (Appendix II) where a named entity is claimed as both a crest and a naxnɔ'x. It is therefore necessary to look at naxnɔ'x's in order to understand crests.

The naxnɔ'x naming system has not previously been described, although it was briefly characterized by Duff (1964b: 68-69) in his description of the Barbeau/Beynon field notes. While I have extracted considerable data about it from the notes and have found numerous well-documented examples of naxnɔ'x masks in museum collections, a full presentation of the system must await a later study. What follows is only an outline, included here in order to illuminate an area of confusion or overlap between naxnɔ'x's and crests.

Two types of naxnɔ'x performances can be distinguished: 1) the name dramatizations, and 2) chiefs' power demonstrations. There does not, however, seem to be a terminological distinction -- both are referred to by Tsimshian people simply as naxnɔ'x. The other common usage of the

term is to refer to whistles used in these performances and in secret society initiations, and believed by spectators to be the voices of spirits. The use of naxnɔ'x whistles in these events is significant of a basic conceptual difference between name dramatizations and crest displays: 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 mythtime, and the crest display was in commemoration of that past supernatural event. If one were to invoke the sacred/secular dichotomy which is traditional in Northwest Coast studies, hala'it's (including naxnɔ'x's) were sacred; potlatches (including crest displays) profane or secular.

Here, I will separate the two kinds of naxnɔ'x's and discuss the naming system first. Like crests, naxnɔ'x names were owned by houses and inherited matrilineally. Unlike crests, myths associated with them to explain their origins are conspicuously absent from the available data, nor are there any myths, narratives, or speculations by Tsimshian

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6. If, however, we look at the potlatch carefully in terms of many contemporary definitions of religion, it is a sacred or religious event. Consider, for example, Geertz's (1968: 4) well-known definition of religion as "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order to existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely religious." The application of such a definition of religion to the ritual and belief systems of the Northwest Coast would also free us of such ethnocentric judgments as "the culture is peculiarly lacking in the usual forms of religious worship, especially among the more complex northern groups where social structure and its implications formed the core of cultural activity" (Gunther, 1966: 69).

people in the Barbeau/Beynon data concerning the origin of the naming system. Since it was not found in neighbouring groups, as were other kinds of hala'it's, the conclusion is suggested that the naxnɔ'x naming system was an old and uniquely Tsimshian complex.

7. Beynon thought naxnɔ'x's corresponded to the lower ranked dances of the Northern Kwakiutl, which were also family-owned spirit dramatizations or impersonations. In a letter to Barbeau dated February 25, 1955, he referred to the Owikeno lower ranked dances listed in Drucker (1940: 202, nos. 9-23) and wrote that these "to my mind correspond to the Tsimshian naxnɔ'x's or privileges which in Tsimshian dramatizes certain privileges, the various individuals have each privilege having its own song or breath as it is termed (k's<sub>2</sub>mEtk) and these privileges are usually dramatized at a ya'ok feast when each guest will show and dramatize his own special privilege. I do not remember whether you dealt with this to any great extent excepting where the naxnɔ'x was assumed as a name, such as, 'alɔ'p = stone thrower; li'luks = thief; hukbi'k = liar; mɔ'mst = crazy person, etc. I have seen some of the dramas in action, some of which I think I wrote in my recordings of the totem pole raisings at gidzagu'kla some years ago." It should be pointed out that naxnɔ'x's were not dramatized in the ya'ok<sup>u</sup>, as Beynon says. At the Kitsegukla series to which he refers, they were given in the days preceding the potlatches and pole raisings. While there are indeed some similarities in the Northern Kwakiutl lower ranked dances and naxnɔ'x dramatizations, the two seem to me to be quite different. The similarities include a certain suspense hinging on the revelation of the name of the spirit being impersonated. Of a kumogwa performance, Drucker (1940: 208) writes: "The attendants have been pretending great terror, because they could not learn what the spirit is. As soon as the master of ceremonies reveals the spirit's name, they become assured, and assume a pompous I-told-you-so attitude." There is also in both an aspect of what Drucker (loc. cit.) calls "buffoonery." However, there is no suggestion in the literature on the Northern Kwakiutl that the spirits involved in these dances were also taken as personal names, nor was the range of spirits involved anywhere near as large as in the naxnɔ'x system. Further, those who participated in the Northern Kwakiutl dances were organized into societies and the dancers were initiates who were possessed, disappeared, and returned with supernatural powers, much as in the higher ranked Shaman's Series (Drucker, 1940: 202-203). Still, Beynon's suggestion is intriguing, and the two rituals should be carefully compared before it can be rejected.

The names and their dramatizations were described by Duff (1964b: 68) as follows:

They are assumed exclusively by adults, and are somewhat more common among the Gitksan than the other divisions. These names translate into such terms as "liar," "person of long ago," "always sleeping," "trouble-maker," "propped up," "always begging," "conceited woman." When the name is assumed, and on other occasions when the "house" wants to entertain guests with a display of some of its prerogatives, members of the lineage stage a performance which in some way dramatizes the name, or more exactly, the supposedly supernatural being to which the name refers. These performances make use of a great variety of masks and tricks of stagecraft. Once assumed, the name is not reserved for ceremonial occasions but is used as an everyday secular name.

For the present study, Duff's description needs elaboration in several respects. First, there was a status level difference in the use of naxnɔ'x names among the Coast Tsimshian. "In the royal families they don't adopt the naxnɔ'x as a rule for their regular names, but the lakag'ig'Et do. There are exceptions when lakag'ig'Et don't adopt their naxnɔ'x as a regular name" (Mrs. Johnson, g'inax'ang'i.k). Then, too, the kinds of names involved were more varied than Duff indicates. In addition to those referring to human qualities or attributes, such as he lists, there were also names referring to animals. These are the naxnɔ'x's which overlap most commonly with crests, and were included by people in the crests lists. Names referring to humans, however, outnumber those referring to animals about five to one. Some examples of each type are listed below. When the animal name was claimed by someone in a clan which did not have that particular animal as a crest, the clan of the naxnɔ'x owner is indicated in parentheses:

Proud	Grizzly
Lowly Slave	Invader Grizzly ( <u>laxsk'i.k</u> )
Quarrelsome	Homeless Bear
Crying Without Reason	Grizzly Man
Deaf	Black Bear Man ( <u>laxse'.l</u> )
Mannish Woman	Big Mouth Grizzly ( <u>laxse'.l</u> )
Covetous Person	Grizzly of the Large Rat
Dumb Person	Grizzly Eating Salmonberries
Throwing Stones	Raiding Wolf
Stupid Tlingit	Wolf Man ( <u>laxse'.l</u> )
Eager to Dance	Migrating Wolf
Mocking Others	Small Raven ( <u>g'isg.a'.st</u> )
Wrinkled Old (Person)	Frog
White Man	Flying Frog
Continually Nodding	Owl
Lazy	Great Thunderbird
Causing Fights	Eagle of the Sky ( <u>laxse'.l</u> )
Always Crying	Sea Lion ( <u>laxsk'i.k</u> ; <u>laxk'ibu'</u> )
Sassy Man	Sculpin ( <u>laxsk'i.k</u> )

Barbeau's hypothesis for the overlap between crests and naxnɔ'x's, which can be readily inferred from numerous references in Totem Poles of the Gitksan (1929), was that some entities which were originally naxnɔ'x's later became elevated to the status of crests. For example, when referring to the laxk'ibu' crest of Migrating Wolf (ibid.: 123), he says that "this crest was used as a narhnawk in the first place, that is, a personal spirit name. It is still dramatized as a narhnawk,



although it has grown into a family crest as well." A far more satisfying explanation, especially for those instances in which the naxn>'x name refers to a crest of the clan of its owner, is suggested by Sapir (1915: 5):

Thus, while the kitwil'nä.k'i'l clan of the kit'anwi'l'kc tribe, the second clan in the rank of the Wolf phratry as represented in the tribe, does not possess the right to use the wolf as a real crest, it nevertheless can show it in a potlatch "for fun," as it is their phratric emblem; the point is that they may not use the wolf crest to increase their prestige, as by the giving away of property in connexion with it.

Sapir's references to the use of the wolf as other than a "real crest" and "for fun" leave no doubt that naxn>'x's are meant. The critical difference, then, between crests and naxn>'x's is that naxn>'x name dramatizations were not prestige enhancers or accompanied by property distributions. Since these potlatch features were not involved, the normally strict rules could be relaxed. The absence of property distributions in connection with naxn>'x dramatizations is confirmed by Beynon's account of some two dozen naxn>'x's at Kitsegukla in 1945.

The naxn>'x system also permitted houses to dramatize animals used as crests by other clans, as indicated in the above list. This was confirmed by a Coast Tsimshian informant as follows: "A man of one crest may use the animal of another crest [as a naxn>'x]. Thus ni.sh>'t [g.anha'də] takes a grizzly for his naxn>'x; legEx [laxsk'i.k] has a grizzly [also]." The same person offered in explanation only that "a naxn>'x and a dzEpk [crest] are very different things." It is possible that these animal naxn>'x's were originally father's crests (cf., the use of father's crest in cross-clan names). One of the naxn>'x's dramatized at Kitsegukla in

1945 was a łtk, or armour, made of grizzly skin. While this was a laxk'ibu' crest, the owner of the name was g.axsqabax, a g.anha'də. Beynon explained that he was privileged to wear the laxk'ibu' crest "as his paternal origin was wolf and this was not a crest but rather a naxnɔ'x."

In the passage quoted above, Sapir mentioned a "fun" aspect of naxnɔ'x performances, which is in direct contrast to the solemn formality of the potlatch. What Bateson would call the "ethoses" (1959: 2, footnote) of the two rituals were entirely different. Beynon attempted to summarize one aspect of the difference after witnessing the name dramatizations at Kitsegukla: "strange to say, speech-making does not enter into this and only very little is actually said, the actions and the singing and the announcing is the only method one can find out what is actually happening." Unlike potlatches, which have the nature of legal testimony in our own society, the analogous Western form to the naxnɔ'x name dramatization is the charade. They were short dramas in which the performer presented various clues to the audience, by his mask and costume as well as his actions, until it was able to guess, or the master of ceremonies announced, the name or spirit he was impersonating. They were suspenseful, frightening, funny, and ambiguous. Interestingly, naxnɔ'x performances gave the people an opportunity to express antagonism to or resentment of the chiefs. There are several cases recorded in which the performer reviled or physically abused the chiefs. This was apparently done with impunity, although the chiefs had to be paid small compensations afterwards. One imagines that these incidents were greatly enjoyed by the audience.

A sub-type of naxnɔ̌'x name dramatization was called the sedu'lsɔ̌ or "restore to life" naxnɔ̌'x. In these, the performer dramatizing a name "died" or was "killed," and the chiefs present were called upon -- in order of rank -- to try and restore him to life. Each in turn acted the role of a curing shaman over the body, unsuccessfully, until the last one to perform succeeded. This, of course, was another situation, reminiscent of his wihala'it role, in which the chief could demonstrate his control of supernatural power to the people.

While a structural analysis could doubtless show significant oppositions and reversals between potlatches, with their celebration of the prevailing authority structure, and naxnɔ̌'x dramatizations, the manifest purpose of the latter to both actors and audience was entertainment.

One of the most important results of the discovery of the Tsimshian naxnɔ̌'x name dramatizations is that we can now explain the function of Tsimshian masks, which are found in great numbers in museum collections. They include both human face masks, the largest category, and animal masks<sup>8</sup> and were used principally, if not exclusively, in naxnɔ̌'x dramatizations. The importance of this association is indicated by the following two quotations:

It is probable that the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian acquired their masks along with the Dancing Society performances which they adopted from the Kwakiutl .... (Drucker, 1955b: 74).

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8. Some masks may also have been worn in dramatizations of myths. This is suggested only by some cryptic references in museum catalogues and is not very convincing. Still, I prefer to leave the possibility open until more definitive data appear.

There are no indications in the Barbeau/Beynon data, nor reliable suggestions<sup>9</sup> in the published literature, that masks were used in Tsimshian dancing societies.

[Regarding Tsimshian human face masks in the Rasmussen collection] whether these masks were used for ceremonial dancing or for shamanistic performances cannot be determined from Mr. Rasmussen's notes, and the meager literature gives no clues (Gunther, 1966: 134).

Tsimshian shamans did not wear masks, and Gunther's reference to "ceremonial dancing" is too vague to be useful.

The major hypothesis underlying my interpretation of Tsimshian masks and headdresses is that when the wearer's face is visible -- i.e., when the object in question is a headdress -- its iconography refers to a crest, and that when the wearer's face is hidden -- i.e., when the object is a mask -- its iconography refers to a naxnɔ'x. This derives from the distinctions made in this chapter between crest displays and naxnɔ'x name dramatizations. The crest headdress was worn to enhance the prestige and rank of the wearer, and to legitimize him, as an individual, as the successor to a name-title and its associated crests. The naxnɔ'x mask, on the other hand, was worn in order to disguise the person who was impersonating a spirit, and whose own individuality would have interfered in the effectiveness of his performance. Significantly, chiefs sometimes hired other people to perform their naxnɔ'x's for them, confirming that the identity of the person was not important. This would have been inconceivable in the display of a crest headdress. This

9. Tate (in Boas, 1916:548) mentions the use of bird masks in hala'it's at Kitkatla. He does not elaborate, and I suspect that they may have been in fact worn by Northern Kwakiutl who were visiting there.

distinction between crest headdresses and naxnɔ'x masks becomes especially critical in the case of those masks representing animals also used as crests. It will be tested in Chapter Six.

The other kind of naxnɔ'x's are those I referred to above as chiefs' power demonstrations. These were not name dramatizations, but privileges of a different sort, which are somewhat difficult to conceptualize. Although they were called naxnɔ'x's or "spirits" and were performed in hala.it and not potlatch contexts, they do not seem to have referred to specific or identifiable supernatural beings, nor did they seem to be predicated on the spectators believing that supernatural power was necessarily involved in their performance. Rather, they were elaborate tricks of stagecraft, usually dependent upon the kinds of mechanical contrivances said to be the specialty of the g'it'sɔ'ntk. Like naxnɔ'xnames, chiefs' power demonstrations could display animals used as crests by other clans. A naxnɔ'x of tsibasE', g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ chief of g'itxa'la, was a hollow pole with a raven on top, set up at the rear of the house. As tsibasE' and the visiting chiefs walked around it and the people sang, the raven flapped its wings and the pole grew until it touched the ceiling, and then it disappeared into the ground. The naxnɔ'x was named sg.anhagu'hE (sg.an: "wooden"; hagu'hE: a Tlingit word, meaning unknown) and was said to be of Tlingit origin.

Another naxnɔ'x of tsibasE', named Revolving Steps, was used to humiliate legEx, the two chiefs having had a long-standing rivalry: "in the hala.it's, each would always try to outdo the other in having the best naxnɔ'x's and ... the most modern devices" (Henry Watt, g'itxa'la).

As he was preparing for the event, tsibasE' was reported (by Watt) to have said: "I will now use and install one of my most difficult and secret naxnɔ'x's: my Revolving Steps. Over these all the guests must arrive and only a few will be able to enter over them without humiliation. As this is a naxnɔ'x and my special privilege to use in my own feast, no one must take offense. But I will humiliate them .... I want especially to humiliate legEx and to show his tribe that we are as big as they are and as clever." The naxnɔ'x was especially constructed steps going into the house which could be made to revolve; anyone not knowing about them was likely to be thrown off balance and to tumble ignobly into the house in front of those already inside. Since one of legEx's special privileges was the right to come last to any feast, this was an especially effective ploy in tsibasE's part.

The use of words such as "modern devices" and "clever," plus the trickery involved in the Revolving Steps, suggests that these contrivances should be regarded more as demonstrations of technological power than supernatural power. However, they were used in the hala'it context, and as such undoubtedly had connotations of the supernatural basis or sanction of the chief's authority. They can also be viewed as integrative strategies used by rival chiefs, to which their entire tribes could rally or respond, since they made no reference to clan crests. This theme of integrative chiefly symbols will be further developed in the next chapters.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## THE CREST SYSTEM I: GENERAL STRUCTURE

In 1962, Lévi-Strauss surveyed the literature on "the problem of totemism" of the previous half-century, noting the demise of various empiricist, psychological, and functional totemic hypotheses, and resurrecting what we might call "neo-totemism" with his now famous statement that natural species were chosen as totemic classifiers "not because they are 'good to eat' but because they are 'good to think'" (1963: 89).

"The passage from a concrete to a formal definition of totemism," he notes (1963: 10), "actually goes back to Boas." The work he refers to is Tsimshian Mythology (1916), in which Boas stated that totemism was the application of a rule of homology between a system of denotation and a social system which was being denoted, and that "the homology of distinguishing marks of social divisions of a tribe is proof that they are due to a classificatory tendency" of the human mind (1916: 519). Boas believed that the use of natural species as the basis for a totemic system of denotation was arbitrary, and that to consider it otherwise was to take on the entirely different problem of "the relationship of man to nature, which is obviously quite distinct from that of the characterization of kinship groups. The only connection between the two problems is that the concepts referring to the relation of man to nature are applied for the purpose of characterizing social, more particularly kinship groups" (Boas, 1916: 517).

On the contrary, according to Lévi-Strauss, there are necessary, logical relations between the system of denotation and the system that is denoted. "The animal world and plant life are utilized not merely because they are there, but because they suggest a mode of thought" (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 13). The "real link between the two orders is indirect, passing through the mind" (loc. cit.).

This mode of thought was the subject of Lévi-Strauss' next book, La Pensée Sauvage (1962), translated into English as The Savage Mind (1966). Here he defined "the science of the concrete," of which totemism was just one expression. "As I showed in an earlier book and am continuing to establish here, so-called totemism is in fact only a particular case of the general problem of classification and one of many examples of the part which specific terms often play in the working out of a social classification" (1966: 62).

An important concept in the science of the concrete, or the science built upon the classification of concrete images drawn from nature, is what Lévi-Strauss calls "the species notion" or "totemic operator." Plant and animal species are admirably suited as logical vehicles due to their "intermediate position as logically equidistant from the extreme forms of classification: categorical and singular" (ibid.: 149). Being thus a "medial classifier," the species concept can widen its referent upwards in the direction of associated elements (e.g., sky/earth) or categories (e.g., high/low), or contract it downward, in the direction of proper names.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tsimshian cross-clan names are an excellent example.



between "the unity of a multiplicity [and] the diversity of a unity" (ibid.: 136). In simpler terms, the species concept suggests logical movement or connections between the concrete and individual on the one hand and the abstract and categorical on the other.

As always, Lévi-Strauss' argument in The Savage Mind defies paraphrasing, and that will not be attempted here. However, it is important to establish that it is his conception of totemism as developed there that stimulated and gave direction to the present inquiry. The key concept is that "the differences between animals, which man can extract from nature and transfer to culture ... are adopted as emblems by groups of men in order to do away with their own resemblances" (ibid.: 107). At critical stages in the presentation of the evidence, reference will be made to Lévi-Strauss' argument in order to establish the congruity of the Tsimshian system with his general model of totemic systems, as well as to refer the reader to the comparative data he has assembled.

### Change

Change is implicit in a totemic system since it is, in Lévi-Strauss' words, a "lived" classification, subject to the pressures of demographic determinism:

Unlike other systems of classification, which are primarily conceived (like myths) or acted (like rites), totemism is always lived, that is to say, it attaches to concrete groups and concrete individuals because it is an hereditary system of classification (author's emphasis) (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 232).

A very clear example of demographically induced change occurred in the laxk'ibu' house of mali at Kitwancool. The house owned a grizzly bear crest, validated by a variant of the Bear Husband myth. Feuding broke

out between mali's nephews over their wives, and a group of them moved to Kispiox to avoid overt conflict. There was a question over who was to retain the grizzly crest, which was finally solved by splitting it in two: mali kept the bear's hindquarters, while the fissioning group took its front part to Kispiox (Barbeau, 1929: 111).<sup>2</sup> It can be seen on sqabE''x's totem pole, jutting out from near the bottom (ibid.: Pl. XXI, fig. 4).

We can also assume that the crest system was expanding in the 19th century as a direct result of white economic input, which enabled the Tsimshian to invest more wealth in potlatches and concomitant crest displays. Totem poles, for example, grew taller and more prevalent, creating a growing demand for crests as motifs for the carvers. Both Newcombe (1907) and Deans (1891: 286) report that the Haida were continually short of crests for their totem poles, and used non-crest motifs as "fillers." The stories of the Raven cycle were also used on "story" poles by both the Haida and Tlingit (see Barbeau, 1950: 352-361), although not by the Tsimshian. The reason was the unique capacity of the Tsimshian system to continually generate new crests derived from a single crest animal (to be explained below).

Even though they were incorporating white man's houses, clothing, and money as prestige symbols, the Tsimshian crest system remained an exclusively Tsimshian symbol system and expanded according to its own rules. Out of the hundreds of crests recorded, there are only two which

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2. According to Barbeau (1929: 109), the house of mali had originally moved to Kitwancool from Kispiox as a result of an earlier feud.

make any reference at all to the white man. These are the crests named "Mr.-Ross's-dog," and the "palisade," owned by wa'ig'Et (g'isg.a'st) and m̓lu.l̓q (laxse'1), respectively, both of Kisgegas. The crests were adopted during a Gitksan expedition against the Tsetsaut, dating from after 1827, and refer to an outpost of Fort St. James at Bear Lake run by a Mr. Ross (see Barbeau, 1929: 103-104). This was probably the Gitksan's first encounter with the white man and, being a non-natural event, was properly generative of crests.<sup>3</sup> But what is even more significant is that both the Coast Tsimshian g'ispwudwa'd̓ and g.anha'd̓ already had a dog crest, and the Gitksan g'isg.a'st already had a fortification crest, so that all the references to Mr. Ross' dog and the p̓alisade around his house do is to particularize the crests for these two houses.

History was thus embedded in the system, continually threatening to undermine it. Its form at any given moment was a balance of structure and event. The Tsimshian narratives abound with accounts of wars, intrigues, fugitives, migrations, murders. Reading them one has the impression of Tsimshian history as a continuously fissioning and fusing movement of people up and down the Nass and Skeena Rivers, out onto the

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3. It should be mentioned that the people of Hazelton erected a totem pole in 1970 at 'Ksan, a reconstructed Gitksan village and tourist attraction, with a representation of W.A.C. Bennett, the then Premier of British Columbia, on top. When this was called a "sacrilege" and a "prostitution" of Indian art by an officer of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, one of the carvers of the pole "said the carving represents the government -- not Bennett -- and symbolizes non-Indian involvement in the 'Ksan Village cultural project" (Vancouver Sun, August 15, 1970). In any event, the carving does not mean that Mr. Bennett or the provincial government were adopted as crests.

islands, and back again. What is amazing is that the structure survived in the clear and vigorous form that it did.

### The General Structure of the Tsimshian Crest System

The most significant structural feature of the Tsimshian crest system, and one which distinguishes it from other Northwest Coast crest systems, is what might be called its internal differentiation, resulting from its capacity to generate a number of crests from a single crest animal. This, in turn, is based upon a fundamental difference in conceptualizing crests between the Tsimshian and their neighbours. Among the Haida and Tlingit, for example, it was the crest animal -- the bear, killerwhale, raven, eagle, etc. -- which was owned, and its various representations or manifestations were simply matters of individual and artistic preference. Among the Tsimshian, on the other hand, it was a specific manifestation or way of representing the animal which was owned. Thus, the Haida had a single raven crest, while the Tsimshian had over a dozen: Supernatural Raven, Raven of the Sky, Raven of Copper, All Abalone Raven, Split Raven, Raven on Top of Raven, Raven Eating Salmon Liver, Chief Raven, Raven Hanging by One Claw, Prince Raven, White Raven, Raven with Starfish in its Beak, Raven's Nest, Raven Sitting Quietly, Soaring Raven, Raven of the Water.

If crests were visual expressions of Tsimshian social organization, there should be some significant structural difference between Tsimshian and Haida/Tlingit social organizations related to their different kinds of crest systems.

The pertinent difference is in group ranking: the Tsimshian ranked lineages, sub-clans, and clans in definite order, whereas "we find that among the Haida and Tlingit rank order of groups is hardly present ...." (Rosman and Rubel, 1971: 47). The Haida characterized families as being of high or low rank and there were families known as those that "stood first" in a village (Swanton, 1905: 70). Similarly, among the Tlingit "certain clans were regarded as 'high' whereas others were generally regarded as low caste for varying reasons," although "there was no sharp distinction between commoners and nobles" (Olson, 1967: 47). In every Tlingit village the highest chief of the "leading clan" was considered a sort of "town chief" (*ibid.*: 49), as there was also a town chief or "town mother" among the Haida. There were, however, no ranking systems equivalent to that of the Tsimshian among either.

As a result, the Haida and Tlingit crest systems are what might be called single axis systems -- they express only descent group membership (although some crests were exclusively owned and considered prerogatives of especially high rank), while the Tsimshian crest system is a double axis system -- it expresses both descent group membership and rank. The Tsimshian system, thus having a greater symbolic load, needed a greater number of contrastive units to express it.

Along the first or horizontal axis of the Tsimshian system, and comprising those of the Haida and Tlingit, are the units and intervals representing descent groups: the discontinuities between bear, wolf, eagle, raven, etc. For it is the differences between natural species that totemic systems utilize in order to symbolize social distinctions: "the homology [totemic systems] evoke is not between social groups and natural

species but between the differences which manifest themselves on the level of groups on the one hand and on that of species on the other. They are thus based on the postulate of a homology between two systems of differences, one of which occurs in nature and the other in culture" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 115, his emphasis). In other words, the laxsk'i'k differ from the laxk'ibu' just as the eagle differs from the wolf. There is no sense of identification or "relationship of substance" (ibid.: 135) between the animal species and human group: people do not think of themselves as eagle-like or wolf-like. If they did, argues Lévi-Strauss, exogamy, by which links between groups are maintained, would be difficult: "the more each group tries to define itself by the image which it draws from a natural model, the more difficult will it become for it to maintain its links with other social groups and, in particular, to exchange its sisters and daughters with them" (ibid.: 117).<sup>4</sup>

Although each Tsimshian clan is principally associated by both anthropologists and Tsimshian with its ptEx (clan) animal, there are in fact two animals for each clan which are functionally equivalent as primary clan symbols (the g'ispwudwa'də have two ptEx). These are the animals I have classified as "primary crest animals" in Appendix II, and are as follows (the ptEx animals are underlined):

<u>laxk'ibu'</u>	<u>g'ispwudwa'də</u>	<u>g.anha'də</u>	<u>laxsk'i'k</u>
wolf	grizzly	raven	eagle
bear	<u>killerwhale</u>	frog	beaver

4. Although the Tlingit called crest animals "ancestors" and believed that people in the descent group owning a particular animal as a crest had some special affinities with that animal, there is no indication that they thought of themselves as having animal characteristics (see Olson, 1967: 117-118).

These eight animals are the primary building blocks in the crest system of the Tsimshian, as well as those of the Haida and Tlingit. It is primarily on the basis of correspondences of these crests that exogamic relationships are maintained throughout the Northern Province. Other animal species, humans, and some plant species and natural phenomena, which would also be placed along this horizontal axis, are owned by sub-clans and lineages and do not have clan-wide distribution (excepting for some "secondary crest animals" of the Coast Tsimshian). These various categories of crests will be discussed more fully below.

In the strictest sense, these natural species are the "images drawn from nature" which constitute Tsimshian totemism. It is a system of the same order and kind, and includes most of the same natural species, as the Tlingit and Haida crest systems but, as indicated above, constitutes only one axis of the more elaborate Tsimshian crest system.

While discontinuities between forms exist in nature, rank does not. The second or vertical axis of the Tsimshian crest system adds another dimension by which rank discriminations can be expressed. It does this by applying a group of "operators" which transform the general crest animal into a series of particularized forms. The operators are attributes that I have abstracted from the names and descriptions of particularized crests as given by Barbeau's informants (and summarized in Appendix II). They were not listed or described, nor necessarily conceived of, as separate or separable attributes by the Tsimshian. They are, however, quite easily isolated.

Below are three pairs of crest names (ayuks) in which the animals differ, but the modifiers "Prince," "Real," and "Of the Sky," are shared:

<u>łkwE'łksəm madi'k</u>	: Prince of Grizzlies
<u>łkwE'łksəm ha'ots</u>	: Prince of Cormorants
<u>səmE'xł</u>	: Real Killerwhale
<u>s mg.ana'o</u>	: Real Frog
<u>g.ag.um laxE'</u>	: Raven of the Sky
<u>mđi.gəm laxE'</u>	: Grizzly of the Sky

The operators are particularizing attributes described or implied by the modifiers contained in the crest names. In most cases, the modifier is in fact a description of the attribute, as in Standing Bear, Split Person, White Marten, Grizzly of the Sea (i.e., with fin). In other cases, however, the logic connecting the crest name and its operator is more obscure.

The laxk'ibu' bear crest Without Knowledge, for example, refers to the operator "young." A bear cub, of course, is "without knowledge" relative to the adult. Further, when we know that this crest is validated by the Bear Husband myth, in which a woman marries a bear and has half-human, half-bear children, who are unable to adapt to human society and who therefore return to the world of the bears, we can perhaps infer that Without Knowledge is a reference to the inability of the bear cubs to acquire human (i.e., cultural) knowledge.

Without Knowledge is a bear crest only. Two more general crest names are Prince of (Animal Species) and Supernatural (Animal Species), which have interesting logical connections with the operators "abalone" and "human faces."

The word translated by Tsimshian people as "prince" is łkuwE'ksək. Now, the prefix łku- also refers to "bright and silvery young



salmon." Crests named Prince of (Animal Species) were consistently described as being decorated with abalone, leading to the discovery of a logical association of the iridescence of abalone pearl with the similar iridescence of the young salmon's skin. ikuwE'ksək is, moreover, the title applied to the sons of a chief, who are as young and promising of wealth and plenty as the young salmon on its way down the river to the sea. We might carry the association even further by noting that just as the young salmon is only temporarily in the river moving downstream, the young prince is only temporarily resident in the house of his father, and that both will change directions when adult, the salmon to return upstream to spawn, the young prince to succeed his uncle as chief of his own matrilineage. Both are, in addition, returning to places of origin: the salmon to the stream where it was spawned, the prince to his matrilineage.

The association of the operator "human faces" with crests named Supernatural (Animal Species) would seem to refer to the beliefs and practices explored at the end of the last chapter. The word for supernatural being or spirit is naxnɔ'x. Its association here with human faces (which are added to or represented on the crest animal) might refer to similar aspects or kinds of spirits as the human face masks used to dramatize naxnɔ'x or spirit names.

There is a marked tendency for the operators to be alternatives from a series of contrast sets, so that they not only define particularized crests but contrast them with others from the same set. Some of the more widely distributed sets of operators are as follows:

1. colour (black, white, red) specified; colour not specified.
2. whole, split (vertical, horizontal)
3. with abalone, without abalone
4. adult, young
5. (of the) water, land, mountains, sky
  - a. with fins, without fins
  - b. with wings, without wings
6. head (ears, muzzle, teeth), body (tail, paws, belly)
7. standing, sitting
8. with copper, without copper
9. single form, multiple forms
10. with human faces, without human faces
11. headdress (head, whole animal), robe (skin, whole animal)
12. specified numbers of parts (one, two, four, ten ...)

In the table on the following page, a series of five operators (abalone, split, young, human faces, white) has been applied to the eight primary crest animals in order to produce twenty of the particularized named crests reported by Barbeau's teachers. In the terminology of ethnoscience, such arrangements or "classification events" are called paradigms, which are defined as "multidimensional forms of arrangement organized by class intersection" (Conklin, 1969: 107). Perfect paradigms (i.e., those in which all of the spaces representing possible combinations of components are filled) are rare in folk taxonomies.

Isolation of the operators permits the identification of visual representations of the same animal-and-attribute relationships in material culture. A carving or painting of a grizzly with a fin can now be interpreted with reasonable and satisfying certainty as the crest named

# Particularized Crests

OPERATORS								
abalone	Prince of Wolves	Prince of Bears	Prince of Grizzlies	Prince of Killerwhales		Prince of Ravens	Prince of Eagles	Prince of Beavers
split		Split Bear		Split Killerwhale			Split Eagle	
young		Without Knowledge			Children of Chief Frog			
human faces			Supernatural Grizzly		Supernatural Frog	Supernatural Raven		Supernatural Beaver
white	White Wolf	White Bear	White Grizzly			White Raven		
PRIMARY CREST ANIMALS	Wolf	Bear	Grizzly	Killerwhale	Frog	Raven	Eagle	Beaver

Table III. Intersection of Operators and Primary Crest Animals to Form Particularized Crests

Grizzly of the Sea. Although there are still many gaps and ambiguities to be faced in working out such correspondences, the crest lists in Appendix II are now available as rich primary data upon which refined iconographic interpretations can be based. The lists themselves can no longer be substantially improved. However, as more crest representations in museums are identified and brought into this framework, we should be able to analyse, rather than merely identify, the relationships between the semantic and visual systems.

Such an analysis might well follow the model developed by linguist William Watt, in that the crest names and their visual representations seem to be similar in nature to the cattlebrand and blazon systems which he has so elegantly described (Watt, 1966, 1967). The similarity was in fact noticed by Watt, although he was referring to European "totemic" or heraldic systems:

... the identification and categorization of elements [in the visual or iconic system] is aided by the brands' associated "names," or "blazons" ... which by their nature spotlight the primitives and some of the rules of augmentation and combination. In fact, the brand-and-blazon system may be similar in this respect only to one other system: that of the heraldic arms ("coats of arms") (Watt, 1967: 22).

Watt sees the relationship between the iconic or visual system -- the cattlebrands themselves -- and the verbal system -- their blazons -- as so close or congruent that "a quite simple algorithm can be devised for translating from one to the other" (*ibid.*: 25). Elsewhere, he says that the cattlebrands and their blazons are "covariant" systems: "to vary the picture is to vary the description, and vice-versa" (1966: 15). Tsimshian crest names (ayuks) and crest representations (dzEpk) are clearly also covariant systems. Watt reports (1966: 16) that he and

R.W. Hsu are working on a grammar of heraldry which, when it is available, should suggest methodological leads for a possible grammar of Tsimshian crests.

The major burden of this and the following chapter will be to show that the Tsimshian were using the axis of differentiation produced by the application of operators to natural species in order to express differences in rank. It will also be argued that the development of symbols of rank was related to an expansion of power and hegemony by the chiefs; more specifically, to their assuming a new kind of power base in the role of wihala'it or Great Dancer. The argument will, then, seek to enlarge Lévi-Strauss' model of a totemic system by showing how the Tsimshian were transforming totemism into an enlarged symbol system, one capable of expressing new and non-kin-based forms of social relationships as well as the structure of descent groups.

Since this transformation was incomplete and in process, it will be necessary to examine Tsimshian crests in considerable detail in order to isolate new forms and tendencies in the system.

### Categories of Crests

In Appendix II, I have divided Tsimshian crests into seven categories: primary animal, secondary animal, human, monster, plant, natural phenomenon, and artifact. While these are my own categories, and do not represent distinctions made by the Tsimshian, the crests in them are significantly different.

Primary animal crests: The two primary animals of each clan were listed on page 145 above, where they were described as the basic

building blocks of the Tsimshian crest system. As such, they share a number of qualities that set them apart from the other categories of crests: 1) they are the principal clan identification symbols. In those cases of lineages or sub-clans which do not have the right to use the ptEx animal, the other primary animal functions to identify clan membership; 2) they are each the source of multiple particularized crests, far more than any other animals in the system; 3) they can be displayed in their general (i.e., non-particular) form by clan members without a validating myth or distribution of wealth; indeed, there do not seem to be myths accounting for the origins of the primary animals as general crests. Validating myths were, however, reported and obviously required to display them as particularized crests.

In most of these characteristics, the primary animals differ markedly from all other categories of crests, and I have concluded that these eight were the original crest animals of the Tsimshian, and probably of the Tlingit and Haida as well. This conclusion, in part, follows a suggestion of Sapir's that crests can be stratified by frequency of occurrence: "the older the crest, the greater number of times it is found in the various clans; <sup>5</sup> on the other hand, a crest found in only one clan may be suspected to be of recent origin" (Sapir, 1966: 44).

Secondary animal crests: The secondary animals are all other animals used by the Tsimshian as crests. Except for a series of eight secondary animals of the Coast Tsimshian, they were all claimed by lineages and sub-clans rather than having clan-wide distribution. These

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5. Sapir's "clan" would correspond to my sub-clan.

Coast Tsimshian exceptions, which are also found in limited distribution in the other two divisions, are the following:

<u>laxk'ibu'</u>	<u>g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ</u>	<u>g.anha'dɔ</u>	<u>laxsk'i'k</u>
crane	grouse	sculpin	halibut
mosquito	owl	starfish	octopus

The eight secondary animals were said specifically to have been used by all (crane, mosquito, grouse, owl, halibut) or many (starfish, sculpin, octopus) houses in a clan, and seem to have functioned as minor clan symbols. Two of them, the octopus and sculpin, were also sources of multiple particularized crests, and resemble primary animals in this respect. It is also probable that general forms of these secondary animals could be represented without validating myths.

All other secondary animal crests were claimed by houses or sub-clans only and required validating myths to be displayed. In most cases, they were reported in one form only.

Human crests: A baffling category of crests are those deriving from the human being, forms of which were claimed by houses in all four clans in all three divisions of the Tsimshian. At least three identical human crests were claimed by different clans: the Two-Headed Man by the laxk'ibu', laxsk'i'k, and g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ; the Whole Being by the laxsk'i'k and g.anha'dɔ; and the Robe of Scalps by the laxk'ibu' and g.anha'dɔ. This, of course, runs counter to the basic principle of totemic systems: that differences or discontinuities between natural species are used to characterize differences between human groups. Use of the human as crests by all four clans obviously invalidated crests of this category from functioning as descent group symbols like the

clearly differentiated animal crests. Further, since human crests were claimed by houses of all ranks, they could not have functioned as symbols of rank. They were, in fact, so widely distributed throughout the crest system as to perhaps be considered some kind of pan-Tsimshian symbol.

A partial explanation for the widespread distribution of human crests was suggested to me by the crest representations on Gitksan totem poles (see plates in Barbeau, 1929). The mixing on the great majority of these poles of both animal and human figures, rather than running counter to the basic totemic idea, seems instead to support it. If we exclude for the moment the crest iconography of the human representations, and regard them only as the generalized humans they are to the eye -- human representations characterized by a bland and almost boring sameness -- they can then only be distinguished by their relationships to different sets of animal figures. In other words, the humans on the poles have little or no difference or distinction in the absence of the totemic animals with which they are associated. Similarly, according to the totemic principle, the sameness of human beings in Tsimshian society was differentiated by the association of people and descent groups with different animal species.

This explanation is supported by the fact that, indeed, some of the human crests do refer to slain enemies or particular ancestors of the descent group, who are mentioned in the narratives as real (historical) people. The majority, however, are more properly described as supernatural beings in human form who were encountered in myth-time and assumed as crests in the same fashion as animal crests. I can offer



no further explanation for their ambiguity-- as descent group symbols in an otherwise clearly functional totemic system. I do, however, assume the ambiguity to be a functional one, since other ambiguities in the system, such as the monster crests discussed below, can be shown to express features of Tsimshian social organization.

Monster crests: An unexpectedly large number of crests fall into the monster category, defined as crests which combine the attributes of two or more animals, including human beings. The monster crests can be further separated into two sub-categories: simple and complex. Simple monsters are those in which the basic animal is clearly identifiable as a primary, secondary, or human crest animal, such as Supernatural Sculpin, Mountain Goat of the Sea, Starfish Person, Flying Frog, or Grizzly of the Sea. Complex monsters are those based on some sort of "problematical" or composite animal form not found in nature. It is likely that crests of this sub-category represent a further development of the basic monster idea responsible for crests of the first sub-category. They are most often described as bird-like creatures, often with recurved beaks, which are subject to transformations into other forms, such as sea monsters and human-like creatures. Significantly, Tsimshian people often had difficulty in providing English glosses for the native terms, resorting to "hawk-like" or "like an eagle, but not an eagle," confirming the suggestion that there are no natural prototypes for these creatures.

Descriptions of important (i.e., widespread) complex monster crests are listed below. They are composite descriptions based on the data reported in Appendix II. References are made in parentheses to a

series of plates which illustrate possible material representations of some of the complex monsters. It should be clear from the verbal descriptions, however, that their most important shared characteristic is that they can be transformed from one form into another. It is therefore in violation of their very nature, and perhaps their function, to suggest that their forms had congealed or solidified into only those shown in the plates.

One of the major weaknesses of Barbeau's monograph on Gitksan totem poles (1929) and the Coast Tsimshian and Niska sections of his broader totem pole survey (1950), is that he attempted to freeze these complex monsters into constant forms. Hence, the səmg'i'k, for example, became a kingfisher or a woodpecker. Also, when the Tsimshian could not identify one of these forms on a totem pole, Barbeau would often list what were obviously his own guesses as firm attributions. To his credit, he did list a large number of the Tsimshian people's alternate or contradictory identifications in footnotes, thus recording for us their own lack of agreement about the monsters' physical characteristics. Regrettably though, far too many of his attributions are questionable for valid conclusions to be based on his published identifications of totem pole figures. They should be used as guides only.

#### Complex monsters:

g'i'bəlk: (Plate 70a, b, c). Said to be a large monster with a head like an eagle and a large fin protruding from its back; also said to have wings and human forms around its face and on its back; said to be related to the naxnəg.əm g'i'k (Supernatural Mosquito); also said to re-

semble a human being. laxsk'i.k. (A g'ispwudwa'də g'i'bəlk was said to be like a large eagle.)

log.əm g'i'bəlk: (Rotten g'i'bəlk). Said to be a winged creature with human faces on it; in the myth it was claimed by the laxk'ibu' in a rotten or decayed condition after it was taken as a crest by the laxsk'i.k. laxk'ibu'.

səmg'i.k: (Plate 71a,b,c). A supernatural bird, sometimes said to be a woodpecker (Barbeau also called it a kingfisher); it has a long, straight, pointed beak. In an important g.anha'də myth, two səmg'i.k's, one large and one small, are associated and the large one has a human on its back. g.anha'də; also claimed by laxsk'i.k.

g'il'a'dal: A bird like an eagle with many small human beings on its head; also said to be like a raven, and to make great noises like a thunderbird; the same creature, under the name of g'e'məxm was said to be like the xske'msəm with a crooked beak (see xske'msəm in Plate 72). g.anha'də.

xske'msəm: (Plate 72a,b,c). A bird like an eagle but with a more recurved beak; also said to be an "extinct" bird like an eagle; said by one person not to be a hawk. g'ispwudwa'də. Also claimed by laxsk'i.k and laxk'ibu'.

mədzəks: (Plate 73a,b). A bird usually said to be like a hawk or  
6  
chicken hawk with a curved beak; also said to be represented in

6. The hawk is not a Tsimshian crest animal. I am therefore suspicious of the great many "hawk" identifications given to Tsimshian pieces in published catalogues and museum records. The recurved beak, said by Boas (1955: 190) and others to be a hawk attribute, is an attribute of the mədzəks and other complex bird monsters in Tsimshian iconography. It may indeed be a hawk attribute for other groups.

human form; also said to be an eagle under a different name (because the eagle was a crest of another clan). g.anha'də.

Thunderbirds (by various names) (Plate 74a,b):

tsag.ao'xɬɔ: (Hooked Nose). A bird with a recurved beak, with characteristics of thunderbird; also said to be a human with long, hooked, recurved nose (see human monster of same name below). g'ispəwudwa'də.

g.aləbli'bəm laxE': (Thunder of the Air). A thunderbird with long, curved beak, said to resemble both an eagle and the xske'msəm. g'ispəwudwa'də; also g.anha'də.

lax'ɔ'm: (On Top). A supernatural bird with a long, straight beak; also a human with a long nose; also said to have a recurved beak. g'ispəwudwa'də.

gwasdzEdEmti: (Lightning Robe). A huge thunderbird with grizzly feet. g'ispəwudwa'də. A g.anha'də Lightning Robe was said to be a huge bird with a raven in each wing and to have children on its back.

xtsi.tiyE'tux: (Thunder). A bird with curved beak; also a winged person. g'isg.a'st.

ha'ciɬɔ': (To Cause a Slide). A large bird with a long, hooked, recurved nose. g'ispəwudwa'də.

t'sag.ao'xɬɔ: (Hooked Nose, Barbeau's Glass Nose) (Plate 75). A human monster with a large belly (also called la'yaspa'nc or Large Belly) and sharp or glass-like nose. laxk'ibu'.

mag.ɔmba'ləq, or madzilu'ləq: (Moth; -lu.ləq means "corpse"). A little bird with a long recurved beak. laxk'ibu'.

lg.amba.ləq: (Decayed Corpse). (Plate 76a,b,c). Said to be beaked

like a bird or to be represented as a human corpse. g'ispəwudwa'də.

g'Edəmt'səm sqani's: (Man of the Mountains). A short human being with

wings, with a nose about a foot long. g'ispəwudwa'də.

hagwəlx: (Plate 77). A sea monster, usually referred to as a monster

killerwhale, but also said to have aspects of grizzly. Its fin

was said to be a dangerous snag. g'ispəwudwa'də. A laxsk'i'k

hagwəlx was said to have humans along its back; a laxk'ibu' house

claimed a hagwəlx of the lake, said to be a large box full of

human beings, decorated with human hair and a fin on its back,

which swam as though alive.

wilmi'c: (Where Spawns). A grizzly-like monster shown with children

on its back; also said to be a whale-like creature with the eyes

of its young protruding from along its backbone; also said to be

small humans "spawning." g'ispəwudwa'də.

maxəkpil'l: (Over Ten)

a. A monster with the head of a sculpin with 10 human beings

on it; also said to be a raven with 10 human heads in a row

over its head; also said to be a supernatural whale (hagwəlx?)

with 10 little forms of humans; also said to be a large human

with 10 small humans. g.anha'də.

b. A large monster, said to be a hagwəlx, also said to have a

horned beaver head; the name Over Ten refers to 10 eagles sit-

ting all over it or one large eagle sitting on its head with

9 others along its back; in another form Over Ten was 10 abalone

shells worn in a row from forehead over the head. laxsk'i'k.

At first, in addition to the echoes of primary and secondary crest animals (sculpin, raven, grizzly, etc.), these monsters present a bewildering complex of parts and transformations: one bird becomes another, birds become men, moths become corpses. There are patterns to be discerned, however, which seem to relate to a central theme of cannibalism.

The unifying clues come from several myths. That different clans own the myths is probably not significant, since most of these monsters were claimed by more than one clan, albeit at times under different names.

Barbeau (1929: 93) gives a synopsis of a myth owned by several related g'isg.a'st houses. The people were starving, living on roots, berries, and salmon bones, when they finally caught two mountain goats, "on the bodies of which they saw a ghost-like monster, with a beak almost like a bird's, the Moth, feeding greedily. They said, 'It must be the ghost of one of our dead relatives partaking of food.' They killed the monster and took it as a crest -- the lg.amba!lq (or lg.mlu!lq), or Decayed Corpse. On one totem pole (Plate 76b), it is shown as a human figure in a flexed position, ready for burial or cremation. On another pole (Plate 76a), it appears as a human figure with an opening for a projecting beak or nose that has fallen off. These two totem pole representations confirm that both aspects of the monster -- moth and corpse -- are part of the crest. Significantly, it is both eater (moth; ghost relative) and eaten (corpse).

7. "The body was then doubled up, the chin resting on the knees, hands folded over the chest" (Garfield, 1939: 239).

The crests of the g'i'.bɔlk and Rotten or Decayed (lɔg.ɔm-) g'i'.bɔlk again suggests a corpse motif. The g'i'.bɔlk, a complex monster with aspects of bird, sea monster, and human, was said to be related to the naxnɔg.ɔm g'i'.k, or Supernatural Mosquito. The mosquito, in turn, is somewhat related to the sɔmg'i'.k (literally, "real mosquito": sɔm-: "real," in the sense of high or noble; -g'i'.k: "mosquito"). In a laxse'.l myth, a missing boy was taken by a sɔmg'i'.k and later the people saw him sitting on its back in a nest. In one version of this myth, there were many frogs and insects around the tree; in other versions they first noticed the boy because of human excrement at the base of the tree. The boy's stomach burst after he was rescued and his body was taken back to the village.

Once again, the myth associates a supernatural bird (or mosquito) with a corpse, which had died from overeating.

The next myth weaves these themes together in a more explicitly human context. It is the laxk'ibu' myth of t'sag.a'oxɔ or Hooked Nose (t'sag.a'o: "nose"; -xɔ: "retrieving hook"). He was a human monster (although in g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ crest lists the creature of this name is a thunderbird with a recurved beak) with a big belly (cf. the corpse above) whose nose was long and sharp, like glass (see Plate 75). With his nose, he killed children by splitting them down the middle, as people do salmon, and hung them to dry (i.e., the children become food). He then turns into a woman who is tricked by some surviving children into swallowing hot stones ("false" food). "Her nose came out to a great length, her stomach exploded, and she died" (cf. again, the boy on the sɔmg'i'.k). "As the last spark rose, they heard a

voice say, 'You people will always suffer from my nose.' That is the origin of mosquitos" (Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Tens). The monster's ashes became the first mosquitos.

In another version of this myth (Barbeau, 1950: 262-264), the Chief of the Sky was offended by the children and it was his totem pole which killed them and split them open. "This pole was very bright and had a long shining nose, like a very sharp knife. The glassy nose moved up and down, splitting the body of the boy open. Women walked out of the house, took the body, and spreading it open as they do with a salmon, cleaned it and hung it up to dry in the air" (ibid.: 263).

The bird-man, beak-nose-belly, corpse-food associations in these myths need not be elaborated. It is perhaps not going too far afield to mention that T'sonoqua, the Cannibal Women of the Kwakiutl, also eats children, and that the Cannibal-at-the-North-End-of-the-World is the source of mosquitos (Boas, 1897: 401), as is a Cannibal giant of the Tlingit (Barbeau, 1950: 378). The logic of these associations is complete when we realize that mosquitos also "eat" people.

One other attribute of the monster crests remains to be discussed -- the frequent appearance of small human forms or faces on their heads, backs, and wings. This, I think, is an iconographic symbol of their supernatural quality. It was noted above that the operator "human faces" was consistently associated with crests named Supernatural (Animal Species). The small humans and human faces on the complex monsters seem to be of the same type. Also, many of the monsters were explicitly said to be supernatural.



Why monsters? There were still many unused animal forms in the natural environment of the Tsimshian with which they might have extended the horizontal axis of the crest system. Instead, they chose to actually blur the distinctions between the animals already used by transferring attributes between them. Some kind of reverse process to the original development of totemic distinctions was taking place, one which was creating crests of a new order.

An explanation lies in what Lévi-Strauss would call an upward logical movement from the species notion or level to an environmental level. If we examine the crests of the simple monster category, we see that many of the transforming features (operators) added to the original crest animal are attributes which signal a movement into a new and unnatural environment. So, a grizzly (land) acquires a fin and moves into the sea, a frog (land, lake) acquires wings and takes to the air, and a mountain goat (land, mountains) assumes a fin and swims in the sea. The new or transformed creature then becomes more symbolic of an environment (land, sea, air) than a natural species. The mind, on apprehending a winged frog, immediately tries to grapple with the presence of the wing and its signalling of flight and air.

According to Victor Turner (1964: 14), the mental process involved in the creation of monsters can be explained by William James' "law of dissociation," which he states as follows: "when a and b have occurred as parts of the same total object, without being discriminated, the occurrence of one of these, a, in a new combination ax, favors the discrimination of a, b, and x from one another. As James himself puts it, 'What is associated now with one thing and now with another, tends

to become dissociated from either, and to grow into an object of abstract contemplation by the mind." Turner then relates this explicitly to the creation of monsters: "elements are withdrawn from their usual settings and combined with one another in a totally unique configuration, the monster or dragon. Monsters startle people into thinking about objects, persons, relationships, and features of their environment" (loc. cit.).

The "dissociated" elements of fin, wings, beak, ears, etc., thus become separate components of the Tsimshian reality which startle or encourage abstract thought by their recombination into monstrous patterns. What must next be understood is the sense of the recombinations. I do not think that the purpose of the dissociated element is to encourage thought about itself, or that a fin on a bear only signals its associated environment of water. What it draws attention to are the relationships involved in the new pattern: the observer is stimulated to speculate about the full range of meaning of an undersea bear.

This particular monster, for example, is a mediation of the deep and pervasive dichotomy in Tsimshian culture between land and sea. It is stated quite explicitly by the Tsimshian themselves. In their traditional history, many people lived originally in the large and rich village of t'ɬ mlax'am, said to be in the interior. After an offense to the animal spirits, the village was struck by a disastrous but "local" blizzard. When the people finally realized that the snow and starvation were confined to the environs of t'ɬ mlax'am, they left to seek new homes. According to one version of the tradition (from informant Swanson), the

crests the g'ispwudwa'də group took with them when they left were the following: Grizzly with Abalone on its Breast, Mountain Goat Hat, Red Leggings, Red Leather Armour, Hat of Grizzly Paws, Hat of Freshwater Duck, Groundhog Robe, Lynx Robe, Red Fox Robe, and Mink Robe -- i.e., all representing animals found in the interior. Other people specified that the Grizzly was the "main crest" and the "original crest" of the t'əmlax'am g'ispwudwa'də.

The people left t'əmlax'am and traveled down the Skeena River to the coast, where they amalgamated with other groups of g'ispwudwa'də. These people had the killerwhale as their main crest, and the two groups exchanged crests as symbols of their newly discovered relatedness. According to several Coast Tsimshian people, this is why the g'ispwudwa'də now have two ptEx, the Killerwhale and the Grizzly. Neither the amalgamation nor the exchange of crests was total, however, and the two groups retained symbols and consciousness of their differences. The seacoast people transformed the Grizzly crest into Grizzly of the Sea, and the t'əmlax'am people adopted the Killerwhale as Killerwhale of the Hills (or the Lake). "Then the people applied their own Killerwhale of the Hills in the same way as the Grizzly of the Sea is applied" (Bradley). "The relationship of the g'itnagunaks to the g'it'əmlax'am is called lekswulE'isk ("strange relation;" or "stranger related"). They don't use the Grizzly, but only Grizzly of the Sea."

Monster crests like the Grizzly of the Sea, then, become crests of integration, rather than crests of differentiation, as those of Lévi-Strauss' totemic model might be called. The recombination into monster crests of dissociated attributes expresses the social integration of

formerly separate groups. This is supported by Barbeau's (1917a) analysis of Tsimshian narratives, which tell a detailed history of confederation and amalgamation of local groups. "The clans [sub-clans] in each phratry [clan] are either of more or less remote foreign origin, or ancient local bodies. Their respective traditions, myths, crests, privileges, and duties all tend to perpetuate the memory of their independent origin" (Barbeau, 1917a: 405). Monster crests help to bind these conglomerate groups together, by providing symbolic statements which combine their disparate origins into new unity.

Complex monster crests are also crests of integration, but at the tribal rather than the clan level. This idea will be developed in the next chapter, but can be briefly stated here. The growing hegemony and power of the Tsimshian chiefs, most noticeable in the office of tribal chief of the Coast Tsimshian, was incompatible with traditional clan organization and its resultant clan jealousies and rivalries. These would only have been exacerbated had a tribal chief or an ambitious clan chief displayed clan crests -- crests of differentiation -- with the traditional flaunting and pomp. However, a monster crest of the complex category, one which could be represented in a variety of ambiguous forms, could be displayed and glorified by the chief without offense to the other clans of his tribe.

Plant crests: Plants form a very small category of crests, of limited distribution. Even among the Gitksan, whose clan name g'isg.a'st translates as "people of the fireweed," a Fireweed crest is claimed by only two houses. The most important plant crests are a

series of seaweed crests claimed by houses of the Coast Tsimshian g'ispawudwa'də. Seaweed crests are not claimed by any other clan or division.

Natural phenomenon crests: This is also a relatively small category of crests, although it includes some very important ones. Most of the crests are sky phenomena: moon, sun, stars, Big Dipper, rain, clouds, snow, rainbow, mirage, thunder (bird), hole in the sky, light, and red sky of morning. There are also water crests: whirlpool and riptide; and varieties of fires. One of the more interesting aspects of the natural phenomenon crests is that many of them are said to be represented by forms of the human being or the human face.

The most significant natural phenomenon crests are those claimed by a sub-clan of the g'ispawudwa'də (Barbeau's Sky Clan) and validated by the well-known and widespread gau'ɔ myth (see summaries in Boas, 1916: 850-855). It is too long and complicated a myth to relate here, but it includes as a central episode a young woman's being taken to the sky by the shining son of the Sky Chief, by whom she has several children, who return to earth with crests given to them by their grandfather. The number of children and the specific crests vary, but they are always sky phenomenon, usually sun, moon, stars, and rainbow, and sometimes a form of thunderbird. These crests materialize on earth as living house front paintings on (usually) four large shining houses.

All four clans claim the moon, but only those g'ispawudwa'də who have the above myth seem to have a proper claim to it. The others treat it as a naxnɔ'x.

Artifact crests: Artifacts claimed as crests are largely the same types of artifacts on which the other crests are said to be represented: items of costume and personal decoration, some weapons, house parts, house types, and house names, and a scattering of ladles and feast dishes. One copper and several supernatural canoes are listed, although these are not mentioned as crest-bearing objects in other contexts.

An important artifact claimed by houses in three clans is the woven spruce root hat topped with woven discs or rings -- the lanəmg.Eit. Its crest aspect is the number of discs its owner is permitted to show, which varies from three to nineteen according to the lists. The greater the number of discs, the more prestigious the hat. In the literature, such discs have been said to reflect the number of potlatches the wearer has given, but there is no confirmation of this in the Tsimshian case. The number is part of the crest, an inherited privilege.

Most artifact crests are an instance of the crest system running away with itself. Items once prestigious because of the crests applied to them, have now become crests in and of themselves. In places of crest representations, many of them are distinguished by decoration and material: colours, abalone, copper, dentalium, porcupine quills, bone barbs, deer hooves, "glittering things," and glass. Attributes of some rarity, but devoid otherwise of specific iconographic meaning. In other words, although they are crests, they are not part of a totemic system. Prestige has replaced iconographic meaning.

This chapter has described general categories of the Tsimshian crests listed in Appendix II. It has also discussed an analytical separation of the Tsimshian crest system into horizontal and vertical axes, the latter comprising those crests and aspects of crests unique to the Tsimshian. Considerable attention was given to crests in a monster category and their relationship to an underlying Cannibal theme in Tsimshian thought. This led to a distinction, which goes beyond Lévi-Strauss' totemic model, of crests of differentiation and crests of integration. The following Chapter will explore these distinctions in more detail. However, it will do so in terms of concrete examples of Tsimshian artifacts in museum collections and shown in field photographs. This, too, will represent an extension of Lévi-Strauss' model -- from names and ideas to things. In a sense it is the critical chapter of the dissertation, for it is the application of the meanings discovered in the Barbeau field notes to the motifs on museum specimens.

## CHAPTER SIX

## THE CREST SYSTEM II: ICONOGRAPHY OF MUSEUM SPECIMENS

Rules of crest use were an unexpected category in the Barbeau/Beynon field data. A general assumption in Northwest Coast studies has been that a crest could be represented on any kind of artifact and, conversely, that any artifact decorated with a representation of a crest animal was therefore to be classed as "crest art." This understanding must now be modified, for the Tsimshian at least, for there is a distinction to be made between representations of crests and other representations of animals. The distinction depends on the type of artifact involved.

When listing crests and their owners, the Tsimshian almost invariably mentioned certain types of artifacts on which the crests could, and more rarely could not, be represented. It is impossible to know now whether this information was solicited by Barbeau or volunteered by the Tsimshian, although I think it was the latter. The total range of crest objects mentioned is quite large and includes totem poles, house posts, house front and wall paintings, headdresses, amhala'it 's<sup>1</sup> (frontlet headdresses), robes, ladles, drums, feast dishes, and masks.<sup>2</sup> However, it does not include halibut hooks, rattles, coppers, boxes,<sup>3</sup> or chilkats, items of complicated iconography often thought to be crests.

1. Masks are a special case in which the crest animal was also a naxn'x name.
2. One copper was included in the lists, but as a crest itself; there was no reference to another crest being represented on it.
3. There are two exceptions; they are discussed later in the chapter.



I investigated this problem with halibut hooks collected by Barbeau for the NMC. Typically, they were the only halibut hooks I encountered in museum collections with documentation adequate to the purposes of iconographic investigation. Of a series of fourteen hooks made and used by Albert Wesley, a g.anha'də of g'it'andə', and purchased from his widow, Barbeau wrote: "the carvings on such hooks are not meant to represent crests; they are only intended to bring good luck in fishing. The halibut is supposed to pick out the most attractive hook to be caught on" (Barbeau catalogue notes, 1915 collection; the series begins with No. VII-C-556). This, however, was contradicted by Barbeau's own catalogue notes for other halibut hooks which were said by some people to represent crests. It is necessary to look more closely at particular specimens in order to decide the issue.

The series of hooks collected from Wesley's widow includes the following three, one of which was said by another person to "look like" the g'ispəwudwa'də crest Grizzly of the Water. The others represent a shark, which is a laxsk'i.k crest, and the lag.ax'wE'sə (a double-headed sea monster), another g'ispəwudwa'də crest. The captions are based on Barbeau's catalogue notes.

Plate 3. NMC. VII-C-565. Halibut hook. Made and used by Albert Wesley, g.anha'də, g'it'andə'. Looks like Grizzly of the Water according to Peter Denny. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1915.



Plate 4. NMC. VII-C-566. Halibut hook. Made and used by Albert Wesley, g.anha'də, g'it'andə'. Carving represents the lag.ax'wE'sə (a double-headed sea monster). According to Peter Denny it is a yE.aklək ("bird of under the water"), not used as a crest. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1915.



Plate 5. NMC. VII-C-562. Halibut hook. Made and used by Albert Wesley, g.anha'də, g'it'andə'. The carving represents a shark swallowing a fish. Not a crest. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1915.

Although the preceding are three halibut hooks with representations resembling one laxsk'i'k and two g'ispawudwa'də crests, they were made and used by a g.anha'də. Furthermore, it was stated, apparently by Peter Denny, that the representations were not used as crests.

Another hook collected by Barbeau from Kincolith reinforces the interpretation that representations resembling the crests of one clan could be used in non-crest contexts by persons of another clan.

Plage 6. NMC. VII-B-1332. Halibut hook. Collected from Frank Bolton, laxsk'i'k, Kincolith. Made by yełna.o, Haida of Skidegate. The carving is a bullhead or sculpin with two eagles in its mouth and was named "biting two eagles." This was not a crest, but was intended to make this hook catch all kinds of fish. The bullhead is supposed to be able to catch any kind of fish and even eagles. This hook was given to Bolton by yełna.o to show friendship; Bolton gave him eulachon grease in exchange. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1927.



While the eagles are a laxsk'i'k crest (and Bolton was laxsk'i'k), the bullhead or sculpin is a g.anha'də crest.

Another hook (shown on the following page) collected at Kincolith suggests a shamanistic basis for halibut hook iconography:



Plate 7. NMC. VII-C-1398. Halibut hook. Collected from Albert Allen, g.anha'də, Kincolith. Made by nag.adzu't, Haida of Masset, who died before ca. 1877. The carving represents a medicine man holding an octopus. The medicine man is himself half-halibut and the carving was used on the hook for good luck. 5 blankets (equivalent to \$5.00) was paid for the hook. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1927.



The owner of this hook was g.anha'də; the octopus was a laxsk'i'k crest.

Barbeau collected another hook with a representation specifically said to be the crest of two g'ispəwudwa'də houses, although he does not record whether this information came from the owner of the hook or if the owner was a member of either house. However, no such crest was claimed by the g'ispəwudwa'də in the crest lists.

Plate 8. NMC. VII-C-685. Halibut hook. From g'ispaxlɔ''ts. Carving said to be Man of the Sea, a crest of the house of lag.axni'tsk (XI) and t'a.mks (IV), g'ispəwudwa'də. Owner of the hook not specified. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1915.



The burden of the preceding evidence is that halibut hooks were carved with representations that were considered to be "lucky" or attractive to the halibut (i.e., to have certain magical attractions for the halibut), and that while these may be the same animals used as crests, they are not necessarily the crest animals of the users of the hooks.

Round rattles are shamans' rattles, although the animal representations on them are often interpreted as crests. Unfortunately, iconographic evidence is meager; while a great many round rattles have been collected, I found only four specimens with animal representations whose collectors included data which could be used for iconographic purposes.

Barbeau collected a crudely carved round rattle from Fanny Johnson, ha'namux, g'isg.a'st, Kitsegukla, in 1924 (NMC, VII-C-1151), which was said to be carved with a representation of the owl, one of the crests of her house. While it was not claimed by this house in the crest lists, the owl was a Gitksan g'isg.a'st crest and it is more than probable that it did belong to ha'namux's house. The use of the rattle was not specified but, being round, it is likely to be a shaman's rattle. Another round rattle collected by Barbeau in 1920 (NMC, VII-C-945) belonged to Alexander Mott of Hazelton, a laxse'.1 shaman. This rattle also contains a representation of the owl on one side and a human face on the other. The representation of the owl is a realistic rendering of the whole body, and is unmistakable. Now, the owl was not a laxse'.1 crest animal, Fortunately, Barbeau recorded that "the owner of this had seen it in his dream and used it on his rattle; whatever a 'doctor'

dreamt of could be used in this way although the object or animal might be the crest of another phratry [clan]." There seems to be a significantly large proportion of owl designs on round rattles in museum collections, suggesting that it was a common shaman's spirit, and suggesting also that Fanny Johnson might have been a shaman who also happened to be a g'isg.a'st, and therefore that the owl on her rattle might have been there as a spirit helper rather than a crest.

Emmons collected a round rattle in 1909 from the Kitwanga laxsk'i'k chief samadi'k, who was also a shaman (MAI, 9/7998). The rattle has representations on it of a frog and a beaver. While the beaver was a crest of samadi'k's house, the frog was not. Once again, the representation of a crest animal is likely to be of secondary significance, since this is a shaman's rattle. It is illustrated in Dockstader (1961: Pl. 84).

The final example is another round rattle purchased by Barbeau from Fanny Johnson in 1924 (below). This one was named Gnawing Marten, which was said to be a naxnɔ'x in ha'namux's house. When using the rattle, the performer moved about imitating a marten and wearing a mask

Plate 9. NMC. VII-C-1150. Rattle purchased from Fanny Johnson, ha'namux, g'isg.a'st, Kitsegukla. Said to represent naxnɔ'x named Gnawing Marten. In using this rattle the performer moved about imitating a marten and wore a copper clawed headdress and a mask. Carved by g'itxɔ'n, laxsk'i'k, g'itsɔla'sɔ in ca. 1889. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1924.



and crown of copper claws. There is a form of naxnɔ'x known as a "curing" naxnɔ'x, in which the performer imitated a curing ritual. This probably explains the use of a round rattle in this naxnɔ'x performance, especially since a crown of bear claws was the standard shamanistic headdress. My principal point, however, is that the marten was not used here as a crest representation.

The evidence from these few, though well-documented, halibut hooks and round rattles in museum collections supports the conclusion based on the rules of use in the crests lists that animal representations on these artifacts are not crests, even when they are similar to those representations which are used as crests on other categories of material culture. There is probably a tendency in the case of shaman's rattles for the shaman to dream of and acquire as spirit helpers the same animals to which he is entitled as crests.

The larger point being made here is that crest representations are a limited category of ceremonial art, one not to be confused with animal representations on fish hooks, shamans' rattles and, to extrapolate from these, other domestic, utilitarian, and shamanistic objects. The use of crest representations on war headdresses, armour, and weapons suggests that war on the Northwest Coast had ceremonial or ritual aspects, which it clearly did. Some writers (e.g., Codere, 1950) have suggested that the potlatch became a functional substitute for War.

Raven rattles, chilkat blankets, and chiefs' chests fall into a special category of chiefly prestige items, usually of unknown iconography, and will be discussed below in a section on Chiefly Symbols.

When we examine the crest lists for the categories of material culture which are specified for crests, it is immediately obvious that they are intimately related to the potlatch. The two categories most often specified, and clearly the most important to the Tsimshian, are 1) architectural features: totem poles, including house entrance poles,<sup>4</sup> house posts, house front paintings, beams, rafters, and ceremonial entrances; and 2) costume features: robes and headdresses. In other words, the most important objects for crest representations were those worn on the person in the potlatch (and in war) and represented on the house, which was where potlatches occurred. The focus of climax of these crest expressions were the person and dwelling of the chief, who was the embodiment of his tribe's or local clan segment's power and prestige.

While totem poles are generally considered to be the dominant and most prestigious form of architectural crest display on the Northwest Coast, Barbeau's Coast Tsimshian teachers evidently regarded house front paintings as being of the same class or order, the two forms being specified together in the majority of instances. In marked contrast, the Niska specified house front paintings only 6 times, and the Gitksan only 10; totem poles were overwhelmingly preferred as architectural crest displays in these two divisions. It should be remembered, however, that the Niska had many standing poles as late as 1918 and the Gitksan still have, which were used as memory aids by people in dictating crest lists to Barbeau. Also, according to Barbeau's estimates (1929: 4; 1950: 4-12),

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4. I consider the Tsimshian totem pole, in both its free-standing and house-entrance forms, as part of or extension of the house itself.



most recorded Niska and Gitksan poles were carved after 1862, when many of the Coast Tsimshian converted to Christianity and stopped making them.

There is slight evidence that house front paintings were even more significant originally than totem poles, and indeed may have preceded them as architectural crest expressions. Barbeau quotes his best teacher, Herbert Wallace, as saying that "of the two kinds, the house-front paintings (neksugyet) were the most important; they were the real crest boards. The poles (ptsoen) were merely commemorative" (Barbeau, 1929: 15). This is somewhat confirmed by the myths. There are several myth instances of supernatural origins of house front paintings (the "l̥iving" house fronts received from the Sky Chief have already been mentioned), but none of totem poles. Indeed, totem poles are almost never mentioned in myth contexts. Boas (1966: 301) noted only two references to totem poles in Tsimshian myths, one of which was a stone pole. There are a few other incidental mentions in the Barbeau collection of myths, but only a few. House front designs are sometimes said in the myths to be carved, rather than painted.

Tsimshian totem pōles are well known from Barbeau's two summaries (1929, 1950), and need not be discussed here. Illustrations of house front paintings are rare. We know of only three, and possibly four, Tsimshian examples.

1. A house front painting at g'id̥əstsu' is shown in a photograph taken in 1889 and published by Emmons (1930; also reproduced in Barbeau, 1950: 775). It is incorrectly identified by Emmons as Northern Kwakwaka'wakw and by Barbeau as Tlingit. The painting is difficult to see, but shows two birds in profile on either side facing a central split bird

figure painted over the door. All three are identified by Emmons as ravens. The owner of the house is not known.

2. The house of sg.agwe't, I, laxsk'i'k, g'it'andə', at Fort Simpson is shown in an early photograph (see Plate 78b). Although in one place Barbeau (1950: 116) said that the house front painting "in the old style represented the Eagle," he elsewhere (1950: 42) reports informant Herbert Wallace's description of it as the g'i'bəl̥k (a complex monster):

The Gyaibelk or Supernatural-Fly (narhnarem-gyoek) was painted with wings spread out (in various colours) on the house front of Sqagwait, one of the leading Eagle chiefs of the Tsimsyans, and was also used by some of his relatives on the Nass and the middle Skeena. On his head were shown several human faces. His beak, fixed to the pole, extended about 60 feet forward and had to be supported by a pole standing part of the way towards the tip.

The 60 foot beak Barbeau refers to is missing in the photograph, although a hole for its insertion can be seen. Still elsewhere, Barbeau reports, again according to Wallace, that it had been painted by qa'łksək, g.anha'də, g'itsi's, and was sold "to a purchaser from the United States about 1900" (ibid.: 774).

The totem pole in front of the house is the Standing Beaver with at least 17 rings above him representing the discs on a woven basketry hat (lanəm̥g.Eit).

3. The third in situ photograph of a Tsimshian house front is that of mənE'sk, laxsk'i'k chief of g'itlaxda'mks (Plate 78a). His name is printed in bold letters on the projecting beak. The painting's iconography was not recorded, but mənE'sk also claimed the g'i'bəl̥k as a crest, and there is a marked similarity between this painting and the g'i'bəl̥k on sg.awe't's house.

4. The fourth house front painting is in the U.S. National Museum and was collected by J.G. Swan in 1875, presumably at Fort Simpson (Plate 79). There is no further documentation. While the artist's style and subject are different, this one does share certain compositional similarities with the two preceding house fronts. Notice the row of small figures across the top, and the two flanking figures facing a central figure, through whose body the door is cut. The two killerwhales establish quite firmly that it was a g'ispəwudwa'də house.

On the Coast, the house front painting disappeared about 1875-1880 as the Tsimshian modernized the plank house or adopted Euro-Canadian frame houses as prestige symbols (Garfield, 1939: 280). Garfield tells of the transformation of the house of mədi'ks (Grizzly), V, g.anha'də, g'inax'ang'i.k. Although the lineage was g.anha'də, the house was decorated with a painting of a grizzly (ibid.: 278), obviously representing the name of its chief.

Grizzly Bear and his group modernized their home when Mr. Luther [a member of the household] was about fifteen years old (in 1870-72?). They added a plank floor, a solid wooden door hung on iron hinges and two windows in the front "where everyone could see them." They named the door the Wave Door and announced the name at the feast as Grizzly Bear's predecessor had that of the house front painting which was ruined when the windows were placed. They enumerated the house front paintings that had adorned the dwellings of the lineage in the past and announced that henceforth they would have no more paintings (Garfield, 1939: 279; emphasis added).

Regrettably, glass windows were incompatible with house front paintings, and the Coast Tsimshian abandoned an outstanding art form. The very few house front paintings mentioned in the Gitksan and

5. An unusual practice that I have not seen mentioned elsewhere.

Niska crest lists suggests that the custom was not as common in these two divisions. Emmons photographed most of the Gitksan villages in 1910 when the people were still living in plank houses, but there are no painted house fronts in his photographs.

The Tsimshian also had house entrance poles, in which a hole in the totem pole served as the door to the house. These were reported for all three divisions. In at least one reported instance, the house entrance pole and the house front painting were integrated into a single composition:

Pole of Raven. A seated raven on a pole placed against the house front; at the base of the pole, serving as the door, was the starfish; on either side were painted sea lions.  
dag.ɔ'milsk, VII, g.anha'də, g'itsi's.

Still another form of architectural crest display was what might be called "living" ceremonial entrances. These were mechanical contrivances, probably installed only for feasts and then removed, by means of which guests were actively received into the house by a moving crest. Only seven were described in the crest lists:

Hooked Nose. A huge human-like being with a long nose erected in front of the house so that entrance was through the nose, which opened and closed by mechanical means. Used only for feasts.. asag.alyE'n, VIII, laxk'ibu', g'itsi's!

Fish Weir. Made as a ceremonial entrance so that guests were "caught in a trap." ni'kap, I, laxk'ibu', kisg.ag.a's.

Swallow Grizzly House. A house with a grizzly mouth for a door, which opened and closed. When people came for a feast, all

g'ispɔwudwa'də had to give it a gift. ni.xkəmi'k,  
g'ilodza'uə.

Lightning Robe. Carved of wood; a huge bird with outspread wings, used as entrance to house. When mouth (door) opened, it made a noise of thunder. Had grizzly feet. hE.l, I, g'ispɔwudwa'də, g'itxa'la.

Whirlpool. Shown as a spinning platform on which all the guests would ride and be thrown into the house at a feast. <sup>6</sup> haxpəgwɔ'tu, III, g'isg.a'st, k'itsəgu'kla.

Supernatural Raven. A huge raven with outspread wings carved with human faces. Ceremonial entrance through beak that opened and shut. dzag.amgishEitks, XI, g.anha'də, g'itxa'la.

(Where Raven Hangs Upsidedown by One Claw). Beak pointing to or opening into house. The Tsimshian name refers somehow to raven's beak. The end of the beak is inside the house, and opens and caws when someone comes in. Only the beak is used. ni.shɔ't, I, g.anha'də, g'itzaxɬE'l.

Four of the above were used by first-ranking houses, suggesting that this was a particularly prestigious form of crest display. This may have been due to the wealth needed to have the contrivances made and operated. It is also likely that only a high-ranking and powerful chief could subject his guests to the indignities of being "thrown," "caught," "eaten," and "vomited" by his crest. In the last case, raven's beak

6. A contrivance of the same description was used in dramatizing the naxnɔ'x name "Whirlpool" in the house of liləbəksku, V., g'isg.a'st, Kisplox.

pointed into the house, so that guests were metaphorically vomited into rather than out of the feast house.

That such entrances and exits were indignities is confirmed by a myth of the Niska laxk'ibu', recorded by William Beynon from Mrs. Emma Wright. The Haida had enslaved the granddaughter of a high-ranking laxk'ibu' chief, whose people were later able to take some Haida women, who had been consorting with white traders on a ship, as hostages. The Haida women were passed from man to man by the Niska while they were held captive. The exchange of slave and hostages finally took place at a feast after an exchange of gifts and formal speeches, made in an ambience of great cordiality. The Niska gave much wealth to the Haida, who gave little in return, and the Niska slave was returned, fully redeemed by the wealth given for her. The Niska loaded their gifts into the Haida canoes and told them to wait on the beach for their women. They then removed some boards from the house front and pushed the wooden jaws of a giant grizzly through the opening. As they sang the following song, the Haida women were "vomited," one by one, out of the grizzly's mouth:

And the Great Grizzly did so,  
It vomited what it swallowed;  
This is what the Great Grizzly has done.

"The inference in the song was that the Grizzly had had his fill of the Haida women and now was so full that it was vomiting them out. This was a taunt to the Haida, which they now recognized. It would have been much better for the Haida if they had redeemed the women who had been held as hostages, as now these women were open to ridicule and taunts, not only themselves but their offspring as well. They would always be called

'those whom the Grizzly (crest of the Niska laxk'ibu') had vomited after it had its fill of them'" (Mrs. Wright to Beynon).

Ceremonial "mouth" entrances, of course, did not subject Tsimshian guests to overt ridicule, but the metaphorical implication of being eaten by the crest of another clan must surely have been there. The noticeable emphasis on mouths or beaks (and stomachs) in both ceremonial entrances and house entrance poles again suggests a Cannibal theme.

The metaphorical relationship between potlatching and cannibalism is quite explicit in Southern Kwakiutl thought. When Codere documented the use of metaphors of war in the Kwakiutl potlatch, she mentioned the Cannibal theme only in passing as another instance of their desire to gain a "reputation for terribleness" by dramatizing physical violence (1950: 112). However, she quotes the following potlatch song recorded by Boas (1897: 450, quoted in Codere, 1950: 121) in which a suggestive equation is made between swallowing food, men, and wealth:

Food will be given to me, food will be given to me, because  
I obtained this magic treasure.  
I am swallowing food alive; I eat living men.  
I swallow wealth; I swallow the wealth my father is giving  
away.

Boas (1966: 192-193) recorded an incident at Fort Rupert in 1895 in which a similar association was made during the winter ceremonial:

... the door opened and two men came in, wearing large blankets and imitating the motions of cormorants .... When all had come in, the speaker asked the first of the birds, "What is in your stomach?" He replied, "Kwa'g.uł." Then he asked the next one, "What is in your stomach?" He replied, "Four tribes," meaning the four tribes of the Kwa'g.uł. Turning to the third one, he asked, "What is in your stomach?" He replied, "The kwa'g.uł, the Koskimo, and all the other tribes."

When he asked the next one, he acted as though he was vomiting. This meant that he was vomiting the property that was to be distributed that night. The fifth one told the speaker that he had gone from tribe to tribe through the whole world, swallowing the tribes.<sup>7</sup> After the speaker had asked everyone in this manner, he thanked the cormorants for coming and said, "I am glad that you are not light cormorants, but that you are heavy with property."

This same theme is repeated in a song sung for one of the assistants to the Cannibal:

I keep down your wrath, Great, real Cannibal!  
 I keep down your whistles, Great, real Cannibal!  
 I keep down your voraciousness, Great, real Cannibal!  
 You are always looking for food, Great, real Cannibal!  
 You are always looking for heads, Great, real Cannibal!  
 You are always devouring property, Great, real Cannibal!  
 (Boas, 1966: 190)

While these Southern Kwakiutl examples do not prove that the Tsimshian employed an explicit Cannibal metaphor for potlatching, they do make my interpretation of the ceremonial "mouth" entrances and other Cannibal themes in the crest system more plausible. Regrettably, there are no detailed eyewitness accounts of the Coast Tsimshian or Niska potlatches or Cannibal initiations. That there are no Cannibal references in Beynon's account of the 1945 Kitsegukla potlatch series is not surprising; the Gitksan had been Christians for several decades by then.

The Cannibal theme will be picked up again at the end of this chapter.

The second major category of objects on which crest representations occurred were items of costume worn in the potlatch and in war, notably headdresses and robes or armour. There is another problem here in

7. Here Boas added in a footnote: "That meant giving away blankets. When blankets were given to a tribe, it was called swallowing the tribe."



differentiating between crest and non-crest representations, since some of the same animals claimed as crests and represented on headdresses were also claimed as naxnɔ'x's 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. My hypothesis, as discussed in Chapter Four, is that mask iconography derives from the naxnɔ'x naming system, and that headdress iconography derives from the crest system.

What follows is a series of 25 photographs showing several types of masks and headdresses. The types shown here are not meant to be exhaustive, but illustrative of a range. The captions are taken from museum catalogues, supplemented by information from the Barbeau/Beynon notes (in parentheses).

Type I: Human face naxnɔ'x masks:

Plate 10. NMC. VII-C-1061. Mask of sɔ's'axs: laughing. A naxnɔ'x belonging to the house of tɔxɔn (dɔxɔns, V, laxse:l), Kitwancool. Made by Joshua Riddley, Kitsegukla, ca. 1918. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from Moses Tait's (tɔxɔn) wife.



Plate 11. NMC. VII-C-1177. Mask named 'axg.ɔdɔmkuxtingit: thoughtless little slave woman (axg.ɔdɔm: thoughtless; kux: ?; tingit: Tlingit, i.e., slave). A naxnɔ'x of the house of kwinu (IV), laxse'l, Kitwancool. The person wearing this would go around to the chiefs using a knife and spear as weapons. He pretended to injure them with the knife, the blade of which receded into the shaft, after which he could compensate them. Carved by nagumwilgɔks, laxk'ibu', g'itlax-da'mks, long ago. It has been used many times and each time it has been scraped and repainted. Used last about 3 years ago. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from Mrs. Johnny Lagaxnitz (kwinu), 1924.



Plate 12. NMC. VII-C-1128. Mask named g.ɔg.ɔgEt: angered person. naxnɔ'x name owned by house of wudaxaye ts (LII, laxse.l), Kitwancool. Made by kwans, laxsk'ik, g'itwinksik, ca. 1892. Collected from Elwin Williams of Kitwancool, living at Kitwanga, by C.M. Barbeau, 1924.

(In the name lists, wudaxaye'ts is listed as owning the name g.ɔg.ɔgE't, translated as "person who always finds fault.")



Plate 13. NMC. VII-C-1163. Mask named t'sak: to extinguish (fire). A naxnɔ'x. The performer would come into the feast and go to the fire and extinguish it; after the house had been in darkness for a while, he would take out a fire-drill and make another fire. Carved by mɔng.emg.an, g'isg.a'st, Kitsegukla, ca. 1913. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from Mrs. Maggie Wells, Kitwanga, 1924.

(In the name lists, sqayE'n, II, laxsk.i'k, Kitwanga, is said to own the name t'sak: to extinguish. The description of the performance is the same as above.)



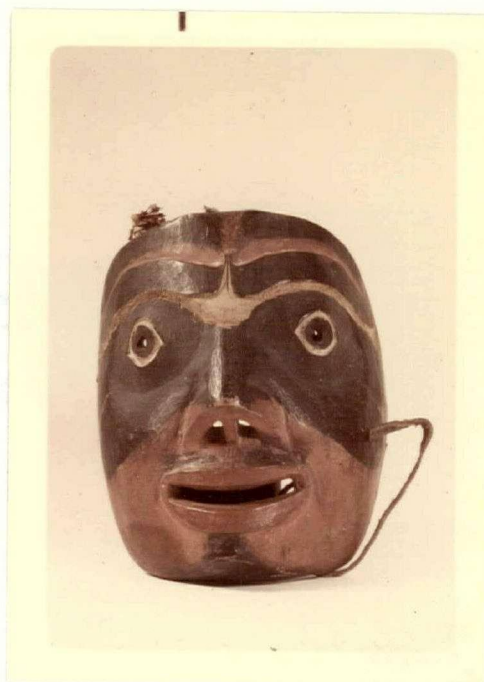
Plate 14. NMC. VII-C-1165. Another mask of t'sak purchased from Mrs. Maggie Wells by C.M. Barbeau, 1924. This is said to be older than the preceding one. Made by nɔg.ɔmwilg.ɔks, g'itlaxda'mks, about 1884.





Plate 15. NMC. VII-C-1058. Mask named axg.ɔ't: without mind, foolish. Mask of the name of the chief of this house (II, axg.ɔ't), a laxse'l, Kitwanga. There was a large canvas spread at the back of the house, and the mask came out of it. The wearer came towards the assembly and danced before it; he held a stick in his hand and the people sang in response. Song: Dancer: I am Foolish, I am foolish. Chorus: The foolish man will eat the heart of all the people. Mask made by lax'walam'ot, laxk'ibu' of g'itxat'i'n, ca. 1883. Purchased from Chief ɬengwax (I, laxse'l, Kitwanga) known as Lagaxmits, by C.M. Barbeau, 1923.

(In the name lists, axg.ɔ't, II, laxse'l, Kitwanga, is listed as owning the name axg.ɔ't, translated as "reckless.")



Type II. Human face naxnɔ'x masks with crest animals attached:

Plate 16. NMC. VII-C-1094. Mask of pistE'i: grouse. The name of the face is anxE': slave-maker, a naxnɔ'x. xE': slave. The wearer of the mask represented a wild man coming from another place who sang the words "anxE" repeated several times, and the meaning was that the people would not make him a slave. Belonged to the house of xa'dat (IV, g'isg.a'st, Kispiox). Used by a young woman about 1913; made by tɔ'xs of Kispiox about 1908. Collected by C.M. Barbeau at Kispiox in 1923.

(The grouse is a major crest of the g'isg.a'st.)



Plate 17. NMC. VII-C-1157. Mask named kuxmitEnirons: meaning? This was a naxnɔ'x of the house of sqayE'n (II, laxsk'i.k, Kitwanga). The performer walked in front of the chiefs and appeared to envy them their food and gifts, and gifts would then be given to him. He later compensated any who gave him gifts. The mask is over 53 years old (ca. 1871) and was made by a member of the house of ksg.ɔg.ɔmlaxE' (IV, g'isg.a'st), Kitsegukla, and was last used about 1889 when owner's mother used it. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from Mrs. Maggie Wells, Kitwanga, 1924.

(The eagle is the ptEx animal of the laxsk'i.k.)



Type III. Animal naxnɔ'x masks:

Plate 18. NMC. VII-C-1055. Mask of the ɬu'wex: lynx. A naxnɔ'x. This was a mask worn when they set snares for the lynx in the house of kuxsa'n (II, g'isg.a'st, Kitsegukla). Made by ɬaxtsip, g'itwinsilk, a professional carver of masks. Collected from Charles Mark, kuxsa'n, Kitsegukla, by C.M. Barbeau, 1923.

(In the name lists, ɬkuwE'ix: small lynx, was a naxnɔ'x name owned by kuxsa'n. The performance is more clearly described as follows: "the performer wears a complete lynx skin, and dances around a snare which has been set in the house and baited with bright things, which attract lynx. Finally she gets caught in the snare, and when they release the snare, there is a real, stuffed lynx in it. The performer has mysteriously disappeared.")







Plate 19. NMC. VII-C-1107. Mask named *ksəmnɪ.zək*: woman of Wolverine. A *naxnɔ'x* in the house of *wudaxahE'ts* (III, *laxse'1*), Kitwancool, last used long ago. Collected from Elwin Williams of Kitwancool, but living in Kitwanga, by C.M. Barbeau, 1924.

(In the name lists, this *naxnɔ'x* name was owned by this house. The performer is said to come in wearing a wolverine skin and headdress, and to destroy property. It was then "killed" and had to be revived by the guests' *naxnɔ'x* songs.)

Plate 20. NMC. VII-C-1191. Mask of *telg.amuq* (I), *laxse'1*, Kispiox, representing a grizzly bear named *mɔdi'gɔmwɔlxɪ*, translated as grizzly bear of the water. Collected by C.V. Smith; catalogue notes by C.M. Barbeau, 1925.

(In the name lists, *wɔxɪ* is a *naxnɔ'x* name said to refer to a bear, owned by *telg.amu'q*. A grizzly robe is said to be used in dramatizing it.)



Plate 21. NMC. VII-C-1090. Mask named xkEt: eats man. House of xka'dət (IV, g'isg.a'st, Kisplox); it was the representation of his own name.

A small cloth "curtain" can be pulled down to cover the small human figure in the creature's mouth; the curtain is painted with teeth and a tongue.

(In the name lists, xka'dət: eating human beings, is listed as a naxnɔ'x name of the house of la.n, which is this same house. The performer was said to wear a human face mask and to act as if in a frenzy, attacking and biting guests.)



The preceding museum specimens were unusually well documented, and in eight of the twelve cases the catalogue documentation was supported by the naxnɔ'x name lists which Barbeau collected independently. Three of the following four specimens are poorly documented, but their use can be determined by comparison with the fourth and extrapolation from the above specimens. The point is that, although two of the following eagle masks were said by collectors to be crest or potlatch masks, their use as naxnɔ'x's can be quite firmly established.

Type IV. Probable eagle  $\text{naxn}\text{'}\text{x}$  masks:

Plate 22. NMC. VII-C-1124. Mask named  $\text{xsk}\text{eg}\text{amgE.t}$ : Eagle person. Used during  $\text{hala'it}$  festival ( $\text{naxn}\text{'}\text{x}$ ). Carved long ago. Property of the house of  $\text{te'walasu}$  (III),  $\text{laxs'i'k}$ , Kitwanga. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from Silas Brown,  $\text{nEqt}$  (I),  $\text{laxse'l}$ , Kispiox, 1924. NMC. photograph, Neg. No. J-18690-9.



Although this piece represents an eagle and was owned by a  $\text{laxsk'i'k}$  house, its use was specifically said to be as a  $\text{naxn}\text{'}\text{x}$ : Eagle Person. This is an interesting specimen, intermediate between a mask and a headdress. The performer could see through the mouth of the bird and the back of his own head and the bottom of his face were covered by the white cloth attached to the carving. It prompts the speculation that, since the eagle was owned by this house both as a crest and a  $\text{naxn}\text{'}\text{x}$ , the piece has characteristics of both a mask and a headdress.



Plate 23. NMC. VII-C-1349. Eagle mask worn at potlatches. He walks around in the crowd and claws everyone he passes. It is Semedick's own mask. It is not the one in (Langdon) Kihn's picture but was made before. He inherited it. No one else wears it except Semedick or his successor. His predecessor had it or one like it. Each clawed person receives some present free, more than others, but if no feast is given no return gift is given. If a feast is given, he gets a return present. Purchased by Harlan I. Smith, 1926, of Semedicks, Kitwanga.



Smith's documentation for the above specimen is a suspicious blend of details reminiscent of both naxnɔ'x and potlatch features. Although he says this is a potlatch mask, he then describes a performance very much like the naxnɔ'x's described in connection with Plates 11 (VII-C-1177) and 17 (VII-C-1157) above, in which guests were attacked in some way and then compensated. The additional details that Smith includes sound as if they refer to the repayment of potlatch contributions at subsequent potlatches, something which was not part of the naxnɔ'x ritual, and may be extraneous to the situation actually being described. There is a field photograph of səmədi'k (I, laxsk'i'k, Kitwanga) wearing this mask shown in Plate 80a which confirms that the wearer's face was hidden by such mask-headaddresses. The confusion in Smith's documenta-

tion, the resemblance of this specimen to the preceding one, which was collected from another laxsk'i.k house in the same village, and the fact that the wearer's face was indeed hidden, strongly suggest that its iconography refers to a naxn>'x name and not to a crest, even though the name was not recorded.



Plate 24. NMC. VII-C-1779. Ceremonial wood mask, representing the head of an eagle. A piece of leather is attached to the back of the mask and would cover the head of the wearer. The lower part of the jaw and tongue are movable. The tongue is manipulated by a string. In the dances of a theatrical character the mask is worn. Lord Bossom collection, ca. 1900-1910. Niska. Collected and documented by G.T. Emmons?

Unlike the two preceding eagle specimens, the one above is an ordinary mask, fitting over the wearer's entire face with eye holes in the appropriate places. While the documentation is vague, the reference to "dances of a theatrical character," is reminiscent of naxn>'x dramatizations.

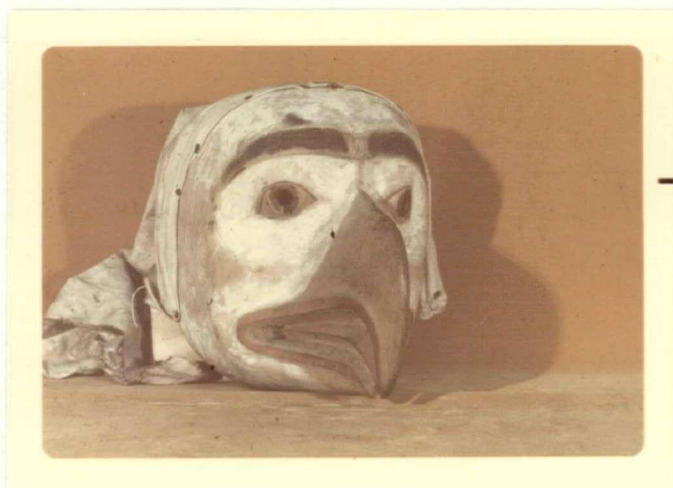


Plate 25. PM. 1518. Mask. Eagle, worn at potlatches as the owner's crest. White fur top. Collected by C.F. Newcombe, 1912, Greenville (lakalsap).

Although Newcombe reported that the preceding eagle mask was worn at a potlatch as its owner's crest, the resemblance of the specimen to the preceding three pieces, which are reasonably well established as naxnɔ'x's, casts strong doubt on this identification. This conclusion is strengthened by other Newcombe identifications of human face masks with such names as Conceited Woman (PM, 1522), Tlingit from Tongass (PM, 1503; PM, 1502), Tsetsaut (PM, 1526), and White Man (PM, 1517) as also being potlatch masks, when the names are typical naxnɔ'x names.



Type V. xske'msəm naxnɔ'x mask:



Plate 26. PM. 1505. Potlatch mask. Mountain eagle, red cedar bark and deer skin. (Written in pencil on back in crude letters: Skiamsm.) Collected by C.F. Newcombe in Kincolith, 1912. (This is the same specimen shown in Plate 72a.)

Following the same reasoning as previously, I would override Newcombe's documentation and interpret the above specimen as a naxnɔ'x mask representing the xske'msəm, as the pencilled name on it indicates. This association is further confirmed by the red cedar bark on the mask. Red cedar bark was used exclusively in hala'it and shamanistic rituals; it was not used on potlatch paraphernalia. I have included this specimen to demonstrate a marked difference between the eagles preceding it and the xske'msəm. The latter is a complex monster and, unlike the eagle, is represented here as more human than bird.

Type VI. Eagle crest headdresses:

The identification of the preceding five specimens as four eagle and one xske'msəm naxnɔ'x masks is strengthened when we examine

eagle crest headdresses, which are entirely different in form and in character.

Another photograph of samədi'k, I, laxsk'i'k, Kitwanga, is shown in Plate 80b. In this one, he is shown wearing a crest headdress made from a real eagle's head. Although the headdress he is wearing does not seem to have been collected, Emmons collected two others from the Nass which are illustrated below.



Plate 27. MAI. 1/4205. Bald eagle headdress. Eagle's head, abalone eyes. Collected by G.T. Emmons at Aiyansh, Niska, ca. 1907.



Plate 28. MAI. 1/4206. Bald eagle headdress. Cap with real eagle head and feather tufts with blond human hair. Collected by G.T. Emmons, Kincolith, Niska, ca. 1907.

In the crest lists in Appendix II, people continually said that chiefs were allowed to use the real animal's head as a headdress, but that those of the councillor status level were only permitted to represent the animal's head in wood. Another consistently reported chiefly privilege was to decorate crest headdresses with abalone, as in the specimen illustrated in Plate 36 below. An eagle headdress of still a different sort, also decorated with abalone, is the one shown below.



Plate 29. ROM. HN-915. Cap headdress, "Hat of Eagle." Frontpiece resembles an eagle with projecting ears and beak; two flaps at back; cap bound with grey braid; red felt applique and abalone shell decoration; dark cloth foundation. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from the Nass River, 1929.

Based on examples such as these, and following the reasoning indicated, I have concluded that the formulation, crest: headdress : : naxnɔ'x : mask, was well established in Tsimshian thought. While well-documented examples may well be found which contradict it, the confusion seems largely to rest in the minds of the collectors of museum specimens and not the makers and users of crest headdresses and naxnɔ'x masks. In defense of Newcombe, Emmons, H.I. Smith, and the others, it should be



pointed out that Tsimshian ethnographers had not described the naxn>'x naming complex, and they had little reason to suspect that Tsimshian masks had such functions. Still, the museum record is most deficient and disappointing in this respect. It also contains a clear warning to museum researchers not to rely too heavily on the documentation of a single collector. Anyone working solely with the Newcombe collection in the B.C. Provincial Museum, for example, would be totally misled as to the function and meaning of Tsimshian masks. This example is an especially pernicious one, because Newcombe has a highly respected reputation on the Northwest Coast as a careful collector of both artifacts and information.

There were surprisingly few well-documented crest headdresses in the museum collections I examined. Still, the following examples, together with the three eagle headdresses above, should be sufficient to establish the crest headdress as an artifact type.

Plate 30. NMC. VII-C-1093. Head-dress of the house of xka'dət (la.n, IV, g'isg.a'st, Kispiox) representing the disEshux pistE'i: drumming grouse. A crest worn in the iyuku on the head of the man who assumes the name. Belonged first to the uncle of the present owner. Made by lElt's brother, of Kitwanga, who died many years ago. Collected from the heirs of xka'dət, an old Kispiox woman, by C.M. Barbeau, 1923.





Plate 31. ROM. HN-679. Headdress of the nigidił: meaning unknown, a monster animal, used in the o'yax feasts, or the rituals in which the highest grade of chieftainship was attained. sqat'i'n himself used it about 30 years ago. His uncle, the older sqat'i'n at that time was arrested at Kincolith with other chiefs for giving a potlatch. Alfred (the present) sqat'i'n continued the o'yax for his uncle after the arrest, and used the nigidił crest together with the Chilkat described above (HN-821). Distribution of gifts followed -- big piles of blankets. The iiy,n (moose skins, tanned) were used before the blankets, to the same purpose. The man giving the o'yax stood on the pile before his guests. Then his family sang the dirge (lám'i) of hano. Charly Na'us, of g'itwinsiik, carved this about 1897. The being itself, the exact identity of which is now forgotten, is ancient. It was first used when the name of sqat'i'n became that of head chief. Collected from Alfred sqat'i'n, laxk'ibu', g'itlaxda'mks, by C.M. Barbeau, 1927.



Plate 32. NMC. VII-C-1193. Headdress representing the g'itwanik, nigibeo: warrior wolf. Belongs possibly to Daniel wigaix, laxk'ibu', Kisgegas. Collected by C.V. Smith; catalogue notes by C.M. Barbeau, 1925. (This headdress was used in the film "The Loon's Necklace.")



Plate 33. NMC. VII-C-91. Headdress collected by I.W. Powell at Fort Simpson, 1879. NMC photograph, Neg. No. 20069.



While the above specimen was not documented by its collector, it was apparently remembered by Barbeau's teachers and was included in the crest lists as a crest of ni.sho't, I, g.anha'də, g'itzax+E'1. It is described there as a "frog headdress with tall lanəmg.E'it; wooden frog painted black with red paws and long woven spruce root lanəmg.E'it  
8 on top. This headdress was given to I.W. Powell.

Plate 34. NMC. VII-C-1767. Flying frog headdress with copper eyes, eyebrows, lips, wing tips, tail, and feet. Kitwancool people. Bossom collection, ca. 1900-1910. Collected by G.T. Emmons? NMC photograph, Neg. No. J-5055.



8. While it is possible that Barbeau had a photograph of this specimen with him in the field, and the information that it was collected by Powell comes from him, the association of the headdress with a specific house must have come from his teachers.

There are two field photographs with which the above specimen can be compared for confirmation that it represents the Gitksan Flying Frog crest. One is a photograph of a gravestone carved with a similar flying frog motif and bearing the inscription: "Chief Widadakysou. Died Mar. 1912. Age 70 years" (NMC photograph, Neg. No. 59813). wudaxayE'ts, II, laxse'1, was a Kitwancool chief, and his house did claim the Flying Frog as a crest. The place and possible date of the collection of the specimen above (Kitwancool, ca. 1900-1910) and the date of wudaxayE'ts death (1912) make it more than likely that this was indeed his own crest headdress. The second field photograph, see Plate 81b, shows Albert Williams of Kitwanga wearing another but similar Flying Frog headdress (NMC photograph, Neg. No. 59718). The Flying Frog was also claimed as a crest by the house of halus, III, laxse'1, Kitwanga.

I found a similar shortage of well-documented crest robes and no well-documented examples of crest armour. Two robes of special interest are shown in Plates 83 and 80. The coat of dentalium shell (ROM, HN-769), both sides of which are shown in Plate 83, was collected by Barbeau from mənE'sk, head laxsk'i'k chief at g'itlaxda'mks, in 1927. (There is also a field photograph of mənE'sk himself wearing the robe, NMC Neg. No. 70683-B.) Barbeau's documentation is especially full:

ROM. HN-769. Coat-of-shell (gudatsəm t'sik; t'sik is Tsimshian for dentalium). Robe of cloth with shell design. On one side the split eagle; on the other the g'Edəmsiy'ən: person of glacier. This crest is explained in the myth of migration from Alaska belonging to this Eagle family. The costume belonged to the former mənE'sk, a brother of the present, but much older. The present mənE'sk is over 80 years of age. The former mənE'sk made it. The shell (t'sik) was

formerly one of the coast currencies. It was bought from the Haidas, who got it from the sea. This was formerly considered a very valuable coat, on account of the shell decoration. mənE'sk was willing to sell it as he does not use it any longer, having become a Christian.

Both of the crests mentioned by Barbeau were claimed by mənE'sk's house in the crest lists. The Split Eagle crest was also said to have been tattooed on mənE'sk's chest.

The second robe, shown in Plate 80c, d, is worn by səmədi'k, laxsk'i'k chief at Kitwanga. Although the coat does not seem to have been collected and there is no documentation accompanying the photographs (NMC Neg. No. 59728 and 59729), the two crest representations can be determined from the crest lists (and provide a good example of their potential usefulness in museum research). səmədi'k's house claimed the crests Split Person and Den of Bear. The Split Person crest is easily recognizable; fortunately, informants described the Den of Bear crest as being represented as follows: "hole in totem pole through which guests entered; also a person on totem pole with a hole in stomach to represent entrance." The representation on the robe of a human-like being with bear paws for hands and feet and a hole in its stomach is obviously this same crest.

When the crest representations for Person of Glacier and Den of Bear on the two preceding robes are compared, they show very close similarities, indicating the difficulties of ascribing iconographic meanings to crest figures on the basis of pre-iconographic similarities only. This is especially true of crest representations based on the human figure.

C.F. Newcombe collected the following piece of armour at Kitkatla. There is no way of determining which house owned it or exactly which crest it represents (though it is obviously a bear); it is included here only as incomplete confirmation that crest representations were painted on hide armour.

Plate 35. MAI. 1/6718. Walrus hide<sup>9</sup> armour shirt. Tsimshian Kitkatla. Collected by C.F. Newcombe. Exchange from Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia. 37919.



#### Rank and Status Level

Having examined the major categories of artifacts upon which crests could be represented, we are in a position to investigate the association of crests, both as ayuks (names) and dzEpk (concrete manifestations or representations of ayuks), with rank and status level. For the Coast Tsimshian, people mentioned different rules to be ob-

9. Wilson Duff has told me that hide armour identified as "walrus hide" is likely to be sea lion hide.

served in crest use by the chiefly and councillor status levels. For example, the councillor house of watida'ax (g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ, IV, g'itsi's) had the right to "use the grizzly in the same manner as other g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ of his class": 1) as a house front painting representing the whole animal, painted in red and black, 2) as a wooden headdress representing the head of the bear only, 3) on a totem pole, and 4) painted on a skin robe. Similarly, he could display the killerwhale as follows: 1) painted in black outline with red details on a skin robe, 2) as a house front painting, and 3) on a totem pole. On the other hand, when the killerwhale was assumed by "one of the royal family, it is under a different name -- 'so and so' killerwhale -- and then it is represented in a different manner" (Coast Tsimshian, name not recorded).

Similarly, a Gitksan person (Holland) reported that "the individual crests were restricted to the head chiefs." Two other status level specific rules consistently reported by the Coast Tsimshian were that only the chiefly houses could decorate crest representations with abalone and wear the actual head or complete skin, including the head, of crest animals (i.e., impersonate the animal); councillor status level people were permitted only to wear wooden representations of the animal's head, without abalone, and animal skins, minus heads, as robes.

The rule that only chiefs or upper status level people could wear the real head of a crest animal (cf., the eagle headdresses shown in Plates 27 and 28), or impersonate the animal by wearing its entire skin, is a puzzling one. In other situations, such as chiefs' naxnɔ'x power demonstrations and their control of the g'it'sɔ'ntk, the use of

art and artifice was a particularly powerful privilege of the chief's position and tool of his authority. Here, the reverse seems to obtain, and the chief's position as local head of his clan was symbolized by an object actually borrowed from nature, while his councillor tribesmen had to use artificial imitations.

The other rule -- that particularized crests were restricted to the chiefly status level (among the Coast Tsimshian) or to head chiefs (among the Gitksan) -- is not confirmed by the actual distribution of these crests as reported in the crest lists. However, the lists do show a very strong tendency for such crests to cluster in the higher ranks. Since it was necessary, in order to validate a particularized crest, to have both an inherited right to it and the wealth needed to stage a potlatch or to participate in someone else's potlatch, particularized crests claimed by councillor status level houses were few, although some wealthy ləkag'ig'Et had a number of them. The generalized ptEx animal, on the other hand, could be displayed by any member of the clan, although a potlatch was probably still required in order to display it on a totem pole or house front painting.

In other words, the ownership of particularized crests, or the vertical axis of the Tsimshian crest system, tended to be associated with high rank and, in the case of the Coast Tsimshian, with the chiefly status level.

The only crests consistently associated with the first-ranking position in a tribe (Coast Tsimshian) or clan (Niska, Gitksan) were those named Prince of (Animal Species), produced by the application of the operator "abalone" to crest animals. Houses claiming these crests

are as follows (the arabic numbers refer to tribes, roman numerals to rank; see Appendix I for the names of the houses):

<u>Crest</u>	<u>First Rank Houses</u>	<u>Other Ranks</u>
Prince of Eagles	20,I 19(5),I	16a,II
Prince of Wolves	19(1),I	6,VIII 19(4),III
Prince of Grizzlies	3,I 4,I 12,I 16a,I(kwxscu)	13,XV
Prince of Bears	21,I 16b,I(ɬabɟksk <sup>u</sup> )	21,II
Prince of Killerwhales	3,I 4,I 7,I 21,I	24,II
Prince of Ravens	5,I 20,I	16,II 21,IV
Prince of Beavers		18(4)
Prince of Cormorants	16a,I	
Prince of Martens		22,V

In five of the above ten cases where the Prince of (Animal Species) crest was claimed by a house other than the first ranking house, modifying features or extenuating circumstances were reported by informants. In the case of the Prince of Eagles claimed by house 16a,II, the crest representation was said to have been in red applique and no abalone was mentioned. Similarly, the Prince of Wolves claimed by houses 6,VIII and 19(4),III were said to have "no pearl decoration."

In each of these cases, then, one of the essential features of the Prince of (Animal Species) crest -- abalone -- was missing. The Prince of Ravens claimed by house 21, IV was taken following the murder of a g'itsəla'sə chief, and hence was claimed by force rather than social and hereditary right. The Prince of Beavers was claimed by a Niska sub-clan, (18(4) (the house not specified), which did not have the right to use the clan's ptEx animal, the eagle. The name of this sub-clan translates as "on the beaver," and it was not considered to be "real" laxsk'i'.k. If it were to be considered a separate "beaver" descent group in its own right, its highest-ranking house could be considered a first-ranking house.

Of the other houses claiming Prince of (Animal Species) crests, three were claimed by houses ranking second, and two by houses ranking third. The only two instances, then, of a Prince of (Animal Species) crest being claimed by low-ranking houses where there were no extenuating circumstances recorded were the Prince of Grizzlies claimed by house 13, XV, and the Prince of Martens claimed by 22, V. Since these are the only such instances out of the 27 recorded instances of this crest, they must be considered atypical.

Other widespread crests consistently claimed by houses of high rank (I to IV) were those formed by the addition of the operator "white" to crest animals, e.g., White Raven, White Bear, White Owl, White Marten, etc. It was therefore no surprise to discover the following type of chief's hat which seems to have no specific crest associations, but which combines the two prestigious operators "abalone" and "white".





Plate 36. PM. 1531. Chief's cap. Ermine skin and cloth, ornamented with abalone shell. Collected on the Nass River by C.F. Newcombe, 1913.

It is at this point, with a chiefly symbol having no crest associations but utilizing prestigious crest operators, that we can clearly see Tsimshian ceremonial art shifting from the horizontal or totemic axis to the vertical axis expressing rank. This is the subject of the following and final section of this chapter.

### Chiefly Symbols

There was another ceremonial costume worn by Tsimshian chiefs that has been widely interpreted as displaying crest iconography. This is the complex of frontlet headdress, Chilkat blanket, raven rattle, dancing apron, and leggings, often made of pieces of Chilkat blankets. Three Tsimshian chiefs wearing the complete costume are shown in Plates 81a,c and 82. This same costume was also worn by the Haida, southern Tlingit, and northern Kwakiutl, and elements of it were distributed even more widely.

According to the traditional histories of the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, the main items of the costume -- the frontlet headdress, raven rattle, and Chilkat blanket -- were originally made by the Tsimshian. While this cannot be proved or disproved on the basis of existing evidence, 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.

One line of evidence in support of this thesis are the Tsimshian names for the costume items. These are as follows:

Chilkat blanket: gwəshala'it or "dancing robe" (gwəʃs: robe, garment; hala'it: dance).

Frontlet headdress: amhala'it (am: good; hala'it: dance).

Dancing apron: ambəlan (am: good; bəlan: ?). The dance apron was also said by Barbeau (catalogue notes, NMC, VII-C-702) to be called nəpəlE'nəm hala'it (belt for the hala'it). ambəlan is the more common name.

Raven rattle: hasəm səmhala'it (hasəm from hasE.x: rattle; səm: real; hala'it: dance) (from Barbeau catalogue notes, NMC, VII-C-1394).

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

Associated with the costume was the large chief's chest in which it was stored:

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); chief's chests were also said by both Barbeau and H.I. Smith to be called xstiyap, but this seems to be the name for any box with a thick cover or lid, including the high narrow one, which was probably used by the chief's wife. Chief's chests were low and wide. There is one illustrated in Plate 84.

If we include both names given for the dancing apron, each of the above items has the word hala.'it in its name. The one exception, the leggings, were probably the least important part of the costume.

A second and more convincing line of evidence is 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. According to Boas, one of these is atypical, and the other one may be. Below are three conventional or "classic" Chilkat blankets, collected from the Tsimshian. The first two are of the type Boas called Type 2; the third is his Type 1 (1907: 355):



Plate 37. NMC. VII-C-483. Also catalogued as VII-A-324. Chilkat blanket collected from the Tsimshian by I.W. Powell, 1879.

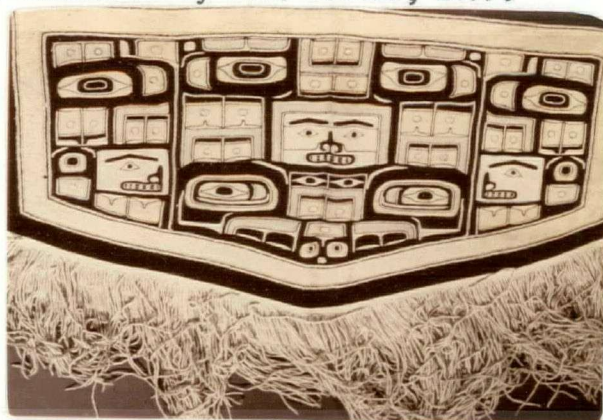


Plate 38. NMC. VII-C-259. Chilkat blanket collected at Lakalsap (Greenville) by W.A. Newcombe, 1905.



Plate 39. VII-C-1502. Also catalogued as VII-A-325. Chilkat blanket collected by H.C. Wrinch. Accessioned 1937. Skeena River.

The lack of agreement among people who attempted to "read" the crests represented by the motifs on blankets of these types is amusing. For example, of another Type 2 blanket (Boas 1907: 377, Fig. 567), Emmons reported that the design in the central panel represented a whale diving and the designs in the lateral fields represented ravens sitting. Of the same blanket, Swanton was told the design represented a wolf with young (loc. cit.). Referring to another blanket (ibid.: Fig. 561), which was interpreted according to Emmons as representing a female wolf, and according to Swanton as a raven, Boas said: "the figure ... lacks all the traits which would definitely symbolize any particular animal; and the uncertainty due to this fact is expressed by the statements made to Lieutenant Emmons that the lower portion of the animal represents a hawk" (ibid.: 389). Rather than concluding that the ambiguity of such "figures" ("designs" would be a more appropriate word) was deliberate and, indeed, functional, Boas and others continued to look for "crests". One suspects that obliging people continued to supply them.

The ambiguity of the designs in the "classic" Chilkat is highlighted when it is compared with the following specimen. This is the Chilkat included in the g'ispəwudwa'də crest lists as representing the Killerwhale and Grizzly crest, and there can be no question but that killerwhales and grizzly it is.





Plate 40. NMC. VII-C-132. Chilkat belonging to gEnik (IV), g'inax'an-g'i'k, g'ispawudwa'də. He adopted the grizzly, which he already had painted on the front of his house, in a yE'k ceremony as a headdress and pattern for a robe. He had for this purpose to give away 200 elk skins, 200 blankets, 70 guns, and 70 ha'ixən (leather bags?). After that ceremony he had the painting on the front of his house reproduced in a painting on leather, and had the best Tlingit woman weaver to weave it into a blanket. She took a year to weave it and was paid \$150. It was made about 1875. gEnik never actually used it. Collected from Mr. William Musgrave, who had inherited it, by C.M. Barbeau, 1915. (Barbeau's notes also include a detailed description of the parts of the design, e.g., the bear's ribs.)

A blanket and its pattern board almost identical to this one is illustrated in Boas (1907: 391, Fig. 584 a and b) and said to come from Klukwan (its present whereabouts not indicated). Of the Klukwan blanket, Boas most perceptively wrote: "all the elements of the old blanket design have disappeared, and we have simply a painting such as is found frequently on modern housefronts and planks. It is peculiar to note that even these blankets have their pattern boards, which shows that the designs as applied by the women are never more than an accurate copy of men's paintings" (ibid.: 394, emphasis added).

We know from the Barbeau documentation that the g'inax'ang'i.k blanket was indeed a copy of a housefront painting and that gEnik, who was of the councillor status level, had to make a large potlatch distribution in order to have the pattern copied on the blanket. Boas thought the Klukwan blanket was atypical because it was recent and represented a breakdown of the conventional blanket style. According to the Barbeau data, the blanket is atypical because it was made to order to represent a specific crest. The suggested conclusion is that these blankets are unlike other Chilkats because the design was imported and did not originate with a Chilkat artist. It is intriguing that the weaver made a second blanket in the same design. However, this does not necessarily invalidate the point being made, which is that the g'inax'ang'i.k blanket was a special purpose -- i.e., crest -- Chilkat blanket, while the conventionalized or "classic" Chilkat was a general purpose blanket made by the Chilkat for export.

Another Chilkat blanket selected by Boas as "also quite different in type from all others," was collected for him by Mrs. O. Morrison "among the Tsimshian Indians" (ibid.: 391). This is the blanket illustrated in Boas (ibid.: 388, Fig. 581a, FM, Cat. No. 19571) showing a school of ten realistic killerwhales in profile. Unlike the previous two blankets, Boas considered this one to be atypical because it represented an old style, perhaps one of the original "Tsimshian patterns, and that the development of the peculiar [i.e., conventional] Chilkat types took place after the introduction of the blanket industry among the Tlingit (loc. cit.). Perhaps. What I find to be of special interest

about this killerwhale blanket is that the only other Chilkat blanket mentioned in the Tsimshian crest lists was one named "Killerwhale dancing robe," claimed as a crest by two Coast Tsimshian g'ispɔwudwa'də chiefs (7,I; 3,I). While it could be only a coincidence that this blanket has a realistic killerwhale design, it was collected from the Coast Tsimshian and it might indeed be the one mentioned in the crest lists. <sup>10</sup>

I have, on the basis of admittedly slim evidence, concluded that the Tsimshian distinguished between conventional Chilkat blankets (Boas' Types 1 and 2) and representational Chilkat blankets, and that only the latter were crest robes. Interestingly, Emmons (1907: 348) said of the realistic Chilkats that "they are neither graceful nor artistic, and have never found much favor with the people."

A somewhat similar distinction can be made between frontlet headdresses (amhala.it's) representing conventionalized designs and those representing crest animals. In this case, the Tsimshian data are somewhat fuller, and there are indications as to the original meanings of the conventionalized representations.

amhala.it's were specified for over a dozen crests in the crest lists. The specified crests have an interesting distribution. They are listed below, divided into "monster and human" and "other" categories:

10. I did not come across any reference to this specimen at the Field Museum, nor was it mentioned in the Mrs. O. Morison collection notes I did see (FM, Accession 60, 1892). In these, regrettably, she did not name the people who owned the pieces she collected. It is customary for museums to accession Chilkat blankets as Tlingit, regardless of where they were collected, which may have happened in this case.



Monster and Human Crests

mɔdzəks

xske' msəm

Decayed Corpse

lax'əm (thunderbird)

g'i'.bəl̩k

Whole Being

One Person

Other Crests

Shower amhala'it

Black amhala'it

Grouse

Bear

Supernatural Robin

Fungus

Large la''o (template?) (said  
to look like human face)

Of the "other" crests listed above, it is likely that the Shower, Black, and Fungus crests, as well as the Large la''o, were represented as human faces, leaving only the animals Grouse, Bear, and Robin in the right-hand column. Thus, according to the crest lists, while primary and secondary crest animals could be represented on amhala'it's, a larger category of representations were of human faces and monsters. This is supported by the range of representations on museum specimens. While I have data on over fifty frontlets which were collected from the Tsimshian, only a few of these were reliably documented as to either their owners or the crests they represented. The most diagnostic of these, along with some similar undocumented pieces, are presented below. As with the masks and headdresses shown above, the types shown are not meant to be exhaustive but to be illustrative of a range of formal and iconographic characteristics.

A small group of frontlets represent crest mammals. The following one is an unfinished piece from Hazelton, said by its carver to represent the bear crest of his laxk'ibu' wife and sons.

Plate 41. NMC. VII-C-1467. A frontlet, unfinished, maple, meant to represent the bear (sma.x). Carved by Isaac Tens (tsigwi, g'isg.a'st), formerly of Kitsegukla, 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. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1929.



Powell collected the following frontlet of similar composition, presumably also representing a bear, from Fort Simpson in 1879.

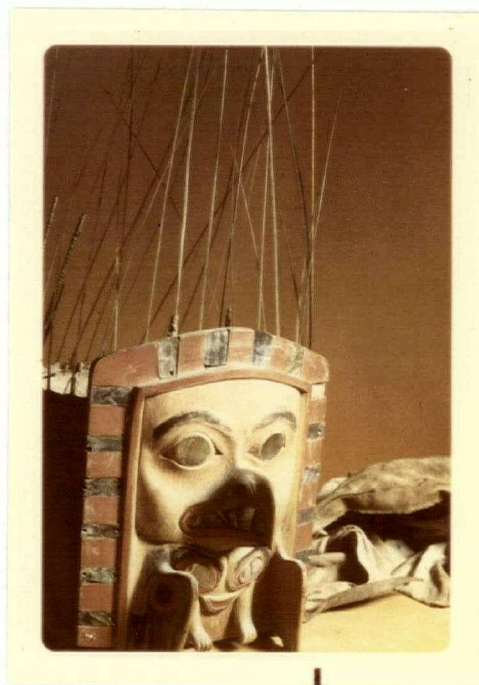
Plate 42. NMC. VII-C-96. Frontlet collected by I.W. Powell at Fort Simpson, 1879.



Another mammal realistically represented on Tsimshian frontlets is the beaver, shown in two specimens with its chewing sticks (NMC, VII-C-1247, Neg. No. J-18703-1; ROM, HN-649). I do not have adequate photographs of these specimens for inclusion here.

There is another group of frontlets in similar style to the above containing representations of birds, or beaked creatures, but catalogue data as to what particular crests these might be are usually absent or contradictory. One of them from the Nass River was said by Barbeau to be a Thunderbird holding a fish (ROM, HN-911). It is shown in Plate 74a. This piece has a row of smaller figures around three sides of the central figure, a common feature in Tsimshian frontlets. In this case, the smaller figures are also beaked creatures. A similar piece, also collected by Barbeau on the Nass at the same time, is shown below. It does not have the fish or the row of smaller figures, however, and its beak is curved down over a mouth. Another feature, which doesn't show in the photograph, is a representation of a whale's flukes inside the crown.

Plate 43. ROM, HN-913. Head-dress of "Qawq"; frontlet representing a bird. Collected on the Nass River by C.M. Barbeau, 1929.





"Qawq" might be the chief's name qɔ.q of the laxsk'i.k house of mənE'sk of g'itlaxda.mks on the Nass River. The combination of a whale's flukes and a bird with a recurved beak over a human-like mouth suggests to me that the creature being represented is one of the complex monster crests. Monster crests claimed by the house of mənE'sk include the g'i.bəlk, ge'məgən, hagwəl>x, səmg'i.k, and a Supernatural Whale (not the killerwhale). This frontlet could represent any or several of them.

The following specimen, collected at Aiyansh, combines both the central figure with the recurved beak and the surrounding row of smaller beaked figures of the two previous pieces. As is usual when collectors were attempting to guess at the iconography of the bird figures with recurved beaks, Newcombe's catalogue says that the central figure is a "hawk or owl."

Plate 44. PM. 10032.  
Amalite, carved and inlaid  
hawk or owl surrounded by  
11 small ones. Collected  
by C.F. Newcombe at  
Aiyansh, Nass River, 1913.



The previous figure is strongly suggestive of another common type of Tsimshian frontlet, such as the two specimens shown below. The fine molding of the face, especially around the eyes and cheeks, and the eyes, brows, and mouth are all quite similar. Notice, too, the "bird-like" designs on the bodies of all three pieces. The pose of the two "human" figures below -- bent arms with palms forward and elbows resting on knees -- is typical of this type as well as the two bear frontlets shown above.

Plate 45. NMC. VII-C-87.  
Frontlet collected by I.W.  
Powell at Metlakatla in 1879.



Plate 46. ROM, HN-902.  
Frontlet "Blinking." Col-  
lected by C.M. Barbeau,  
Nass River, 1929.



The name "Blinking" given by Barbeau could be a naxnɔ'x name; it does not appear in the crest lists.

Frontlets of this type sometimes also have the row of smaller figures surrounding the central one, as in the following case. This isn't a very securely documented piece, but is stylistically of the same type. Notice that although the central figure is "human," the smaller ones are still beaked, and the two full figures in the upper corners have wings.

Plate 47. NMC. VII-C-1811.  
Frontlet from the D.C. Scott  
collection, purchased 1953.  
"Probably Tsimshian."



The next type of frontlet, which seems to be especially common, represents the "human" face only, without the body of the preceding type. Most of these I examined also had the surrounding row of little heads or figures, although they are only sometimes beaked or bird-like. Three examples follow.



Plate 48. PM. 1529.  
Amahalite collected by  
C.F. Newcombe, Kitladamix,  
Nass River, 1913.



mənE'sk, head laxsk'i'k chief of g'itlaxda'mks, is shown wearing the above headdress, or one remarkably like it, in Plate 81c. With this specimen, we can see the features of the full headdress: the frontlet itself, surmounted by a crown of sea lion whiskers (within which eagle down is placed), with flicker feathers on either side, and a train of several rows of ermine skins. It is mounted on a cap of cedar bark matting.

Plate 49. UBC. A1734.  
Frontlet. Dr. Raley  
Collection. Aiyansh,  
Nass River.



Plate 50. NMC. VII-C-1169.  
Frontlet belonging to Sam Wiceks,  
g'ispawudwa'də, Gwinahə, Nass  
River. Purchased from Pat  
Phillipson, Curio Dealer, Prince  
Rupert, by C.M. Barbeau, 1924.



Fortunately, there are three of these bodiless face frontlets that were documented as to the crests they represented. Two of them represent natural phenomenon -- the Moon and Rainbow -- and the third the g'i'bəlk. The first two are somewhat atypical: one has a recurved beak, and neither of them has the surrounding row of small faces or figures. The Rainbow piece is shown first.

Plate 51. ROM. HN-914.  
Headdress of the Rainbow.  
Collected by C.M. Barbeau,  
Nass River, 1929.





ROM specimen HN-901, also collected by Barbeau in 1929 on the Nass, was said to represent "Rainbow" as well. I did not have an opportunity to examine it, but Barbeau's description that it showed a "carved figure with abalone shell eyes and teeth; bent arms resting on knees; square insets of abalone shell around sides" suggests a piece similar to the one shown in Plate 46 (ROM, HN-902).

Plate 52. NMC. VII-C-97. Front-  
let collected at Fort Simpson by  
I.W. Powell, 1879.



Written in pencil inside the above specimen are the words "The Moon" and "Leegaic." While legEx was a laxsk'i'k, and hence could not claim the Moon as a crest, houses of other clans, including the Niska laxsk'i'k, did claim it as a naxnɔ'x and hence he may have been privileged to wear it. What is especially important about this identification, assuming it to be valid, is that the face with the recurved beak does not represent the owl or hawk -- as previous analysts would have claimed -- but the Moon. It is instructive here to refer to Wilson Duff's (1970) discussion of the moon iconography of Chief Gold's gable ornament, written

partly in response to Wardwell's (1969) identification of its central "bird" figure as a hawk. One of Duff's conclusions is "that the Moon itself was conceived iconographically as a bird" by the Haida (1972: 249).

A final and magnificent example of amhala'it's of this general type is the best documented of all (this is the same specimen shown in Plate 70b).



Plate 53. ROM. HN-825. Crown of the g'i'bɔlk (amala'idɔm g'i'bɔlk). This is the first headdress of mɔnE'sk. 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 g'i'bɔlk 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 g'i'bɔlk has been handed down. "He must have ? 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 sɔmgEk (what kind of bird?). Weasel skins. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1927.

My interpretation of this specimen and its accompanying data is that these "human" face Tsimshian amhala'it's, especially those with the row of smaller faces or figures around them, had become a standardized representation of the same indeterminate or changeable bird-man-corpse-mosquito monsters described in the crest lists.



This can be tested to a certain extent by examining specimens of a second major type of frontlets collected from the Tsimshian. Whereas all of the previous frontlets were carved in a "sculptural" style very similar to that found on totem poles, the frontlets of this second type are more reminiscent of the "painting" style found on chief's chest and house fronts. Another prominent difference is that all of the examples I have seen in this second style depict a large central face with a long beak or "nose."

Plate 54. NMC. VII-x-1147. Frontlet headdress. Bossom collection; collected ca. 1900-1910 by G.T. Emmons? Two views are shown.

Notice the whale's flukes rising out of the inside of the crown.



Plate 55. MAI. 1/4297.  
Ceremonial "chiefs" head-  
dress. Niska. Kit-laugh-  
damoks. Collected by G.  
T. Emmons, ca. 1907.

Notice the whale's flukes rising  
out of the inside of the crown.



While the first specimen of this type shown above has no provenience given, its similarity to the second one, even to the whale's flukes, and the possibility that it was also collected about the same time by Emmons have persuaded me to include it here. Four other specimens of this type follow.

Plate 56. PM. 1528.  
Amalite collected by C.F.  
Newcombe, Aiyansh, Nass  
River, 1913.



Plate 57. PM. 1304.  
Frontlet collected by  
A. Green, Skeena River, 1900.



Plate 58. NMC. VII-C-177.  
Frontlet collected by I.W.  
Powell, 1879, Nass River.



Plate 59. PM. 1530.  
Amhalite collected by  
C.F. Newcombe at Met-  
lakatla, 1913.





Fortunately, Barbeau collected two frontlets in this style for which he also collected the name of the creature being represented. One is the g'i'bɔlk, the other the Decayed Corpse, both complex monster crests. The g'i'bɔlk is shown in Plate 70a (ROM, HN-900). It was collected by Barbeau in 1929 on the Nass, and said to represent a "giebɔlk, a monster of the sea." It is essentially the same as those shown in Plates 54 (NMC, VII-X-1147), 55 (MAI, 1/4297), and 56 (PM, 1528) above, two of which have whale's flukes, indicating that they are sea creatures, even though they also have long "beaks."

The Decayed Corpse is shown in Plate 76 and also below.



Plate 60. NMC. VII-C-1171. Headdress: 1ɔg.ɔmbalax: decayed corpse. Crest of the house of sg.ɔgɔmlaxE'(IV, g'isg.a'st), Gidzɔgukla. Nine generations ago. Made by a Tsimshian of Gitsalas named kulax'miluk. Used long ago for the last time, before last one was made, about thirty years ago. Collected from George Campbell, Gidzɔgukla, by C.M. Barbeau, 1924.

This concludes a presentation of Tsimshian frontlets and frontlet headdresses. It has been a selective and not an exhaustive catalogue of the types I encountered in museum collections. The general

point I sought to establish is similar to that made in reference to Chilkat blankets: 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'bəlk. 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'bəlk 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 two stylistically different types, which I called the sculptural style and the painting style, probably have no corresponding iconographic differences, since two fine examples of each, Plate 53 (ROM, HN-825) and Plate 70a (ROM, HN-900), were both said to represent the g'i'bəlk. As "human" as the face on HN-825 appears, it is iconographically a monster.

In Chapter Five I hypothesized that 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 lines as integrative sodalities. In these contexts, what was important was that he was Chief, not whether he was laxsk'i'k or laxk'ibu'.

The three other items in the chief's costume -- the raven rattle, apron, and leggings -- can be dealt with somewhat more briefly. Unlike Chilkat blankets and frontlet headdresses, all three have counterparts in the shaman's costume.

Several Niska people gave very specific information about the origin and meaning of the raven rattle. In 1927, Frank Bolton, txalaxE.tk, g'isg.a'st, g'it'iks, told an origin myth in connection with Barbeau's purchase of a raven rattle (NMC, VII-C-1394).<sup>11</sup> The myth tells of a lake containing a whirlpool which would draw men and canoes down. A hunter, who was careful to go out only when the water was quiet, one day saw a being resembling the rattle in form come out of the whirlpool:

While he was there one time, the little bird -- now represented on the rattle -- came out of the waters, from the Whirlpool. His name was ale.o, a naxn'x. It looked exactly as

11. Bolton said this particular rattle was said to have been brought from Bella Bella, adding, "But it may have been carved by a Nisgka, as these usually were, and then traded off to a Bella Bella."



the rattles look now: a man on the back of a bird, a frog on the tail of the bird, biting the tongue of the man. All at once the little bird stood out of the water and shook himself and when he shook himself it made the noise of a rattle in movement. When the man went away he began to carve what he had seen into a rattle. This is how these rattles began. The head of the Raven is also included on the rattle.<sup>12</sup>

Bolton also said specifically that "the figures carved on the rattle were not the crest of any clan," but that the raven head ("like a mask") could be changed to an eagle (for the laxsk'i'k), a grouse (for the g'ispawudwa'də), or a crane (for the laxk'ibu') if so desired and ordered from the carver. Probably of even more significance, he said<sup>13</sup> "the bird of the rattle is not really a bird, but a monster of under the water, able to swallow a canoe with the people aboard. The lilobeks or whirlpool is this monster's own power" (ibid.).

I interpret the above to mean that the raven part of the raven rattle, i.e., the head, is regarded as contingent and changeable ("like a mask"), and that the really significant icon is the "monster" face with the recurved beak on what we would regard as its stomach. We have already seen that the recurved beak is a monster attribute, and that a bird can be a sea monster. Also, the two chiefs shown holding raven rattles in Plates 81a and 81c are holding them in a way we would consider upsidedown -- i.e., with the face on the "stomach" turned up.

In the following series of photographs of raven rattles collected from the Tsimshian, the only constant feature is this monster face on the "stomach."

12. This is quoted from Barbeau's catalogue notes for NMC, VII-C-1394. A slightly different version is included in Barbeau's (n.d.) unpublished manuscript, "Emblems of Nobility."
13. In the manuscript referred to above, Barbeau reported him to have said, "the body of the rattle is not really a bird's body. It is meant for the monster of the sea, the hagwəlx."

Plate 61. NMC. VII-C-14. Rattle collected from the Tsimshian by I.W. Powell, 1879.



The above is the classic raven rattle, with a second bird formed of the raven's tail, the tableau of man and frog with joined tongues on its back, and a face with a recurved beak on its stomach.



Plate 62. NMC. VII-C-12. Rattle collected from the Tsimshian, I.W. Powell, 1879.

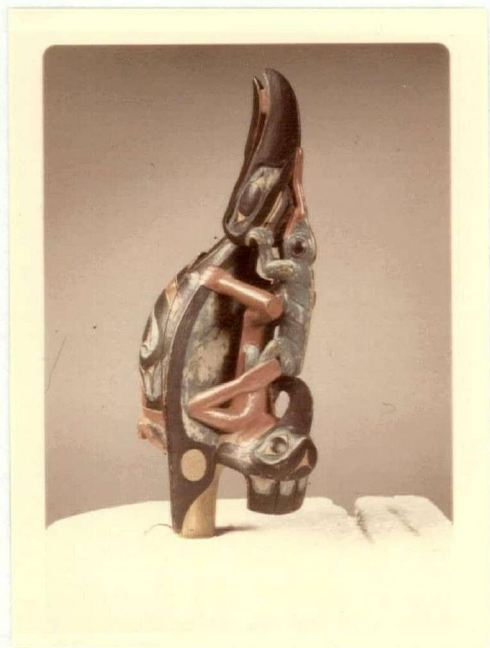
In the rattle above, the frog has disappeared and the head of the bird on the tail has been turned around so that it can join tongues with the man.

Plate 63. NMC. VII-C-18.  
Rattle collected from the  
Tsimshian by I.W. Powell, 1879.



In the rattle above, the bird on the tail as well as the frog has disappeared.

a



b



Plate 64. NMC. VII-C-11. Rattle collected from the Tsimshian by I.W. Powell, 1879.

In the above unusual piece, the man and the bird on the tail have become the same figure, which is facing toward's the raven's head, as is the frog.



Plate 65. NMC. VII-C-1577. Rattle from the H.C. Wrinch collection. Skeena River.

The bird in the final specimen doesn't resemble a raven at all, but the man on its back and the face on its stomach confirm that it is in the same tradition. The bird was not identified, but perhaps represents a crest bird, which Bolton said was sometimes ordered to replace the raven.

Whatever its precise iconography or essential features, the raven rattle was clearly not considered a crest object, although it could, like the amhala'it and the Chilkat, be ordered with a crest representation on it. According to the myth, it was a spirit or power image. It seems likely that power was considered represented by the face on the bird's stomach, which is once again a face with a recurved beak said to be a monster.



Several people specified that raven rattles were a speciality of the Niska. Charles Barton (laxk'ibu') of Kincolith said as follows:

The bird rattles were used mostly by the Nass people. The Tlingit and Haida did not use them in the old days. They had a different kind of dancing, a different style. They did not know how to use these rattles at first. They don't even get right into it now. I have seen them try, but they don't do very well. The [Coast] Tsimshyan style of dancing is not exactly like that of the Nass either. But they use the rattles now. I don't think they had them in the old days. They may. It is before my time that they began to dance with the rattles. The Skeena River people [Gitksan] now possess them. But not formerly. (Barbeau, n.d., n.p.).

Bolton also gave a list of over two dozen Nass River carvers remembered as having made raven rattles. He said that the price of one in the old days was 10 Hudson's Bay blankets (2 1/2 point).

While apron and leggings were worn to complete the chief's dancing costume, they were also worn as separate costumes, both by chiefs and shamans. They were sometimes woven in the Chilkat weave and pattern, as the apron shown below, or the leggings were made from torn pieces of a Chilkat blanket which had been distributed at a potlatch; they were also made of trade cloth and painted skin.



Plate 66. MAI. 1/4281. Shaman's waist robe of Chilkat blanket work. Niska. Gitiks, Nass River. Collected by G.T. Emmons, ca. 1907.

Emmons' identification of the Chilkat apron illustrated above as a shaman's apron is questionable, as are his identifications of Tsimshian masks as shaman's masks. Conceptually, the designs on the chief's apron and the shaman's apron were distinct: those on the former representing crests, those on the latter representing spirits encountered in dreams. Compare, for example, the documentation Barbeau secured for two specimens at the ROM. Regrettably, I was unable to see or to photograph them.

ROM. HM-823. Dance apron (ambɔlan) termed ambɔlanɔmɔqs: apron of the sun. Used by yan, a medicine man of the house of wosɔmlaxE' (g'isg.a'st, Kispiox). The figures on the ambɔlan represent his dream as a medicine man; in the center, gipɔqs: sun dogs. It is also a crest of his household. The birds are qa.q: raven. These are not in the crest but only in the dream (xsunɔq). Decorated with hoofs of wudzix: caribou. This apron was made of the first trade blanket seen by the upper Gitksan tribes, according to the owners contention. Collected from Andrew Crosby, Kispayaks, by C.M. Barbeau, 1927.

ROM. HN-773. Dance apron: ambɔlanɔm g.asg.ɔs: apron of crane, for the hala'it (chief) dance of sqat'i'n. The crane was one of his crests. The red cloth on the blue background is cut in conventional style to represent the crane .... It was used by sqat'i'n in his chief's dance at the feasts .... Decorated with hoofs of mountain goat. Trimming of porcupine quills. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from Alfred sqat'i'n, g'itlaxda'mks, in 1927.

There are also a number of both skin and cloth aprons in museum collections decorated with carved charms (as in Plate 70c), but no documentation as to their meaning. It seems likely that the charms represented the spirit helpers of the medicine man, rather than a chief's crest. Still other aprons were decorated with the long fringe and "tinklers" (of puffin beaks, mountain goat, deer, or caribou hoofs) only.

What is most significant about the documentation for sqat'i.n's crane apron (above, ROM, HN-773) is that it was also used by him "when there was trouble in the village. He called the people together, donned it with other paraphernalia, and restored peace. The ambalan was sometimes used with the gwashala'it (Chilkat) or alone. The headdress which he uses with the ambalan is a g.abus,<sup>14</sup> a cap made of white hair. which is occasionally substituted for the amhala'it headdress" (Barbeau catalogue notes, ROM, HN-773; emphasis added). Just as the shaman's apron "carries great healing power" (people of Kitwancool, in Duff, 1959: 38) over illness, so it seems that the chief's apron had power to heal rifts or "illness" in his tribe or village. The amhala'it, too, was a symbol of peace, but there is no indication that the power to promote peace was in any way inherent in the object. It was filled with white eagle down, which scattered out over the audience in a white cloud as the chief danced and bobbed his head.

No discussion of the meaning or function of leggings was encountered in either the Barbeau/Beynon notes or museum catalogues. Those specimens seen were made of Chilkat pieces, leather, and trade cloth. The two latter types were uniformly decorated with painted or appliqued designs, although the sample was too small to know if this is a widespread feature. They also usually had "tinklers" of some kind. The designs were all representational and seemed to be crest designs, which was confirmed by the catalogue entry for ROM, HN-807, sqat'i.n's leggings, which were in cloth with an appliqued design of his grizzly crest and

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14. The cap made of ermine skin shown in Plate 36 is perhaps a g.abus.

decorated also with pieces of abalone, said to represent txabɔla.t: all pearl, another crest (see Plate 85). Below are two handsome leggings collected by G.T. Emmons:

Plate 67. MAI. 4/523. Pair painted leggings. One painted to represent a bear and the other a wolf. Kitlaxdamiks. Collected by G.T. Emmons, ca. 1915.



Plate 68. MAI. 1/4179. Pair dance leggings representing halibut. Niska. Kit-lagh-damoks. Collected by G.T. Emmons, ca. 1907.



It should not be forgotten that the ensemble just described was a dance costume, and wonderfully effective in motion, regardless of its iconography or symbolism. Each part had a special audio or vis-



ual effect which enhanced the movement of the dance. The amhala'it with abalone glittering in the firelight, the movement of its long ermine trail emphasizing the dancer's motions, the soft white cloud of bird down drifting out of the high crown of sea lion whiskers; the Chilkat blanket with its graceful fringe swaying with the movements of the dance, its full design visible from the back as the dancer held out his arms; the rattle and "tinklers" on the apron and leggings adding their percussive sounds in the rhythm of the dance. It was truly a costume for a chief.

\* \* \* \*

There is one final and magnificent museum piece that ties the threads of my argument together. It is the Dragonfly screen of wudaxayE'ts, III, laxse'l, Kitwancool, collected by Barbeau in 1924 and said by informants to date from ca. 1850. It is shown in Plate 69 on the following page; Barbeau's documentation is given below:

NMC. VII-C-1130. Partition of Dragon Fly: pt:təmwil'E.q, from the house of wudaxayE'ts, laxse'l, Kitwancool. Was used by the g.aluim hala'it for two occasions: the g.aluim and the ulala. 'axtsipx, g'isg.a'st of g'itwinsiik, and kwungə, laxk'ibu' of g'itlaxda'mks, painted the partition about 70 years ago. The beak was added to it the last time it was used, about 30 years ago.<sup>15</sup> When it was first used the owner had not adopted it as a crest, but as a decoration. He killed many dogs and taking the carcass of one he went out in front of the hala'it and threw it down, and they grasped it and ate it, and when the flesh of the dog was distributed, it was thrown at the hala'it performers. This had to be caught and the performer who missed it had to pay a penalty. This is the luim ceremony. The figures, g.amksə-dəphE.t<sup>u</sup>: half exposed person, are the crests of wudaxayE'ts.

15. The beak referred to is shown attached to the screen in Plate 42 of Société des Amis du Musée de l'Homme (1969).

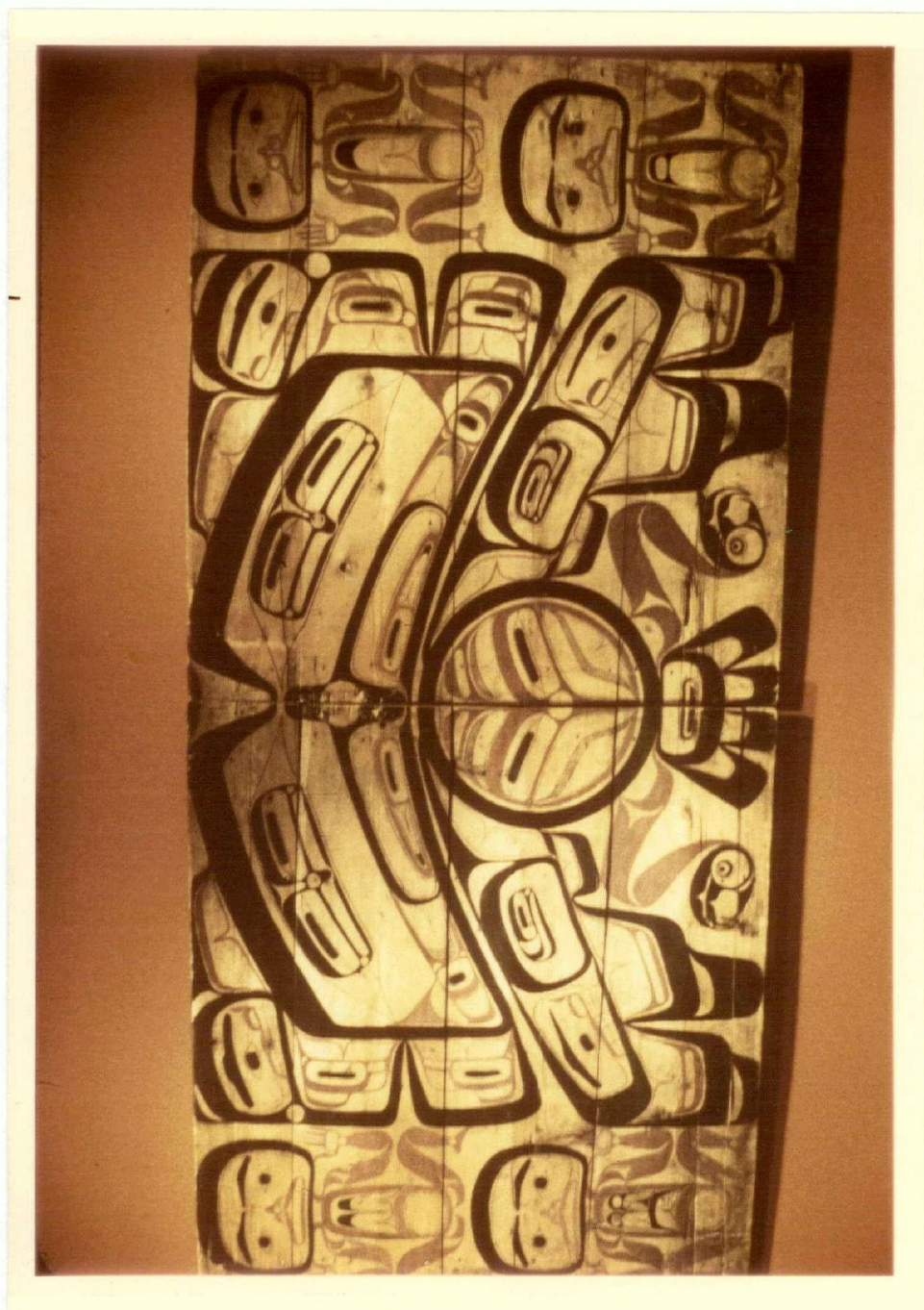


Plate 69. NMC. VII-C-1130. The Dragonfly screen of wudaxayE'ts. Photograph courtesy of Wilson Duff. See documentation on page 244.

The dragonfly is not a crest, but is used on such boards. It was not the səmg'i:k nor a laxkibu' crest.<sup>16</sup> Under the beak was suspended swansdown with red cedar bark. This board was the only one of its kind used here. Collected from Johnny lagaxnitz of kispayaks originally, but now living at kitwəng.E', by C.M. Barbeau, 1924.

The figure of the Dragonfly closely resembles the representations of the g'i.bəlk on mənE'sk and sgagwe't's house fronts (Plate 78). We can take this as evidence that it is another manifestation of the complex monsters described in the crest lists. Significantly, however, here it is explicitly said not to be the səmg'i:k or any other crest, but a "decoration" with red cedar bark, used in the Cannibal and Dog Eater society initiations. This links it quite firmly with the Cannibal theme previously explored, and also suggests that it is the kind of "multivocal" symbol defined by Turner (1969: 52):

Such symbols ... unite the organic with the sociomoral order, proclaiming their ultimate religious unity, over and above conflicts between and within these orders. Powerful drives and emotions associated with human physiology, especially with the physiology of reproduction, are divested in the ritual process of their antisocial quality and attached to components of the normative order, energizing the latter with a borrowed vitality, and thus making the Durkheimian "obligatory" desirable. Symbols are both the resultants and instigators of this process, and encapsulate its properties (Turner, 1969: 52-53).

Turner's description of multivocal symbols could not be more appropriate or insightful in this instance. It provides an explanation of the link between the awesome power of ritual cannibalism, an exclusively chiefly

16. The wəl'Eqx was claimed as a crest and a naxnɔ'x by two Kispiox laxk'ibu' houses. In the crest lists it was translated as "horse-fly." It was said to have a long, beaklike nose. The səmg'i:k was a crest of wudaxayE'ts. His house is not listed as claiming the Half-Exposed Person crest, but other Gitksan laxse.1 houses were.

prerogative among the Tsimshian, and the symbols on the chief's formal ceremonial costume. It suggests that the power of the Cannibal was incorporated by the chief in his sociopolitical role, "energizing the latter with a borrowed vitality" taken from his wihala'it role.

Turner's focus on human physiology as the ultimate source of the emotional power of multivocal symbols may help to explain the widespread occurrence of the Cannibal theme on the Northwest Coast, although it is difficult for me to see how it relates to human reproduction, unless a rather obvious connection between the ubiquitous and aggressive beaks and noses in Tsimshian iconography and male sexuality is invoked. The sexual symbolism may be there, but the Cannibal is also an especially appropriate metaphor for the chief in a redistributive society. In the cannibal's song recorded by Boas (page 186 above), the cannibal was said to be devouring food, men, and wealth, most specifically, the "wealth my father is giving away." Transforming father into uncle for the matrilineal Tsimshian, we have the cannibal chief voracious for his own (his uncle's) wealth, which comes to him as redistributor from his clansmen or tribesmen. He thus devours his people by devouring their food and wealth in order to give a potlatch from which both he and his tribe will benefit in terms of increased prestige. Hence, it is a privilege to be devoured, to contribute to the potlatch of a chief. In the Cannibal ritual of the Tsimshian, it was also a privilege to have the right to be bitten on the arms by an initiate possessed by the Cannibal spirit. The people of the tribe bore both their post-potlatch poverty and their scars with the pride of new and greater prestige. The obligatory was desirable.

This chapter was based on the rules of use in the Tsimshian crest lists. These were applied to well-documented museum specimens in order to develop distinctions between crest and non-crest iconographic representations. Crest art was found to be a limited category of ceremonial art, not isomorphic with animal representations as previously assumed. One of the major distinctions developed in the chapter was summarized in the formulation: crest : headdress : : naxnɔ'x : mask. Another was to separate crest iconography from conventionalized "prestige motifs" in the items of the chief's hala.it costume. Ambiguous faces were found in both amhala.it's and raven rattles which were shown to be representations of the complex monsters previously discovered in the crest lists. It was hypothesized that these were crests of integration functionally related to the developing role of the chief. Another aspect of the complex monster crests was also explored: their relationship to a Cannibal metaphor, which was seen as an especially appropriate one for a chief in a redistributive society.

## Epilogue

I began this study by investigating Tsimshian crests as a totemic system, such as defined by Lévi-Strauss (1966). It soon became evident that the model did not prove adequate to the Tsimshian case. The ethnographic facts I was attempting to explain did not all fit.

For totemism itself had become an inadequate classification scheme for the Tsimshian. Totemism is a statement of the "human order as a fixed projection of the natural order by which it is engendered"; it is a "static model of a likewise static diversity between human groups" (Lévi-Strauss, 1966: 233).

Tsimshian society has not been in a static condition since European contact, and probably had not been so for long before then, as attested to by their traditional histories. These tell of a great many local groups, who began wandering in search of new lands and who eventually settled in their historic territories, where they found other people with whom they amalgamated as clan kinsmen or with whom they formed enduring affinal relationships. We do not know when the Tsimshian began to organize themselves into matrilineal descent groups, but their own histories begin with clans already in existence. If, for the Tsimshian, the clans existed from the beginning, so did totemism. The histories tell of adventuresome ancestors whose exploits kept adding more and more crests to the glory of their houses.

At some point, the "static model" of nature was no longer adequate, and the ancestors began changing the animals they borrowed from

it to be crests of their houses. Surely, it was intentional when they changed the Frog into a Copper Frog and then into a Flying Frog. Indeed, it may have been an artist who first suggested that the old forms were tired and inadequate.

That the images of nature were inadequate is clear -- for the Tsimshian were changing them. The argument of this study has been that they were inadequate because Tsimshian social organization was outgrowing them. As clanship became criss-crossed and overlaid by non-kin forms of associations and sodalities, as rank distinctions between people grew and solidified into status levels, and as chiefly power grew, the Tsimshian needed new metaphors for the shape of human society. They worked on the ready-made categories of nature, abstracting and recombining them, and created new images to suit their new needs. The most powerful images they created -- the monsters -- expressed new unities that were forming among them, perhaps as a reaction to the economically stimulating but profoundly disturbing presence of the white man.

Eventually, there were many hundreds of images -- old and new -- in the inheritance of the Tsimshian houses. Yet there were only two basic rules by which they had been created. Before discussing these rules, it will be useful to recapitulate the argument of the preceding chapters in terms of the following diagram.

Complex monster crests	abcd				Crests
<hr/>					of
Simple monster crests	ab	bc	cd		Integration
<hr/>					
Particularized crests	a <sup>2</sup> a <sup>1</sup>	b <sup>2</sup> b <sup>1</sup>	c <sup>2</sup> c <sup>1</sup>	d <sup>2</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	Crests of
<hr/>					
Crest Animals	A	B	C	D	Differentiation
<hr/>					

Table III. Schematic Representation of the Tsimshian Crest System

In this diagram, the capital letters A B C D represent the primary and secondary crest animals, while the lower case letters a<sup>1,2</sup> b<sup>1,2</sup> c<sup>1,2</sup> d<sup>1,2</sup> represent the particularized crests formed by the addition of operators to the crest animals. Both general and particularized crests are crests of differentiation: the particularized crests being extensions of the basic totemic system. The groupings of letters ab bc cd represent the simple monster crests which were formed by adding an attribute of one animal to another, e.g., a fin to a mountain goat or wings to a frog. The basic animal in this case is one of the crest animals and is clearly recognizable. These were interpreted as crests of integration in that they symbolized the amalgamation of descent groups from different environmental areas. The cluster of letters abcd represents the complex monster crests, which were interpreted as crests of integration at the tribal level. These are creatures which combined attributes of various animals, but were not found in stable forms or to correspond to natural prototypes.



The first principle of elaboration in this system is that differentiation in the basic totemic axis is increased by the action of operators upon the crest animals. A number of these actions or operations, although not all of them, can be subsumed under the general process Lévi-Strauss calls "detotalization," or the decomposing of the animal into parts (1966: 146-149).

The converse process, that of "retotalization" (loc. cit.), is a second structural principle accounting for the creation of monster crests. This is the process by which detotalized or dissociated parts are recombined -- retotaled -- into a new kind of animal, a monster. I have argued that this was an integrative process, one in opposition to the basic totemic function of differentiation.

In the end, however, the monsters were still too constraining as images. Nature can only be manipulated so far before she gives way altogether. An art of ecology, which is one way of conceptualizing totemic art, has its limits. The Tsimshian artist reached these limits most clearly in the amhala'it. Beaks and wings and flukes finally fell away and a more appropriate image -- the human face -- became the dominant Tsimshian image.

This had been happening in Tsimshian art since at least early contact times. In masks and in totem poles, a major distinguishing feature of Tsimshian aesthetic expression is the human face. I am suggesting that one reason there are more human motifs in Tsimshian art is that they, more than other people on the Northwest Coast, had taken totemism as far as it would go.

PLATES 70 TO 85

Notes to Plate 70

- A. ROM. HN-900. Frontlet representing the g'i'bɔlk, a monster of the sea. Collected by C.M. Barbeau, Nass River, 1929. ROM photograph (neg. No. 61 AA 857).
- B. ROM. HN-825. Frontlet headdress (amhala'it) representing the g'i'bɔlk. Collected by C.M. Barbeau from mənE'sk, laxsk'i'k head chief of g'itlaxda'mks.
- C. Peter ni.syoqɬ, laxk'i'k, g'itlaxda'mks, wearing frontlet headdress (amhala'it) and dance apron (ambɔlan). It is likely that the figure on the frontlet is the g'i'bɔlk, which was claimed as a crest by the house of ni.wyoqɬ, and said by Barbeau (1950: 442) to be represented on an amhala'it. Photograph by C.M. Barbeau, 1927 (NMC Neg. No. 69682).

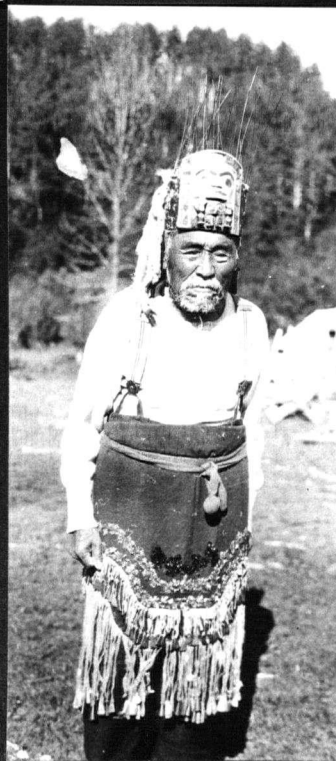


PLATE 70

A

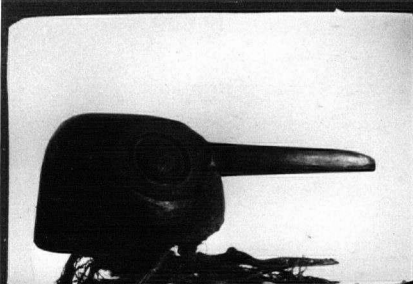
C

B



Notes to Plate 71

- A. NMC. VII-C-1586. Headdress-mask from the H.C. Wrinch collection, purchased 1937. Fringe of red cedar bark covered wearer's face. Probably Gitksan. Tentatively identified as representing the mosquito.
- B. NMC. VII-C-1188. Mask of the səmg'i'k. From the C.V. Smith collection, purchased 1925. Documented in the field by C.M. Barbeau as representing the səmg'i'k and belonging to Charlie Williams (ni.sg.amxkan), laxse'l, Kitwanga. This mask was used in the film "The Loon's Necklace" to represent a mosquito. NMC photograph (Neg. No. J-19264-9).
- C. Detail from the totem pole of luxɔ'n, laxse'l, Kitwancool (Barbeau, 1929: x: 4). The bottom figure was said to be a representation of the səmg'i'k (ibid.:61). Photograph by Wilson Duff, 1952, provided courtesy the PM.



A



B

C

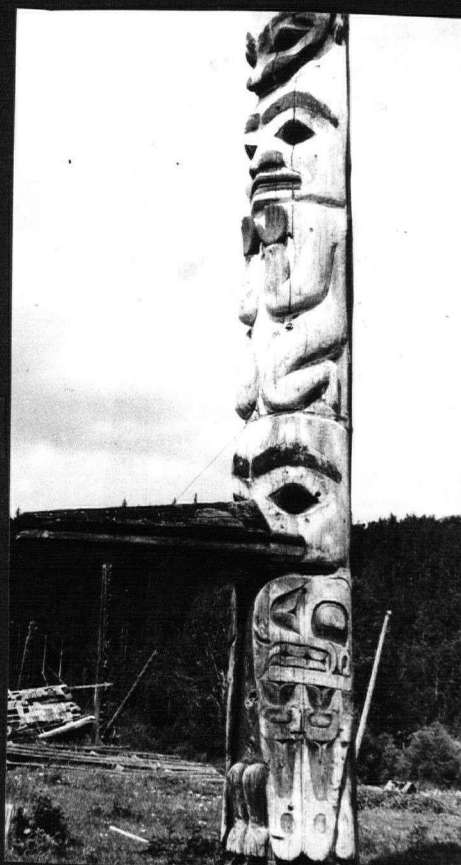
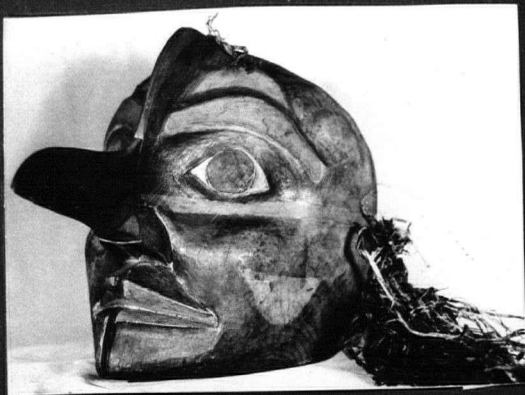


PLATE 71

Notes to Plate 72

- A. PM. 1505. Mask collected by C.F. Newcombe in Kincolith, Nass River, 1912. Said by Newcombe to be a mountain eagle, the mask has the word "SKIAMSM" (xske'msəm) written inside in pencil. It is decorated with red cedar bark.
  
- B. NMC. VII-C-1364. Barbeau purchased this mask from Pat Phillipson, Prince Rupert dealer, but documented it in the field. It was said to be the xske'msəm, translated as "thunderbird," and to have belonged to Alexander Smith (wixE'), laxk'ibu' head chief of Kitwancool. Purchased 1927.
  
- C. Detail of the totem pole of wixE', laxk'ibu' head chief of Kitwancool (Barbeau, 1929: XXV: 1), said to be the xske'msəm (ibid.: 117). Photograph by Wilson Duff, 1952, provided courtesy the PM.

## PLATE 72



A



B



C



Notes to Plate 73

- A. Detail of the totem pole of wɔg.alɔ, laxse'1, Kitsegukla (Barbeau, 1929: XI: 6). The bottom figure was said to be the mɔdzɔks (ibid.: 68, 70). Photograph by Wilson Duff, 1952, provided courtesy the PM.
  
- B. lElt, laxse'1, Kitwanga, wearing frontlet head-dress (amhala'it). The house of lElt was said to own an amhala'it with a representation of the mɔdzɔks; this is possibly the same one.

## PLATE 73



A



B

Notes to Plate 74

- A. ROM. HN-911. Frontlet headdress (amhala'it) collected by C.M. Barbeau, Nass River, 1929. Said to be named "headdress of thunder," and to represent a thunderbird holding a fish. ROM photograph (Neg. No. 68 Eth 126).
  
- B. MAI. 1/8949. One of nine "Tsimshian" carvings "from dance dress" collected by Thomas Crosby, accessioned ca. 1908. Said to be a thunderbird representation. It is not known whether this identification was made by Crosby or by the museum.



A



B

PLATE 74

Notes to Plate 75

Detail from the totem pole of wixE', laxk'ibu'  
head chief of Kitwancool (Barbeau, 1929: XXIV: 3).  
The bottom figure was said to be a representation  
of Large-nosed-person or Hooked Nose (ibid.: 118-  
119). Photograph by Wilson Duff, 1952, provided  
courtesy the PM.



PLATE 75

Notes to Plate 76

- A. NMC. VII-C-1171. Frontlet named Decayed Corpse collected from George Campbell, Kitsegukla, by C.M. Barbeau, 1924. The frontlet was said to represent the crest of xsg.ʔg.ʔmlaxE', g'isg.a'st, Kitsegukla.
- B. Detail from the totem pole of xsg.ʔg.ʔmlaxE', g'isg.a'st, Kitsegukla (Barbeau, 1929: XVII: 4). The flexed human figure was said to be a representation of the Decayed Corpse (ibid.: 92). Photograph by Wilson Duff, 1952, provided courtesy the PM.
- C. Detail of the totem pole of haxpəgwə'tu, g'isg.a'st, Kitsegukla (Barbeau, 1929: XVIII: 4). The face at the bottom is that of Decayed Corpse; the projecting nose or beak has fallen off. The smaller faces above it are also corpses (ibid.: 95). Photograph by Wilson Duff, 1952, provided courtesy the PM.



A



B



C

PLATE 76



To face page 261

Notes to Plate 77

Detail of the totem pole of xsg.ᵛg.ᵛmlaxE', g'isg.a.'st, Kitsegukla (Barbeau, 1929: XVII: 4). The figure was said to be the hagwᵛlᵛx (ibid.: 92). Photograph by Wilson Duff, 1952, provided courtesy the PM.



PLATE 77

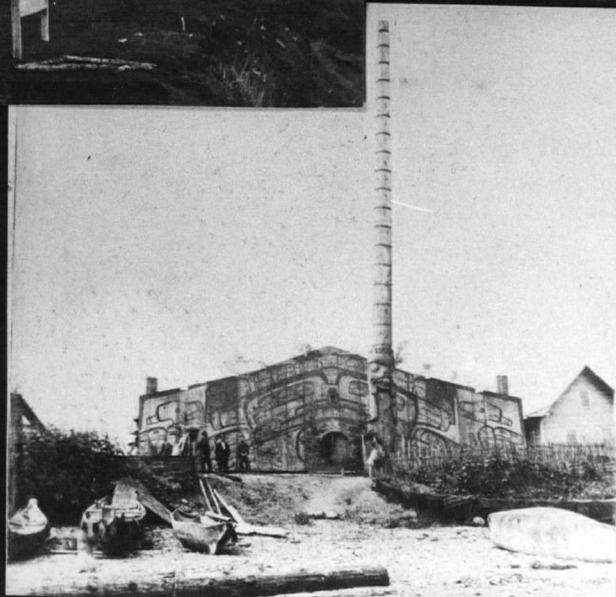
Notes to Plate 78

- A. House of mənE'sk, laxsk'i'k head chief, at g'itlaxda'mks (center right). C.F. Newcombe photograph dated 1901. PM photograph (Neg. No. PN 123, Newcombe number E347).
  
- B. House of sgagwe't, laxsk'i'k chief of g'it'and', at Fort Simpson. Photograph taken by O.C. Hastings on his trip with I.W. Powell in 1879. PM photograph (Neg. No. PN 41, Newcombe number E798; this photograph is also in the collections of the NMC, Neg. No. 68806, and the American Museum of Natural History, Neg. No. 24419).

PLATE 78



A



B

To face page 263

Notes to Plate 79

National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. Catalogue No. not known. House front collected by J.G. Swan, 1875. Presumably from Fort Simpson. Smithsonian photograph (Neg. No. MNH-2241).

PLATE 79



Notes to Plate 80

Four views of sɔm,di'k, laxsk'i'k chief, Kitwanga,  
taken in the field by C.M. Barbeau, 1923.

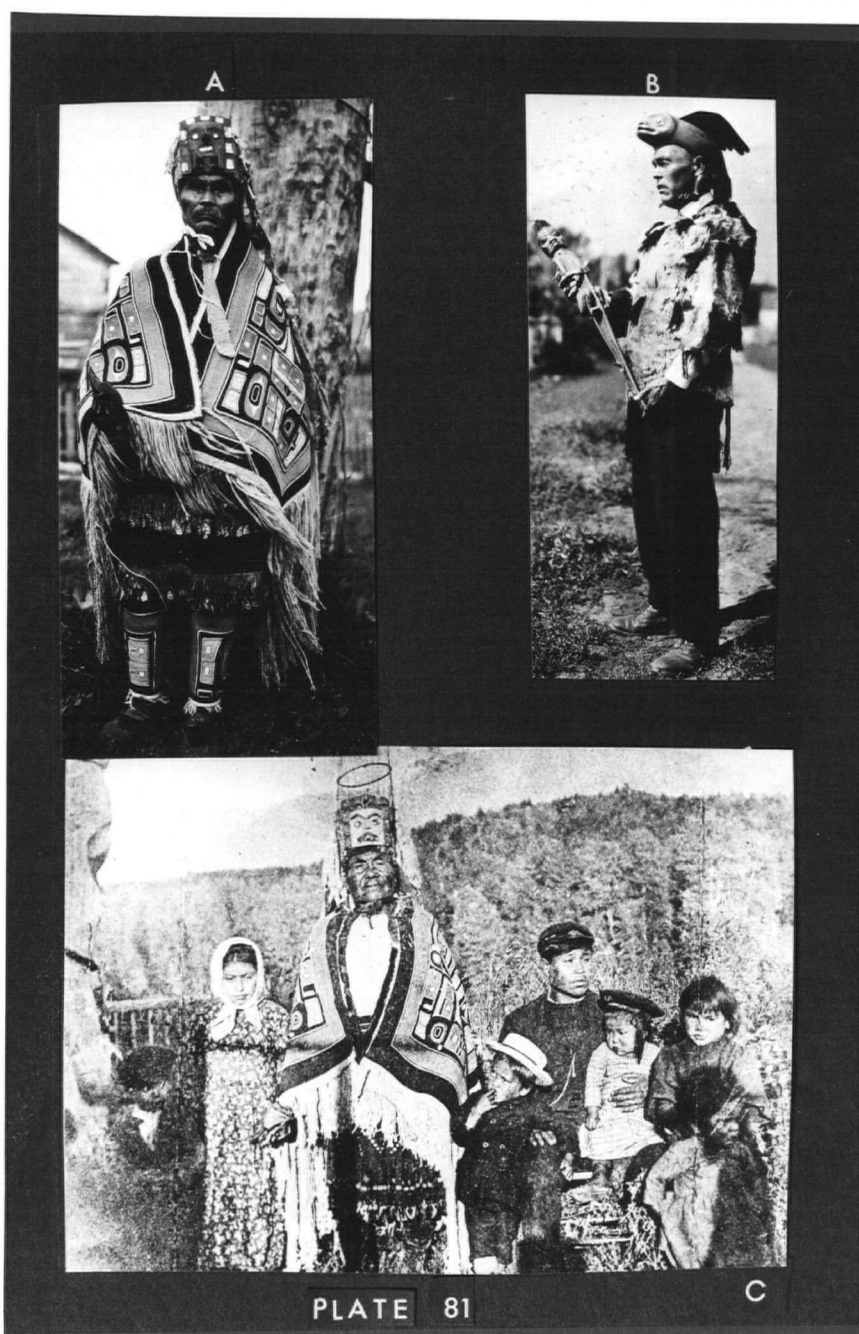
- A. Wearing eagle headdress-mask (NMC. VII-C-1349)  
and Chilkat. NMC photograph (Neg. No. 59730).
- B. Wearing eagle headdress, Chilkat, and dance apron.  
NMC photograph (Neg. No. 59746).
- C. Wearing hat and painted robe showing Den of Bear  
crest. NMC photograph (Neg. No. 59727).
- D. Rear view of above; painted robe showing Split  
Person crest. NMC photograph (Neg. No. 59728).





Notes to Plate 81

- A. Chief Lagaxnits (~~le~~.ngwax), laxse'1, Kitwanga, in frontlet headdress (amhala'it), Chilkat, dance apron (ambalan), leggings, and holding raven rattle. C.M. Barbeau photograph, 1923. NMC photograph (Neg. No. 59718).
- B. Albert Williams, Kitwanga, wearing Flying Frog headdress and holding staff. Photograph by C.M. Barbeau, 1923. NMC photograph (Neg. No. 59718).
- C. sqat'i'n, laxk'ibu' head chief at g'itlaxda'mks, wearing frontlet headdress (amhala'it) (PM. 1529?), Chilkat, dance apron (ambalan), and holding raven rattle. Photographer unknown. PM Photograph (No. 4193).



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Notes to Plate 82

Unknown Kitwanga chief wearing frontlet headdress (amhala'it), Chilkat, dance apron (ambølan), leggings, and holding raven rattle. Photograph from the Rev. Price collection, PM (No. PN 1181, E862).



PLATE 82

To face page 267

Notes to Plate 83

- A. ROM. HN-769. Coat of Shell belonging to mənE'sk, laxsk'i'k head chief of g'itlaxda'mks, collected by C.M. Barbeau, 1927. Front view showing Split Eagle crest. ROM photograph (Neg. No. ROMA 1657).
  
- B. ROM. HN-769. Rear view of the above showing Person of Glacier crest. ROM photograph (Neg. No. ROMA 1658).



PLATE 83

To face page 268

Notes to Plate 84

ROM. HN-613. Chief's chest. Purchased from Pat Phillipson, Prince Rupert dealer, by C.M. Barbeau, 1924. Said to have been collected from Henry Hardzek, Gwinahaw, Nass River, and to have been made at Tongass. A Tongass chief was said to have presented it to his father. ROM photograph (Neg. No. ROMA 940).

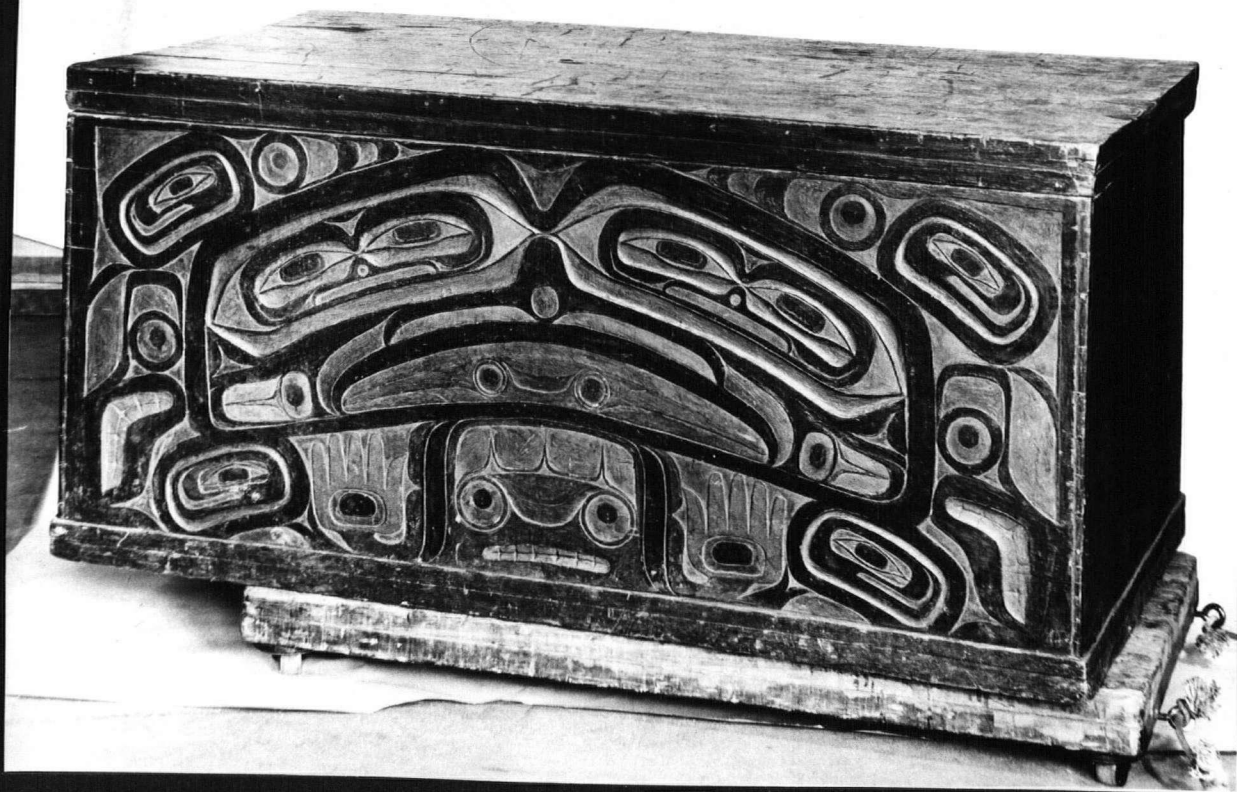


PLATE 84



To face page 269

Notes to Plate 85

ROM. HN-807. Legging of sqat'i'n, laxk'ibu'  
head chief of g'itlaxda'mks. The appliqued figure  
represents his Grizzly crest; the abalone decoration  
represents another crest named All Pearl. Collected  
by C.M. Barbeau, 1927. ROM photograph (Neg. No.  
ROMA 822).

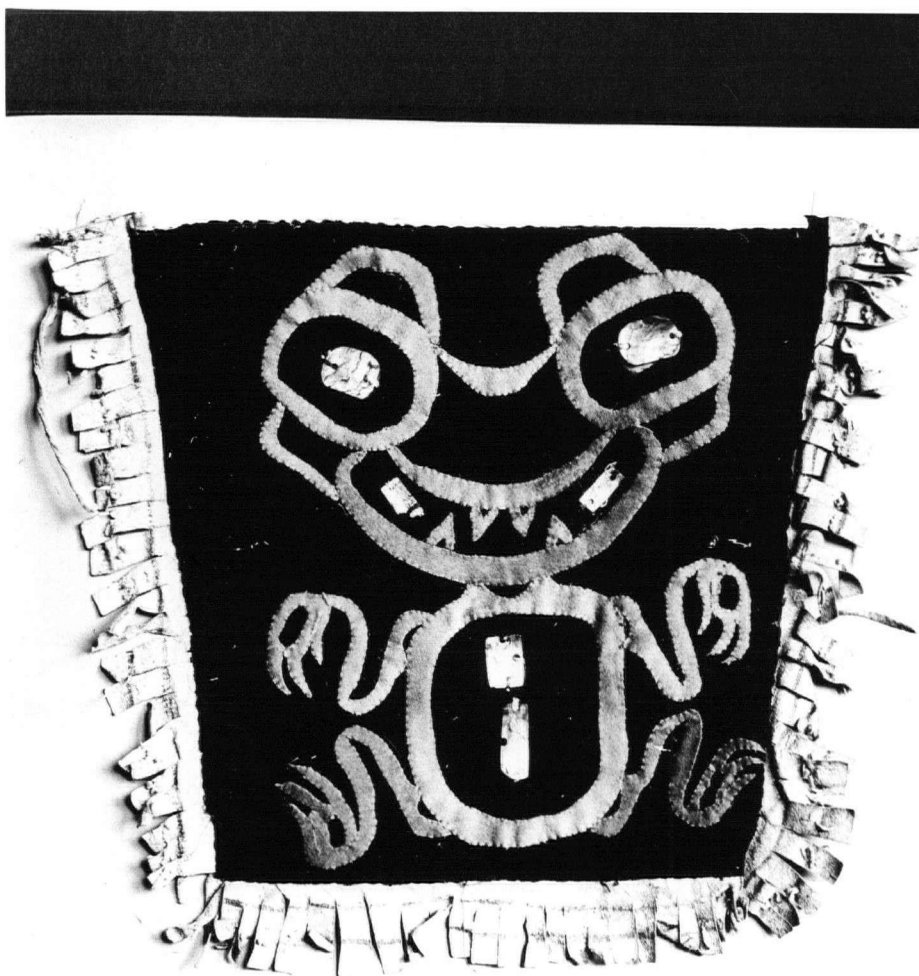


PLATE 85

## Bibliography

This study was based in large part on unpublished Tsimshian field data collected by Marius Barbeau and William Beynon between 1914 and 1957, and preserved in the Folklore Division, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa. Except for the five undated manuscripts by Barbeau and xerox copies of four field notebooks of Beynon's, made during 1945, all of which are listed below, original material in the Tsimshian file was not examined. Rather, I used handwritten abstracts of the field data made by Wilson Duff during 1958-59, and in his possession at the University of British Columbia.

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APPENDIX I: RANKED HOUSES OF THE TSIMSHIAN

### Ranked Houses of the Tsimshian

The following ranked lists of Tsimshian houses are based on field data collected by Marius Barbeau and William Beynon between 1914 and 1957 and preserved in the Folklore Division of the National Museum of Man, Ottawa. Although the rankings given by different Tsimshian people were remarkably consistent in most cases, the lists as given were partial and did contain inconsistencies. The over-all synthesis was developed by Wilson Duff, most completely for the Coast Tsimshian, while I have minimally modified it by making some additional discoveries in, or decisions about, the field data.

The differences in the forms of the lists reflect differences in the social organizations of the three divisions of the Tsimshian (Coast Tsimshian, Niska, and Gitksan) and, in the case of the Niska, the quality of the data as well. The user of these lists is referred to the pertinent discussions of Tsimshian ranking in Chapter Three of the text.

The lists are arranged as follows:

Coast Tsimshian: Houses of all four clans were ranked by informants in a single rank order for each tribe. However, the lists are arranged here by clan, and then by tribes within each clan, so as to be more useful to those working with the lists of crests arranged by clans in Appendix II. The rank order as expressed by roman numerals can

be followed in order to easily reconstitute the single rank order for each tribe. The horizontal lines dividing the houses of each tribe into two divisions reflect distinctions made by the Coast Tsimshian between chiefly and councillor status level houses.

Niska: Niska houses in each tribe were either ranked within clans, which were then ranked relative to each other, or were ranked within sub-clans which were then ranked within clans or relative to sub-clans in other clans. The Niska lists recorded by Barbeau contain significant differences in the rankings accorded particular houses which cannot be resolved without distorting the reliability of the lists as a whole. Variant lists are therefore included for the Niska. Four important lists of dwellings are also included.

Gitksan: Houses were ranked within clans which were then ranked for each tribe.

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## COAST TSIMSHIAN

g'ispəwudwa'dəSouthern Tsimshian

1. g'idʒtsu'	2. g'itg.a'ʔatə	3. g'itxa'la
I. ni.slɔ's	I. 'waxmɔ.n	I. hE.l
II. lag.axni'tsk	nalag'ɔtqɔ'.x	tsiybEsE
	haimasqE's	ni.snɔ'ɬ
	wɔ.xa.it	ni.swE'xs
VI. guɬdɔ		gunaxnu'tk
VII. wudimE's		txag.E'xs
VIII. tsag.amsag'isk		ni.sɬkuxsɔ'
IX. guɬiyohos		II. seks
X. t'Emks		ni.sqamdzəwE'
XI. ni.smo.tk		'awEsdi
		waxait
	XIII. ni.smu'.lx	VI. g.aiyEmt'kwE
		ɔntɔwiwE'lp
		gulanaxnɔx
		X. ni.s'ɔ'is
		wudimEs.
		txagE'tk
		XIV. 'wa'ɔmxk
		XV. gushawE'l
		XVI. 'wətali
		XIX. lag.axlihaitk



g'ispawudwa'də cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

4. g'itwilg'ɔ'ts	5. g'itzaxɬE'ɬ	6. g'itsi'.s
I. saxsa''axt ni.stɔ'.Ex lig'iutkwE'.tk le.ʔs ni.slɔ'.s yE'han	III. q'amg.alg'ig'E'ni VI. t'k'ag.an.E''.tsk VII. q'E.lst	II. wilaxE' IV. watida''ax qadi'.ni
V. wut'si'nt VIII. ni.s'omag.E' X. g'ilax'aks sping.ʔn wihɔ'n		

g'ispɔwudwa'də cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

7. g'inax'ang'i'.k	8. g'ina'dɔ'.iks	9. g'it'andɔ'.
I. wice'.ks 'alimlaxE'	I. ni.swE'.xs	
II. lɔplidzi'.ust g.amayE'.m		II. g'e'.ɬk g'amayE'.m
III. liɔmlaxE'		
IV. ni.s'EɬnE'.ts g'Edɔmg'ik'ɔ.ɬ	IV. ni.slu'.ɔt wi'.nE.s nisxt'sEn k'wɔndzidzE.ɬ	
X. wasi'.ebax		X. g'asyE.tk qɔ.s
XIII. g'ig'ɔksɔmwE'lp		XI. hal.ɔ'.p ɬkuwiɬiyEt
XIV. 'adzɔks		

g'ispɔwudwa'də cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

10. g'ispaxlɔ'ʔts	11. g'itwilksɔbE'	12. g'ilodza'uə
(waxa' .i) extinct		I. ni.sɬkɔmi' .k t'ə mno' .ə nx ni.snawE' .
IV. t'a' mks ni.snE' .ɬsk g.E.ks tsag.amSE' .g'isk		III. ni.skSE.nE.t ni.shamSE' . ne' .k
VI. suhala' .it haɬqE' pk waxa' .it ni.swi.ts wat' iwE.lp		IV. ni.skWE' .xs nEg.amda' .o ni.swE.is wiksɔmwEn lElɔ.kssns
VII. wi' g'E.t		V. ni.spints
X. g.amayE' .m tsamtkS lE.is ni.shana'ʔ ax g'isg'ɔ.tsk		
XI. lEns kwulyuhus wudimE' .s lag.axni' tsk hal.ɔp		

g'ispwudwa'də cont.

Lower Skeena TsimshianCanyon Tsimshian

13. g'itlE'.n	14. g'itsmg.E'.lpm	15. g'itspla'sə	
		a. g'itlaxdz'ks	b. g'itxtsE'.x
			II. ni.sdʒx'g.
IV. ni.yuks wE'.lpx	III. ʔag.ax ha'ots 'widldE'l	III. ni.shaiwE'xs ni.sʔxs ni.smag.E'	ni.shalubʒs ni.snawa
VI. 'an'anE'.x VII. ni.shabo'.t VIII. leptsidzi'.ust IX. wudimE'.s  XII. t'i'.bʒn  XVI. 'agwi'xE. XVII. ksʒmg'E'.ks		VI. tsʒmha'otks alasg.umg'E'x yEʔ hadlE.x	V. taxhayE'

g.anha'dəSouthern TsimshianLower Skeena Tsimshian

1. g'idəstsu'	2. g'itg.a''atə	3. g'itxa'la
V. hEmdzi.t	III. wi.nəm, l, k	III. 'ExlEwE'ls winəm, 'lk dəpxEn
XV. ni.syEg.E's	VI. ni.snam'o	IV. wək'a's
XVI. txadzius	VII. tsu'.xqE.	V. 'aya'ig.ansk
XVII. ni.skiwE	VIII. wi.haiwE.xs	VIII. la'ə'i widinaxs
	IX. ni.syag.E's	IX. 'ayaim'ax galhala'.it
	XII. təmqa'.us	XI. dzag.amgishEitks dzag.amyilyE'tk dzowil.aks
		XIII. hagwiləg.əmlaxE
		XVIII. 'nag.ap't ligidit gəm'asnExl

g.anha'd, cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

4. g'itwilg'ɔ'ts	5. g'itzaxɬE'ɬ	6. g'itsi's
III. la.'dɔx	I. ni.shɔ't ni.slo'ɔs ni.spɔlE'x 'aya'Ex	I. ni.syag.anE'.t qa'lkɔk wa'mogwE.t winE.ts (ha'.i'mas)
VI. algɔmxE' g.amsne's he.'lɔ sE'dzan	II. ni.sk'iwE' g.amdzo'.p	III. ɬɔg.ɔm mɔkskɔmbE'n laxtuye''ɔt
IX. lɔg'isg.ag'ɔ'	V. g'E'.ni	VI. nag.E'.xt
XI. t'sɔma'yɔmbEn	IX. xpɔnhɔ'.ntk	VII. dag.ɔ'.milsk
XIII. gwunbE'ɬ		
XIV. wi'nɔmɔ.lk		
XVI. t'ɔmqa'osɔmtkwa		

g.anha'dʒ cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

7. g'inax'ang'i'.k	8. g'ina'dʒ'iks	9. g'it'andʒ'.
ɬkulisyE'n ) ) ni.skʷlEx ) extinct ) ayaig.ansk )		
V. mʒdi'.ks VI. wʒx VII. 'awi.  XI. 'aya'Eg.ansk q'ʒ.m XII. ksʒmanhE'	V. tsʒɬidʒ'Ex  ni.skʒgwe'.tk ni.s'ʒ'lekʒn lo'g.alhE.lə m'əwa'tsʒmg'Et VI. ni.sg.anE's watimanlʒ'.ik tk'iyE' ni.sɬʒma'i VII. ni.sg.amgugunE'.t IX. 'wE.s	V. ni.syag.iyunE.t g.amksag.E'.k g.ag.a'.kɬʒk tsag.amg'ishE'.itks VI. g.ayE'.lowʒx VII. laxlitkwa VIII. ni.st'sɬlewanos' IX. tkatkE'.tk

g.anha'də cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

10. g'ispaxlɔ'ʔts	11. g'itwilksɔbE	12. g'ilodza'uɔ	13. g'itlE'.n
			II. ni.swaksenE.ɬ
			III. t'ɔm'a'.x
			V. g'E'.m'sɔx
		VI. ni.ski'.mas ni.s'a'ɔt 'amg.alcEwilEks t'saxma'.i	XI. ni.st'k'ɔ'ɔ'i
XIV. sEg'ipE'.ik ɬkwaxɬE.ɬ			XIII. xpihana'ʔax
XVI. ni.s'masga'.us			XIV. lɔp'anaxso'.nt



g.anha'də cont.

Lower Skeena TsimshianCanyon Tsimshian

14. g'itsəmg.E'ləm	15. g'itsəla'sə	
IV. xpilaxE' tE.x sEg'ipE'.ik V. lig'iudzi'.us ni.sg.aye'  also unranked house of xpənən, formerly laxk'ibu'	a. g'itlaxdzə'ks	b. g'itxtsE'.x
	II. g.ɔ.m lag.axni'ts ni.s'a'ulks məyo'.t	III. sEdza'n ni.sg.ag.ɔsk ni.swahanEł
	V. ni.sk'inE's hamɔ'.lək tsəm'ag.amsE'	

laxsk'i'/.k

Southern Tsimshian

1. g'idʔstsu'	2. g'itg.a'ʔatʔ	3. g'itxa'ʔa
III. himEsaqE IV. tkulaxE	II. txatwE.tk waxg.ɔ.dʔmxaidʔ g.amg.a'g.ɔl yal.ʔm IV. huhu'/.ʔk	
XII. g.amEs XIII. 'wEmElasu XIV. ʔnsuwEtk XVIII. siyalʔmʔx		VII. lutkudzEmti g'ilasgEmg.an XVII ni.shalo.pʔs

laxsk'i 'k cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

4. g'itwilg'ɔ'ts	5. g'itzaxɬE/ɬ	6. g'itsi's	7. g'inax'ang'i'.k
II. iyo'ɬ.əns			
IV. hali'tkwa		V. ni.sɬkudzɔ''lɔk	
VII. lu'g.ɔ.l		wE.x	
xa'ig'Et		g.ag.ɔmla'xE	
XII. kwus'axsE'.lɔks			XV. kwE''ə.s

laxsk'i'.k cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

8. g'ina'dɔ'iks	9. g'it'andɔ'.	10. g'ixpaxlɔ''ts
	<p>I. sg.agwe'.t gwɔɬg.E'.x ni.swi.bEs</p> <hr/> <p>III. ni.sxɬɔ' IV. g'istE'.ku g'ilɔskE'mɔg.ɔn nlu'ɔ' lɔx</p> <p>XII. la.xs</p>	<p>I. xpi.lɔk ni.swa''amak tkwilaxE' wut'a'p</p> <p>II. ni.snE'.x III. leg'E'x*</p> <hr/> <p>V. xiyo'.p VIII. ni.s'awE'.lp nlu'ɔ' lɔx tu'ɔskɔmalE.o</p> <p>IX. spɔ.xs alo'ɔ'lɔms witkwa qasE'.xs</p> <p>XII. linɔ'sE'nɔxs gag'i'.ɔts kuɬag.ɔm'E't dzE'ik</p> <p>XV. ni.smo.tk xstiya'og.ɔmhEit</p> <p>XVII. g.awEl.E'.</p> <p>* later moved to first rank</p>

laxsk'i'.k cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

11. g'itwilksəbE'	12. g'ilodza'uə	13. g'itlE'.n	14. g'itsəmg.E'ləm
	II. ni.sq'amdzi.s ni.sxmaɔlk ɔ.ks ni.sxɬə		I. ni.sg.ankwa'dzəks ni.sg.ɔs sg.ɔg.ɔmdzi'us kwɔlgEx qastu'i.ni II. ni.sg.E'.l ni.smiɬE.s lg.ɔɬiyən
		X. tg'idag.ani.ts	

laxsk'i'.k cont.

Canyon Tsimshian

15. g'itsəla'sə	
a. g'itlaxdzə'ks	b. g'itxtsE'.x
I. g'itxə'n ni.sg.ə'dəks ni.sg'itləp ni.switxs ni.st'si	I. ni.snagwE'lk ni.sha'ax gastu'i'ni
IV. iyo'os txag.aləpli'p wa'məle.k	IV. g.aga'otskan ni.swaxayEtk g.anugE.kɬ

laxk'ibu'

Southern Tsimshian

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

I. g'idʒstsu'	2. g'itg.a'ʔatʔ	3. g'itxa'la	4. g'itwilg'ɔ'ts
	V. hag'ilaxE'		
	X. t'sa'bʔx XI. qauqa'.u	XII. ʔEb'ʔksk nʔdzʔmlaxdao ni.sg.aʔo.t	XV. gwus'awE'.l

laxk'ibu' cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

5. g'itzaxlE'is	6. g'itsi's	7. g'inax'ang'i'.k
IV. ni.sk'E'		
VIII. ni.smE''ts	VIII. 'asag.alyE'.n 'anaxlade'	VIII. hala'idəmqa'n
	IX. wElck	IX. gwus'awE'.l



laxk'ibu' cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

8. g'ina'd ɔ'iks	9. g'it'and ɔ'.	10. g'ispaxl ɔ''ts
II. ni.st'EIE'.x		
III. sE't'sa.n tɔbE'.sk k'wɔlɔg'ipE'ik mE''wɔn ɔ'wag.alsɔn'ɔ'n qaspɔsE'dzi.n wa'dɔmt'sal g.apHE'.itk ni.stEna'kw ni.skwɔlb'ɔ		
VIII. xpilɔ.p ni.sno'.ɔn ni.smaɬa ni.sk'i'.mE		XIII. xnes laxɬi.ɬ ni.sg.an'a'kw

laxk'ibu' cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

11. g'itwilksɔbE'	12. g'ilodza'uɔ	13. g'itlE'.n
		I. ni.slag.ano's
	VII. la 'ɔ.is g'ilaxE ksɔnEtkɔm- naxnɔx	XV. t'aɬmha'ɔax . . . . .

laxk'ibu' cont.

Lower Skeena Tsimshian

14. g'its <sub>2</sub> mg.E'l <sub>2</sub> m	15. g'its <sub>2</sub> la'sə	
	a. g'itlaxdz <sub>2</sub> 'ks	b. g'itxtsE'.x
		VI. laxti'.ɬ txɔ'.g'ɬt ks <sub>2</sub> m'aut

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## 16. g'itxat'i'n

Due in part to population movements and readjustments, there is no single agreed upon rank order for the Houses of the g'itxat'i'n. What follows are six different lists reflecting rank at different times and settlements (see also, Sapir, 1915: 15):

- List A: lists of dwellings at kwunwɔq and ang'edE', ca. 1880  
(Frank Bolton, txalaxE.tk, laxsk'i'.k, kwunwɔq, and  
(Charles Barton, axɬawa'.ls, g.anha'dɔ, ang'edE';  
recorded in 1927?)
- List B: Ranked Houses at kwunwɔq, (Frank Bolton)
- List C: Ranked Houses at ang'edE' (Charles Barton)
- List D: Combined ranking of g'itxat'i'n Houses (kwaxsu,  
laxkibu', ang'edE', ranked houses; Charles Barton's  
ranking of clans)
- List E: Ranked Houses at Kincolith (Charles Barton, 1916)
- List F: Ranked Houses at laxg.alt'sa.p (Greenville)  
(Charles Barton, 1916)

16. g'itxat'i '.n

List A: Dwellings at kwunwɔq (16b), ca. 1880

(list begins with lowest house on right  
hand side going upstream)

- |   |                  |       |
|---|------------------|-------|
| 1. gwunE.x                                      | laxsk'i '.k      |       |
| 2. axata '.t                                    | "                |       |
| 3. sag.au'wE.n                                  | "                |       |
| 4. g'uswi.lpxaɲn                                | "                |       |
| 5. g'itxɔ.n (and cEdɔni)                        | "                | Chief |
| 6. wɔɬɔnlu '.lɔq                                | "                |       |
| 7. txalaxE '.tk                                 | "                |       |
| 8. ni.syo '.st                                  | g'ispɔwudwa 'd ɔ |       |
| 9. leg'e ''ns                                   | "                |       |
| 10. ni.sxpa 'qt                                 | "                |       |
| 11. q'amayE '.m                                 | "                |       |
| 12. li '.ksnE.ts                                | "                |       |
| 13. hawe '.                                     | "                |       |
| 14. pilksqa 'n                                  | "                |       |
| 15. 'wi.yɔ.n                                    | "                |       |
| 16. ta '.xan                                    | "                |       |
| 17. ha ''wE.                                    | laxsk'i '.k      |       |
| 18. q'a '.dzi (also naxsEdzɔks,<br>txamsho '.t) | "                |       |
| 19. kwag'Ens                                    | "                |       |
| 20. ni.sɬkwa 'lE.                               | g'ispɔwudwa 'd ɔ |       |
| 21. g'E'mɔsɔq                                   | g.anha 'd ɔ      |       |

"I saw all these houses when I was a boy" (Frank Bolton,  
over 60 in 1927 when list was recorded).

## 16. g'itxat'i'n

List A (cont.): Dwellings at ang'edE'(16c), ca. 1880

(list begins from below; one row of houses around island)

- |     |                             |            |            |
|-----|-----------------------------|------------|------------|
| 1.  | kwaxcu (on point of island) | laxk'ibu'  |            |
| 2.  | ni.snE''t                   | laxsk'i'.k |            |
| 3.  | g'edag.E'                   | "          |            |
| 4.  | sg.a'yE.n                   | laxk'ibu'  |            |
| 5.  | lu.ya's                     | laxsk'i'.k |            |
| 6.  | 'wi.g'E't                   | "          |            |
| 7.  | lE''i                       | "          | Head Chief |
| 8.  | tkwəqə'qɬ                   | "          |            |
| 9.  | lu.sg.alaxE'                | "          |            |
| 10. | 'axtiksi.sk <sup>u</sup>    | "          |            |
| 11. | lE''dziks                   | laxk'ibu'  |            |
| 12. | ɬabəksk <sup>u</sup>        | "          |            |
| 13. | ni.s'ləs'yE.n               | "          | Head Chief |
| 14. | xatkwəg.E.xs                | "          | Chief      |
| 15. | 'axɬawa.ls                  | g.anha'də  | Chief      |
| 16. | g.adu'.nE.                  | laxk'ibu'  |            |
| 17. | ge'ɬg.s                     | laxsk'i'.k |            |
| 18. | 'aɬku.x                     | laxk'ibu'  |            |
| 19. | g.apg.axE'                  | "          |            |
| 20. | 'ak'sta'qɬ                  | "          |            |
| 21. | kindza'.dəx                 | "          | Chief      |
| 22. | 'u.m                        | "          |            |
| 23. | ɬku'uwasan                  | "          |            |
| 24. | xkwə'yəmtk <sup>u</sup>     | "          |            |
| 25. | wəlag.a'n                   | "          |            |
| 26. | 'wiye'                      | g.anha'də  | Chief      |
| 27. | ni.skin'wE'.tx              | laxk'ibu'  | Chief      |

16a. g'itxat'i'.n

List B

Ranked Houses at 16b. kwunwɔq, ca. 1880, Frank Bolton

1st	2nd	3rd
laxsk'i'.k	g'ispɔwudwa'də	g.anha'də
I. g'itxɔ'n cedE'ni qa'.dzi  txamks'o'.t  kwag'E'ns  naxsE.dzɔks  qane'.q'	I. ni.syo'.st  ni.sxpaxt  leg'e''ns  na'gwE'	I. g'E'.mɔsɔq
II. txalaxE.tk  wɔɬɔnlu.lɔq  ha'wE.  ni.skinwE.tk  hayu'xt  mɔ'u'.	II. q'ama.yEm  lik'snE.ts  pilksqa'n  hawe'	
III. sag.au'wE.n  qayE.x  gwunE'.x  guswilpxɔn	III. 'wi.yɔn  ta'.xɔn  ni.slegwale'	
IV. axata'.t		

16b. g'itxat'i'.n

List C

Ranked Houses at 16c. ang'edE', ca. 1880, Charles Barton

1st	2nd	3rd
laxk'ibu'	laxsk'i'.k	g.anha'də
I. ni.s'ljs'yE'.n xatkwo.g.axs k'insa.dəx kwaxcu' ɬabəksku lE'dzəks ɬkuwasa'n, 'u.m  II. ni.skinwE.tk	I. lE''i 'axtiksi.sk	I. 'axɬawa'.ls wiyE.'



## 16. g'itxat i .n

List D

Combined ranking of g'itxat'i'.n Houses; ranking of Houses within clans by kwaxcu; ranking of clans by Barton, 1916. (It should be noted that this is the kwaxcu who was attempting to upgrade his rank by usurping the White Bear crest of ni.slɔs'yE'.n and his relatives. and that his claim to first rank here was not agreed upon by others.)

1st	2nd	3rd	4th
laxk'ibu'	laxsk'i'.k	g.anha'də	g'ispɔwudwa'də
I. kwaxcu	I. 1E''i	I. wiyE	I. lubag.aitdzazɔx
ni.slɔs'yE'.n	II. sag.au'wE.n	II. ni.skzɔɬ	taxan
txatkugE.x*	III. g'itxɔ.n	III. 'aɬtag.ɔxs	wihon
ɬabɔksk (lɔk-	IV. lu'iya'as (lɔk.		II. ni.syo'.st
ag'Et for	for 1E''i)		
kwaxcu)	V. axtiksisk (")		
II. kinzadɔx	VI. g.algɔmɬiyɔn		
III. nagwa'ɔn	(lɔk. for II		
IV. hɔm (lɔk. for	& III)		
kwaxcu)	VII. gadaxex		
V. witsɔm'ilɔx			
(lɔk. for			
nagwa'ɔn)			
VI. wutzi'apwiltk			
(lɔk. for			
txatkugE.x)*			
VII. lixmex			
(extinct)(lɔk.			
for kinzadɔx			
* txalaxE.tk?			

List E

Ranked list of Houses at Kincolith, Charles Barton, 1916

1st	2nd
laxk'ibu'	laxsk'i'.k
<u>A. sɔm laxk'ibu'</u>	<u>E. lax'lo'.kst</u>
I. ni.sna'mɔ'.ksk	I. g'itxɔ'n
II. k'int'sa'.dɔx	II. sag.a'uwE'n
III. ligwuni.sk'u	III. cedin
IV. kwaxcu'	
V. txatkug.E'qs	<u>F. g'itlaxwicE'ɬ</u>
VI. hadinE'.k'	I. k''lo.cɔm'ɔ'igɔt
VII. qa'.inɔmks	II. sɔm'ɔ'igidɔmxk'E.k
<u>B. g'isg.ansna'.t</u>	III. lu.sg.alaxE'.
I. t'sak''.ama.c	IV. 1E''i
II. x ak''.a'.ni	V. k'itake
III. wilpɔmhaya'.tsk'u	<u>G. g'isg.abenE'xt</u>
<u>C. (unnamed)</u>	I. 1E''ix, ɬE'dɔx
I.(related to oyE',18)	II. wig'Et
I. 'wilu'.c	III. luya''as
II. 'naya.it	IV. g.adE'.lɔp
III. mEkskamg.E'.t	V. ni.snE.xɬ
<u>D. (unnamed)</u>	<u>H. g'isg.a''aks</u>
(related to kExk'u, 19)	I. kwun'wɔ.tk'u (ha'wE'.)
I. tu.q	II. g.adaxE.xk'u
II. g.a'dɔx	III. txalaxE.tk
	IV. tɔ'ɔs
	V. xpi.'lɔk
-----	
unranked (extinct)	
<u>gi tlaxwa'nks (laxtsɔmlɔ'p)</u>	
I. ɬa'bɔksk'u	
II. cɔn'a'lgɔx	
III. txa'ɔ'.ks	
IV. 'aksta'qɬ	

16. g'itxat'i'n cont.

(with 17 g'itg'ig'E'nix)

List E (cont.)

Ranked list of Houses at Kincolith, Charles Barton, 1916

3rd	4th
g.anha'də	g'ispəwudwa'də
I. (unnamed)	L. laxtiyə'xɬ
I. hadiya'.igwɔx	I. ta'.xə'n
II. wiyE'	II. g.anE'.ts
III. la'dɔx	
J. g'itg'ig'E'nix	M. (unnamed), related to
I. 'aɬtaxg.ɔ.kst	<u>tsibasE, 18</u>
II. 'mEsk'ibu	I. t'sebasE
from	
K. (g'it'anma'ks) (23)	
I. kadəmg.alɔ'	
-----	
(various clans, in rank order follow in M above)	
N. t'set'sa'.ot laxk'ibu'	
I. g.aɬo''	
O. (unnamed) laxk'ibu' (relatives at 19)	
I. ə'axtimenE'dzɔx	
II. ɬkwug.E.isɔnk	
P. laxk'ibu' from k'itwəniku''1 (21)	
I. 'awillɪ'tku	
II. g'itnigitk <sup>u</sup>	
III. wili'tsk <sup>u</sup>	
Q. g'ispəwudwa'də from g'itsəla'sə (15)	
I. 'ma.xs	
R. laxsk'i'.k (lax'lo'.kst) of g'itwinkciɬk (18)	
I. kwixmE'.ʔutk	
II. q.ɔ.'m	
III. k'ipk'ibu'	
S. g.anha'də (wut'sə'n'a'.luk)	
I. g.aug'E'.ɬ	

16. g'txat' i' n  
 (with 17. g'itg'ig'E' nix)

List F

Ranked list of Houses at laxg.alt'sa'p (Greenville), Charles Barton, 1916.

1st	2nd
<u>laxk'ibu'</u>	<u>g.anha'dʒ</u>
<u>A. s<sub>2</sub>m'laxk'ibum nishg.E''</u>	<u>D. s<sub>2</sub>mg.ana'dʒnishg.E</u>
I. parts of ni.snam,ks and kint'sa.dʒx Houses	I. liknE''tsk <sup>u</sup>
II. ni.slʒs'yɛ'n	II. g.aina.o (lʒk.)
III. kwaxcu	III. ni.swaksenE'ɬ
IV. lig'wu'nisk	IV. txag'isedE'ɬk
<u>B. g'itg'ig'E' nix</u>	<u>E. g'itxg.at'o' (of 5)</u>
I. nagwa'ʒn	I. nist'sɔ.ɬ
II. t'la'E' u (lʒk.)	II. E.is
III. g'aɬk <sup>u</sup> (lʒk.)	<u>F. wut'senE'ɬk<sup>u</sup> (of 6)</u>
IV. piɬg'a.ɬk <sup>u</sup>	I. ha'i'ma.s
<u>C. (unnamed) from 19</u>	
I. kwung'ɔ'	
-----	
<u>M. (unnamed) of 18)</u>	
I. wulbE'	

16. g'txat'i'n

(with 17. g'itg'ig'E'nix)

List F (cont.)

Ranked list of Houses at laxg.alt'sa'p (Greenville), Charles Barton, 1916.

3rd	4th
<u>laxsk'i'k</u>	<u>g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ</u>
<u>G. g'isg.abɔnE.xɪ</u>	<u>J. (unnamed)</u>
I. lE'ɔ'i	I. si.spɔgu.t
II. kimɔxk <sup>u</sup>	
III. leg.ang'ipE'ik <sup>u</sup>	<u>K. (unnamed, of 19)</u>
	I. g.ana'.um gwunE'x
<u>H. laxlo.kst (of 18)</u>	
I. agwilaxE'	<u>L. (unnamed Babine)</u>
II. 'a'ɔ'l	I. nu.g.E'
<u>I. (unnamed, of 19)</u>	
I. g.am'nE.itk <sup>u</sup>	
II. pEitnEqɪ	

17. g'itg'ig'E'nix (see also List E, p.309 and  
List F, p.311)

1st	2nd
laxk'ibu'	g.anha'd ɔ
I. nagwa'ɔn* 'mɔsg.ɔn ni.smo.tk (lɔk. from 23. gitam'm'aks) 'nalaxE' (ditto)	I. 'aɬtaxgɔkst II. 'mEsk'ibu'
*nagwa'ɔn is generally considered to rank first in any potlatch order for the Lower Nass.	

## 18. g'itwinksiik

Rank Order by Sub-clans

(See also p.315, List of Dwellings)

Based on list recorded from informant Mercer, 1916.

1. g'isg.a 'stI. t's<sub>ə</sub>basE (txayayE, txaxyE.xs)II. kwa'n<sub>ə</sub>s

III. wi.laxE'

2. laxsk'i'k laxlo'ksk ("the real laxsk'i'k, all one  
ada 'ox)

I. gwixma'ux

II. agwilaxE'

III. wigala''i'd<sub>ə</sub>xIV. win<sub>ə</sub>q3. laxk'ibu' laxtiy<sub>ə</sub>'aq<sub>ɬ</sub>I. paxk'ap, ma'lg<sub>ə</sub>sq, oye'II. wig'Ed<sub>ə</sub>m<sub>ə</sub>sk'Ek

III. laqE

IV. gwE'

4. laxsk'i'k g'it'sE'q (= laxts<sub>ə</sub>mElix)

I. na'.wus

II. ts<sub>ə</sub>nshu.t

Variant ranking, recorded from William Foster (gwixma'ux) in 1927.

1. laxsk'i'k laxlo'ksk

2. g'isg.a 'st

3. laxsk'i'k g'it'sE'q

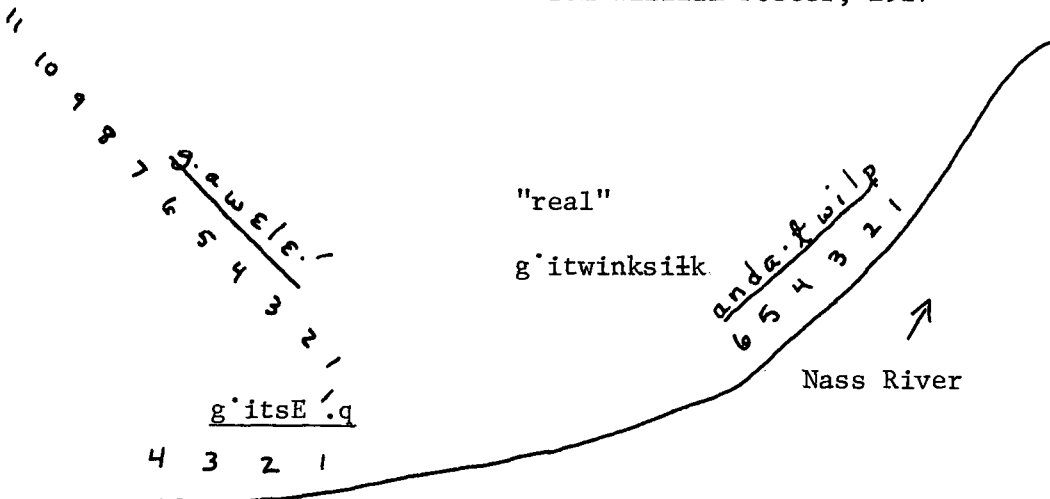
4. laxk'ibu' laxtiy<sub>ə</sub>'q<sub>ɬ</sub>

For another variant of this ranking, see Sapir (1915:12)

## 18. g'itwinskiik

List of Dwellings

From William Foster, 1927

anda.ɬwilp (laxk'ibu' laxtiyɔ'.qɬ)

1. oyE'.
2. paxk'a'p
3. xk'ɔ'yɔmtk<sup>u</sup>
4. 'wig'Edɔmxsk'E'.k
5. laqe'.
6. naxta.xt

g'it'sE'.q (laxsk'i'.k)

1. na'.wɔs
2. 'amɬa'mgɔn
3. tsɔnsho't
4. g.amksi'.wE. (g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ)

g'itg.awelE'.

(laxsk'i'.k laxlo'ksk)

1. agwilaxE'
2. gwixma'ux
3. 'wigala'i'dɔx  
(g'isg.a'.st)
4. kwe'.nɔs
5. pɔɬ'ye'.tk<sup>u</sup>
6. txaxyE'.xs<sup>u</sup>
7. txaxE'.xs
8. gwi'nax'nɔ'tx
9. tsu.1
10. kwudzi.uks (laxk'ibú)
11. wi'.nɔ.q (laxsk'i'.k  
laxlo'ksk)



## 19. g'itlaxda'.mks

Ranked List of Houses

(List recorded from A. Mercer, ni.skinwE.tk, laxk'ibu', in 1927; for a variant ranking, see Sapir, 1915:8)

1. g'isg.ansna.t (laxkibu')

- I. sqat'i'.n (xa.ni)  
g'alg.ʔ
- II. tsixg.a'n (also wineha'bʔsk<sup>u</sup>)  
taxkʔmwE.ix
- III. kwa'.ndʔmxs  
lɔ.'bʔg.ɔt
- IV. ni.syɔqɭ  
ni.skinwE.tk

2. g'isg.ansna.t (g'ispʔwudwa'də:

"the g'ispʔwudwa'də are also with sqat'i'.n; they hold sqat'i'.n, ni.syɔqɭ, ni.skinwE.tk as their chiefs, so they are called g'isg.ansna.t")

- I. pi'1  
ni.stɔ.  
witiyE.'itk  
lɔg.ɔmhadaq<sup>u</sup>

3. g.anha'də

- I. ksʔmxsa'n
- II. axqalqa'n
- III. sE.tlaxa'.dʔnsk<sup>u</sup>
- IV. tuk<sup>u</sup>

4. g'itwilnagE'e (laxk'ibu')

- I. k.'E.xk<sup>u</sup>
- II. nimpts
- III. kstiya'.ox  
kwungʔ
- IV. ksʔdɔ'ɔ or laxwilg'ɔt

19. g'itlaxda' mks

Ranked List of Houses (cont.)

(List recorded from A. Mercer, ni.skinwE.tk, laxk'ibu', in 1927;  
for a variant ranking, see Sapir, 1915:8)

5. laxsk'i'k

I. mənE'sk

ni.ske''dʒks

qɔq<sup>u</sup>

tsasqo.q<sup>u</sup>

'wɔ.mʒk'

II. ɬE.q (the laxtsəmE'lix sub-clan)

paEt'nE.xɬ

hadag.ɔmsə'm 'ɔ'g'ɔt

t'axqe'.nɔx

qamnE'itk<sup>u</sup>

III. g'elaxna'mgɔp

IV. xtsiye' or g'ilawɔ'

(unranked) gisg.a'ɬt (came ca.1896 from  
Kitwancool and Andimaul)

sə'ɔ'ɬmxku

wi'.g'Et

19. g'itlaxda'.mks

List of Dwellings, ca. 1880

(List recorded in 1927 from A. Mercer) ("I have seen g'itlaxda'.mks myself like this; that is more than 50 years ago")

- |                                   |                |   |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|---|
| 1. lɔg.ɔmhada'q                   | g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ |   |
| 2. 'wi.tiyE'.ɔ'itk <sup>u</sup>   | "              |   |
| 3. tsixqa'n                       | laxk'ibu'      |   |
| 4. kwa'ndɔmɔxs                    | "              |   |
| 5. taxkɔmwE'.ix                   | "              |   |
| 6. pe'ɔ'l                         | g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ | chief   |
| 7. 'ni.sk'inwE.tk                 | laxk'ibu'      | chief   |
| 8. lɔ'ɔbɔg.ɔ.t                    | "              |   |
| 9. ni.st'ɔ.                       | g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ | chief   |
| 10. sE.itlaxa'.dɔnsk <sup>u</sup> | g.anha'dɔ      | chief   |
| 11. axqa'lg.an (part of 12)       | "              |   |
| 12. ksɔmxsa'n                     | "              | <u>Head chief</u>   |
| 13. ga'lg.ɔ                       | laxk'ibu'      |   |
| 14. ni.syɔqɛ                      | "              | ("my house, 6 heads of families and wives and children" Mercer) |
| 15. sqat'i'.n (xa.ni)             | "              | <u>Head chief</u>   |
| 16. nimpts                        | "              | chief   |
| 17. k'ɔ'E.xk <sup>u</sup>         | "              | chief   |
| 18. kwung'ɔ.                      | "              |   |
| 19. kstiya'.ox                    | "              | chief   |

19. g'itlaxda' .mks

List of Dwellings, ca. 1880 (cont.)

(List recorded in 1927 from A. Mercer) (I have seen g'itlaxda' .mks myself like this; that is more than 50 years ago")

- |                             |            |                   |
|-----------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| 20. ni.sk'e 'dʒks           | laxsk'i'k  |                   |
| 21. mʒnE 'sk <sup>u</sup>   | "          | <u>Head chief</u> |
| 22. ɬE.qx                   | "          |                   |
| 23. qʒq <sup>u</sup>        | "          |                   |
| 24. hadag.ʒmsʒm 'g.ʒt       | "          |                   |
| 25. t'axqe 'nʒx             | "          |                   |
| 26. paEt'nE.xɬ              | "          |                   |
| 27. g'elaxna'mg.ʒp          | "          |                   |
| 28. lax'wi 'lgʒt            | laxk'ibu'  |                   |
| 29. t'sasqo 'q <sup>u</sup> | laxsk'i'k  |                   |
| 30. xt'si'yE.               | "          |                   |
| 31. nʒgw'asa 'ʒi            | "          |                   |
| 32. 'wɔ 'mʒxk'              | "          |                   |
| 33. qamne 'itk <sup>u</sup> | "          |                   |
| 34. ɬuk <sup>u</sup>        | g.anha'd ʒ |                   |

## GITKSAN

g'isg.a 'st

(clan not ranked)

3rd

1st

20. k'itwɔŋg.E'	21. k'itwɔŋk'u'ɔl	22. k'itsɔg'u'kla
I. haxpɔgwɔ'tu 'aɪidɔks	I. yE.l II. yawadzEq g.ayE.	I. wi'.g'Et II. kuxsa'n g.adɔmhayE'ts III. haxpɔgwɔ'tu IV. ksg.ɔg.ɔmlaxE' V. ha'namux tsa'wɔls VI. kuksdeda'lg.ax

g'isg.a'.st cont.

(recent)	1st	3rd	2nd
23. g'it'anma'ks	24. k'ispayaks	25. k.isg.ag.a's	26. qald ɔ'
I. haxtisg.a'n nux	I. gwiya'mbə wəsɔmlaxE'	I. axmatxɔmwil II. wa'ig'Et	I. txe'.msɔm
II. tsigwi'.	nuxs		
III. gu'wɔ'tu	xadɔmda'uks		
IV. yE.1	II. kwiye'.ɬ		
V a'g.E.t	'andilu'ɬq		
	III. g'itluda'ɬx halɔksweɬp tEni	25a. anlag.asɔmdE'x I. wig'Et	
	IV.a. l.a.n. xka'dɔt 'a'lux		
	IV.b. qE.1 cu.ɔns		
	V. lilɔbɔksu		

laxse '1

2nd	2nd	2nd (g.anha'də)
20. k'itwəŋg.E'	21. k'itwəŋk'u''1	22. k'itsəgu'kla
I.     tɛ'.ŋgwəx	I.     g.amlaxyE'ltk	I.     mɔ'.lɔxən
II.     'axg.ɔ.t	II.     luxɔ.n	ha'.g.asu
III.    halus	tsi'gwə	II.    wəg.alɔ
	xtsEx	III.   tu'.pəsu
IV.     lɛlt	III.   wudaxayE'ts	IV.   qaimliɔ (or liɔ)
V.     ha'ku	IV.    kwinu	V.    wist'is
lu'gwənt	ho'.dɔmɔx	g.axg.abaxs
VI.     halaist	ksəməsi'pu	VI. ?nistɔ.?
t'haku	V.     yaxyaq	
wɔɔ.dəx	dɔxəns	
VII.    w.dəx		
VIII.   lu.ləq		
IX.     ni.s'a'ləq		

laxse '1 cont.

1st	2nd	1st	2nd
23. g'it'anma ks	24. kispayaks	25. k'isg.ag.a's	26. qald ɔ'
I. g'itəmg.alɔ'	I. tElg.amu'q*	I. mɔlu '1ɔq	I. t'siwE'
II. haxtidzE'ix	nEq	II. wi.mɔnɔzək	wa'a
dzɔg.ɔstle	II. ma'us	III. ksəmg'itg'ig'E'nix	II. ksəmgunE'q
III. tsi.n	axg.ɔ't	IV. al.E.ist	
lig'ilam	səmhayE'tsu	V. wist'is	
IV. lutkudzi'us	III. hag.e'	1st	
V. tEns	wi.'a'1ɔx	25a. anlag.asəmdE'x	
nik'Et'E'n	IV. ha.xu	II. yuam ɔ'tus	
VI. wig.ɔ.bɔn or	*originally laxsəme'lix	widəmg.E's	
wig.ɔble			



laxsk'i'.k

There are laxsk'i'.k houses only among the kitwəng.E' of the Gitksan

Clan rank: 1st

kitwəng.E'

I. qəq

səmədi'.k

II. sqayE'n

III. te'walasu

IV. g'ilawə

laxk'ibu'

3rd

1st

2nd

34. k'itwɔŋg.E'	21. k'itwɔnɪku''l	22. k'itsɔgu'kla	23. g'it'anma'ks
I. ɬɔ.ts II. tenɔmgEt* 'axti'x	I. wixE' gwasla''m 'andɔ'lɔksɔmɬɔ.ks II. mali ni.sɬag.ano.s III. ha'idzɔmxs lig'igalwi'l IV. wilits txawɔq		I. spɔq II. k.'E'x <sup>u</sup> ha''idɔx
*originally a laxsk.i'.k/ laxk'ibu group called laxna'.dzɔ.			

laxk'ibu' cont.

3rd	2nd	1st
24. k'ispayaks	25. k'isg.ag.a' .s	26. qaldɔ'
I. xɬi' .ɔmlaxE	I. ni' .k'ap	I. k'ɔlugEt
II. xsaxgɔ'	II. wig.a' .ix	II. kwa' .mɔ.n
sqabE' 'x	tsɔmqa' q	III. lu.s
III. 'amagE' t	III. xstu' .txumlaxE	IV. 'ni.st
IV. ksɔmqE' kɬ	IV. nɔts	
sag.Etni' .lak	V. g.unani' .t <sup>u</sup>	
V. mu' gwiluxs	VI. gwilaxa' .n	
VI hawa' .o	2nd	
gwaxski' .k	25a. anlag.asɔmdE' x	
	III. xkwɔ' yɔmtu	
	IV. tsi' yus	
	V? tsa' bux?	

## APPENDIX II: TSIMSHIAN CRESTS

### Tsimshian Crests

The following lists and descriptions of Tsimshian crests have been compiled from the field data recorded by Marius Barbeau and William Beynon between 1914 and 1957 and preserved in the Folklore Division of the National Museum of Man, Ottawa. More specifically, this information has been extracted from Wilson Duff's copy of the Barbeau/Beynon field data; a copy he made in Ottawa in 1958-59 with Barbeau's assistance. A few crests have been added from Barbeau's museum catalogue documentation and publications; they are identified as such.

No systematic effort has been made to correlate the crests listed here with those described in Barbeau's publications (notably 1929, 1950). Although such correlations can in most cases be easily made, there are others in which Barbeau's published translations of crest names and descriptions of the crests themselves are not supported by his own field documentation. While these interpretations may have been based on his extensive personal knowledge of Tsimshian ethnography (rather than error or oversight, etc.), this is, of course, knowledge which is now lost. The student using these lists in conjunction with the literature should therefore expect to find inconsistencies. It is my strong conviction, however, that the data here presented are more reliable than any Tsimshian crest data published to date, whether by Barbeau or others (i.e., Boas, 1916:483-5, 503-506; Sapir, 1915). It is certainly more extensive. Indeed, it is probably as extensive as any other totemic systems previously reported in the literature of anthropology.

The information in the lists themselves is either a direct quotation or close paraphrase of statements recorded in the field. Any comments or additional information have been put in footnotes. The arrangement of the material (i.e., the form of the lists themselves) is my own. Where I have been unable to satisfactorily resolve such questions as the matching of a crest name in the Tsimshian languages with an English translation or gloss, I have listed all pertinent alternatives. In all cases where a name and its translation or a name and a crest description have been directly associated by Tsimshian people, such associations have been retained, even when they seemed obviously to be inconsistent or in error to me.

The crests are arranged first by clan (laxk'ibu', g'ispwudwa'dz, g.anha'dz, laxsk'i'.k), by division with each clan (Coast Tsimshian, Niska, Gitksan), and then by the following six categories: primary animal, secondary animal, human, monster, plant, natural phenomenon, and artifact. The data pertaining to each crest have been arranged under five headings: name, translation, description, use, and owner. All of these categories are discussed in detail in Chapter Five of the text. An index and key to the numerical symbols and abbreviations used in the crest lists follow.

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## KEY

Numbers 1-26 refer to tribes, as follows:

## Coast Tsimshian

1. g'idəstsu'
2. g'itg.a'atə
3. g'itxa'ta
4. g'itwilgə'ts
5. g'itzaxtE't
6. g'itsi's
7. g'inax'angi'.k
8. g'ina'də'.iks
9. g'it'andə'
10. g'ispaxlə'ts
11. g'itwilksəbE'
12. g'ilodza'uə
13. g'itlE'.n
14. g'itsəmg.E'.ləm
15. g'itsəla'sə

## Niska

16. g'itxat'i'.n
17. g'itg'ig'E'nix
18. g'itwinksiik
19. g'itlaxda'.mks

## Gitksan

20. k'itwang.E'
21. k'itwənkə'u'1
22. k'itsəgu'kla
23. g'it'anma'ks
24. k'ispayaks
25. k'isg.ag.a'.s
26. qaldə'

Roman Numerals I,II,III . . . . and numbers in parentheses (5), (6) . . . . refer to rank (see Appendix I)

abbreviations refer to crest use as follows:

A (armour)	L (ladle)
AM (amhalait or frontlet)	M (mask)
D (crest dramatization)	NN (naxnə'x)
FP (face painting)	N (name, referring to formal name assumption at potlatch)
HB (house beams)	P (potlatch)
HD (headdress)	R (robe)
HE (house entrance)	S (screen or partition)
HF (house front painting)	TT (tattoo)
HN (house name)	W (war)
HP (inside house post)	
HR (house rafters)	
HW (interior house walls)	



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
gibE'.o	"wolf"	real wolf head, or made of wood painted black	TP, HF, HD, R(n)	all laxk'ibu'
g.aid <sub>2</sub> m gibE'.o, or g.alk gibE'.o	"headdress of wolf" "hat of wolf"	real wolf head	HD(n)(w)	all laxk'bu' <sup>1</sup>
_____ lan <sub>2</sub> mgE'.it	(wolf head helmet with 8 discs) <sub>2</sub>	wooden wolf head helmet with 8 discs above	HD(p)(n)(w)	all laxk'bu' ✓
wil.gil.EkspE'net'su'.b gibE'.o	"turned back the tail of the wolf"	wolf head of cloth or skin with wolf tail brought forward over top	HD	all laxk'bu'
tkuweIksk <sub>2</sub> m gibE'.o	"prince of wolves"	_____	R(n)	6, VIII (senior mem- bers of house)
gw <sub>2</sub> shadah'	(robe of prince of wolves)	white robe with red spots	R(n), HF	13, XV
sig'id <sub>2</sub> mnag <sub>2</sub> m gibE'.o	"princess of wolves"	female wolf; 3 black stripes around body, white stripes in between; white tail	R(n), HF	13, XV

1. All councillors may give permission for anyone in their house to use it.

2. The discs were part of a gisp<sub>2</sub>wudwa'd<sub>2</sub> crest "snags in the water," which were formerly sea monsters (name: g.an<sub>2</sub>mkts<sub>2</sub>m'a'us); worn in wars of the laxk'ibu' against the g'isp<sub>2</sub>wudwa'd<sub>2</sub> who lost it to them; they couldn't buy it back, so it is still worn by the laxk'ibu'.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
t'sobəm gibE'.o	"tail of the wolf"	many wolves all over HF	HF	5,VIII <sup>3</sup> ; 4XV
sE'.mi (or 'ɔl)	"black bear"	1) the black bear when carved has a smaller head than grizzly. The grizzly has large ears which the black bear has not. When myth says grizzly is tired, or drinking, tongue is out <sup>4</sup> 2) TP in sitting position; HF with lifted paws, protruding tongue 3) skin used as HD	various  TP, HF  HD	all laxk'ibu'  6,VII  5,IV
səmsE'.mi	"real bear"	bear with short, sharp nose, black, little different from ordinary black bear	TP,R, HF, HP	13,XV

3. No myth; he had apparently seen this and a crane while hunting and "taken a fancy to them." Though he was junior (to ni.skE, IV), he gave many feasts and yE',k's and in that way came to have a higher standing than IV, who could not use the two crests, although VIII used his.

4. In spite of this statement, it seems unlikely that the laxk'ibu' bear is actually represented as differing from the gispəwudwa'də grizzly. Another informant's comment is probably more accurate: "represented exactly the same as gispəwudwa'də grizzly, but latter would not permit them to use that term for it, so they call it sE'.mi and it has been acknowledged."

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.aidəm sE'.mi	"headdress of bear"	1) appears to be general war HD	HD(w)	all laxk'ibu'
		2) war HD made of actual bear's head	HD(w)	6,VII
		3) wooden HD to represent head of grizzly	HD LB	6,IX <sup>5</sup>
		4) _____	HD	8,II;13,I
g.aidəmEdi'.k	"hat of grizzly"	head of grizzly with fore- paws on each side of nose	HD	13,I
spesE'.mi	"den of bear"	HF: circular with two black bears in sitting position inside dark red. Also painted on robes. Also used as a circular fireplace 6" deep.	HF,R,fire- place	6,IX (also used by VII)
gwəsyag.ag.alyE'n	"robe of silver tipped <sup>6</sup> grizzly fur"	in myth, belonged to super- natural woodpecker, covered with shellfish	R	10,XIII

5. 6,IX was given this by laxse'lə (Tlingit) laxk'ibu' and it is exclusive among Tsimshian (others have similar hats, but with different origins).

6. One of the color phases of the grizzly is brown to black with whitish tipping.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
wilhE'.itkesE'.mi, or haitk'əm sE'.mi	"standing bear"	a bear standing upright on hind legs	TP, HF, R, HP	2, X; 6, VIII; <sup>7</sup> 8, II, III; 13, I; 5, IV
wulpətElkət sE'.mi	"climbing of bear"		TP	5, VIII
wil.axmE'.dəm sE'.mi	"bear in the snow"	1) this one squats down. The bear is a grizzly but the word mɔdi'.k may not be used  2) only 8, II and 13, I could use it complete; whole skin, going inside it	TP, HF, R  R	6, VIII; 3, XII 12, VII; 10, XIII  8, II; 13, I <sup>7</sup>
ɬkuwElkskəm mEdi'.k	"prince of grizzly"	no pearl decorations	R	13, XV

7. Of both of these crests, informants said that those using them could "call each other wE'ket, not just wulE'isk" (brothers, not just relatives). 5, IV could call those using "bear in the snow" wE'ket, but may not have been allowed to use it himself.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
q'asg.ɔ'.s	"crane"	1) a general laxkibu' crest	TP,HD(w)	all laxk'ibu' 7,VIII;13,XV
		2) used by all chiefly status level on their TP and HF	TP,HF	all chiefly status level
		3) "engraved" on TP (long neck, beak, legs), painted on HF (red, black, sometimes green trim), robes, HD (of wood, with parts extending front, back, and sides; in the past, sometimes real bird used)	TP,HF,R,HD	6,VIII
		4) HD consisting of head and feathers of crane, but eyes not of pearl, which is reserved for chiefly status level. As HF, dark green.	TP,HD,HF	5,VIII
g'i'.k	"mosquito"	1) a general laxk'ibu' crest		all laxk'ibu? 5,IV
		2) wooden HD showing head of mosquito	HD(n)	6,IX
qauqa'.u	"crow"			2,I,X,XI
wanE' nE.xɬ	"teeth of killerwhale"	a small variety of killer- whale, not the g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ one		13,I

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
q'a'ots	"labret tooth of skagu" (sperm whale?)	used as labret, decorated with abalone. Not pierced through lip, but fastened on with chin strap	labret(n)	6,VIII
q'anis	"dog salmon"		TP,HD	6,VIII

## Human crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.apg'ig'E't	"beheaded persons"	just the bodies; painted red on inside walls of dwelling	HW	5,IV
gwisq,le	"scalp"	(robe of?) red scalps	R?	5,IV

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
lg.ɔm g'ibɔlk <sup>8</sup>	"rotten gibɔlk"	1) with wings and human faces		13,I
		2) without wings or human faces (house could use it, but didn't own it)		13,XV
t'sag.a'oxɬa	"hooked nose" <sup>9</sup>	1) a huge human-like being with a long nose erected in front of house so that entrance was through nose which opened and closed by mechanical means. Used only for feasts.	E(p)	6,VIII
		2) on TP, a large wooden nose	TP,R,HF	6,VIII; <sup>10</sup> 12,VIII 5,IV

---

Plant crests: none

---

8. The g'ibɔlk is some kind of supernatural bird-like creature.

9. See gispawudwa'dɔ crest of same name.

10. The three houses which use this crest are wE'kɔt to each other.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Natural phenomenon crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
hag'itɔ'tsən	"shadow"	shown on TP as human figure	TP, NN	7, VIII
biɪtzɔmkɔm ganɬa'k	"red sky in the morning" <sup>11</sup>	represented by painting the face red	FP	13, XV
xi'mɔks	"first snow"	when the first snow fell, these houses had to call the people to a feast	custom	13, I; 8, II

## Artifact crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
p'almɔci'n	"copper canoe"	small copper canoe used as HD, also painted red on walls	HD, HW	5, IV
mɔcinɔmdz'a'l	"copper facial decoration"	under eyes, on each cheek bone, nostrils, chin. Also TP	FP, TP	5, IV

11. Not related to the red sky crest of the g'ispɔwudwa'dɔ.



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Artifact crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
ksa'lanʔmg.E'it	"merely lanʔmg.E'it"	hat with 8 discs	HD	13,I
_____ lanʔmg.E'it	"_____ lanʔmg.E'it"	hat with 10 discs, with weasel on top and abalone all around	HD(n)	13,I
lanʔmg.E'it wilksi'yE'n	"lanʔmg.E'it where poor looking" (a man's name)	hat with 4 discs, with weasel on top	HD	12,VI;6,VIII, IX; 5,IV
gwʔs'awE'.1	"robe full of arrows"	garment of leather with barbed bone points sewn on	R(w)	13,I;4,XV?
dʔdu'.lsʔm hawE'.1ʔ	"alive arrow"	_____	_____	6,VIII;10,XI 3,XII
tʔ.t	"armour"	costume with representations of human beings on it	A(w)(p)	12,VII; 6,VIII; others
gwʔsnE'xs, or gwʔsyag.ag.alyE'.n	"robe of deerhooves" <sup>12</sup>	1) leather garment with deer hooves sewn all over it (or hung around bottom of skirt) so that they rattled when moved 2) _____	ambelan? Used only in sec. soc. dances R(n)	3,XII;5,IV 5,VIII
da'ax	"excavated dwelling"	the only councillor to use one, hence an exclusive crest	dwelling	6,VIII

12. From the description, this seems to be a medicine man's ambelan, taken here as a crest.

NISKA	Primary animal crests		laxk'ibu'	
name	translation	description	use	owner
k'ibu	"wolf"	a general laxk'ibu' crest	TP,HD,R	most laxk'ibu' <sup>13</sup>
sɔmo'ɔg'idɔm k'ibu	"chief wolf"	on TP holds copper named "grizzly copper"	TP	16,kwaxcu
ɪkuwElksɔɪkibu (gwiksɔmkibu) (mEkskɔmk'ibu)	"prince of wolves" <sup>14</sup>	1) grey wolf, no pearl	"many ways"	19,kstiya'.ox
	("grey wolf")	2) white wolf, with pearl	TP,HD	19,sqat'i'.n
gibumg.alpg.an	"wolf of the rafters"	carved wooden wolf attached to the protruding front end of rafters	HR	19,kstiya'.ox (exchanged to 19,k'E.xk')
angEɪk'ibu	"sleeping place of wolf"	name of one platform da'ax (excavated house)	HN	19,kstiya'.ox
sma'.x	"black bear"	1) _____	_____	18,ma'lgɔks, wigEdɔmsk'E.k 19,kwungɔ, k'E.xk',tɔ.q 19,kstiya'.ox
		2) HD with weasels behind head (amhalait?); TP	AM,TP	

13. The following houses, and probably others as well, could not use the wolf: 19, kwungɔ, ni.syɔqɪ, ni.skinwE.tk; 18, gwe'

14. sqat'i'.n's prince of wolves was white and decorated with pearls; was ranked a higher crest than the grey prince of wolves.

NISKA

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
lig'i'.nsku	"grizzly"	whole skin	R(or costume)	16,kint'sadʒʌ
gwʒs'masqik	"robe of white breast" (of bear)	white bellied bear	R(n)	19,kwungʔ, k'E.xk',tɔ.q
cihawa'ik <sup>15</sup> or g.alicsma'.x	"bear cub"	1) head only 2) _____	"everything" TP	19,kwungʔ 16,kwaxcu, ɬkuwasa'n
'mindʒpxa'.dʒm sma'.x	(two bears on tree)	one above the other	TP,HD	19,ti'k
mumsma'.x	"ears of bear"	two ears of grizzly tied on HD	HD	16,ni.sləsyE'n
g.alk lig'i'.nsku	"hat of grizzly"	_____	HD	same
heɬkuɬsma'.x	"standing bear"	_____	TP	16,kwaxcu
dzipk'uɬ sma'.x	"bear with closed eyes"	bear with closed eyes and rope, representing snare, from head	TP	same
'angE'sma'.x	"sleeping place of bear"	_____	_____	16,ɬabʒksk
spesma'.x	"den of bear"	standing bear, paws out- stretched	HF	same

15. cihawa'ik<sup>15</sup> might also be translated "without knowledge".

laxk'ibu'

NISKA                                      Primary animal crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
mEs'ɔl, or mEs lig'i'nsku	"white bear", or "white grizzly" <sup>16</sup>	_____	R(n), many ways	16,ni.sləsyE'n 19,ni.skinwE.tk ni.sy,qɬ
g.alk mEs'ɔl	"hat of white bear" <sup>17</sup>	_____	HD,NN	16,kwaxcu
lig'i'nskəm.adəm	"grizzly of winter" <sup>17</sup>	on TP with coho in mouth	TP	same
ɬkuwElkskəm lig'i'nsku	"prince grizzly" <sup>17</sup>	on TP originally covered with white fur	TP	same
smEcɡ.an cihawaɬk'	"bear of tree with young"	with pearl	_____	19,k'E.xk'
ɬkuwElksiɬkum sma'.x	"prince bear"	pearl eyes	TP,also da'ax	16,ɬabəksk
_____ɬɔ.t	(white bear) "armour"	armour from white bear crest	A	16,ni.sləsyE'n 19,ni.skinwE.tb
xmig.ɔ'x lig'i'nsku	"grizzly eating salmon- berries"	naxnɔ'x; also on TP, 2 bears with cub	NN,TP	19,ni.skinwE.tk ni.sy,qɬ

16. This crest was the subject of a famous controversy; kwaxcu attempted several times to take it away from ni.sləsyE'n because it carried very high rank; he was unsuccessful (i.e., others prevented him).

17. These are obviously kwaxcu's attempts to usurp the white bear crest, although he was not allowed to call them such: the grizzly of winter would suggest "white"; the hat of white bear was explicitly assumed as a naxnɔ'x when he was prevented from taking the white bear crest; the prince grizzly covered with white fur is a very obvious ploy to represent the white bear crest.

NISKA

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
gilaxg.an	"wandering bear of wood" <sup>18</sup>	gilax is a bear which does not hibernate; mouth mask worn with carved ears with pearl inside (sold to CFN) and bearskin with weasel skins sewn on it.	M,NN?	19,sqat'i'.n

## Secondary animal crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
wa.n	"deer"			18,gwE'
nE.xawa.'n	"hoofs of deer"	a large spoon	L	17,nagwa'>n <sup>19</sup>
naxnag.əm s>.q	"supernatural robin"	a naxn>'x name, but "it is an ayuks too."	AM,TP	19,kstiya'.ox
gwəsmEksik	"robe of weasel"	mentioned in myth as robe covered with abalone and weasel skins	R	19, t>.q
g.asg.ə's	"crane"		HD,R,NN	19,sqat'i'.n, ni.syəqł

18. This crest was taken from ROM catalogue notes (ROM, HN-690, mouth mask of wandering bear).

19. A crest of the wi.yən group, taken by nagwa'>n when he defeated them in a struggle for leadership.

NISKA

human crests

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.aodixg'Et	"two headed person"	person with two heads and one body	TP	19,kwungɔ,
saEtha.t	"together trunks" <sup>20</sup>	two headed person with one body	_____	16,wi.yɔn
g.abidixg'E't	"two heads of a person" <sup>21</sup>	person with two heads and one body	_____	19,kstiya'.ox
wudɔn b'Eb'E	"between thighs"	ceremonial entrance to house, between the thighs of a large person	HE	19,kwungɔ, k'E.xk',tɔ.q
ksag.alg.ɔ'ldzɔx <sup>22</sup>	"to pack on the shoulder"	a human figure packing something on its shoulder	HD,TP	19,kstiya'.ox
g.alksɔsg.E'.x	"through dark" <sup>23</sup>	black, shown as a man	TP	same
tsixyaqya'q	_____	man hanging upsidedown but with head upright	TP	same

20. Crest seen by two sons of k'E.xk' near gitlaxda'.mks. The older boy didn't want to tell his father, but to save it for his uncle. The younger son told father. Father called it g.aodixg'Et, and gave saEtha.t to his (younger?) son.

21. The same as g.aodixg'Et. Exchanged with k'E.xk' for it; gave him wolf of the rafters.

22. There is some question in my mind that this is the right term for this crest.

23. Informant said that it sounds like one of the ghost chiefs (qalksɔsqE'.x) in k'E.xk''s myth, though this house claims to have seen it on the water. The ghost chief was described as a black man.

laxk'ibu'

NISKA		human crests (cont.)		
name	translation	description	use	owner
(mask of) lulꞑq, or lu'lg.ꞑm'Emilk	(mask of) "ghost"	described in myth as a great mask that looked like a skull	M?	19,tꞑ.q
gwꞑsg.o'lix	"robe of scalps"		R?	16,ꞑabꞑksk
tkwadꞑks ka'.dꞑs	"sassy man"	naxnꞑ'x and ayuks	NN,M?	19,ni.syꞑqꞑ

NISKA		monster crests			laxk'ibu'
name	translation	description	use	owner	
yimxqɿ	(bird like g'ibɔlk)		TP	19,kwungɔ, k'E.xk <sup>u</sup> ,tɔ.q	
mag.ɔmba'lɔq, or madzilu laq		a little bird with a long beak that recurves to mouth		19,kstiya'.ox	
hagwilɔg.ɔm t'sɔm'aks	"monster in the lake" <sup>24</sup>	(from myth) a large box full of human beings decorated with human hair and a fin on its back; it swam as though alive	TT	19,kwungɔ	
ma'tix t'sɔm'aks	"mountain goat of the water"	some call it hagwɔlɔ'.x <sup>24</sup>	TP,HD,gravestone	19,sqat'i'.n	
mɔdi'.gɔmg'Et	"grizzly man"		NN	19,ni.syoqɿ, ni.skinwE.tk	
la'yEsa'nts, also called	"big belly man"				
hoqo'ɿɔm t'saɣx	"nose cutting knife"			18,lag.E 16,ɿabɔksk	
mɔdi'.gɔm laxE'	"grizzly of the sky"		TP	16,kwaxcu	

24. hagwilɔ'.x is usually described as a whale-like creature; the dorsal fin seems to be a constant feature.



laxk'ibu'				
plant crests				
NISKA	name	translation	description	owner
	a.t	"fungus"	the amhalait of the ghosts which turned to black fungus	AM 19,k'Exk', tɔ.q
	laxsag.ala'ux	"young cedar leaves"	on a wooden drum	drum 19,kstiya'ox

natural phenomenon crests				
	name	translation	description	owner
	lig'itkwiyełg'Emks	"the moon walks about"	naxnɔ'x and ayuks. Shown on TP,M,NN TP, also in dance, mask (pearl decoration) of moon.	19,ni.syoql
	wulnaqaq laxE'	"where opens the sky"	a sun-like hole on a robe, red	R 19,sqat'i'n
	dzɔŋg.ansk <sup>25</sup>	"shadow (behind) board"	painted on a box drum	drum 19,kstiya'ox

25. Crest name taken from NMC catalogue notes (VII-C-1470, box drum).

## NISKA

## artifact crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
gw <sub>3</sub> stedza'²alk	"garment glued together" <sup>26</sup>	grizzly skin armour reinforced with slate	A	16,txakug.Ex
	(step of slabs) <sup>27</sup>	carved steps	steps	19,k'E.xk'
lusax'i's <sub>3</sub> s	"soapberry spoon"	special type of spoon, represented on garments	R	19,k'E.xk', kwung <sub>3</sub> ,t <sub>3</sub> .q
wila'².o	"large la'².o" <sup>28</sup>	an amhalait, looked like a human face	AM	19,kstiya'.ox
g.E'id <sub>3</sub> mwidinyE', also called cinag. <sub>3</sub> mg.E'.it	"headdress _____"	from drawing, round brimmed hat with several discs	HD	19,nimpts
g.aid <sub>3</sub> m'wudinyE'	"headdress of walking"	from drawing, flat-topped round brimmed hat	HD	16,txakug.Ex
g.al <sub>3</sub> d <sub>3</sub> mxatE <sub>3</sub>	"vessel for slushy snow"	a very large spoon	L	17,nagwa'²n <sup>29</sup>
d <sub>3</sub> du'.ls <sub>3</sub> m hawE'.l <sub>3</sub>	"alive arrow"	_____	_____	16,k'E.xk'

26. This was the grizzly armour of nEq<sub>3</sub>t, laxse'.l, kitwanga, which was given to house of txakug.Ex in compensation for murder.

27. Crest acquired from hE.l, g'itxa'²a.

28. la'².o: "carver's pattern of what he is going to make" (template?). In a photograph, kstiya'.ox is in centre wearing weasel headdress; on his left is ksedo'ol, his successor, wearing amhalait wila'².o.

29. One of the crests of the wi.y²n group taken by nagwa'²n.

## GITKSAN

## Primary animal crests

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
k'ibu	"wolf"	(there are no statements of general ownership of wolf)		
k'ibu	"wolf"	at the opening of a big pot- latch a man would lace him- self into a whole wolf skin and crawl about on all fours, howling. Same wolf on TP. Highest crest in this house.	TP,D	24,I
gitwE'ltxʔmg'ibu	"raiding wolf"	mask; complete wolf on TP	M,TP	24,I
tsəg.ʔtsəm k'ibu	"cut in half wolf"	_____	_____	26,II
xskwiyaksam, or g.amg'Egəm g'ibu	"white colored wolf"	_____	_____	21,IV
lug.umk'ibu	(travelling) "pack of wolves"	1) several wolves	TP	25,II
		2) exhibited by many people in wolf costumes, who came to guests' houses and destroyed property, for which they paid compensation later.	D, NN	21,III
		3) sitting on TP with tail curled back	TP	same

laxk'ibu'

GITKSAN Primary animal crests				
name	translation	description	use	owner
k'ibu	"single wolf"			25,II
ṭṭ.t	(wolf) "armour"	used as warrior armour	A(w)	22,V <sup>30</sup>
gitwan'kɔnigibe'.o	"warrior wolf"	carved wooden headdress	HD	25,II <sup>31</sup>
mEs'ɔl, or tenɔmg'E't	"white bear"	1) robe with human face	R	20,I
		2) showing offspring	TP	21,II
tsiphum sma'.x <sup>32</sup>	"ensnared bear"		TP	20,II
he'tkut sma'.x	"standing bear"	standing bear	TP,HP	24,III,IV; 25,I,IV; 23,I;26,I
t'amsma'.x	(sitting bear?)	sitting bear; on 21,I TP, the bear is in same posture as standing bear	TP,HP	21,III;23,I
a'wul.a'yəst, or ci'a'wa.ṭu	"without knowledge" "new cubs" (of bear)	bear cubs, climbing pole or sitting along eaves of house	TP,eaves	25,II,IV; 26,IV;23,II

30. This armour was worn at the Kitsegukla potlatches. Beynon: "the performer . . . was a g.anha'dɔ . . . wearing a wolf clan crest, but was privileged to do so as his paternal origin was wolf and this was not a crest but rather a naxnɔ'.x and was used as a warrior armour in war by this group."

31. Information about this crest from NMC catalogue notes (NMC, VII-C-1193, wolf headdress).

32. Barbeau's popular orthography.

GITKSAN	Primary animal crests (cont.)		laxk'ibu'	
name	translation	description	use	owner
txaxkiikum sma'.x	"bear with offspring"	bear mother with cubs	TP	20,I,II; 21,II
t'əmgEsəm sma'.x	"head of bear"	the skin, worn on the head	HD	25,IV
anpteoltu-kuhl-sma'.x	"ribs of bear"	slanting marks on TP	TP	21,II;24,I,II
t'sag.a'ntskəm sma'.x	"bear cut in half"		TP	26,I;25,IV
xtaqa.uxtskəm sma'.x	"bear cut in two"	front half to 24; rear to 21	TP	24,V,II;21
wayiw, meaning g.ag.əm sma'.x	"open bear" "	opening in pole at door to feast house	TP,HE	23,I
palxum sma'.x	"split (open) or skinned bear"	a bear split open with heart attached to skin	D	21,III
smEyəmda'ax	"bear of da'ax (house)"	represented on TP with two <sup>33</sup> heads, one trunk, and the bowels out	TP	21,I
ikuwElksiikum sma'.x	"prince of bears"	on TP, it was split; his <sup>33</sup> stomach and entrails fallen out of his body, and bitten by wolf	TP	21,I,III

33. These two are obviously one and the same, and probably related to palxum sma'.x, which is also claimed by 21,III. One informant said that "on the Nass it is a laxsk'i'.k crest; it is from Nass."

GITKSAN		Primary animal crests (cont.)			laxk'ibu'	
name	translation	description	use	owner		
naxnag.əm lig'i'.nsku	"supernatural grizzly"	grizzly robe, complete skin	R	21,I		
lig'i'.nsku	"grizzly"	1) man wears whole grizzly skin	R	24,III,IV		
		2) four grizzlies, sat at the corners of stone da'ax	HP	21,I		
qalpxanəm sma'.x	"house timbers of bear"	the heads of bears were carved on the ends of the rafters of the house	HR	21,I		
sma'.x (with) ha'.uts	(bear surmounted by cormorant)	at base of TP; bear surmounted with cormorant	TP	24,II <sup>34</sup>		
lɔpdedatxum lig'i'.nsku	"_____ grizzly"	_____	_____	21,I;24,I,II		

34. From the Nass house of skqani'səm sɔmo'ɔg'Et (Chief Mountain), laxsk'i'.k, g'it'iks. Nass people killed someone here, and as reparation, gave them this crest.

## GITKSAN

## Secondary animal crests

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
segutkwinu'xs	"almost owl"			25,IV
'us	"dog"	painted inside house between 2 wolves, one biting its tail, one its head	HW?screen?	26,I
hawa'.o	"mountain lion"		TP	20,I,II
ma'tix	"mountain goat"	carved on tombstone	tombstone	25,IV
gitl>wins, or k'ewa'ig.an	"woodpecker"		TP	21,I
ipin	"whale"	on TP, but also in feast house: a 20' whale of hide, spouting; is speared, cut open and meat distributed to guests	TP,D	25,II
'wəl'Eqx <sup>35</sup>	"horsefly"	on TP with long beaklike nose; as naxn>'x is performer dressed like big "spider" who points at ("bites") chiefs, then compensates them	TP,HF,HD,NN	24,III,IV

35. A crude pecked stone was found at Kispiox with a representations that Beynon believed to be this crest. The wolf chief at the time (1919) told him that it was used for destroying slaves as part of ceremony of assuming name, an explanation rather difficult to accept. Beynon also said that the zigzag lines on the stone represented link with the Nass where the house got a nephew and nieces to perpetuate them when going extinct.

laxk'ibu'

GITKSAN		Secondary animal crests (cont.)			
name	translation	description	use	owner	
qaq	"raven" <sup>36</sup>	stone mask, worn by man in housefront over door to announce that a feast was to be given	M	25,II	
ts <sub>ə</sub> mqa.q	"inside raven"	house name	HN	25,II	
gw <sub>ə</sub> xski'.k	"robe of eagle"	_____	R	24,VI,II?	
waxski'.k	"small eagle"	naxn <sub>ə</sub> 'x, but used to top TP	TP,NN	24,II	
gw <sub>ə</sub> sm <sub>ə</sub> ksi'ɬ	"robe of weasel"	_____	R	21,I	
g. aid <sub>ə</sub> m m <sub>ə</sub> ksi'ɬ	"headdress of weasel"	_____	HD	21,I	
masha'ɔt	"white marten"	1) on chief's hat	HD	20,I	
		2) as hat and on TP (in grasp of eagle)	HD,TP	20,II	

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36. Informant couldn't explain why the house had a raven crest.



## GITKSAN

## Human crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
lig'ig' alwi'l	(person taken by wolves)	_____	TP	21,III
gwəsyag.ag.alyE'n	"robe of young people"	1) _____	_____	21,I
		2) on TP and painted (as face of man) at many places on HF	TP, HF	25,V
t's,m'wid,nbaba	"into between the thighs"	a human being on house; entrance was between its thighs. On TP, its feet were turned back	TP, HE	25,I;21,IV
g.Ed,mg'E't	"many human beings"	on TP, a human standing upright with an eagle grasping its head	TP	24,V
g.aodixg'E't	"two headed man"	1) human figure with two heads	TP	21,I
		2) big man cut in half on HF, HE entrance between halves		25,III
apsExkumgEt, also sagEthE'tk	"split person"	2 humans, one on top of the other with stomach cut in two	_____	26,III
xpig'ig'E't	_____	4 children on pole	TP	25,I

laxk'ibu'

GITKSAN		Monster crests		
name	translation	description	use	owner
ni't <sub>3</sub> samlaxg.an	"human-like creature up	(from myth) "this man had a very curious hand, which seemed very sharp on the outer edge. It looked almost like a knife"	TP	23,II;24,?
la'yaspa'nc	"large belly"	human in myth with large belly and sharp or glasslike nose. On TP shown as being with long nose	TP	24,III,IV: 26,III
g'ibE'.umg'Et	"wolf man"	human head and wolf body	TP,NN	26,IV
m <sub>3</sub> dig <sub>3</sub> m dzawE'ya'ks	"grizzly of the sea"	sitting up on TP with figure of man on paws	TP	25,III
sk <sub>3</sub> ms <sub>3</sub> m	"mountain eagle"	_____	_____	21,I
yag.amacem laxt'saɬ	"man with wings"	_____	_____	24,?

Plant crests: none

## GITKSAN

## Natural phenomenon crests

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.an ɔ̌.dzəŋɔ̌x	"shadows (reflection in water)"	1) painted in house; on TP is probably "four-lobed figure"	TP,HW or S?	26,I
		2) red cross-hatching painted in house	HW or S?	23,II
		3) painted red or black on robe	R	25,I
		4) consists of two parallel lines enclosing three circles, one at both ends and 3rd in centre; both arms on each side of central circle pointing at 25 min. to 11	TP	23,II
wulnaq.E'qx	"where hole"	hole with small human beings around it; on HF over door; on TP and tombstone	HF,TP,tombstone	24,I;21,III 25,IV;26,II

## GITKSAN

## Artifact crests

laxk'ibu'

name	translation	description	use	owner
ke.nag.umg.E'it	"tall hat"			24,II
dag.amlɔ'p	"da'ax of stone"	excavated house		21,I;23,II
ha'ni'.g.ɔl	"movable steps"	movable steps inside doorway, D used on ceremonial occasions. A moving platform. Chiefs had to stand on it and sing their songs to stop it. If they fell, they had to pay to redeem themselves		26,I
ti'n, called wi.ta'mg.ɔn	"fish weir"	made as a ceremonial entrance, so that guests were "caught in a trap"	HE	25,I
taqsɔm sg.a'ltu	"crown of claws"	made of mountain goat horn; on TP, human with crown at top	HD,TP	26,II
sɔdag.a'nɔ, or yax'yag.awa'lp	"house on posts" or "suspended house"	coast type house		26,III
'yag.a'masɔlaxt'sa'k	"red ochre down nose"	custom of painting red stripe down forehead to nose	FP	24,III,IV

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests

g'ispəwudwa'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
nE.xɬ	"killerwhale" also called "blackfish"	a general crest	various	all gisp. <sup>1</sup>
səmE.xɬ	"real killerwhale" <sup>2</sup>	1) the g'itksədz sub-clan nE.xɬ differs from the gitnagunaks nE.xɬ in not having fins  2) a wooden HD of the whole blackfish worn with a whole animal sewn or outlined in buttons on a robe (replacing both HD and robe made of elk or caribou skin)	HD,R	g'itksədz  all gisp.
g.aidəm'nE.xɬ	"headdress of killerwhale"	carved of wood	HD(n)	3,I;4,I
g.alk'nE.xɬ	"hat of killerwhale"	of wood	HD(p)	all gisp.

1. In the following tables, g'ispəwudwa'də will be abbreviated as gisp.

2. The inland gisp. did not originally have a killerwhale crest, but adopted it from the gisp. living in the coast, who then called theirs the səmE.xɬ ("real killerwhale"), in order to distinguish it from the one adopted by the inland people (although this name is actually seldom used in specific crest names); the saltwater gisp. regarded the taking of the crest by those from the interior as somewhat improper. One informant said that "when they came here, those of the coast gave the nE.xɬ to them to use, but not as their property".

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests

g'ispəwudwa'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
tkuWE'.lksəg.m'nE.xɬ	"prince of killerwhale"	1) a HD representing the whole HD killerwhale similar to the ordinary crest HD, but made "prince" by having abalone on eyes and sides; worn only by chiefs (i.e., upper class)		21,I
		2) HD, decorated with abalone	HD	7,I;3,I;4,I
pE.tkə'm'nE.xɬ	"split killerwhale"	ordinary killerwhale with human beings on its back	HF	4,V,VIII
qahamɔ.xk	(backbone of killerwhale)	represented as alive		4,V,VIII
wilnəguku'.ə t'nE.xɬ	"colliding killerwhales"	two killerwhales shown colliding, painted on HF in white, black, red; on TP shown one above the other	HF,TP,R	all gisp.
ɬɔtkə m'nE.xɬ	"armour of killerwhale"	1) robe made of leather, covers entire body excepting face; on back and front are representations of killer-whale; worn with HD of head of killerwhale	A,HD	"royal" tə mlax'am
		2) war garment of killer-whale, made of wood or tough seal skin; representation of killerwhale painted black	A	3,VI

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
wusəng.ɔ'.ɔ' skənəm 'nE'Ex 'nE.xɬ	"two finned killerwhale"		R(n)	g'itnagunaks sub-clan
txa' tkunE 'Exs(nE.xɬ)	"fins all around (killer-whale)"	human figure on each fin	TP, HF, R(n)	g'itnagunaks 4, V; 10, IV, XI
nE' nE.xɬ	"fin of killerwhale"	wooden headdress used by anybody at feast	HD, TP	5, III
?	(killerwhale with seal upon which shellfish cling)		HF, R(n)	13, XVI, XVII
kɔmas' nE.xɬ	"nearly killerwhale"	represented as a killerwhale with two fins. Used in crest demonstrations.	D	14, III
nE'Ex	"fin" <sup>3</sup>	a wooden "weapon" (said to actually be a decoration) set upright in a wooden frame in the centre of the canoe in time of war. Black with red parts; on the back of the fin is the hairlike fibres from the mouth of the killerwhale	carving	3, I; 7, I; 1, I 5, VI, VII

3. The fin part of the 'nE' g.ɔ'm sag.ɔ'.lɔk crest of ni.slo's .

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
nE'g.ɬm sag.ɔ' .lɔk <sup>4</sup>	"fin of scalp"	a fin attached to head with a strap	HD	"royal" t'ɬmlax'am 1,I;3,II; 4,V,VIII; 5,I;10,IV; 13,IV,VI,VII
nE.xɬm gwɬshala'it	"killerwhale dancing robe"	a Chilkat	R	7,I;3,I
mɔdi' k	"grizzly"	general crest <sup>5</sup>	various	all gisp.
		1) painted skin robe	R	councillor status level
		2) HF, whole animal, painted red and black	HF	6,IV
		3) impersonation of whole animal <sup>6</sup>	D	chiefly status level,12,I

4. Taken in war by the g.anha'dɔ house of ni.skiwE, g'itxaxɬE'ɬ (II), worn once and returned, although the g.anha'dɔ still consider it theirs. A high-ranking crest.

5. The grizzly was brought from t'ɬmlax'am. The main crest, ptEx, of the inland gisp. Some informants said that the coastal gisp. had no grizzly crest at all before adopting it from their t'ɬmlax'am relatives.

6. The councillor status level may wear a grizzly skin, but only as a blanket on the back, not actually impersonating the animal.



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.E'idꞑm mꞑdi'.k, or g.alkmadi .k	"headdress of grizzly" <sup>7</sup> "hat of grizzly"	1) head of grizzly, made of wood	HD (w) (p)	councillor status level
		2) real whole head	HD	12, I
dꞑmg.aosꞑm mꞑdi'.k	"head of grizzly"	represented by a stone monument	gravestone	3, II
g.E'idꞑmg'E'l.E	"hat of grizzly paws"	1) _____	HD (p)	all councillor status level
		2) 4 or 5 real paws	HD	12, I, IV; 10, VI; 9, II
mumsE'.mi	"ear of bear"	1) a HD, grizzly with ears sticking up, real fur, used (councillor status level could use real fur as well)	HD, TP	4, X (all gisp?)
		2) not a crest, but a decora- tion of all chiefs in the hala'it	HD	chiefly status level; also 9, I (a laxsk'i'.k)

7. The real bear's head, or one carved of wood, was used in some form by all councillor and chiefly status level gisp. In war it was supposed to be supernatural, protecting the wearer and giving him strength. It could also be worn at a feast, as could the hat of grizzly paws, but this one seemed to carry higher rank.

gisp.

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Primary animal crests (cont.)		
name	translation	description	use	owner
łkuwE'łkskəm mɔdi'.k	"prince grizzly"	1) impersonation of grizzly; two men in skin	D	12,I
		2) with abalone	_____	4,I;3,I
		3) when used as a HF, it was shown sitting; when carved it was sitting, with abalone in forpaws, ears, eyes, and nostrils; also on R	HF,TP,R(n)	"royal" t'ɔ mlax'am
mɔdi'.gəm gilha'oli <sup>8</sup>	1) "grizzly of the hills"	sitting or standing	many	12,IV,V;9,XI
	2) "grizzly of the mountains"	_____	_____	3,I;15a,III; 7,I;12,I
mɔdi'.gəm t'ɔ mlax'am	"grizzly of t'ɔ mlax'am"	_____	_____	10,VII,VI,X
?	(grizzly with a human holding its belly open)	a bear with a human holding its belly open	TP	4,I
ye'g.aidəm mɔdi'.k	"hanging grizzly" (?)	carved grizzly on interior houseposts	HP	3,I

8. Informant said that this crest was exclusive to the royal t'ɔ mlax'am, and that they had "been given the privilege to use this by consent of the laxk'ibu' people."

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Primary animal crests (cont.)		gisp.	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
haitxəm mədi'.k	"standing grizzly"	carved figure used in house, giving rise to house name: haitxəm wə.lp: "standing house."	carving, HN	3,I	
məsg.a'iɬ bəlɬE'	"pearly white breast (of grizzly)"	abalone shell sewn on the breast of a grizzly skin	R,TP	4,I	
mədi'.gəm xsə	"grizzly canoe"	canoe with large carved grizzly on bow, with protruding tongue, to give the appearance of lapping water	canoe	12,I (used by 12,VII, who is laxk'ibu)	
iyə'.pəx mədi' gəm wE.lp	"swallow grizzly house"	a house with a grizzly mouth for a door, which opened and closed. When people came for a feast, all gisp. had to give it a gift.	HE	12,I	
spesE'.mi	"abode of bear"	a house name	HN	12,I	
xə.ndəkxE.t	"braided intestines (of grizzly)"	name of interior house beams	HB	3,I	
g.ansu	"shaking stick"	a slanting TP, with prince grizzly at its base as though climbing (grizzly with abalone)	TP	4,I	

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Primary animal crests (cont.)		gisp.	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
mEs' ɔ̌lɔ̌	"white bear" <sup>9</sup>	_____	_____	3,I (given as murder compensation by 2,I)	
g'wɔ̌smEs' ɔ̌lɔ̌	"robe of white bear"	_____	R	7,I,IV	
g.alk'awE' ɔ̌.1	"hat of arrows"	hat shaped like a grizzly's head, real skin, decorated with arrows.	HD	4,I	

9. There was considerable rivalry over this crest between the houses of wa'mɔ̌'dɔ̌mk, I, g'itg.a'atɔ̌ and gunaxnu'tk, I, gitxa'ɬa. See also, the rivalry over the White Bear crest of the Nass River laxk'ibu. There is a white color phase in the grizzly.

gisp.

COAST TSIMSHIAN

Secondary animal crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
maxmE'x	"grouse"	a general crest <sup>10</sup>	various	all gisp.
		1) a wooden carving on top of HF; and HD made of feathers	HD, carving	12,III;10,X; 13,IV,VI,VII 3,I
		2) dramatized as follows: two tubs of water were beaten to represent the hotting of the grouse; small imitations of grouse were operated from tunnels around the floor; a large mother grouse (person in costume) and chicks would perform, giving guests wooden eggs. The guests sang naxn>'x songs while consuming them.	D(NN?)	14,III
mE'skəm maxmE'x	"red grouse"			12,III
gwuḷkuni'yuks	"owl"	1) used a a naxn>'x rather than a crest	NN	all gisp. 10,I;13,IV; 15,II,III
		2) not an important crest	R,HD	"royal" t'a mlax'am

10. The grouse is said to an interior or g'isg. a 'st crest specifically. It had an interesting use on the coast: when a son of a gisp. father came of age, some gisp. wearing grouse feathers would enter the house and sit next to him, and he would then have to prepare a feast for the man wearing the grouse feathers.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
me'sgwuikuni'.yuks	"red owl"			12, III
g.amEts	"starfish"	used as a house decoration, in wood hanging from beams	HB	4, V
g.alkma'ti	"hat of mountain goat" <sup>11</sup>	head part only used as crest; never on TP or robes	HD	3, I, II; 7, I, I; 13, IV, VI, VII; 10, X, VI
'ə'la	"seal"			saltwater people; 13, VI; 1, VIII
(red)wi'yuk	"(red) groundhog"			12, III
ksəm sɔ'ik	"woman robin"			13, IX
hat'sa'lt	"octopus"			
hE.c	"dog"		HD, TP	g'it', mlax'am
'amt'E'	"curlew"			4, I

11. There was a dispute over this crest between hE.l of g'itxa'a and shuhala'.it of g'ispaxlɔ'ts. Informant said that hE.l first shamed suhala'.it, and then the latter gave a feast and erected a mountain goal pole at Port Simpson (contradicting those who said this was not used on totem poles), and threw the mountain goat headdress into the fire along with two coppers. hE.l never took up the challenge, and so the crest belonged to suhala'.it and not to him from then on. Suhala'.it was of the councillor class.

gisp.

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Secondary animal crests (cont.)		
name	translation	description	use	owner
xtsen ɔ' su	(caterpillar) <sup>12</sup>	carved wooden HD, 2'8" with 3 bear-like heads separated by yellow stripes; worn by girls down the back	HD, HF	10, VI, VII; i, I; 12, IV
g. E' id ɔ m xtsen ɔ' su	"headdress of caterpillar"	with pearl	HD	4, X
tE' x ɔ m sg. ano' tk	(a bird like a chicken)	a bird like a chicken, painted red and green	_____	4, X
gw ɔ dag. a' a' o	"robe of sea urchins"	robe of a species of marine fish worn by the prince of killerwhales in the myth. Made as a leather robe with these fish sewn on	R(n)	13, IV, XVI, XVII; 3, X; 4, V
g. aid ɔ m dag. a' a' o	"headdress of sea urchins"	wooden	HD	3, X; 4, V, VIII; 10, IV; 6, IV; 10, XI
hadza' ld ɔ m xs ɔ	"octopus canoe"	seat thwarts carved as limbs of octopus	canoe	12, I

12. The name is said to refer to the colouring of the caterpillar. See also under "monster" classification.

COAST TSIMSHIAN

Human crests

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.ansEhawE <sup>13</sup>	"wood (for?) arrows"	a decoy figure of wood for arrows; used in canoe to draw enemy fire	carving	4,X
ligidił	"kind man"	1) a supernatural human figure holding abalone bow (another crest) in its hand; on TP made to revolve in wind. Also a small figure used in war	TP,carving (w)	"royal" t <sup>3</sup> mlax'am
		2) holds a copper under its left hand and looks in only one direction	TP,carving (w)	8,I
		3) wooden human being with body that moves from side to side with movable arms. Used in war; set up in centre of canoe to draw enemy fire; also shown in ya <sup>3</sup> k.	carving	7,I;3,I
		4) person with hands out-stretched with palms upward. In ancient times was made to revolve on TP, so that it was supposed to turn and look towards any place of trouble or disturbance; it was meant to pacify	TP,carving	7,II,IV, XIII;8,XI

13. Informant said that this decoy afterwards became the ligidił of ni.swE.xs, I, g'inad<sup>3</sup>iks.



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Human crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
lu'aya'.ux	"the advisor"	wooden man on TP	TP	15b,II
g.aodak'g'E'.t	"double bodied(sic)Man"	a double-bodied being (or two men) represented on a grizzly head	TP, HF, R, not HD	10,VII
miyE'.sg.an	?	two human beings who were standing in each corner of nagunak's house	_____	4,V,VIII
hag.wild' l'm hana'ax	"club of woman"	warrior's club made to resemble a woman; not really a club but a type of naxn'x used as a crest	club, NN	3,VI
g.alksEhE.t	"hat of _____"	represented as human beings on the rafters	HR	7,XIII

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Monster crests		gisp.	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
g.aməs'nE.xɬ	?	a different form of killer-whale, having a different head, being more of a monster	_____	4,I	
lag.ax'wE'.sə	"mouth at both ends" <sup>14</sup>	double-headed killerwhale	TP,HF,R(n), HD,HB	g'itnagunaks (all gisp.?) chiefly status level only as HD; 3,II;5,VII; 7,III,XIV, XIII	
sE'ɬəm hagwɬɬ'x	(spoon of monster killerwhale)	a spoon shaped like a hagwɬɬ'x killerwhale	spoon	_____	

14. "A double headed monster of the deep water, more like the nE.xɬ than anything else." A myth claims that it was a monster seen emerging from a lake near Temlaham, and that it was the general crest of all t'əmlax'am before they got the mɬdi'.k.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
mɔdi'gɔm 'a'ks	d'zag.ɔm	"grizzly of the sea" <sup>15</sup>		
		1) grizzly with fin on its head; hole in fin	HF,TP,HP,R, (many uses)	g'itnagunaks, laxmɔ'n;12,IV; 4,II,I,VIII; 6,IV;12,IV; 13,V,VI,VII
		2) used as war garment	R(w)?	g'itnagunaks
		3) shown sitting or standing erect, as robe (of complete skin and head), wooden fin added, protruding tongue	R	_____
		4) sitting grizzly with fin on its head	HP	3,X
		5) carved figure sitting with paws up, looking down; on top of house in front; different from regular grizzly in having seaweeds instead of fur (they don't carve it differently, but mention this when assuming it)	carving,R,HD	9,II;7,III
		6) resembled land grizzly except for longer fur and fin on its head. Used only on hE.st TP, a round TP with thunderbird on top	TP	13,IV

15. The g'itnagunaks "don't use mɔdi'.k but only grizzly of the sea - which is their ptEx." "The g'itnagunaks and g'it'ɔmlax'am are not wulE'.isk (relatives) to each other, not related at all."

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
mɔdi'gɔm ksi'ing.a'atɔ	"grizzly of ksi'ing.a'atɔ" <sup>16</sup>	a sea grizzly with a fin on on its back	TP, HF, R	3, VI
gwɔsnE'Ex	"headdress(sic) of fin"	grizzly head with a large fin protruding from top	HD(n)	3, X
ndap'k	?	TP showing bear with 4 human heads	TP	4, I
'nE'xɬɔm mɔdi'.k	"blackfish and grizzly"	shown on 'nE'xɬɔm gwashala - it Chilkat purchased from Musgrave; (in myth, 2 big nExɬ with monster grizzly between; decorated with abalone and seaweed)	R	7, IV
hagwilɔ'gɔm giyE'ks	"monster of away out to sea"	_____	TP, HF, R	3, VI

16. Ksi'ing.a'atɔ, a place name. The myth is a variant of the nagunaks myth, but the crest is said not to be related in any way to the grizzly of the sea, or the grizzly of Temlaham.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
wilmi'.c	"where spawns"	1) a grizzly-like monster always shown with children on its back	HB,HR	12,I
		2) wooden HD representing monster's head and a robe with pockets in which "children" are placed so that only their heads show	R	7,I
		3) supernatural whale-like creature used on TP, also HF (black body), and along back-bone the eyes of its young protrude; also small fins	TP,HF	5,VI,VII
		4) small humans spawning in a creek	_____	10,XI
g.ag.ɔm dzɔm'a'ks <sup>17</sup>	"raven of the water"	a being which emerged from the sea as a hagwelɔ'x	_____	7,IV

17. The laxk'ibu' g'idag.anits (Tlingit) have the same crest, known as spE', which speaks like a raven but is not a raven. There was considerable trouble over this crest between the g.anha'də and the gisp. chiefs, and they finally reached a settlement, so the gisp. never exhibited it. Was said to have been seen and taken as a crest after "school was established here" and after the g.anha'də turned Christian.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
xt'sə'n>'.su	(wolf-like being)	a double headed being, short legged and long bodied, resembling wolf. Between the two opposite sides was a little head of a man, ornamented with abalone.	_____	4,I
g'i' bəlk	(like a large eagle)	_____	HF	4,V,VIII
tsag.ao'xɬə	"Nose (like a) retrieving hook"	1) a bird with a recurved beak, with characteristics of thunderbird	_____	2,I
		2) human with long, hooked, recurved nose	_____	12,V
g.aləbli'.bəm laxE'	"thunder of the air"	1) HP outside and inside at rear. Shown as a bird with a long beak curved at the end, somewhat different from the xske'.msəm.	HP	3,I;8,I
		2) they also used it as a hala'.it, worn as a large figure with rolled up, mechanically operated wings which unfolded to accompaniment of thunderous noise	D	same

name	translation	description	use	owner
<hr/>				
"thunder of the air" (cont.)				
		3) represented as a large bird with a head like an eagle, except with longer beak which emits fire. When it moves its huge wings, thunder is heard	TP, HF, R	13, IV, VI, VII
lax'ɔ'm <sup>18</sup>	"on top"	1) a supernatural bird, with a long straight beak; or a human being with a long nose	HD	"royal" t'əmlax'am
		2) represented as a bird with a large beak, wings and claws	HF, R	13, IV, VI, VII
ha'ciɬɔ'	"to cause a slide"	a large bird with a long, hooked, recurved nose; black and red	_____	7, II
g'wəsdzEdEmti <sup>19</sup>	"lightning robe"	carved of wood; a huge bird with outspread wings, used as entrance to house. When mouth (door) opened it made a noise of thunder. Had grizzly feet.	HE	3, I

18. One of these, a headdress probably, was said to have been presented to the Duke of York on his world tour by ni.swE'xs, I, g'ina'dɔ'iks.

19. In the myth, it was a "huge bird-like being splashing about in the water. The flapping of its wings caused a noise like thunder, and when it opened its beak it emitted flashes of lightning. On each of its wings were human beings with bright faces and flashing eyes. When it reached the shore, the two chiefs saw that its feet were like those of a grizzly bear."

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
xsk.e'.ms <sup>20</sup> m	?	1) bird like an eagle, but more recurved beak, very large claws	TP,HD,AM,NN	4,I;8,I; 7,I,II
		2) bird of the mountains with recurved beak, long wings, black tail, feathers with white tips		same
		3) large extinct bird like an eagle		same
		4) not a hawk		same
		5) used on TP and also as a HD at dances or feasts; represents a large bird similar to the eagle but with longer beak and very large claws. Eyes are of pearl. HD has sea-lion whiskers over it and weasel fur behind. Others use this crest, but without decoration.	TP,HD,AM	5,VI,VII; 4,I;7,II (only on TP)

20. Beynon noted that among the Tsimshian he had never heard of xsk'e'.ms<sup>20</sup>m used as a crest, only a naxnə'x. He noted the difference of opinion as to what kind of creature it was.



gisp.

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Monster crests (cont.)			
name	translation	description	use	owner	
ligidʒdu ʼls	"all over alive"	woman with human faces in her eyes (wife of nagunaks)	_____	10,IV;4,V, VIII;13,VIII, IX,XII	
txag'Et	"all (covered with) human beings"	woman with human faces in her eyes and mouth (see above)	TP,HF,R	g'itnagunaks 3,X;10,XI	
g'Edʒmt'sʒm sqani ʼs	"man of in the mountains"	a short human being with wings, with a nose about a foot long	TP,HF,R(n)	13,XVI,XVII	
k'edʒmn ʼt	?	supernatural being with many heads	_____	5,III	

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Plant crests		gisp.	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
k'le'.n	(variety of seaweed)	decoration inside house represented in wood hanging from beams	HB	4,V	
gwəsmelaxkə'	"robe of (variety of seaweed)"	real seaweed tied on robe	R	all gisp, but only used by councillor status level	
gwəstE'.its	"robe of (seaweed like kelp)"	made of leather, painted	R(n)	3,X;10,IV;4,V	
p'a'.tsa	(variety of seaweed)	_____	_____	all gisp.	
mə'.x	"kelp"	_____	_____	all gisp.	
masxe'.lɔ.p	"breasts of the rock"	a plant of this name	_____	_____	
hE.st	"fireweed" <sup>21</sup>	represented as a straight uncarved pole, painted red	TP	9,II;12,I;10,VI;15,III	
hE.səmg.a''atə	"fireweed cane"	cane representing fireweed	cane	2,I	
g.anəmktsəma'wəs	"snag of ktsəma'ws"	thought of as protruding from the back of some animal; represented on TP as uncarved shaft	TP	"royal" gisp. 7,I	

21. Said to have been brought from the village of gaoa to t'əmlax'am, but never given to the people of t'əmlax'am to use; some do use it, but it is not recognized as good form. Fireweed was said to be plentiful at t'əmlax'am.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Natural phenomenon crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
ma'.xe	"rainbow"	2 parallel lines painted diagonally across face; also R, HF	FP,R,HF	all gisp. 13,IV,VI,VII; 3,I;15a,III; 12,V
gwəstE'.xɬ	"robe of rainbow?"	_____	_____	4,I
g'Emk, <sup>22</sup> or g'Emg.əmdzi'.us	"sun", or "sunlight"?	_____	HF,R	12,I;13,IV, VI,VIII
g'Emk, or g'Emg.ə m hu'pəl	"moon", or "luminary of the night"	on face, red circular line all around face. On robe, human face painted red, or circle with human standing erect in it. When a person died, it was painted on his face	HD,TP,FP,R	"royal" t'əmlax'am; some nagunaks diff. myth 13,IV;15b,II; 12,I;3,II
mig.ə m wE.lp	"shower house" <sup>22</sup>	HF painted to represent rain shower (used at hunting camp)	HF,HN	3,I

22. There is some confusion about the word g'Emk. Charles Mark, Kitsegukla informant, told Barbeau it meant "warm" and applied only to the sun. Others indicated that it might also apply to the moon. Among the Gitksan, the word is ɬəxs, which Mark said was used to refer to the sun and moon both; in order to distinguish between them, it was necessary to qualify it by saying "sun of day" and "sun of night". Lonnie Hindle, a Gitksan speaker from Kispiox, told me that ɬəxs was Gitksan for "sun"; and ɬəxsmax was "moon" or "sun of night". He said that the Tsimshian word gyemk meant "hot".

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Natural phenomenon crests

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
maxai <sup>23</sup> m wE.lp	"rainbow house" <sup>23</sup>		HN	3,I
biyEls <sup>23</sup> m wE.lp	"star house" <sup>23</sup>	built at eulachon fishing grounds	HN	3,I
g'Emg. <sup>23</sup> m wE.lp	"sun house" <sup>23</sup>		HN	3,I
t'salks	"water spouts on sand"	clam holes?		"royal" gisp.
lu'aya'.ox	"clouds"	clouds on the horizon taking fantastic shapes; carved as human figures on corner posts	HP	2,I
g.ɬibə	"light"			13,VI;10,VII
ɬək'a'n	"mirage"	1) painted on da'ax platform as reclining human in many positions.	H platforms	6,II
		2) represented as human beings on TP	TP	8,IV
pi'.yɔltɬək	"red sky" (sunrise and sunset)	facial painting	FP	"royal" gisp.
ye'ən	"black shower clouds"			"royal" gisp.

23. In the myth, the houses and house front paintings representing sun, rainbow, stars and other heavenly bodies were assumed as crests.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Natural phenomenon crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
mig.əm amhala'.it	"shower amhala'.it"	represented as human with pearl eyes, teeth, ears	AM	3,I
'mi'.ək	"rain"	_____	_____	all gisp; used by laxmən only
pi'yE.lc	"stars"	_____	HF,R	"royal" t'əmlax'am; 15a,III
g.ag.anɔ't'sənək	"shadows"	large human being, always moving as shadow; painted on boards (HF?) as human being with large outspread wings	HF?	12,V;15a,III, "royal" t'əmlax'am
lax'ɔ'm	"(red)sky"	represented by 2 human heads, one above the other; different from mirage	_____	12,V
lagwa.g.a'.utsi	"fire of grease"	at feast, 20 boxes of eulachon grease are burned	fire	3,I;12,I

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Artifact crests		gisp.	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
nig.anptɔ	"hoofs of deer"	bundles of mountain goat hooves attached to door which clattered when door opened	door	14,III	
bElham iyo'd'Esk	"pearl necklace"	leather and abalone	necklace	3,I	
bElham bElE'.n	"pearled belt"	leather and abalone	belt	3,I	
bElham hak'utɔk	"pearled bow"	5 ft. long, decorated with abalone; held in the hand when assuming name	bow	"royal" gisp.	
mEsɔb'a'xs	"red leggings" <sup>24</sup>	red leather leggings worn in war, naming ceremony, and potlatch	leggings (N,W,P)	"royal" tɔmlax'am; 7,I;8,I;3,I	
lanɔmg.E.'it	(19 disc basketry hat)	the largest of its kind; alternating rings of green and red. Said to have been purchased from the Haida for 2 coppers, 10 slaves, and 5 canoes of food	HD	3,I	

24. This colour red is said to be "blood of animals that live in the woods" in order to contrast with the red legging crest of the g.anha'dɔ which was said to be coloured by "blood of the sea lion".

gisp.

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Artifact crests (cont.)		
name	translation	description	use	owner
wi'nag.ɔmg.E'it	"large lanɔmg.E'it" <sup>25</sup>	10 basketry discs worn on top of grizzly HD	HD	3,I;12,I
p'tɔ.m skini's	(trap door of pine pitch)	a trap which resembled a door trick door painted red brown, of very heavy material resembling pitch pine. Was used once in war with Tlingit		4,X;5,III
hag.ala'g.ɔmt'sa'o	(war club)	a stone club with sharp point and round handle	club	7,III,XI,IV; XIII
mi'ɔg.ɔmamhala'it	"black amhala'it"	a square wooden plaque charred and rubbed with grease until very black	AM	3,I
g.anE g.sɔmdE'i	(a trick ladder)			3,I
li'.mi.n hawE'l	"singing arrow"	a naxnɔ'x performance	NN	12,I
xsɔ'.m nagun'aks	"canoe of nagun'aks"	covered by all sorts of marine life	D	3,X
naxnag.ɔ'm xsɔ	"supernatural canoe"	bow opens as mouth	NN?D?	gitnagunaks
gwɔslɔplE'Ep'ɔl	"glittering garment" <sup>26</sup>	robe with white cloth pieces sewn on	R	councillor status level gisp.;6,IV

25. ni.sɪkɔmi.k of g'ilodza'uɔ wanted to buy the 19 disc hat from hE.l, but was refused, so he copied it in wood. The 10 disc hat was somehow adopted by both as a compromise after the challenge.

26. "It was a small crest and the "royal" gisp. wouldn't use it."

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Artifact crests (cont.)

gisp.

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.ɔt'saxtɔkwE.lp	"broken in two house"	two houses joined together into one; it was so long that people were ashamed at feasts to walk the length of it	HN,H	4,I;3,I <sup>27</sup>
da'ag.ɔm nagunaks	"stepped house of nagunaks"		HN	3,X
hayaitskɔm wE.lp	"copper house"	house with a large copper in front bearing grizzly on inside in wood	HN,HF	3,I
dag.ɔm sahawk'tɔk	"stepped house of yew"	boards lining the platforms were of yew	H,HN	8,I
dag.ɔm gainE	"stepped house road"	a house so large there was a path through it ca. 60' wide (sic) and 80' long	H,HN	3,I
nɔwisɔmdzo 'x	"walking along embarrassed"	so long it embarrassed people to walk its length	H,HN	3,I
dag.ɔmt'sɔmkklusE'ms	"stepped house of Nass River"	so called because when all the children in it cried together, the noise was like the seagulls gathered at the Nass during eulachon season	H,HN	3,I

27. There was a dispute over ownership of this name between these two houses; they tried to settle it by breaking coppers, but eventually both assumed it.



gisp.

NISKA		Primary animal crests		
name	translation	description	use	owner
nE.xɬ	"killerwhale"		TP,HD	18,t'səbasE'; 16,ta'.xən 19,pi'il
'nE'Ex	"fin (of killerwhale)"			same
ɬkuwElksəɬkum nE.xɬ	"prince of killerwhale"			18,kwa'nəs
Secondary animal crests				
pistE'i	"grouse"		HD,TP	16,ta'.xən, sispəgu.t 18,pi'il
ha.q	"goose"		TP	19,pi'il
g.alk'wa.n	"hat of deer"	the head only	HD	16,taxən
Human crests: none				

gisp.

NISKA		Monster crests		
name	translation	description	use	owner
mɔdi'.g.ɔm t'sɔm'aks	"grizzly of the sea"	1) _____	_____	16, sispɔgu.t
		2) bear with three fins on its back, each with a human face at its base	TP 28	18, t'sɔbasE', wilaxE'
hagwɔlɔ''x	(sea monster) <sup>28</sup>	_____	_____	18, t'sɔbasE'
ma'tixɔm t'sɔm'aks	"mountain goat of the sea"	_____	_____	18, wilaxE'
Plant crests				
k'ela'.st	"single fireweed"	_____	TP	19, pi'il
dag.ɔmhE.st	"house of fireweed"	2 platform excavated house	H, HN	same
Natural phenomenon crests				
ɬɔqs	"moon"	_____	NN?	19, pi'il
pɔli'.st	"star"	_____	R	same
maxma'g.e	"rainbow"	_____	HF, HD, R	same

28. On a TP erected by Chief Mountain to commemorate his father, a gisp., Boas (1895:574) describes the pole and a variant of the nagunaks myth in which the sea bear is called hagwɔlɔ''x.

NISKA

Artifact crests: none

gisp.

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laxk'ibumgisg.a'.st  
("wolf of people of fireweed")

NISKA                                      all crests

(this is a sub-clan, also called laxtiy<sub>3</sub>x<sub>1</sub>, which is usually classified as g'ispəwudwa'də, but is also considered to be laxk'ibu)

name	translation	description	use	owner
'wi'.ksE	"large north wind" <sup>29</sup>	a huge person who caused an icy gale whenever he turned his head and drew breath; represented as a big man at bottom of pole with entrance between legs	HF, HE, TP, NN	16, Wiyən
tiyE'tk"	"thunder" <sup>29</sup>	huge bird like an eagle, seen TP on ice; caused thunder when it opened its wings and lightning (t'sa'mtix) when it opened its eyes		same
'wi.nagwə'nE'.x	"teeth of 'large cold" <sup>29</sup>	icicles	_____	same
hagwəldə.ləmg'isk'its	"armour (shirt) of swallow" <sup>30</sup>	a special form of armour	A	same
muksəmg.awa'x	?	_____	HF	same

29. Crests they acquired on an exodus north to Icy Strait (wulsg.ada'.o: where across ice) where they climbed a glacier. When they returned, nagwa'ən had taken their gisp. crests (he returned the armour shirt of swallow), but they had acquired these new crests.

30. Apparently a crest possessed by this group when they were still gisp., before they were defeated by nagwa'ən and fled, returning with new crests.

NISKA		all crests (cont.)			laxk'ibumgisg.a 'st	
name	translation	description	use	owner		
muksʔmg.awa'x	?		HF	16, wiyon		
wa.n	"deer" <sup>31</sup>	used as a headdress with horns and on pole	HD, TP	same		
tagamda 'o	"da'ag of ice"	excavated house	HN	same		

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31. Acquired during another journey of this group, south to Bella Bella.

GITKSAN		Primary animal crests		g'isg.a 'st	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
mɔdi 'g.ɔm g'Emk	"grizzly of the sun"	on TP the bear's head on a ring representing the sun. The sun is conceptualized as a collar	TP	24,III	
hanag.ɔm mɔdi '.k	"woman grizzly"	a mask, a naxnɔ'x, adopted from Coast Tsimshian who came to trade. Shown on TP as a sitting bear	M,NN,TP	24,IV	
nE.xɬ	"killerwhale"	1) _____ 2) at least one representa- <sup>33</sup> tion had human faces on tail and fin	TP TP,carving	25,I <sup>32</sup> 24,IV;22,III 21,I	
g.aidɔm nE.xɬ	"headdress of killerwhale"	_____	HD	22,III	
palxɔm'nE.xɬ	"split killerwhale"	a design on leggings	leggings	22,III	
ɬkwElɔksɔm'nE.xɬ	"prince of killerwhale"	_____	TP	24,II	

32. Adopted from Nass River relative t'sɔbasE' over objections from others who wanted to prevent the introduction of a new crest (see Barbeau, 1929:103).

33. The human face on the tail and fin of the killerwhale of haxpɔgwɔtu are "only to make it nice looking, no other meaning." In Barbeau, 1929:99, it is assumed that the killerwhale was adopted by this house from the Kisgagas house of ni.staxawk when they came to Kitsegukla on a trading expedition. There was no confirmation of this in the notes. However, it was specified that the killerwhale of this house was "used only on totem pole, not in a feast".

## GITKSAN

## Secondary animal crests

g'isg.a'st

name	translation	description	use	owner
pistE'i	"grouse"	1) shown with chicks	TP,HD	24,I;IV
		2) a special carved bowl with grouse at each end, for feasts	dish	22,V
		3) on TP and amhala'.it	TP,AM	22,IV
gwutkwinu'.xs	"owl"			22,II;23,I,III
gutkwinu'.xs t'u.tskəm	"black owl"		TP,HP	24,III
maukskun gutkwinu'.xs	"white owl"		R,TP	24,I,III;24,I
t'səmasg.utkwinu'.xs	"inside white owl:	a da'ax with white owls on each corner post	H,HN,HP	24,I,III
ma.s'wa'txs	"white otter"		TP	24,II
ma.s'aut	"white porcupine"?			24,II
ma'.tix	"mountain goat"		TP,R,gravestone	24,V;23,IV,V
t'səm'E'.lix	(squatting) "beaver" <sup>34</sup>			23,II
łkuwElksəg.ə m ha't, also called silg'idəm ha't	"prince of marten," or "foremost marten"	HD with abalone nose and eyes	HD	22,V

34. Taken from dead relative as compensation for burial duties (relatives said to be g'isg.a'st (laxski.'k?) of Hagwilgate).

GITKSAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g'isg.a'st

name	translation	description	use	owner
haqx	"goose"		TP	22,V
ausme'sɔlɔ's	"dog of Mr. Ross"	Barbeau (1929:103-3) said that the characteristics of the white man's dog were its long head and drooping ears	TP	25,II
wi.lE'.lt	"large snake"		TP	24,IV
ɬi.u'n	"brant" (wild goose)		TP	24,IV
g.E'idəm məksi'ɬ, or hagwəltɔ'.ləm məksi'ɬ	"headdress of ermine" ? "ermine"	headdress of ermine and mallard duck	HD	22,V



GITKSAN		Human crests		g'isg.a'st	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
wilwi'lg'ɔt	"skull"			22,I	
g'EdɔmsE'	"man in clouds"		TP, HF	25a,I	
tsɔna'nu.x	"crazy"	1) small human beings on TP	TP	24,I	
		2) (human wearing crown of claws)	35 TP	24,III	
xpəg'ig'E't	"people around"	a human being on TP with many small beings on it	TP	24,III	
lu'ayuq <sup>36</sup>	"leading in", or "inside governing"	shown in front of house of qE.l at kispayaks; many humans on top of each other, with large mouths	HF?	24,IV	
xkigEt?	?	3 persons holding groundhog <sup>37</sup>	TP	22,I	

35. On kwiyeɬ TP, this crest is a human wearing a shaman's crown of claws (Barbeau, 1929:5).

36. Said to come from hE.l, g'itxa'la.

37. This crest symbolized a hunting ground: "they regard the territories themselves as crests: ladɔms,myip and 'anaxg'ig'E'nix, shown on the totem pole by figures supposedly holding groundhogs, which the area yielded."

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
mɔdi'.g.ɔ m dzawE'y'aks <sup>38</sup>	grizzly of the lake"	a monster from a lake near t'ɔmlax'am, with claws and a fin on its back, with long haired human heads at its base	_____	23,II
	or			
	"grizzly of the sea"	a grizzly with a fin (at kispayaks, a detached carving which formerly had two fins on its back, and a number of human-like faces all over its body (Barbeau, 1929:105)	carving	24,II,IV
	or			
	"grizzly of the water"	1) a grizzly at the bottom of TP a snag represented as a being at the base of a TP, out of whose back the pole rose		22,I,IV
		2) also as a huge grizzly with two fins and human faces all over its body (separate myth)	_____	22,I
sk'e'.msɔm	(golden eagle or thunderbird)	_____	_____	24,II

38. The descriptions of this crest, while mentioning specifically that it was a grizzly form, emphasize its "monster" quality, and when it is specifically mentioned as being at the end of the snag, it is also called a hagwɔlɔ'x (a sea monster) which also appears in killerwhale forms.

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.ag.aiyɔmg'Et	"winged person"	creature with face of a human, but wings of a bird. Attributes believed to be same as giladal or thunder-bird (Barbeau, 1929:93)	TP	22,IV
lɔg.ɔmba'lɔq	"decayed corpse"	1) human being on a pole; ribs are exposed, showing death	TP	24,V
	or			
	"moth" <sup>39</sup>	2) an amhala 'it beaked like a bird	AM	22,IV
	or			
	"discarded ghost" <sup>39</sup>	3) represented as corpse on TP; also as many beings on amhala 'it	TP,AM	22,III
tsag.awɔxto	(little beings with long noses)		TP	24,IV

39. Barbeau (1929:93) puts these two meanings together: "ghost-like moth"; name is Tsimshian; in myth a 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."

name	translation	description	use	owner
xtsi.tiyE'.tux	"thunder", or "striped with (right around) thunder"	1) a bird with curved beak <sup>40</sup>	D,TP	22,I;24,I;26,I
		2) two men with wings sitting carving?HP? at back of house		25,I
		3) name applied to pole <sup>41</sup> which has circle of small human figures standing around it, hands raised to shoulders with palms fore- ward, wearing loin cloths	TP	23,II
lax'o'm	"being above"	a kind of bird with returned beak; on amhala'.it and new pole	TP,AM	22,III
win.i'l	"large eyes"	a bird with a long beak which recurves	TP	22,I;21,II; 23,II

40. As dramatized by wig'Et, Kitsegukla: men on the roof produced rain and thunder and a large bird came down through the smoke hole amidst the sound of thunder, took wig'Et by the hand and out through the smoke hole. Once, the "bird" dropped him half way up and he fell on the guests. The guests demanded payment, "but since he was of wig'Et's phratry (sic) he did not have to be paid for such a thing. There was almost a fight. The people were surprised; they knew the bird wasn't real, and that a clever man named axtsi'pax had been brought in from the Nass to work it, but they had not seen the ropes and didn't know how it operated."

41. Description resembles pole XXV:1-3 (in Barbeau, 1929), said by Barbeau to be children kidnapped by skamsam (ibid.:117).

## GITKSAN

## Plant crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
hE.st	"fireweed"	on TP, plain shaft straight like a fireweed	TP	22,III
dag.ʔmhE.st	"excavated house of fireweed"	represented as a hat with <sup>42</sup> four cylinders	H,HD	21,I
meli'ks	"wild crabapple"	1) carved corner house posts	HP	24,V
		2) represented on pole as corrugated log	TP	26,I
tsʔmeli'ks	"inside of wild crabapple"	_____	HN	25,I
'ax	"mountain fern"	shown with tendrils on TP	TP,R	24,I;23,I
wi'.ax	"fern root" <sup>43</sup>	a "ball" at the foot of a pole	TP,R,TT	23,III

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42. The rings on the hat obviously represent the four steps or platforms of the house.

43. This would translate as "big fern".

## GITKSAN

## Natural phenomenon crests

g'isg.a'st

name	translation	description	use	owner
wasʔnski.ɬ	"along lying" (a mountain)	represented on rafters of the HR house		22,I
pʔlust	"stars"	small circles on TP (might be TP confused with sundogs - which might actually be the same)		22,V
g'ipɬxs	"small suns"	also called "sun dogs"; the circular rings around the sun before a storm; represented as many circles	TP,R	23,III,II; 24,I
maxma'g.e	"rainbow"	painted on HF in red and green	HF	24,III
g'Edʔm maxma'g.e	"man of rainbow"			21,I;22,V
ɬxs	"moon" or "sun" <sup>44</sup>		TP,R	24,III
'ɔtsxumɬ'xs	"half moon"	ceremonial entrance	HE	22,IV
g.anʔmktsema'.was	"pole of in the sand"	a snag; a complex crest on which were skulls, large eyes, thunderbird, and grizzly out of whose back it rose	TP,etc.	23,II
'antkwʔli'lʔbʔksu	"whirlpool"	shown as a spinning platform on which all the guests would ride and be thrown into the house at a feast	D	22,III

44. According to Lonnie Hindle, ɬxs is "sun"; "moon" is ɬxsmax or "sun of night".

GITKSAN

Artifact crests

g'isg.a'st

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.E'idəmt'si.'uk	"headdress of dentalium shells"		HD,TP	23,II
la'.dəmxsəmyi'p	"earth ladder"	a ladder made of steps cut out in the earth		23,II;22,I
lanəmg.E'it	(woven hat with cylinders)	hat with three cylinders	HD	22,V
tk'aqE'.q	"hanging down"	refers to the ermine hanging down from amhal'.ait	AM	22,III
gwəslusi'.nəxs	"garment of moving over"	a bear skin robe with sharp bone points protruding from it. As the chief sat among his guests, it pricked them. Not a naxnə'x. It showed haughtiness, that he did not want anyone to come into contact with him	R	22,III
taqx	"fence" (palisade)	a fence built inside house	D?	25,II
haqala'.ox	"war club"			24,III
g'wəsnE'.q	"garment of (caribou) hooves"		R	24,I

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.E.x	"raven"	general crest of the clan; <sup>1</sup> except that some of the coastal sub-clans "do not use raven as a main crest except in the form of naxnə'x, but not as main crest. They can do so and they use more beings of the sea."	various	all g.anha'də
ɬkuwE'.lksəmg.əm g.E.x	"prince raven"	a raven that cannot be compared with others, as it is "royal". The raven had pearls all over: eyes, ears, wings. A wooden HD covered with raven skin and feathers; could be used on TP	HD,TP	5,I (except for ni.spəlE'x)
səmo'əgidəm g.E.x	"chief of ravens"	man sized figure of wood and feathers in which a person impersonated raven. As HF, wings spread, black outline, wings, head and red (eyes, mouth, teeth, inside wings); also robe of raven skins sewn together	HF,R,D, carving	5,I

1. Difference between chiefly and councillor status levels: 6,I decorates it with abalone; 5,II (councillor) shows it made of wood and decorated by painting (no pearls or feathers).



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
mɔ'kskəm g.E.x	"white raven" <sup>2</sup>	used as HD, wooden white raven; also on robes and sitting on top of TP	HD,R,TP	3,III;13,II
g.ag.umq'a'n	"raven (of red ochre?)"	TP and house walls painted with reddish paint made from rock 'amqE', derived from qE'; to grind (red ochre?)	TP,HW	5,V
halilE.ɬkɔg.E.x	"on top slept raven"	a tall TP of this name was a plain pole at the top of which was raven shown nesting on the heads of several small human beings	TP	15a,II
naxnɔ.g.ɔmg.E.x	"supernatural raven"	1) in myth, it had live human figures under its wings; at gitxa'ta, a huge raven with outspread wings covered with human faces; used as TP, ceremonial entrance through beak that opened and shut  2) raven with sea creatures on it	HE,TP,R,HF not HD	6,VI  3,XVII

2. Houses that use the white raven do not seem to have used the black raven at all; some local (seacoast) g.anha'də show the sculpin first, others the sea lion first.

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Primary animal crests (cont.)		g.anha'də	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
g.ag.um laxE'	"raven of the sky"	HD of wood, long beak with pearl	HD	13,II <sup>3</sup>	
g.E'.g.əm pt'sEn	"raven totem pole"	a long pole with raven on	TP	4,III	
p'tsE'.nəm g.E.x	"pole of raven"	a seated raven on a pole placed against HF; at the base of the pole, serving as the door was the starfish; on HF at either side were painted sealions	TP,HF,HE	6,VII	
g.ag.uməm ci'.ən	"raven of copper"	HD made of wood with head, wings, tail of copper. Used only by the chief	HD	5,I	
txa'məci'.nəm.g.E.x	"all copper raven"	_____	_____	7,VI	
txa'bəlhE'.m g.E.x	"all abalone raven"	_____	_____	7,VI	
wilbE'əkəg.E.x	"where split raven"	standing raven split down center and spread out, wings spread	HF,R,drum	"all who wish to use it" 4,IV;5,V; 12,VI;3,VIII	
ɬɬt'kəmg.E.x	(raven split in the centre)	robe with representation of raven split in centre; also HF, not TP	R,HF	4,III;5,I	

3. This crest was also claimed by ni.shə't, g'itzaxɬE'ɬ, but he had assumed the name of ni.swaksenE't, to whom it rightfully belonged.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
mɔndɔpxEdɔm g.E.x	(one raven on top of another)	two ravens, one sitting on top of the other with a human face in each tail	HF,R,TP	3,XVIII
g.a'g.ɔm wE.lp	"raven house"	HF painted with raven with long beak, with representations of two human beings and abalone around edges of wings	HN,HF	4,VI
wilɔxtɔ'ɔg.E.x, also naɔɔg.E.x, also xtɔ'ɔg.E.x	"where eats salmon liver raven:	the liver is the white part inside the salmon; represented by ermine		
		1) used as HD, feathers made of copper; a raven with copper wings and 2 ermine (mɔksiɔ) representing salmon livers in beak	HD	9,V
		2) wooden HD with feathers and ermine in beak; also HF and TP	HD,HF,TP	5,I
		3) wooden raven with weasel in beak; painted on HF and robe; when on HF, it had large bill through which was door	HF,HE,R	

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
(where eats salmon liver raven, cont.)		4) represented by an ermine skin tied in the hair to represent salmon liver at the time of gift distribution in potlatch	HD	14,IV
		5) HD only; wood, black and red, no feathers. With ermine in mouth	HD	6,III
wilsi.lwE'.lgEtkət g.E.x	(where raven hangs upside down by one claw)	1) HF raven hanging suspended by one claw from a branch. When raven hangs this way, it means there will be war. At metklakatla, painted on HF with tail above and head below. Different from raven upside down on TP	HF,D?	5,I
		2)beak pointing or opening into house. Here the name refers somehow to raven's beak. The end of the beak is inside the house, and opens and caws when someone comes in. Only beak is used	HE	5,I
?	?	raven with starfish in its beak	_____	10,XIV

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'dʔ

name	translation	description	use	owner
nagE' m wE.lp	?	a long, low and narrow house; the shape was exclusive; it had a Chief Raven painted on the front in black and red	H,HN,HF	5,I
g.ana'.o	"frog"	a general crest	various	all g.anha'dʔ
g.aidʔm g.ana'.o	"headdress of frog"	1) upper class: hat made of wood, frog represented on it; paws, eyes, ears, teeth decorated with pearl	HD	upper class
		2) carved representation of frog on hat	HD(w)	all g.anha'dʔ
?	?	frog headdress with tall lanʔmg.E'.it; wooden frog painted black with red paws and long woven spruce root lanʔmg.E'.it on top. This HD was given to I.W. Powell (1879?) (must be VMC,VII-C-91; 8 discs)	HD	5,I
wʔng.ana'.o	(chief frog)(?)	whole frog of wood; copper on eyes and back	HD	6,I
g.ana'.oʔm g.usg'istE	"frog of g.usg'istE lake"		HF,R,TP	8,VII
spʔg.ana'.o, also wilmi'.sʔtʔg.ana'.o	"place of frogs" "where spawn frogs"	frogs carved all around house; top and bottom; also inside top and bottom	HN,HF,HW	4,VI

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.ayE'.t	"sculpin" also called "bullhead"	1) HD and HF. HD made of wood, black, red, green (not with abalone as upper class)	HF,HD	6,III
		2) black and red, used differently from others	TP,R,shirt	6,VI
		3) used as a stone war club	club (w)	13,XI,XIV
naxnə'g.əm g.ayE'.t	"supernatural sculpin"	1) wooden HD representing whole fish, with abalone	HD	5,I
		2) represented on TP, head down (one taken away by Crosby). On each fin was representation of human faces (about 6); supposed to be all covered with fins, being supernatural. Red, black, greenish.	TP,L	9,I
		3) wooden HD used by chiefs; used by councillors only on TP,HF	HD,R,TP,HF	6,I
		4) HF on both sides of door, swimming towards each other with representations of humans on back. Never TP or R. More or less general to g.anha'də	HF	13,II

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
(supernatural sculpin, cont.)		5) form not specified	TP, HF, R	6, III; 3, V, X, XI, VIII
		6) whole sculpin with tail fin on top and supernatural starfish on body; each fin had human faces; starfish in its mouth	TP	3, IX
		7) used in the form of a cloak on which fish was painted, eyes blue and red, abalone on rest; and a kind of shell (dentalium) on breast; formerly of leather	R, A	5, V
		8) its belly had suckers like an octopus, and on each eye was a human. Used as a large feast ladle, given to guests to empty and a present is given by guest for being the first to drink from it	L	13, V (the gitstə'1 sub-clan)
p' tsE 'nəmg.ayE 't	"pole of sculpin"	1) a sculpin head down with mouth used as a door	TP, HE	7, XI
		2) pole with sculpin at bottom looking down	TP	4, VI

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'dɔ

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.anɔmg.ayE'.t	"pole of sculpin"	upside down sculpin swallow- ing frog with 2 humans on each side, and 14-limb star- fish on centre of its back	TP	3,III
halo''pɔsɔg.ayE'.t	"fins of sculpin"	1) the whole fish represent- ed on TP covered with abalone	TP	?
		2) without abalone	_____	13,?
g.aidɔmg.ayE'.t	"headdress of sculpin"	of wood, representing head of sculpin, black	HD	3,XI
ha'a'ksɔm g.ayE'.t	"drinking vessel of sculpin"	_____	_____	7,VI
g.amE'.ts	"starfish"	1) a general g.anha'dɔ crest	HF,TP	3,XI; others
		2) a forehead decoration, red with 4 points (restricted to 4 points because it was a councillor house)	HD(forehead)	6,III
		3) 4-limbed with faces in centre and on each limb, out- lined in black with limbs red and faces with green	R,FP	6,VI
		4) ordinary, general to g.anha'dɔ, only painted on leather robes	R	12,V
		5) red, 4-limbed	FP	13,XI,XIV
		6) black face painting	FP	3,XVIII



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
naxnə'gəm g.amE'.ts	"supernatural starfish"	1) 6-branched starfish, with human face in centre (the nobility could use another species having up to 20 branches)	TP, HF, R	5, IX
		2) many arms and people all around it	TP, HF	6, VII
		3) red, with 10 branches and human face in centre of body; never on TP	HF, R	13, V (g'itsta' sub-clan)
		4) 14 limbs	HF, R	3, IX
		5) curly (deep sea) starfish	HF, R	4, XI, XIII
		6) small human figures with starfish on top; painted red on face	FP	6, I
		7) deep sea starfish with many limbs, with human face in centre; no myth; red; on robes only	R	9, V

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
ti'.bən	"sea lion"	1) used by this house in pairs	_____	5,II
		2) single sea lion	HD,TP	5,V
		3) wooden HD painted black and red	HD,TP	5,IX
		4) long whiskers and abalone eyes	_____	6,I
		5) head used as HD only; made HD of wood, red and black		6,III
		6) this house used whole sea lion, while others used either a pair or a half of the animal. When used as HD, they used only head of the animal, carved of wood, painted red and black with black eyebrows and green streaks on cheeks. Exclusive	HD	6,VII
g.alkti'.bən	"hat of sea lion"	used as a wooden HD by many g.anha'də	HD(w,p)	3,XI
ɬɔ'tkəm ti'.bən	"whole sea lion" (armour of sea lion?)	the whole skin and head worn on the person; only these houses could use it this way (in 5,I, only the chief: it "goes with his position")	R,TP,A	3,V;5,I; 6,I

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.anəm tibən	"pole of sea lion"	a long pole with sea lion on top	TP	6,VII
wilnag.ɔgokətti'.bən	"colliding sea lions"	two sea lions, one head up, one head down	_____	3,VIII
wilgaibən	"where emerged (sea lion)"	_____	HF,R,TP	8,VII
g.aidəm məksi.ɬ	"headdress of weasel"	1) a skin of the male weasel, dyed red and worn on the head, extending down over the forehead. Worn on every festive occasion: by the chief, not his family	HD	6,I
		2) white weasel (ermine) used in the same way as above	HD	7,I
		3) the female weasel with a brown streak on its back, worn in the same way	HD	10,I
		4) hat made of weasel skins, with tail foreward, hanging over the forehead	HD	7,III
		5) war HD made of wood with skins hanging down; also used in the hala'it dance	HD(w)	3,VIII

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
(headdress of weasel, cont.)		6) HD made to cover the head so that tails came down over the forehead; worn only-when owner distributes wealth; never painted		5,V
		7) used as war HD	HD(w)	3,V
		8) taken in war from the Tlingit	HD	5,I
hagwəlt' > 'lɔm mɔksi.ɬ	(headdress ? of ermine (white weasel) )	used in war and potlatch; 4,IV wears robe of weasel with it	HD(w,p)	4,III,IV; 7,VI
gwəsmɔksi.ɬ	"robe of ermine (white weasel)"	white weasel skins all over the robe	R(n)	7,VI;6,VI; <sup>1</sup> 10,VI
hE.c	"dog"		TP,HD	5,V;6,VI
gwəskE'ə	"robe of herrings"	1) a robe of leather, with a pattern of herrings drawn upon the garment and represented as floating around	R	12,VI
		2) other marine animals represented between the herrings on the robe	R	7,VI

1. Also used by chiefly laxsk'i'k house.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
naxskE'ɬg.E.x	"herrings of the raven"	(another name for crest above; when first used was called by this name); this was made by sewing herrings horizontally facing each other on a leather robe	R(n)	13,V
g.aidəm'anɬg.agE	"hat of (cockle-like shellfish)"	a war HD made of these large shells	HD(w)	3,IX
'a'su	"sea eggs"	made into a circular HD representing sea eggs; painted on robe	HD,R	7,VII,XII

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Human crests

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
txa'kɔ.lk	"whole being"	carved as a house post (hai'dɔsk) holding a paddle between its hands	HP,TP	15a,II
txak'ɔltɔmg'E't	"whole body person"	a standing human figure	TP	6,I
k'lami.n	(said to be Tlingit word for chief woman)	a woman with labret, black all over	TP	5,I;6,I
ligidiɬ	?	a giant man with revolving head; on TP holding a sculpin under its left hand	TP	3,XVIII
d'Exɬsmqano'.tk	?	1) a large human figure with smaller figures extending all around it	R,HF	6,VI
		2) represented as piece of leather hanging from shoulder to breast	_____	5,I
gwɔsqɔ'le	"robe of scalps"	robe covered to the ground with dried human scalps	R	7,XI
gwɔswa'g.a'os	"robe of scalps"	larger than the one above, and worn with a wooden HD; used in gwisɔtsi'hE feast, for presenting gifts to guests	R,HD	5,I

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Human crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
? da'ax	"? stepped house"	1) a house at Metlakatla; the HF was painted with human beings above the door and human heads on either side	HN,HF	5,I
		2) a four terraced platform house	H,HN	15a,II

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
səmgɪ'.k	"little woodpecker" <sup>4</sup>			5,II
'asewE'.lgət	(supernatural bird) <sup>5</sup>	1) winged grizzly: body, head, paws like a grizzly, but large wings on the inside of which are representations of human beings; the monster made a great noise when it flew	TP, <sup>6</sup> HF	6,III
	(thunderbird) <sup>5</sup>	2) huge bird of the sky; was the most important crest of this house. There was a huge carving of it at the canyon: a huge bird with outspread wings, supposed to be a thunderbird; each wing had many human faces painted on it	TP, carving	14,IV
	(human with wings) <sup>5</sup>	3) human-like being with large wings	TP,R,HF	9,IX
		4) a supernatural bird, representing a supernatural being of this house's myth (which is different from that of 6,III)	HF	5,IX

4. This is only one of the translations of this name.

5. These are various translations or glosses of asewE'.lgət.

6. Informant said that there was one at Port Simpson, but the pole was taken to a New York museum. The only pole in New York from Port Simpson, so far as I know, is the one shown in Barbeau (1950:p.247), left, of which only the top figure is visible; it is a grizzly holding a small human but does not appear to have wings.



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.alɔbli'.bɔm laxE'	"thunder"	bird HD, no wings, worn in hala 'it	HD	6,I
gusdzEdEmti	"robe of lightning" <sup>7</sup>	a robe with a huge bird with outspread wings and a raven in each wing. Eyes of abalone. (In myth, a monster of the lake with children on back; beak emitted lightning, wings flapped with sound of thunder.)	R,HF	3,XVIII
maxɬkpi.1	(monster with 10 human faces)	1) on HD, made of wood like head of a sculpin with 10 human beings on it; also on robe; only used in the last ceremony in assuming a name, known as o'Esk [p'ix?]  2) raven HD with 10 human heads in a row over the head	HD,R  HD	3,III;13,II  7,XI

7. The lightning robe of hE.1, gisp., g'itxa'la, was a carving of a bird with grizzly bear feet. hE.1 was going to kill nag.ap't for adopting it, but was stopped by some of his councillors who told him of the myth validating nag.ap't's right to the crest; hE.1 then withdrew his objection; Beynon's informant, Joseph Tsibase, 1916, told him that the only difference in representing the crest was that the g.anha'də one had bird's claws, and the gisp. one had grizzly feet; the myths differed in that the monsters were seen at different places.

name	translation	description	use	owner
(monster with 10 human faces, cont.)				
	(worn with pearl bow and arrow)	3) HD representing head of supernatural whale, with 10 little forms of humans; eyes, mouth, nostrils, ears decorated with white bones and shell. Used only in the ceremony called sa'ə' Ex [sa'ə'ix?], when a chief took his last name, signifying that he had reached as far up the social scale as he could go. Red, black, green. May be worn by ni.shə't, ni.syag.anE't, qa'lkə'k only.	HD	6,I;5,I
		4) one large human face carved on HD with 10 small faces (carved of wood, painted red, with hair on their heads) sewn on back or train of the robe	HD	5,I
		5) a form with only 4 human faces	HD	3,V
		6) a form with 5 faces; not carved but only painted on robe	R	7, councillor status level

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'ipa'ig.ə m g.ana'.o	"flying frog"	like an ordinary frog with wings attached to each limb. Green	R, HF	g'itxandE'hik group; 13, XI, XIV
g.a.usəmdE'1ə	"hair on tongue"	a monster with hair on its tongue; represented as a figure with hooked beak	TP	15a, II
məga'yo, also called txa'tkunE'xs	(three finned killerwhale with fins all over)	this was a "fish" with a recurved nose	TP	7, VII
wutwa'də	?	a being with human faces all over its body	HF	9, V
lag.axlE'mdzax	"at each end entering"	1) double-headed monster	HN	3, V
		2) double sea lion on both ends	HN	6, VII
hasə m laxE'	"dogs of the heavens"	_____	TP, HF	3, VIII
hasə m dzEma'aks	"dog of the water"	_____	TP	6, VI
nE'g.ə m sag.ə'.lək <sup>8</sup>	"fin on top of scalp"	HD of scalps with killer-whale fin of wood on top	HD	5, I, III
g.ayE'.t	"sculpin"	monster bullhead, but has no special name	HF, R	12, VI

8. ni.slo's, then chief of g'itxaxE' killed ni.slə's, the gisp. chief of g'idətsu', cut off his head, dried his scalp, and wore it at a yE'k. After a meeting with his councillors, he decided to add a fin of the killer-whale, as ni.slə's was gisp.

COAST TSIMSHIAN

Plant crests: none

g.anha'də

## Natural phenomenon crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
lagw'ə'.lə	"fire of seal"	10 seal skins filled with eulachon grease are burned	fire	6,I
gwəswema'sə	"robe of red"	the colour was a special red colour which was a crest. Used on TP,R,FP, but not HF	TP,R,FP	6,III
?	(colour red)	the red used in this house was a special very dark shade, made from the roots and bark of trees mixed with red clay called 'amqE'.	colour	5,II;13,V
tE.xləmsg.ano'.tk	"ring mouth decoration"	the circular ring around the moon; painted on HF as a red ring with 2 human beings on each side of the door which was in centre of ring; also painted on robes	R,HE,HF	9,V
wilbEl.Entkə'aks	"where come together water"	rip tide; on HD of wood	HD	3,VIII

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Artifact crests

g.anha'də

name	translation	description	use	owner
bElha.m hak'ut'E.k	"pearl bow"	a yew bow inlaid with abalone; each house has its own story about the bow, and shot it at their feasts	bow	3,V;6,I;5,I; 7,XI;councillors of 6,3,7,4
'mEsəba'xs	"red leggings"	this crest said to be coloured red with the blood of the sea lion (ni.e+E ti'.bən)	leggings	5,I;13,II; 2,III
naxn ɔ g.ə m g.awai	"supernatural club"	_____	club	3,XI
gwəs'i.m	"garment of porcupine quills"	_____	R	7,XI
gwəshayE'tsk	"robe of copper"	small coppers were sewn on the robe	R	7,XII
gwəsg.ap'hE'	"robe of ? "	_____	R	4,IV
hawE'.ləmcE'.ip	"bow and bone-tipped arrows"	used in ceremonies	bow & arrow	5,V
g.aiłm,si'n	"vessel of copper"	_____	_____	3,XVIII
g.aid,si'n	"headdress of copper"	_____	HD	3,XVIII
g.aiłmlɔ'.p	"vessel of stone"	_____	dish	3,XVIII

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Artifact crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
xsə'm mʔci'n	"canoe of copper"	a supernatural canoe with large jaw-like opening at bow and stern; shown represented in wood on open water with medicine man in it at potlatch	D	5,I;3,V
kwag.E'it	(a lanʔmg'E'.it)	made of spruce root with 5 rings; shown in wood on TP	HD,TP	4,III
q'aotsʔm bəlhe'.	"labret of abalone"	a labret of abalone shell	labret	7,XII
nebE'.	"on climbing"	the play pole of the bear cubs (in g.anha'dʒ bear mother myth); a plain round TP with scratches on it	TP	14,IV
txagE'.it, also called kwag.E'it	"all hat"	a 5 disc lanʔmg.E'.it; represented on 4 outside corner posts of house; these might be the two seated figures with hats shown in Barbeau, 1950:462	HP	15a,II
hayEtskʔm wE.lp	"copper house"		HN	15a,II
da' ag.ʔm sa.ukutak	"stepped house of yew"		HN	4,III
nEg.amtkwa	"fin of glass"		HN	12,VI
wilomEtiEkʔig'Et	"where green people"	a large feast house, painted green and decorated with salal leaves, in which wood steeped in salt water was burned so that people appeared green	H,HN	5,I

NISKA	Primary animal crests		g.anha'də	
name	translation	description	use	owner
qaq	"raven"	1) hat of real animal	HD	16 ,axława 'ls
		2) _____	_____	17, ałtaxg.əkst mEsk'ibu
łkuwElksəg.ə m gE.x	"prince of raven"	_____	_____	16, ni.skzəł
g.alkg.E.x	"hat of raven"	_____	_____	16, ni.skzəł, li.ksnE'ts
hanilałq.E.q	"sleeping place of raven"	_____	TP, HN	16, li.ksnE't 19, ksəmsa'n
anlułq.E.q	"nest of raven"	one level platform house	HN	_____
səmo'ə g'idə m g.ana 'ə.o	"chief frog"	no abalone	_____	19, ksəmsa'n
g.alkg.ana 'ə.o	"hat of frog"	_____	HD	16, li.ksnE't 17, ałtaxg.əkst mEsk'ibu
?	"woman frog"	_____	_____	16, ni.skzəł
łplant	(ribs of frog)	_____	TP	19, ksəmsa'n

## NISKA

## Secondary animal crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
lE.lt	"snake"		various	19axg.alg.an, in ks <sub>2</sub> msa'n
xk'imadas; or ikimas	"robin's egg"	used as HD, and on TP; a huge round stone on top of the figure	HD,TP	19,ks <sub>2</sub> msa'n
ksiik <sup>u</sup>	"lizard"		TP	19,ks <sub>2</sub> msa'n
g.alk ti'.b <sub>2</sub> n	"headdress of sea lion"		HD	16,li'.ksnE't ni.skz <sub>2</sub> †
ti'.b <sub>2</sub> n	"sea lion"	head used as a chief's hat	HD	16,axlawa'.ls
mEsg.ayE'.t	"white sculpin"		TP	16,ni.skz <sub>2</sub> †

## Human crests

g.amd <sub>2</sub> pksi'itk	"half way out"	a large person, half emerged out of the ground		19,ks <sub>2</sub> msa'n
t'ow <sub>2</sub> tsatukt	?	refers to w <sub>2</sub> tsta, <sup>9</sup> a human figure	TP	16,ni.skz <sub>2</sub> †

9. wudst<sub>2</sub> means Bella Bella.



NISKA

Monster crests

g.anha'dɔ

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'ipE'.ig.ɔmg.ana'ɔ.o	"flying frog"	_____	many ways	19,ksɔmsa'n
?	(monster frog)	not flying frog or woman frog, but another frog seen emerging from lake	TP	19,ksɔmsa'n

Plant crests: none

Natural phenomenon crests: none

Artifact crests

ɬlkwɔg.ait	"small hat"	figure wearing hat on TP	TP	16,ni.skzɔɬ
gwɔg.ait	"all hat"	_____	TP	16,ni.skzɔɬ
gwɔspɔdza'.oɬ	"garment of bark of young yellow cedar"	_____	_____	16, axɬawa'.ls

## GITKSAN

## Primary animal crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
qaq	"raven"	headdress used both as ayuks and naxn <sup>2</sup> 'x	HD, NN	24, II
ɬkuwElɔksɔmqaq	"prince of ravens"	_____	TP, HD	20, I; 21, IV <sup>10</sup>
'anlu'lxɬqaq	"nest of raven"	_____	_____	20, I
taɬɔksxumqaq	(raven sitting quietly) or (sitting suddenly raven)	_____	_____	20, I
ksilɔmqaq	"soaring raven"	_____	_____	20, I
g.ansi'1	"on soaring"	person represented shooting a raven which is soaring past him with bow and arrow	TP	21, IV
qawanqaq	"house front painting <sup>11</sup> of raven"	a single large raven with two smaller ravens under its wings	HF	21, II
g.ag.ɔm anu't	"raven drum"	square wooden box drum with a raven carved on top	drum	21, IV

10. The headdress of prince raven was taken by kwinu from a g.anha'dɔ chief of g'itsela'sɔ whom he killed.

11. The myth of the crest refers to the "time when luxɔ.n and all the g.anha'dɔ spoke the Tsetsaut tongue, and they discovered a group of strangers downriver who spoke another tongue" (i.e., people of g'itlaxda'mks).

laxse '1

Primary animal crests (cont.)

GITKSAN

name	translation	description	use	owner
tsəmqaq	"inside raven"	house name	HN	21, IV
g.ana.'o	"frog"	HD with a woman on top of frog; also a dish	HD, dish	21, IV
wɔ.mg.ana.'o	"real frog"	on TP, stone in graveyard	TP, gravestone	21, II; 23, I
ptɔg.əm g.ana.'o	"partition of frog"	on partition	partition, TP	21, I
g.andəptE'.ɬg.ana.'o	?	in myth, a huge pole protruding from lake with many frogs climbing on it (i.e., a snag)	TP	20, IV
?	(housefront of frog)	in myth, a housefront floating on surface of lake with woman who had frogs on her hands, knees, breasts and eyebrows	HF?	20, IV
səmo'ɔg'idəm g.ana.'o <sup>12</sup>	"chief frog"	a huge frog swimming in the water with human heads between its ribs; probably represented with copper	_____	20, IV

12. The song of the crest:      The big frog covered all over with copper says:  
    I am alone, I alone was saved  
    (all other things in the lake were dead).

## GITKSAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.ana'ɔmlaxptɔ'	"frog on partition"	a huge wooden frog decorated with abalone and caribou hooves, placed on rear platform	carving	21,II
tsakɔmg.ana'ʔ.o	(frog dish)	food dish carved in the shape of a frog, 7 or 8 feet long	dish	21,IV
speg.ɔmg.ana'ʔ.o	"hanging frogs"	hanging upsidedown; painted on inside and outside walls of house	TP,HW	20,IV
naxnag.ɔmg.ana'ʔ.o	"supernatural frog"	a big frog, upsidedown	TP	20,V
g.ana.'ɔom gwung.adalq	"frog of kwungadalq"	_____	TP	22,I
g.ana'olag.andɔpg.a'n	"frog standing in tree"	frog horizontal on TP; others could not represent it in the same way-	TP	23,II
ɬikɬikilg.ana'ʔ.o	(children of chief frog)	_____	_____	20,V
ksɔms' midzɔm g.ana'ʔ.o	"frog between two sticks"	_____	TP,R	23,III
'mi'.t'sɔɬg.ana'ʔ.o	"squeezed frogs"	3 frogs on pole; over a house at t'ɔmlax'am (over the entrance) with a stick across its back showing it had been squeezed	TP	24,IV
'anlɔptE'ɬg.ana'ʔ.o	"where frogs climb"	_____	TP	20,IV

## GITKSAN

## Secondary animal crests

laxse'.1

name	translation	description	use	owner
lElt	"snake" <sup>13</sup>			20,IV
t'i'.bən	"sea lion"			20,III
wit'i'.bən	"large sea lion"	NN. Wooden sea lion HD.	HD,NN	20,I
hə.n	"salmon"	carved salmon, jointed along the body and with movable fins. The hala'it would place it by the fire to "cook"; it was hollow with cooked food inside, which was distributed to guests	carving,D,NN?	21,II
'maskwi'.uku	"white groundhog"	1) used as a hat, the whole skin with head and paws	HD	20,IV
		2) HD and robe	HD,R	23,IV
xtsag.ətsəmsma'.x	"half bear" <sup>14</sup>			20,IV
'maspɬə'n	"white fur seal"			20,III
tsəmi'.lix	"beaver" <sup>15</sup>	whole beaver on TP	TP	24,I

13. Said to have been obtained as a crest at the same time as the frog in the lake; but is clearly related to the house chief's name (which is also lElt).

14. Taken as ksi'sux (blood money) from tsile'g.ən, laxk'ibu', house of yE'yəx, kisg.ag.as.

15. A gift by relative q of gitlaxda'mks.

name	translation	description	use	owner
panast's'1	"belly of beaver" <sup>16</sup>	they used only this part; carved on rafters; whole beaver without head	HR	21,V
ha'atu	"red headed woodpecker"	also naxn's'x used on mask	TP,NN	23,III
xskE.k	"eagle"	shown on pole in same manner as hag'E at kispayaks, with abalone around neck (see pole of nEq, Barbeau, 1929:pl.VI, fig.1)	TP	25,III
tkuWElks'g'm xskE.k	"prince of eagle"	on top of the pole, decorat- ed with abalone. "So he and his house are laxsk'i'k."	TP	24,I
g.aid'm iyEni	"cap of marten"	in myth, they kill a kitamat who had a cap of marten decorated with abalone. nEq took it as a crest, saying that his nephews would wear it with the tail of the marten standing upright, and his children would wear it with weasel fur: this latter is the g.aid'm iyEni of this house	HD	20,I

16. Presented by g'itx's'n, laxsk'i'k, g'its'la's', to his son. He kept the head for himself.

GITKSAN		Human crests			laxse 1	
name	translation	description	use	owner		
kitamat warriors wearing hagwɔdɔ.1	(warriors wearing hats called "made of sticks")	See TP in Barbeau, 1929, pl. VII, fig. 4: small figures lying in various postures as though dead	TP	20,I		
lutge 1.su <sup>17</sup>	"in attached"	name of an ancestress who killed her Haida husband	TP	24,I		
g.awa 1.i <sup>17</sup>	"bullhead"	the name of the Haida husband of above	TP	24,I		
g'istaxlu 1.lɔq	(corpse split in two)	a carving on the pole with a line through its body	TP	23,I		
kwun <sup>17</sup> a'lg.alsux, or txag.alpxa'n	"allowed to look at" "flattened boards"	in myth, rafters of the house which went out through the eaves, on the ends of which were carved faces of children looking downwards with their hair hanging down. Represented as little faces on TP, separated by carved beams or rafters	TP	22,V		
g.amdɔpkcE 1'itxw	"standing through", or "half exposed person"	the upper half of a man; the rest is supposed to be in the water or ground	TP	24,I;23,I		

17. These are unusual crests in that they are the proper names of human beings. These are the only such examples in the field notes. Barbeau identifies a number of crests in his publications by the proper names of people in myths: these are extrapolations on his part and are not so identified by the Tsimshian themselves.

laxse 1

GITKSAN Human crests (cont.)				
name	translation	description	use	owner
ɬɔgwul ɔ'n	"three persons"?	represented as three women with labrets, or with child	TP	21,V
wilwi'lg'Et	"where remnants of head" (skull)	shown as 3 heads side by side on TP (standing for 3 Tsetsaut scalps)	TP	21,III
g'Edəm'ala'x	"person of the smoke hole"	described as a man looking down from the smokehole	TP	24,II
g'Edəm g.analE <sup>18</sup>	"people of the smoke hole"	once represented as 4 carvings of humans at the corners of the smoke hole	TP,carvings	21,I
g'idɔmg.aldo	"man of the bush" or "wild man"	also a naxnɔ'x	TP,R,NN	23,I
kuks'ɔ'.dzɔntx	"putting a soul on oneself"	a carving on inside house posts; a man holding his own spirit in his hands and trying to put it in himself as medicine men do	HP	20,I
lig'ig'E'dəm hayE'tsu	"people of copper"		TP,HP	20,V

18. Barbeau thinks this is the same crest as g.anE'xs or la'.dɔmɔxs: a ladder, and calls it "people of the ladder".



name	translation	description	use	owner
'ma'xk'ɔ.1 <sup>19</sup>	"whole man"?	1) in myth, a man carved on the base of a snag: "that is why they call it maxk'ɔ.1"	TP	20,I
or 'maxg'E't	"whole person" or "many beings" or "all men"	represented on TPs as a human figure		
		2) here it is interpreted as "four men" because it was formerly carved on the four	HP	20,III;23,III
		3) shown as a human figure squatting at base of pole, not "as it should be, a human with many faces"	TP	22,V
		4) perhaps explaining above, it was called "all men" as described as men carved on the ends of 4 corner HP, on the ends which protruded from the roof	HP	22,V
'anɔksig'E't	?	a pole at the door with a hole through it, 6 or 7 "boys" or human figures around the hole. Pole on the hill	TP,HE?	23,V

19. Barbeau (1929:50) says that chief ɬe'ngwɔx listed it first in his crest list as being the most important or characteristic crest of his house.

GITKSAN

## Human crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'Edꞵmg.anptꞵ	"man on the doorpost"	carved man on the doorpost holding the rope that ties the door	TP?	20,IV
g'Edꞵmt'sꞵ.ks	"person of the bottom boards (of canoe)"	shown painted on garments	R,TP	21,IV
xpig'ilꞵ'.n	"man-woman-man"	side by side at rear of the house on posts	HP	25,III

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests

laxse '1

name	translation	description	use	owner
qaqmt'sjm'a'ks	"raven of the water"	the TP showing this crest was called "on lying raven" carved in wood to replace a supernatural stone pillar with many small human faces on it, which somehow stood for an underwater creature with a killerwhale on its head containing ten young ravens	TP	21,I,II
g'ipE'.igjm g.ana'o	"flying frog" <sup>20</sup>	in myth, frogs of the lake who fly away on moth-like wings	TP,R	20,IV;25,II
wax'a's	(flying frog)	different myth from the one above	TP,HD,R	20,III;21,III; 23,IV
mEng.anE'.x smg.ana'o	(frog steps) <sup>21</sup>	guests entering the house stepped on one frog outside house door and another inside, carved about 3 ft. with wings	carving	25,I

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20. Recognized as a crest with Nass River affinities.

21. In myth, winged frogs floating on logs near a beaver dam (i.e., a variant of flying frog).

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'Edʔmg.ama '.ts	"starfish person"	on TP, bracelet, robe; also used as a mask with human face and four arms extending on 4 sides	TP,R,M	21,IV;22,I
sʔmg'i'.k <sup>22</sup>	(a problematical super-natural bird; sometimes translated as woodpecker)	usually said to have a man on its back; the woodpecker is represented as having a long, straight, pointed beak	TP,HD,TT	21,I,II,III; 23,IV;24,II
hi.sʔmg'i'.k	"two sʔmg'i'.k"	one large, one small; the large one was a bird with a human mounted on it; the smaller bird was on top	_____	21,II
tsʔsʔmg'i'.k	"nest of the sʔmg'i'.k"	as guests entered the house through a round hole used as a doorway, the host came in the same entrance representing the sʔmg'i'.k with outspread wings; also shown on TP and decorated wall board; also dramatized with a person representing the bird having a child on its back	TP,D,HW	21,II

22. Most often said to be "like a woodpecker, but larger"; "a bird resembling the ha'atu woodpecker, but larger with red breast, tail, wings"; in the myth, it had a man or a dead man on its back, suggesting the typical pose on raven rattles. Barbeau points out in a footnote (1929:58) that the radical for this bird (sʔmg'i'.k) and eagle (xsk'i'.k) are similar; the prefix sʔm means "real". In some places, Barbeau also translates it as "kingfisher". See representations of luxʔn's totem pole at Kitwancool (Barbeau, 1929:pl. x, fig. 4). At the National Museum of Canada, a mask of a mosquito (VII-C-1188) obtained from Charles Williams, ni.sg.amxkan, laxse '.1, Kitwanga, is called a sʔmg'i'.k. g'ik is Tsimshian for mosquito.

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'il'a'dal	(problematical bird; probably a thunderbird)	1) bird like an eagle	TP	26,I
		2) represented as a human being with many small beings on the top of the head, as in the gitmg.ald> pole (see Barbeau, 1929, pl. XI, fig. 4)	TP	26,II
		3) it is a raven, so called <sup>23</sup> because of the great noise it made	NN,M	20,I
		4) like an eagle, but not eagle; it kills groundhogs and mountain goats on the mountains	TP	20,III
g'e'mjxəm	(apparently same as above)	a bird like xske'.msjəm with a hooked beak	_____	26,I

23. Referring to te'ngwəx's pole at Kitwanga, Barbeau identifies this bird as a thunderbird (it is shown represented on top as a bird with a long recurved beak reaching back to a mouth (Barbeau, 1929: pl. VIII, fig. 1). "The use of the thunder-bird as a crest in the larhsail (laxse '.1) phratry is exceptional, even though it appears here under a special name known elsewhere . . . . It was also used . . . in this household as a mask (narhnawk (naxn>'x) ), to accompany a dramatic performance in the feast house. A performer appeared with a bird mask, the long beak of which, cut in sections and mounted on strings and a metal spring, was curved back and then released to the accompaniment of gun-shots, to represent thunder" (Barbeau, 1929:51). The mask is said to be in the NMC.

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
mɔ'.dzɔks	(another problematical bird; usually said to be a hawk or chicken hawk)	1) in the myth, it was like a TP,AM big man from Heaven, not clearly seen in the mist on the mountain		20,IV
		2) represented as human figures carved on the boards around the smoke hole, looking down (informant said specifically that the name xskɔmsɔm was not used)	carvings	20,IV
		3) hawk, small bird like an owl	R,TP	25,I
		4) chicken hawk		
		5) chicken hawk, with <sup>24</sup> curved beak on TP	TP,AM	23,IV
mɔ'ɔ 25	"eagle" (?)	here said to be eagle with different name	TP	23,IV

24. Barbeau says mɔ'.dzɔks was another name for eagle (1929:57); this person said the house of lutkudzi'us, IV, g'itan'maks, also called it mɔ'ɔ: same as eagle, used as amhala'it for dances.

25. "Several informants would not acknowledge it as being the eagle, they could not give the English name of the bird. The name of the owl was once or twice tentatively mentioned; and our own suggestion that it was the hawk was rejected" (Barbeau, 1929:26, footnote).

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'EdʒmxskE.k	"men of eagle"	1) in myth, according to Barbeau (1929:32), it was a lake-being: "a large human being who had an eagle-like head; his headdress consisted of a crown of grizzly bear claws, and around it were water-lily leaves."  2) man's hands, feet, but with beak, wings, tail; will be put in graveyard soon	gravestone	23,II
g'i'mjxʔntu	(a bird-like being)	_____	_____	24,I;25,III
g'Edʒmapt'sa 'ʔ.i	"man of comb"	represented as a man with hands like combs	TP	22,I
tsʒm'm >'.dzʒks	"inside m>'.dzʒks"	_____	HN	25,I

## GITKSAN

## Plant crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
hayag.abasu	"water lily"	the leaves	TP	21,IV
g'ela'm >'.q	"wild celery"	a plain round uncarved TP	TP	25,I

## Natural phenomenon crests

kwəbiyE'is, or	"for the big dipper"	the stars would be represented in the darkened house by lights, outlining the Big Dipper. A song goes with it; used as a name	D,NN	21,II
yEttE	"the big dipper"			
'is'u'.qu	"smell of copper"	a stone (which smelled) which was carved into a man's head and face	_____	20,IV



## GITKSAN

## Artifact crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.aidʔmxkig'E'ni	"headdress of people upriver"	1) hat with 4 rings; shown on TP with the wearer holding it against the wind	HD,TP	21,II
		2) ceremonial HD, represented HD as a ring of twisted cedar-bark with 4 cedarbark cylinders resting on it, side-by-side		21,I
bElha•m hak'utak	"abalone bow"		TP,D	21,IV
g.an'axg'i'.uk	"red painted lines"	from sketch in notes, on robes and as a ceiling decoration in house	R,ceiling	24,IV
qalma.s	"just bark" (empty canoe)	in myth, beams in the house carved like canoes; also on TP, as canoe-shaped dish; and on beams of the house (hollowed out)	TP,HB,dish	22,V
gwʔsʔndedzE'ʔt	"blanket sticky"	worn to heighten the rank of a chief; he goes around amid the guests wearing a sticky robe with arrows	R	22,V
tsʔyE's	"inside the palisade"	this was the palisade the woman saw when she went to the white man's fort; represented as a small fence around their summer house	fence	25,IV

GITKSAN

## Artifact crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
hałtsɔptsɪ.bə	(housefront design)	consisting of sticks tied on HF	HF	21,V
t'u.ks	(long platters used for berries at feasts)	25 ft. long; 3 frogs carved on each side	platter	25,IV
ptɔ'	"door"	door hung with many hooves which rattled, giving warning of intruders	door	20,I
g.anu'.g'Et	"pole of people"	a "man-crushing" log or trap used in war	TP	20,I
gwɔsnEdzɔdza'ɬt	"garment of pitch"	from myth, armour made of grizzly skin, lined with slate fastened on with pitch	A	20,I

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
xsk'i'.k	"eagle"	general crest; used in different forms by different houses, according to the myth connected with it.	various	all laxsk'i'.k
		1) robe with representation of whole eagle	R	4,II
		2) HD of wood, black and white	HD	6,V
		3) HF, red and white	HF	6,V
		4) real form of eagle	HD,R,TP	12,II
xsk'i'.gəm lɔ.b	"eagle of stone"	an eagle made of stone	stone figure	14,I;10,I
xsk'i'.gəm g.an	"eagle of wood"	eagle carved of wood, painted black with red neck	HP	3,VII
qaɬa'xsəm xsk'i'.k	"claws of eagle"	used by all laxsk'i'.k, but only carved on spoons	spoons	all laxsk'i'.k
xsk'i'.gəm qa''at	"eagle cane"			4,II
gwəsq'a ɬyE'.n	"robe of tail feathers" (of eagle)		R	4,IV;7,XV
nlupɬkəmwe.lp	"nest of eagle"	1) HF only	HF	6,V
		2) HD	HD	3,VII
		3) dwelling on Skeena	HN	6,V

COAST TSIMSHIAN		Primary animal crests (cont.)		laxsk'i'.k	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
xsk'i'.gɔm wE.lp	"eagle house"	HN	HN	9,I	
maxtɔkpi'.lɔm xsk'i'.k <sup>1</sup>	"ten eagles"	HD with 10 eagles; one large, the other nine represented as offspring; painted feathers on eagle	HD (AM?)	9,III	
st'sɔ.lɔ	"beaver"	a general crest; one informant said that the upper class chiefs use it sitting (i.e., standing) up; the middle class squatting or head down. Also, that the stick is always present (this is contradicted below)	various	all laxsk'i'.k	
		1) sitting, had nothing in its mouth	HF	3,XVII	
		2) HD of wood, painted red, with stick in mouth	HD,HW	7,V	
hE.it'kɔmst'sɔ.lɔ	"standing beaver"	1) (distinguished from those of councillor status level, which did not stand erect)	TP	9,I;10,III	
		2) a TP of beaver squatting on hind legs with stick; also on war garment	TP,A	3,VII;4,II; 9,III,IV	

1. See also maxtɔkpi'.l classified under "monster".

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
wist's>.lt, also called st's>.lɔm klaxkEls	"great beaver" <sup>2</sup> "beaver of klaxkEls"	1) represented as grasping a spear in each hand; used as carving on HF: a large beaver above the door with head down  2) painted on rear wall, standing, grasping spears  3) in a sitting position (i.e., standing) position on HF painting, tail hung low between legs, through which door was cut; also in simi- lar position on TP in front; sometimes carved sitting on roof of house	HF  HW,S?  HF,TP,carving <sup>3</sup>	9,I;12,II (ni.sq'amdzi.s)  12,II (ni.smaɔlk)  9,I;10,V
nag.ɔm q'E.' gɔ st's>.lt	"gnawing of beaver"	beaver's stick; used in a shorter form by councillor status level	_____	4,VII,IV
g.a'mx g.ɔ.xsɔɪ st's>.lt, or g.amɔx g.ɔi'xs	"remnants of beaver's maple chewing stick" "chewed remnants of maple"	HD of a beaver chewing a maple branch with 5 disc lanɔmgE'.it	HD	9,I;10,III

2. "great beaver" seems to be another name for "standing beaver".

3. The standing beaver pole of 9,I, showed a beaver with a gnawing stick surmounted by a 17 disc (or more) lanɔmg.E'.it (see Barbeau, 1950:106).

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
g.amnagE'.ig.Esk	"remnants" or "chewing stick"	1) 3-disc lanꞤmg.E'.it; <sup>4</sup> beaver painted on robe worn at same time	HD,R	9, IV
		2) 3-disc lanꞤmg.E'.it worn by squatting beaver	HD	7, XV
qꞤ.t	"(beaver) dam"			4, IV
naxnag.Ꞥm st'sꞤ.lt	"supernatural beaver"	1) carved on the front of the house in beaver form, but its head was turned down to the ground, and it had no stick in its mouth; did have checkered tail with human face in it	HF	9, I
		2) on corner posts they use <sup>5</sup> beaver with stick protruding from its back, apparently chewed. It is called g.amnagE'.ig.Esk: old remnants or chewing stick. It protruded over the roof at each corner, and was made in the shape of a lanꞤmg.E'.it of about 3 layers.	TP, HP	9, IV
		3) standing beaver without stick on HP	HP	14, IV?

4. The disc sections of the lanꞤmg.E'.it are supposed to have been chewed apart by the beaver.

5. Obviously the same crest as the g.amnagE'.ig.Esk, or combined with it. In the myths, the supernatural beaver is recognized because it has human faces on its forepaws and its tail.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
txa'.o	"halibut"	used in many special and different ways	TP,HD,HF,R	all laxsk'i'.k
naxn'g.g m txa'.o	"supernatural halibut"	1) two halibut together	R,TP,HP	3,XVII
		2) has human faces all over it. HF (red with humans on its body)	HF,TP	7,V;10,I,II,III;9,III
		3) made like a regular halibut, no human beings on it	HF,not TP or HD	9,IV
		4) whole halibut; HD of wood (formerly of skin)	HD,R,HF	12,I; all laxsk'i'.k
hat'sE'lt	"octopus"	1) HD,R,HF,not TP	HD,R,HF	many laxsk'i'.k
		2) as HD, the body part of wood painted red rests on the head, and the long limbs of other material reach to the floor	HD,HF,R	7,V
q'at, or wile'.ks m q'a.t	"shark" ?	1) used by "royal" gunhu.t	_____	gunhu.t sub-clan
		2) when made as TP, the bottom represents just the head of the shark, and the long pole represents the fin	TP	12,II

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

name	translation	description	use	owner
(shark, cont'd.)		3) HF,TP: the shark flat on the ground and the fin is a long pole protruding from back	HF,TP	3,VII
		4) represented as huge shark at the top of the roof of the house, running its length, protruding over front and rear ends	carving	14,I
nE' g.amq'a.t	"fin of shark"	30 ft. long tapered fin; it protruded from the back of the house; owner (txalaxEtk) used to sit in his house at the foot of the pole and say that it was his fin that protruded from his back right through the house. It was a copy of a Tlingit pole that had several coppers attached to it. legEx had one of these fin poles at Ft. Simpson. Councillors were not supposed to use it	TP,HD,R	10,I,II; 9,III;14,I
g.alkha'o'ts, also known as g.aidəm ha'o'ts	"hat of cormorant" "headdress of cormorant"	cormorant described as a salt-water duck or big black duck: "certain ləkag'igEt have myths about it but are afraid to use it because the chiefs use it."		
		1) HD with real feathers and abalone	HD	10,I;9,III; 4,II
		2) black wooden HD; also black HFP	HD,HF	9,I;10 (councillors) 3,XVII;7,V



## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

laxsk'i.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
ti'.bən	"sea lion"	taken from the Haida as a conquest of war and used as HF and R	HF, R	9, IV
g.alkmɔdi'.k	"hat of grizzly"	acquired as a trophy of war from a Tlingit g'ispawudwa'də house (house of hanhE'n)	HD	10, III
tE'.sx	"squirrel"	carved on the end of rafters, protruding outside the house	HR	9, XII
qanis	"dog salmon"	TP and house ridge carving; 4 dorsal fins with human faces at base	TP, carving	15b, IV
naxnɔ'g.əm hɔ'n	"supernatural salmon"	said to be a monster in nagunaks' house; another informant denied it was a crest	_____	3, XVII
gwɔsnɔ'su, or gwɔsyag.ag.alyE'.n	"garment of caterpillar"	_____	_____	12, II
gwɔsg.a'lg.ɔl	"garment of groundhogs"	the term g.alg.ɔl was applied to it instead of gwi'yuk because of its bright luster	R	9, III
gwɔsmɔksi'.ɬ	"garment of weasels" <sup>6</sup>	weasel skins sewn on robes close together all over	R	9, I; 14, I; 10, II

6. It was used by three clans in different forms; here used only by the gunhu.t sub-clan (and not all of them).

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Secondary animal crests (cont.)

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
daxs	"flounder"			gunhu.t sub-clan
łpu'ŋ	"whale"	1) a whale with a short fin, no hole in it (as in representations of killerwhale)		4, IV
		2) used as a decoration on top of house running its full length; house name (łpu'ŋ wE.lp) derives from it	carving, HN	3, XVII; 4, II
txa'kE'.ks [łpu'ŋ]	"whole (whale)"	finback whale on HF; 2 whales with heads nearly joined together; black bodies with green and yellow	HF, R (not TP)	4, VII
g.ał'ŋ	(large species of shellfish; perhaps a clam)	a large species of shellfish which attaches itself to a rock; in myth, it catches a man's hand; is so represented on HF	HF	7, V; 9, I; 10, I

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Human crests

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
q'a'odEg'ig'E't	"two headed person"	captured from the Tlingit. Men use it on the right shoulder, a small double body of wood tied around as a sash; women use it on HD	HD, ornament	7, V
txa'kɔlk, or witxa'kɔlkɔmg'Et	"whole being" "large whole person"	_____	TP, AM <sup>7</sup>	15a, I
gwɔsqɔ'le	"robe of scalps"	_____	_____	7, XV; 10, VIII
wudnɔ'n	"towards (shore) arm"	1) carved as life-sized human figure sitting on a box in front of house, human faces on each knee and hand  2) whole person (wigEdɔmg.an) carving ("large person of wood?) standing, with human faces on knees and breasts; about 6' high	carving	14, II  14, II
hEgwel tɔlɔm hana'ax	"beautiful thighs of woman"	war headdresses made to res- emble the thighs of a woman showing her genitals (so as to distract the enemy)	HD(w)	10, III

7. This was the only amhalait in the tribe at the time; leg'Ex saw and wanted it, causing a war to ensue. A variant of this incident says that the amhalait involved was the "beautiful thighs of woman" headdress, but the more convincing narrative says that this war headdress was invented by leg'Ex to distract the g'itsɔla'sɔ.

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests

laxsk'i'k

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'i'.bɔlk	(a bird-like sea monster)	1) a large monster with a head like an eagle, only very big. It had a large fin protruding from its back	_____	gunhu.t
		2) also said to have a short bird-like beak and small human forms on its back and around its face	AM	gunhu.t
		3) also said to be related somehow to naxnɔgɔm g'i'k: supernatural fly	_____	gunhu.t
		4) HF with beak; spread wings, small humans over the head; beak 60' supported by pole	HF	9,I
lɔ'g.ɔm g'i'.bɔlk	"rotten g'i .b lk"	said to be called merely gi'.bɔlk among councillors; rotten g'i'bɔlk by chiefs	_____	chiefly status level gunhu.t
maxɔkpi'ɬ	"over ten"	1) a large being or hagwɔlɔ'x with 10 eagles sitting all over it	HD,HP	3,VII
		2) it was like the head of a beaver, only larger, and with horns. On its head was the eagle. On the eagle's head and along its back were 9 other eagles; 10 eagles altogether sitting in a row	_____	gunhu.t

## COAST TSIMSHIAN

## Monster crests (cont.)

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
xpist'ldmedi'.k	"half beaver, half grizzly"	mixing laxsk'i'.k and gisp. crests to show that he was the laxsk'i'.k on the nagunaks expedition	_____	3,XVII

## Natural phenomenon crests

lagwiyo'.p	"fire of dirt"	a mixture of dirt and oolachen grease burned in the potlatch	fire	10,III
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## Artifact crests

tpu'nam hayE'.tsk	"whale copper"	copper name; when broken it represented sg.age't's bones	copper name	9,I
aia'aks	"early drinking"	a custom used as a crest in all laxsk'i'.k houses; when they see someone come into their house early in the morning and take a drink, they give him a gift	custom	all laxsk'i'.k

		laxsk'i'.k		
NISKA		Primary animal crests		
name	translation	description	use	owner <sup>8</sup>
xsk'E.k	"eagle"	general crest	various	most laxsk'i'.k
tkuWElkskꞵm xsk'E.k	"prince eagle"	1) smaller than chief eagle, with pearl  2) whole eagle, appliqued in red	TP,HD,R	19(5),I
sꞵmo'ꞵg'idꞵm xsk'E.k	"chief eagle"	with pearl	TP,HD,R	19(5),I;16a,I
hayawaꞵkumsk'E.k	"croaking of eagle"	represented as sitting eagle, wings closed, on top and front of house	carving	19(5),I
paꞵkuꞵxsk'E.k	"split in two eagle"	represented on robe with pearls; double-headed on chest as tattoo	R,TT	19(5),I
xskEgꞵmlꞵ'p	"eagle of stone"	two stone carvings <sup>9</sup>	stone figures	19(5),I
t'sag.aoxsk'E.k	"beak of eagle"	beak and head	TP	19(5),IV, also qꞵq in I

8. House identifications based on the following lists in Appendix I: Ranked Houses at kwunwꞵq (16a), p. 306, Ranked House at angedE' (16b), p. 307, Ranked Houses (by sub-clans) at g'itwinkskiꞵk (18), p. 314, and Ranked Houses at g'itlaxda'.mks, p. 316.

9. "The two stone eagles here were found in that shape; they improved on the shape of the wings, but not the beak. We found one of them, somebody else found the other and gave it to us. We do not know who carved the stone, long ago."

NISKA		Primary animal crests (cont.)		laxsk'i'.k	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
kiłkiłxsk'E.k	?	two young eagles on top of TP	TP	19(5),IV, also qəq in I	
g'ibE'.igutxsk'E.k	"flying eagle"	whole eagle with wings outspread	TP,R	16a,I	
'anlułkułxskE.k	"nest of eagle"	HN	HN	19(5),I	
'anlo'łkumwE.lp	"nest (of eagle) house"	4-level da'ax (excavated house) with eagles at corners, also used as hat	HN,HP,HD	18(2),I 16b,I	
gwəsana's	"robe of (eagle) skin"	a garment of eagle feathers	R	16a,III	
t'səmə'.lix	"beaver"	dramatized by making a pond of water in front of guests with a carving of beaver	TP,D	19(5),II <sup>10</sup> 18(4)	
łkuwElksəkm t'səmə'.lix	"prince beaver"	with pearls	_____	same	
t'səmə'.ləm g'E'.o, also called t'səmə'.ləm t'səmə'aks	"beaver below" "beaver of the water"	whole skin worn; also on carvings	R,carvings	16a,II	
qanut'səmə'.lix <sup>11</sup>	?	_____	_____	16a,II	

10. This is the laxt'səmə'.lix sub-clan; they are said to be from the interior and not to use the eagle as either a crest or a naxnə'x. The beaver is their highest crest, or PtEx.

11. Said to be a Tsimshian crest, also known as qanus'tsə.l.

NISKA

## Primary animal crests (cont.)

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
?	"standing beaver"	_____	_____	18(4); 19(5), II
naxna'g.ɔm t's <sub>ɔ</sub> mE'.lix	"supernatural beaver"	_____	_____	19(5), II; 18(4)



laxsk'i'.k

NISKA		Secondary animal crests		
name	translation	description	use	owner
qa.t	"shark"		TP	16a,III;18(2), I;19(5),I
ne'.gəmqa.t	"fin of shark" <sup>12</sup>		TP,NN,R	16a,II
g'a'bən	(an animal like a porpoise)		HD	19(5),I
naxnag.əmtxa'.ox	"supernatural halibut" <sup>13</sup>		TP,R,NN	16a,III
t'sənlik	"squirrel"	a powerful naxnə'x	NN	19(5),i(q q)IV
spət'səmliks	"den of squirrel"	the house had a hole above the door, out of which looked a squirrel; used as food for the hala'.it	HE,NN?	16a,II
tag.ał'o'.ntk'	"a shellfish" (clam?)	(the one that caught the man by the hand in the myth)	TP	16a,III
masg.ayE'.t <sup>13</sup>	"(white?) sculpin"	1) _____	TP,R,NN	19(5),I;18(4)
		2) monster, with faces all over	TP	16a,III
g.anda'	(fish similar to halibut)			16a,III

12. "it was not only qa.t, but also hagwəł>'q" (from the myth).

13. Also classified under "monster crests".

		laxsk'i'k		
NISKA		Secondary animal crests (cont.)		
name	translation	description	use	owner
tkuwElksəm ha'.ots	"prince of cormorants"	_____	TP	16a,I,III <sup>14</sup>
g.atg.adE'.	"loon"	a huge wooden bird with flapping wings shown at feasts	D	18(2),I
taxatxadE'.txut	(a diver similar to a cormorant)	_____	_____	same
'masha't	"white marten"	_____	TP	19(5),IV, also q q in I
watsx	"otter"	_____	_____	18(4);19(5),II
tpun	"whale"	1) first incorporated as a naxn'x and named ku'leg'Et: "by itself"	HF,NN	18(4);19(5),II
		2) no song, no ada'.ox	TP,R,NN?	19(5),I
tpu'nəm wE.lp	"whale house"	head at front, tail at back	HN,HF	18(4);19(5),I
səm'o'g'idəmtpun	"chief whale"	_____	HF,TP,R	18(4),19(5),II
tkuwElksətgəm qE'.it	"prince dog salmon"?	_____	_____	19(5),II
təmg.isəleg'E'nsu	"head of grizzly" <sup>15</sup>	_____	HD	19(5),I

14. Adopted by III after House II died out, but still recognized as II's crest.

15. Won in conflict with ni.syoqł of the g'isg.ansna.t laxk'ibu'.

NISKA

Secondary animal crests (cont.)

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
k'ɔ'.lgɔnɬkʰ	"large woodpecker"	_____	TP	19(5), I
g'at'wi'nsk, or ɬkuwi'ɬksiɬgɔm	"woodpecker"	_____	_____	19(5), III

## NISKA

## Human crests

name	translation	description	use	owner
txak'''.lk	"whole man"	a gawa'q (HFP), big man, arms outstretched	HF	19(5),I
g'Edꞑmsi'ꞑ.n	"person on glacier"	a man ayuks	TP	19(5),I
sta'g'Et	"half man"	split lengthwise	_____	19(5),I(q q) 18(4)
lu.sꞑskE'.xsꞑn	"in rack"	3 persons on rack for drying fruit	TP	same
lutxalya'.ux	"in all hiding"	a man with arrows stuck in his head	_____	same
mɔdzək'sꞑmt' ilx	"suckle tongue"	represented as a canoe with a head in it (myth, a baby who sucks his dead father's tongue as a pacifier)	TP	16a,II gunhu.t
uwE'.t	(a wooden man)	_____	_____	16a,III
g'Edꞑmdzo'ꞑoyux	"man underneath (the water)"	_____	TP	16a,III
guxɬa'	"constantly defecating"	a man's name	_____	19(5),I
g.isꞑmde'ɬꞑx	"people of tongues"	represented as a box decorated with figures with long tongues	box	19(5),I
?	"skeleton"	_____	_____	16a,I
paxk'ꞑ'.l	"one person"	single human figure	AM,R	16a,II
kɬugwelꞑ'.n	"three persons in a row"	_____	HF	16a,II

NISKA		Monster crests		laxsk'i'.k	
name	translation	description	use	owner	
hagwɔlɔ'g.ɔmxskE.k	"sea monster eagle"	_____	_____	19(5), I	
g'EdɔmxskE.k	"man eagle"	_____	_____	19(5), IV, also qɔq in I	
xskEgɔm txa'.ox	"eagle halibut"	on gravestone at Graveyard Point	gravestone	16a, III	
xske'msɔm	"mountain eagle"	feeds on groundhogs	TP, HF, R, NN	16a, II, 18(4) 19(5), II	
hagwɔlɔg.ɔm txa'.ox	"monster halibut"	_____	R, TT	19(5), II; 18(4); 16a, II, III	
masg.ayE't	"(white?) sculpin"	monster, with faces all over	TP	16a, III	
palg.ɔm watsx	"ghost of otter"	a human-like figure, but with a different face; in the form the otter takes when it bewitches a person	_____	19(5), IV; also qɔq in I	
naxnag.ɔmɔpun	"supernatural whale"	many fins, tail covered with faces; spout hole is a face, as is mouth	_____	19(5), I	
matx'a'yo	"mountain goat with fin"	a monster of the sea	_____	19(5), I	
sɔmgE.k	(a bird)	_____	_____	19(5), II; 18(4)	
hagwɔlɔx	(sea monster)	like a whale with humans along its back	TP	16a, I	

NISKA

## Monster crests (cont.)

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
g'e'məg.ən	(bird with a long beak)	_____	TP	19(5),I
g'i'.bəl̩k	(bird-like monster)	looks like human being	_____	19(2),I
log.ɔg'i'.bəl̩k̩k̩	"rotten g'i'.bəl̩k̩k̩"	a main crest	_____	19(5),I

## Plant crests

'andəpg.an	"tree stump"	on TP shown as stump	TP	19(5),I
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## Natural phenomenon crests

ɬəqsəmtsəm'aks	"moon in the water"	a naxnɔ'x, performed with a moon mask	NN,M	19(5),I
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NISKA	Artifact crests		laxsk'i'.k	
name	translation	description	use	owner
yag.ala'.ux	"down shine (trout)" (shine of pearls)	three rows of little shell pearls gummed on face; vertical, one through nose, others through eyes. A gravestone at Kincolith has it. Only head chief can use it, at potlatch and going to war when he may be killed	facial decoration	16a,II
gwəswax'mas	"robe bright red"		R	19(5),I
gwə's'masg.i's	"robe white hair"		R	19(5),I
wəxpəlo'.dzə	"crosswise black streaks"	on body of small human figure	pattern	19(5),IV, also qəq in I
wunst	(a hair style)	a woman's crest; hair worn down the shoulders like a cape with long earrings of dentalium shell	hair style	19(5),I
'maxlix'pi'ɬ (bəlE')	(abalone decoration)	10 abalone shells (pieces?) going over head from forehead to back, used only by chief when he takes his highest name	hair decoration	16a,II

GITKSAN		Primary animal crests			laxsk'i'.k	
name	translation	description	use	owner		
xski'.k	"eagle"		TP	20,I,II		
g.aidəmxski'.k	"headdress of eagle"		HD	20,I		
patxum xski'.k	"split eagle"		TP	20,I		
?	"small eagle"			20,III		
xskEgəmg.alpg.an	"small eagle of pole"	on house beams outside	TP,HB	20,III		
t'səmə'.lix	"beaver"	gnawing beaver	TP,R	20,I,II		

#### Secondary animal crests

sma'.x, or 'ɔl	"black bear"	bearskin used in hala'.it	TP,NN	20,I
g.aidəm 'ɔl	"headdress of bear"		HD	20,I
?	"claw marks of bear"		TP	20,I
spəsE'.mi	"den of bear"	1) as an entrance hole	HE	20,II
		2) hole in TP through which guests entered; also a person on TP with hole in stomach to represent entrance	TP,HE	20,I
		3) TP	TP	20,III



		laxsk'i'.k		
GITKSAN		Secondary animal crests (cont.)		
name	translation	description	use	owner
tsən̩ti'ik	"squirrel"	on top of TP with tail; name of TP: ha'nidEłtsən̩tik "on top sits squirrel"	TP	20,III
qanis	"dog salmon"	crest; also used as naxnɔ'x. In water in hole in feast house	D,NN	20,I,III
naxnag.ɔmtxo'x	"supernatural halibut"		TP,R,NN	20,I
mɔksi'ɫəm sin	"weasel of summer"	robe, darker than others	R,HD	20,II
g.alksto'masha't	"hat of white marten"		HD	20,IV

#### Human crests

sta'g'Et	"split person"		TP	20,I,II
g'edɔm'a'nu'ɫ	"person of drum"	a large cedar drum with a human figure on its side; also on TP	drum,TP	20,I

## GITKSAN

## Monster crests

laxsk'i'.k

name	translation	description	use	owner
xskeg.ʔmg'E't	"eagle man"	HD, said to be naxnɔ'x	HD, NN	20, III

Plant crests: none

Natural phenomenon crests: none

Artifact crests

?	(9-level da'ax)	excavated house with 9 levels	house	20, I
hani'anu'ɬ	"hanging onto, drum"	pole on which hangs drum	TP	20, I