CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF MINES
HON. CHARLES STEWART, MINISTER; CHARLES CAMSELL, DEPUTY MINISTER

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA
W. H. COLLINS, ACTING DIRECTOR

BULLETIN No. 61

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES, No. 12

Totem Poles of the Gitksan, Upper Skeena River, British Columbia

BY

Marius Barbeau

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F. A. ACLAND
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
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PREFACE

Our knowledge of the totem poles of the Gitksan was obtained at first-hand among the tribes of the upper Skeena, in the course of four seasons of field research for the National Museum of Canada, from 1920 to 1926. The photographs utilized here are ours, unless it is otherwise stated. A few drawings by the artist, Langdon Kihn, of New York, are reproduced with his kind permission. Mr. Kihn was associated with us in our ethnographic work during the summer and autumn of 1924.

This monograph on the totem poles of one of the three Tsimsyan nations—the Gitksan—is the first of a series that will eventually cover the complete ethnography of the Tsimsyan and will embrace their social organization, history, mythology, and æsthetic arts.

The following description and analysis of totem poles is restricted to one of the several nations of the North West Coast that are known to have practised the art of carving and erecting tall wooden memorials to their dead. Yet the scope of our study is implicitly wider, since the art of the Gitksan is merely a local variation upon a theme that is, in geography and history, more comprehensive. Our conclusions and comparisons for this reason are bound to shed some light on the growth and expansion of this aboriginal art on the whole North West Coast, and to invite the readers' attention to the problem of diffusion of culture all around the rim of the Pacific ocean.

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TOTEM POLES OF THE GITKSAN, UPPER SKEENA RIVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA

INTRODUCTION

Totem poles were once a characteristic form of plastic art among the tribes of the North West Coast, in British Columbia and southern Alaska. The natives took pride in them and strained every nerve to make them worthy symbols of their own social standing and achievements. They were also discriminating judges of the qualities of a carver's work.

This art now belongs to the past. Ancient customs and racial stamina are on the wane everywhere, even in their former strongholds. Totem poles are no longer made. Many of them have fallen from old age; they have decayed and disappeared. Some have been sold, cut down, and removed to museums or public parks. Others have been destroyed by the owners themselves in the course of hysterical revivals under a spurious banner of Christianity.[1] Only a few of these relics of the past remain among the Haidas of Queen Charlotte islands—where they were most numerous—or the Kwakiutl of the main coast, farther south. Less than thirty poles, most of them among the best, are scattered in deserted villages along the Nass. Some of the Tlingit poles, on the Alaskan coast, are being preserved under the direction of the Department of Education of the United States.

The only collection that still stands fairly intact is that of the Gitksan nation, on upper Skeena river, in northern British Columbia. It consists of over one hundred poles, in isolated clusters of from a few to over thirty, in the eight tribal villages of the upper Skeena.

The poles of the Gitksan—more than one hundred and nine of which are described in this volume—are not all of the finest and most valuable, but they are among the tallest, ranging, on an average, between 15 feet and 60 feet in height. Not a few are old, archaic, very crude, and only partly carved. They occur chiefly far inland, on the edge of the area of totem pole diffusion. Nowhere, except on the Nass and the Skeena, are poles found any distance inland. The Gitksan carvers were on the whole less skilful than their Nass River kinsmen, or the Haidas of Queen Charlotte islands. Yet their art bids fair to become the best known, and, therefore, the most representative and typical, through the sheer accident of their survival to the present day. The Department of Indian Affairs began, in 1925, the work of their preservation. Others and possibly better ones elsewhere have vanished without leaving a trace, and are lost to history.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE POLES

The tribal villages of the Gitksan, where we find the totem poles, stand on the banks of the upper Skeena or, within a short distance, on three of its tributaries. Their picturesque strangeness and exotic charm are

[1]One of the finest groups of poles was thus destroyed at Gitlarhdamks on the upper Nass, in the winter of 1917 or 1918; that of Port Simpson, a few years later.

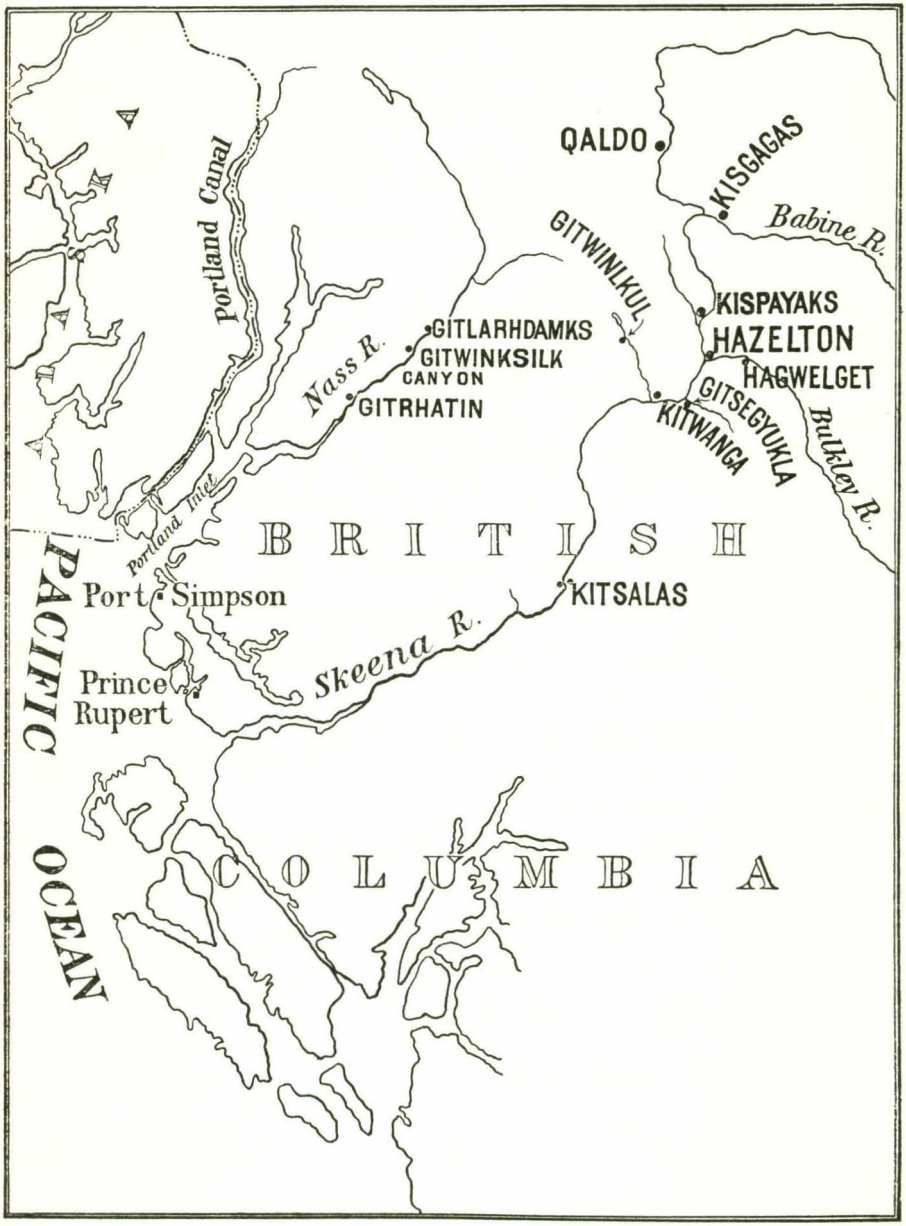

Figure 1. Index map showing position of Indian villages.

enhanced by their background of rolling foothills and lofty mountain peaks at times shrouded in mists and covered with snow most of the year.

The Gitwinlkul people—Mountain-pass-tribe—own twenty-seven poles which form the largest cluster in existence; it is also the finest. Gitwinlkul is situated 14 miles north of Kitwanga, on the Grease trail to the Nass, and it belongs in some ways as much to the Nass as it does to the Skeena.

The other villages whose poles rank next in age and value, are Kispayaks (Kispiox)[1] and Kitwanga. The people of Kispayaks—or Hiding-place—owned twenty-three poles until recently, and the Kitwanga tribe —or Rabbit-tribe—twenty-six, including house-poles and kindred carvings. Kitwanga is the westernmost village of the Gitksan or the lowest on the Skeena, and it stands about 150 miles from the coast. Kispayaks is situated 35 miles above, at the junction of Skeena and Kispayaks rivers.[2] The Kitwanga poles were recently restored under government and railway auspices. Originally they were unpainted, except for incidental touches, and most of them stood in a row along the water front.

There are nineteen poles at Gitsegyukla, a village on the Skeena midway between Kitwanga and Hazelton, that is, about 165 miles from the coast. The Gitsegyukla poles are of good quality and in a fair state of preservation; but they rather lack the air of antiquity which is so striking elsewhere, in particular at Gitwinlkul and Kispayaks. The oldest poles burnt down with the village in 1872, and the present ones were erected since, a few after the year 1900. Most of them were decorated in the new style, with modern paint, which in time has been weathered down. Gitenmaks or the Torch-light-fishing-tribe, at the forks of the Skeena and the Bulkley—now Hazelton—never owned more than a few poles; but one of them was among the most ancient. Gitenmaks was a fairly small village, near the Carrier frontier 3 miles away, at Bulkley canyon. Eight of its poles are described here, and the four that still stand were erected after the Indian reserve was established, about the year 1890.

The other villages of Qaldo and Kisgagas, near the headwaters of the Skeena,[3] are not, strictly speaking, totem pole villages. We know of only three poles formerly standing in each of these places. Hagwelget, the Carrier tribe of Bulkley canyon near Hazelton, owns four poles, which were erected many years ago in imitation of the Gitksan custom.

The poles as a rule face the water front, in each of these villages. They stand apart from each other, usually in front of the owner's lodge, and they dot the whole length of the village, in an irregular row. Their height ranges from 10 feet to 60. They were carved from large cedar trees carefully selected and sometimes hauled from a long distance, and erected in commemoration of the dead, in the course of elaborate ceremonials. Now that the villagers, to keep up with the times, have moved to new quarters, the poles seem forsaken in the old, deserted abodes of the past, among cabins where some of the natives casually smoke salmon in the summer. Some of the poles have already fallen and decayed, and others lean precariously or totter in the wind, soon to come down with a crash.

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[1]The phonetic spelling, Kispayaks, is used throughout the report, not the Geographic Board name, Kispiox.

[2]Or 10 miles above Hazelton.

[3]Kisgagas, or the Sea-gull-tribe, is situated on Babine river 3 or 4 miles above the junction of the Skeena and the Babine (or Kisgagas river), about 225 miles from the coast. Qaldo is the uppermost Gitksan village, on the Skeena, about 250 miles from the coast.

AGE OF THE POLES

The totem poles of the upper Skeena on the average have been carved and erected in the past forty or fifty years. The oldest, five or six in number, may slightly exceed seventy years in age. Not a few are less than thirty years old. The evidence clearly shows that the existing poles constitute the first set of elaborate memorials ever erected among the Gitksan. Comparatively few have fallen, decayed, or been destroyed. It is quite safe to say that totem poles became a notable feature in the majority—four out of seven—of the Gitksan villages only after 1870 or 1880. Only six out of the twenty-seven poles at Gitwinlkul exceed fifty years of age; about the same number at Kitwanga and Kispayaks; one at Gitenmaks (Hazelton) and another at Qaldo. Of the four Hagwelget poles, two were erected slightly before 1866 and the two others soon after. The names of the carvers of these poles, with the exception of less than half a dozen, are still remembered.

It is a mistake to say, as is often done, that totem poles are hundreds of years old. They could not be because of the nature of the materials and climatic conditions. A green cedar cut and planted, without preservatives, in the ground, cannot stand upright far beyond fifty or sixty years on the upper Skeena,[1] where precipitation is moderate and the soil usually consists of gravel and sand. Along the coast, it seldom can endure the intense moisture that prevails most of the year, and the muskeg foundation, much more than forty years. The totem poles of Port Simpson, for instance, all decayed on the south side first, which is exposed to warm, rainy winds; and most of them tumbled to the ground in less than forty years.

Thus it has come about that the oldest poles of the Gitksan count among the earliest relics of the kind still in existence. Many of them for that reason are of an archaic type and quite crude; and they fairly represent some of the past stages in the evolution of this native art.

CARVERS

Carving was a truly popular art among the Gitksan as well as among their North West Coast neighbours. If some artists were at times preferred to others for their skill, their selection for definite tasks on the whole depended upon definite rules rather than personal choice.[2] Every family of standing in the tribes had strong inducements to resort to its own carvers for important functions in ceremonial life. Of this we have conclusive proof: the hundred totem poles of the upper Skeena were produced by more than thirty local carvers and thirteen foreigners. Six of the foreigners were from the Nass, three from the lower Skeena, and four from Bulkley river. The Gitksan carvers belonged to independent social groups: twenty-three were members of various families of the Frog-Raven phratry; nine belonged to Wolf families, three to the Fireweeds, five to the Eagles. Seventy-eight out of the hundred and nine poles were the work of Gitksans, and the balance is ascribed to outsiders (*See* page 178, *Carvers*).

It is significant that several of the earliest poles were carved by Nass River artists. These constitute some of the outstanding achieve-

[1]The pole of Halus (Plate IX, figures 1 and 2), at Kitwanga, was erected in 1907 and collapsed in 1926. It has since been re-erected under Government and railway supervision.

[2]*See* the paragraph on *Function*, page 6.

ments of their kind, as, for instance: the White-owl pole of Gitludahl[1] and the pole of Næqt,[2] both at Kispayaks; several of the best memorials at Gitwinlkul; and presumably a few of the first and most archaic poles erected at Kitwanga and Gitenmaks. The sway of the northern craftsmen, those of the Nass, at an early date, is more natural at Gitwinlkul than at Kispayaks. Gitwinlkul is on the main trail northwards and stands next to Gitlarhdamks, the uppermost Nisræ village, about 75 miles away. But Kispayaks is farther removed, and the ties of relationship with the northerners far looser.

Besides, the fashion of erecting large wooden memorials on the Skeena is derivative. It spread from the Nass, its birthplace on the coast.[3] to the upper Skeena, during the various stages of its evolution. That is why some of the leading carvers of the north were invited to transplant their activities to remote parts still unprovided with native craftsmen. But the demand for foreigners was shortlived. Soon local talent developed under constant stimulus. The demand everywhere was imperious. The imitativeness and the inexperience of the new recruits of the art were at first only too evident. Their efforts were often primitive and crude. Yet their progress was rapid and striking, though, on the whole, they remained inferior to their contemporaries of the Nass or of Queen Charlotte islands to the west. A few of them, particularly the Gitwinlkul artists Hæsem-hliyawn, Nees-laranows, and Hlamee, markedly excelled their compatriots. Their carvings are on a par with the best ever produced on the Nass; that is, they are nowhere surpassed in excellence. Hæsem-hliyawn and Nees-laranows lived as late as 1888, and Hlamee, their follower, died after 1900. No less than twenty poles from their hands still stand in the three lower villages of the Skeena; seven are ascribed to Hæsem-hliyawn, three to Nees-laranows, and ten to Hlamee.

To Hæsem-hliyawn, the outstanding figure in this school, goes the credit of carving some of the best poles in existence, for instance, the Whole-through *(Wulnaqaq)*[4] of Haidzemerhs, and the Sitting-Grizzlies of Malee,[5] both at Gitwinlkul; the poles of Weerhæ, at Gitwinlkul[6]; and the Mountain-lion pole of Arteeh[7] at Kitwanga. His was a fine style, in the purely native vein. He combined a keen sense of realism with a fondness for decorative treatment. Tsimsyan art in his hands reached one of its highest pinnacles. It sought inspiration in nature, while maintaining itself within the frontiers of ancient stylistic technique. Hæsem-hliyawn belonged to the generation wherein the totem pole art was still in its growth (1840-1880) and all at once reached its apogee. His handling of human figures counts among the outstanding achievements of West Coast art—indeed, of aboriginal art in any part of the world. The faces he carved, with their strong facial expression and amusing contortions, are characteristic of the race. Many of them are sheer masterpieces. From a purely traditional source, his art passed into effective realism. His treatment of birds and spirit-monsters is not inferior to that of the human figure. On several of his best carvings,

[1]Plate XIV, figure 5; Plate XVI, figure 1.
[2]Plate V, figure 5; Plate VI, figure 1.
[3]*See* Origin and evolution of the art of carving poles, p. 12.
[4]Plate XXII, figure 6.
[5]Plate XX, figure 2.
[6]Plate XXV, figures 1, 2, 3.
[7]Plate XXVII, figure 1.

especially as seen at Gitwinlkul, he reached into the sphere of higher art where a creator obeys his own instinct and freely expresses himself in terms that belong to humanity as a whole.

Hlamee (otherwise named Alexander) was a prolific carver. When his work is compared at close range with that of Hæsem-hliyawn, his elder, he seems to have been indebted to him for his equipment and training. The earlier was by far the greater artist. The art, instead of improving at large during his lifetime, had reached a stage of decadence. Hlamee, for one thing, introduced the White Man's paint, to enhance the features of his carvings. Although he did it with discretion and good effect, paint immediately lessened the sculptural quality of the work. The figures under his chisel and paint brush are smoother than formerly they were; their style is more conventional and less sincere. Their relief is thinner and the arrangement of figures more static. The composition often becomes stilted. The black and white paint with which, in his later period, he decorated his poles according to the new fashion, do not compensate for the evident loss of native inspiration and artistry.[1]

FUNCTION OF THE POLES

The fanciful figures on totem poles were not pagan gods or demons, as is often supposed. They consisted of symbols that can be compared with European heraldry, and as a rule illustrated familiar myths or tribal recollections. They were not worshipped—indeed, the West Coast natives hardly knew of any form of worship. For their implications alone were they held sacred.

The carved poles of the Gitksan were monuments erected by the leading families in every tribe in memory of their chiefs who had died. For that reason they are sometimes termed "the grave of" whoever they commemorate and whose remains were buried in the neighbourhood; in which instance they bear close resemblance to our tombstones.[2]

The only exceptions consist of house-posts and house-front or entrance poles—altogether less than twelve of these carvings are still to be observed.[3]

A particular object of these monuments was to publish the owners' claims to established patrimonies and rights that had descended to them mostly from the immemorial past. The assistance of other families and neighbouring villages in their erection served as a pledge of universal recognition.

Some time after the death of a household chief, his family would appoint his eldest nephew to his high post, if he were worthy of their confidence. The induction of the new dignitary took place in the course of elaborate ceremonials. The traditional name of his predecessor in office was conferred upon him; and a totem pole was erected as a memorial to the departed, thus ensuring the transfer of his title to his successor. The whole family and even their distant relatives in other tribes would muster all resources

[1]For the names of the carvers and the list of the poles ascribed to them, *see* page 178, *Carvers of totem poles.*

[2]Many of the marble tombstones in the graveyards of Hazelton, Kispayaks, and other modern Indian places, contain totem-pole-like figures executed at Port Simpson or Vancouver by white sculptors at the request of the natives from small wooden models provided for the purposes. (*See* as illustrations of this Plate XIX, figure 4A; Plate XXX, figure 1; Plate XXVI, figure 3.)

[3]*See* Plate VII, figure 1; Plate VIII, figures 4-7; Plate XI, figure 3; Plate XXI, figure 2; Plate XX, figure 2; Plate XXII, figure 6; Plate XXVII, figure 1, Plate XXXIII, figure 1.

available to make the event a memorable one. Their social rank at large depended upon their power and wealth as displayed in these festivals, which they termed *yaok*. Thus the whole kin became sponsor for the new chief and shared with him the cost of the new carved memorial and the pomp of its dedication.

The long-acknowledged means of securing public recognition was to hire other families for manual or ceremonial services. The relatives themselves, however distant, could not assume any other burden but that of contributing toward the expenses of the *yaok*. The labour of cutting a large cedar tree and hauling it where it could be carved, of preparing and standing it at the chosen spot, fell wholly to strangers, that is people who belonged to a different phratry.[1]

If strangers at large alone could sanction the devolution of inherited rights, the privilege of carving the pole and rendering specific ceremonial services for a liberal stipend fell to a smaller circle of strangers, 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 either one of the "fathers" of the members of this family or one of their immediate relatives according to native computation.[2] The "fathers" always belonged to another phratry, as no one was ever allowed to marry within one's own phratry, even with the members of a clan wholly unrelated.

The carver whose services were sought was as a rule the best available from among the "fathers." When he lacked the required ability, he himself appointed a substitute who did the actual work while he "stood over him," as the saying goes. He otherwise assumed the credit of the work. This sometimes made it difficult to find the name of the actual carvers, after the lapse of many years.

The pole was left to stand as many years as nature unaided would permit. Two or three poles are often found that belong to the same family and commemorate the same name as borne in as many succeeding generations. They as a rule stand side by side in front of the owner's house. It is not the custom to mend or transplant a pole, however precarious its condition, for this operation would involve the same ceremonial process of calling the "fathers," paying for their services, and lavishly entertaining many guests from far and wide. Violation of this custom never happened in any circumstances. At best a prop or two are still at times resorted to, so as to retard the collapse of the memorial when it leans dangerously over a house or a footpath. Once fallen, the pole is pushed aside, if it is in the way, and decays gradually or is cut up and burnt as firewood. Only one of them among the Gitksan[3] has been cut down and disposed of to a museum, a few years ago; and this forfeiture could happen only after the total collapse of the ancient customs and memories.

Many poles on the North West Coast have met with wanton destruction in the past twenty years; others have found their way to public parks

[1]It is a question to be discussed elsewhere whether some absolutely unrelated clan within the same phratry was not occasionally allowed to share in the privilege of rendering such ceremonial services.

[2]That is, exclusively on the side of the mother.

[3]The White-owl of Gitludahl, at Kispayaks (Plate XVI, figure 1), which was sold to the American Museum of Natural History, New York, about 1925. The young owner had many reasons to regret his deed, when it was too late. He was forced to yield to his relatives the initial cost of the pole, that is, far beyond what he claimed to have received in payment.

and museums. But any native in the least endowed with a sense of conservatism still clings to these last vestiges of the past as one would to the memories they stand for. When the purchase of a fine pole—now lost in the wilderness on the lower Nass—was proposed to its owner, Chief Mountain of Kincolith, he asked the writer to consider the price, namely, the monument erected to Sir James Douglas, the first Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in British Columbia. This retort was illuminating; it embodied the chief's implicit definition of his totem pole—a monument to his "uncle"—a fine wooden shaft embodying the heraldic symbols of his glorious ancestors, the Eagles that once migrated from the north after fabulous trials and peregrinations along the west coast; in other words, a monument not unlike that of Douglas, the great white chief of old. To him one was at least worth the other, and the pole was, after all, much the more precious.

These native memorials were, in the past century, a symbol of social standing, perhaps the outstanding symbol of identity and rank. The desire of their owners was to vie with their rivals and excel them in their achievements. The totem pole, after 1830, everywhere became a fashionable way of displaying one's own power and crests, while commemorating the dead. The size of the pole and the beauty of its carvings published abroad the fame of those it represented.

The Gitksan, of the three Tsimsyan nations to whom they belong, were the least centralized and the most democratic. Their chiefs never claimed great wealth or transcendant power. The length and beauty of their poles, as a result, were determined by the resources at their command rather than by a preconceived plan. Not so elsewhere, for instance among the Nass River villagers, whose "nobles" were proud and ambitious. Feuds over the size of totem poles at times broke out between rival leaders within one village. The quarrel between Hladerh and Sispegut, of Gitrhatin, will not soon be forgotten. Hladerh, the head-chief of the Wolves, would not allow the erection of any pole that exceeded his own in height. One day Sispegut, the head-chief of the Finback-whales, thought he could disregard his rival's jealousies. As soon as his new pole was carved, over sixty years ago, the news went out that his would be the tallest in the village. In spite of Hladerh's pointed warning, Sispegut issued invitations for its erection. But he was shot and wounded by Hladerh as he passed in front of his house in a canoe. The festival perforce was postponed for a year. Meanwhile Hladerh managed, through a clever plot, to have Sispegut murdered by one of his own nephews, whose ambitions served his secret purpose. Hladerh later compelled another chief of his own phratry, much to the chief's humiliation, to shorten his pole twice after it was erected; and he was effectively checked only when he tried to spread his ascendancy abroad to an upper Nass village.

CRESTS OR HERALDIC EMBLEMS

The figures carved on totem poles were crests or heraldic emblems of their owners. They varied with each family and clan. Their ownership was jealously guarded. It was handed down from generation to generation, exclusively on the side of the mother—kinship being computed according to a system of unilateral descent through the mother.

For that reason the crests of the wife and the husband or the father and his children never figured on the same pole[1], as they belonged to "opposite" phratries.[2] The only exceptions to this rule are the "signatures" which three carvers, from the father's side, introduced in as many poles which they had carved at Kitwanga and Gitwinlkul.[3]

The selection of the crests for the poles from among available alternatives, was left to the fancy of the owners; it tended to vary slightly in the course of time. There seems to have been no rule governing the order or arrangement of the crests along the carved shaft. The most comprehensive and important crest, however, is generally at the top.

One must grasp the nature of the social organization of the Tsimsyan to understand how the crests were distributed among the widely scattered tribes of the coast and the interior. A description of it is given on later pages (*See* "Gitksan social organization").[4] Here it is sufficient to say, that the tribes are nothing but villages, or casual geographic units, seven in all among the Gitksan, comprising a number of families unrelated to each other. As they are the result of chance they are apt to dissolve into their component parts as soon as the causes for their existence cease to exist. The *households* are the smallest social units within the village or tribe; they formerly comprised the inmates of a single house—a few closely related couples with their children and grandchildren; they, therefore, hold the "fathers" and the "mothers" as well. The *families* consist of a number of "blood" relatives (in the mother-line) as a rule dispersed in several households within the same tribe, or even at times outside the tribe. Their existence is not primarily dependent upon the idea of location, as are the tribes and the households. They are purely a kinship concept. The *clans* are also of like nature; but they are more comprehensive. If they are at all important they must embrace a number of families; and these, quite as often as not, reside in various tribes that may be part of one nation or more. Members of several clans are known to belong to two or three of the following nations—the Gitksan, the Carrier, the Nisræ, the Tsimsyan, the Haida, or the Tlingit. What is fundamental in the concept of clan is that their "blood," their origin, their ancient history, their most ancient crests and privileges should be the same. They issued from the same remote ancestors. Yet, upon their definite historical entity, extraneous elements have occasionally been grafted in the course of time. These are not always easily unravelled, as they tend soon after their fusion to lose their own original features. Families too weak to subsist independently, after defeat in warfare or wastage through disease, have often been totally absorbed by other families; their privileges and possessions henceforth being merged in a single whole. Of all the social groups the most comprehensive are the *phratries*. They are political groups extending throughout the northernmost nations of the North West

[1]This applies to all the Tsimsyan nations. It was otherwise among the Haidas.

[2]A Tsimsyan informant of Port Simpson answered the question "whether a person could introduce crests other than his own on his pole" in this wise: It was not the custom of the Tsimsyan to mix crests; but the Haidas did otherwise; they put the crests of the wives and the husbands together. The Tsimsyan, however, had the privilege of doing it when they felt so inclined. If a man wanted to show where he came from, he could have his crests represented on his pole with those of his father. Although a pole of this kind would cost a great deal to its owner, it was not considered important. And it was not regarded as exclusively his own. It merely showed what his parentage was on both sides. The name of a pole of this kind was "pole of origin" *(Ranem-wilksewalk)*. This opinion was corroborated by James Wright, another Tsimsyan informant.

[3]*See* page 172, Crests, their origins according to their owners.

[4]This subject will form part of another extensive monograph.

Coast. In other words, they are like a federation of clans, arrived at only in stages and without a preconceived plan. Their attributes and contents, as a result, are not uniform, especially in parts mutually far removed. A crest may characterize a clan in one nation while it is the appanage of another elsewhere. For instance, the Grizzly-bear is the outstanding crest of many clans of the Wolf phratry among the Gitksan, but it belongs to the Finback-whale phratry among the Tsimsyan. The Gitksan clans are all integral parts of the four phratries of the Larhsail (Frog-Raven), the Fireweed, the Wolf, and the Eagle. The Eagle is represented only by a part of one clan in one of its seven tribes—Kitwanga.

The only owners of totem poles, among these social units, are the families, whose deceased leaders they commemorate. The need never arose for the clan, the tribe, or the phratry as such to erect memorials, which were primarily concerned with the transfer of family patrimonies within the tribe.

As the crests vary with the clans, and are vestiges of the past, they inevitably reflect historical events. Their utilization on the totem poles is a pledge of their preservation in tribal memory. It naturally accentuates the social differences between the clans and commemorates their traditions in permanent symbols. A list of the clans and an indication of their origins are given in a later section.[1]

In brief, there are six clans in the Frog-Raven phratry of the Gitksan, most of which are remotely related to each other. The clans of Frog-woman and Tongue-licked claim the lower Nass as their ancient home; and their Haida affiliations are the object of some of their outstanding emblems. The war adventures of one of their ancestors, Næqt, are commemorated on several poles. The Wild-rice clan traces its origin to the Tsetsaut—an Athapascan people to the north. The Water-lily clan is of similar extraction. Hlengwah, a head-chief of Kitwanga, and his Tsimsyan relatives, once were Tlingit, on the northern Alaskan coast. Only two or three elements in this phratry seem native to the Skeena and they are of small numerical importance.

The clans of the Fireweed phratry are more typically Gitksan than the others. Two of the Sky clans claim Temlaham, on the Skeena, as their original home. Yet, the second Sky clan—that of Gitkeemilæ is from the Nass. The Wild-rice clan of the Fireweed phratry, belongs as much to the Athapascans of the interior as it does to the Gitksan. And the clan under the leadership of Weegyet, at Gitsegyukla, goes back to the Eagle phratry by way of transmutation.

The Wolf phratry here consists of five clans, all of which are genetically related: the Prairie clan, the Gitrandakl clan, the Wild-rice clan, the second Wild-rice clan, and the Hrain-Island clan. It is almost wholly, if not wholly, of Tahltan extraction—the Tahltans being a northern Athapascan people of the Yukon frontier.

The Eagles—barely represented among the Gitksan—trace back their origin to Na'a, among the Tlingit of the Alaskan coast to the north.

The gradual drift of these people from the far north southwards is at the core of their recent history. It undoubtedly forms part of the migratory movement from Asia that is likely in the course of millennia to have furnished to the American continent most of its native population.

[1]Pages 152, 153, The Clans of the Gitksan.

A state of almost incessant warfare resulted from the transgressions of the newcomers in a country already settled as were the North West Coast and adjacent valleys. This conflict forms the theme of countless narratives many of which explain the origin or the acquisition of new crests.[1]

The symbols in the heraldry of the Gitksan families, as illustrated on their poles, are one and all derived from their habitat and their rich mythology or folk-lore. An index list is given in a later section, page 158. They comprise a total of five hundred and twenty-five figures, nearly all of which have been carved. Animals constitute the predominant theme. Monsters with animal features, human-like spirits, and semi-historical ancestors occupy the second place. Objects, devices, masks, and charms come third; last of all, plants and sky phenomena. It is doubtful whether the people in whose memories the poles were erected, were ever depicted on the poles in the earlier days, though we find four instances of this kind—all quite recent.

The animal emblems most frequently resorted to are quadrupeds and birds; fish are less commonly used than on the coast. The Frog is, of all the crests, the one that appears the most frequently—sixty-five times or more. Next in frequency are the Bear (the Grizzly or the Black Bear), the *Mawdzeks* Eagle, the Raven, the Thunder-bird (a mythological Eagle), the Wolf, the Eagle proper, the Owl, the Grouse, the Starfish, the Finback-whale, the Halibut, and several others.

Among the monsters and spirits the most familiar on the poles are Split-person, Sharp-nose, Three-beings-across or Skulls, People-of-the-Smoke-hole, Whole-person, and Half-way-out, which are represented altogether seventy-five times.

Remote ancestors are depicted twenty-one times, along with nine figures of people associated with them in the traditional tales of the past. These symbols nearly all belong to one clan, that of the warrior Næqt, of the Frog-Raven phratry.

The sundry objects, devices, and masks that complete the assortment of native crests are: masks or spirit-names, house-front devices, head-dresses, canoes, magic weapons, small human-like beings, and many other like objects.

These crests may also be classified according to their mode of acquisition by their owners; or, according to their origin as it is explained in myths and traditions (*See* pages 172 to 175).

Their mode of acquisition was by no means always restricted to inheritance. Sometimes they were obtained by conquest from enemies, acquired from other owners through atonement for a crime, or secured in compensation for services, or traded, or appropriated at the extinction of a family of neighbours or allies.

The origins of some of these crests were explained in myths *(ada-orh)*,[2] or in traditions of pseudo-historical events of the recent past.[3]. Others were just inherited, without any explicit account of their remote origin. Colourful legends, formerly recited in tribal festivals and at the erection of

[1]These subjects will be treated in other monographs.
[2]Cf. page 175.
[3]Cf. page 177.

totem poles, have fallen into desuetude. Most of them are now in our keeping.[1] They explain how human-like animals or spirits from an unseen world once appeared in a vision, thereafter to be depicted in the heraldry. They recount the memorable adventures of past generations, the migrations of war-like ancestors, and the feuds that harried tribal life and often brought disaster in their wake. These narratives, varied and well-nigh inexhaustible, are the true wealth of the Indian mind and imagination. The carvings on the memorials and house-poles illustrate a few of their outstanding episodes, thus making them familiar to all in everyday life.

The myths or *ada-orh* that explain the origin of the family emblems conform on the whole to three or four general patterns or types. A spirit or a monster once was "seen" in the course of a supernatural experience, usually by the members of one family, who henceforth commemorated their experience by depicting it in a new crest, thereafter hereditary.[2] In other like narratives, the monster or spirit was not only "seen," but was killed before being made into a crest.[3] Sometimes the ancestor was kidnapped by a spirit or a monster, usually for violation of taboos; but in the end he was liberated and the captor was killed and converted into an emblem.[4] Last of all, some of the most significant crests—those of the Sky clan of the Fireweeds—were pictorial illustrations of ancient family myths, whereas others—those of the Næqt clan—were drawn from recollections of war adventures of the fairly recent past.[5]

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE ART OF CARVING TOTEM POLES

The art of carving poles is not really as ancient as is generally believed.[6] Its growth to its present proportions is largely confined to the nineteenth century, that is, after the traders had introduced European tools, the steel ax, the adze, and the curved knife, in large numbers among the natives. The lack of suitable tools, wealth, and leisure in earlier times precluded the existence of elaborate structures. The benefits that accrued from the fur trade, besides, stimulated ambitions and rivalries between the leading families. Their only desire was to outdo the others in wealth and display of prestige. The totem pole became, after 1830, the fashionable way of showing one's power and crests, while commemorating the dead or decorating the houses. The size of the pole and the beauty of its imagery published abroad the fame of those it represented.

The native accounts[7] of what the earliest carved poles were on the Skeena, and an examination of the oldest specimens inevitably lead to the conclusion that carved house-front poles and house-corner posts were introduced first, many years before detached memorial columns to honour the dead became the fashion. Several of the houses at Kispayaks, before they were burnt down by the Tsimsyan warrior and trader Legyarh,[8] are said

[1]They will form the subject of another monograph. A brief outline only accompanies here the description of the poles.

[2]*See* page 175.

[3]See page 176.

[4]See page 176.

[5]*See* page 177.

[6]Popular misconception in this respect is so fantastic that, for instance, nobody so far seems to have questioned the statement on the label attached to the Haida totem-pole standing in Prince Rupert (known as the Hliellen pole) that it is hundreds of years old. It is much nearer sixty or seventy, although this pole was said by Dr. Newcombe to be the oldest, he could get information on, from Queen Charlotte islands.

[7]These are embodied in myths and are not included in this publication.

[8]It is not clear to what generation belonged this Legyarh; he seems to have lived over a hundred years ago, evidently after foreign trade had become quite extensive along the west coast.

to have had carved houseposts and house-front entrance poles, with round or ovoid holes at the bottom as ceremonial doorways. The house of the Gitwinlkul head-chief Weerhæ had four corner posts representing one of his crests—the Grizzly-bear standing erect. At least four of the houses at Kitsalas canyon[1], half-way down the Skeena to the coast, had such decorated corner and entrance poles. These half-decayed remnants still survive.[2] The ridge beam of a house still to be seen at Kitsalas[3] was also carved to represent a fish, the Dog-salmon crest of its owner. Several of the oldest poles at Kitwanga, Gitwinlkul, and Gitenmaks (Hazelton), are exactly of that type, and they are said to be from sixty to seventy years old.[4] They were house-front posts. But this style of house decoration was superseded as soon as the natives gave up building large communal lodges of the purely native type; and memorial columns standing away from the houses became the new fashion. It is fairly safe to say that none of these monuments existed on the upper Skeena before 1840. Some of them made their appearance about 1850 at Gitwinlkul and Kitwanga first and almost at once spread to Kispayaks and Gitsegyukla[5] and even to the Carrier village of Hagwelget. Gitwinlkul had the largest cluster of them all, whereas Gitenmaks (Hazelton) never seems to have had more than a very few, and its present four poles were erected only after the establishment of the Indian reserve in 1890. The two villages of Kisgagas and Qaldo at the headwaters were not properly speaking totem-pole villages, as they never boasted of more than a few poles, most of them simple and crude.

Internal evidence tells the same tale. The technique of the carving on several of the old poles is self-revealing, particularly as it discloses anterior stages in the art. It is essentially the technique of making masks or of carving small detached objects; or again, of representing masked and costumed performers[6] as they appeared in festivals rather than the real animals or objects as they exist in nature. These early Skeena River carvers had not yet acquired the skill of the Nass River masters, who had advanced to the point of thinking of a large pole as an architectural unit, which called for unity and harmony of decorative treatment. It is obvious that they were primarily carvers of masks and trays and charms.[7]

Hæsem-hliyawn and his contemporaries, of Gitwinlkul, seem to have been responsible for the advance of the art beyond its first stage; and yet they belong as much (for their location and affiliations) to the Nass as to the Skeena.

The decorated poles of the Gitksan from the first were essentially sculptural. Their figures were carved in low and high relief. The device of supplementing the surface with external additions and affixing them with pegs, served to enhance the high relief, for the sake of realism. Yet, native colours—red, yellow, black, and in some instances, blue-green—were often resorted to for the decoration of the eyes, the eyebrows, the lips, and the nostrils. When the White man's paint became available, it

[1]In the Gitrh-tsawh section, on the railway side.
[2]They have now been restored under Government and railway supervision.
[3]On the Gitrh-tsærh side, south of the river. This Dog-salmon ridge-pole still exists.
[4]*See* the list pages 167 and 187.
[5]There seem to have been three or four house-front or other poles at Gitsegyukla, that were burnt down at the time of the fire of 1872. The present graveyard is on the old village site, slightly to the west of the present village.
[6]What is called *narhnawk*.
[7]Plate IX, figure 2; Plate XI, figure 5; Plate XVI, figure 5; Plate XVII, figure J: Plate XVII, figure 2; Plate XXVII, figure 5; and Plate XXVIII, figure 1; Plate XVIII, figures 1, 2.

gradually invaded larger spaces on the pole, to the detriment of plastic forms. The garish colours on the recently restored carvings at Kitwanga are modern and unauthentic, and they do not in any way represent native art or paint. They date back to 1925-26. Weathering in time will restore their original character and rich hues.

It can be said, from evidence not adduced here,[1] that the Nass River people made totem poles at an earlier period than the upper Skeena tribes. Many families on both sides were mutually related. Several of the Gitwinlkul villagers have their hunting grounds on the upper Nass. And the Gitksan used to travel every spring to the lower Nass for *ulaken* fishing[2] or to trade pelts or dried fruit in cakes with the coast tribes. A strong cultural influence from the more progressive tribes of the coast thus resulted in the course of time. It is, besides, a trait of all these aborigines that they were keen and gifted imitators, and fond of novelty.

The Tsimsyan of the lower Skeena, on the other hand, never were addicted to the art of carving totem poles. When, long ago, they were moved to commemorate an historical event of first magnitude, they erected a tall slab of stone—not a totem pole as they would have done nearer our times—which still stands at Kitsalas canyon, at the former village of Gitksedzawrh, north of the river (*See* Plate XXXII). Only a few poles ever stood in their ten villages—two or three in as many places[3]—with exception of Kitsalas, the canyon. Three houses there had carved house-posts; and one of these may have contained eight. There are, besides, less than ten tall poles on both sides of the canyon, some of which have fallen[4] and partly decayed. These carvings at Kitsalas may be traced back to the influence of the Gitksan and indirectly, the Nisræ. The poles erected at the Tsimsyan village of Port Simpson, which was established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1833, have mostly all decayed or been destroyed. Yet they were all erected after 1857, since an early painting of "Fort Simpson in 1857" and reproduced in Arctander's *Apostle of Alaska* (page 53) contains no trace of a totem pole.

If the Tsimsyan as a body were not swayed by the modern fashion of erecting carved memorials to their dead, they retained until fairly late the older custom of painting in native pigments their heraldic symbols on the front of their houses. Although not a single totem pole seems ever to have stood in the village of Gitsees, near the mouth of the Skeena, five house-front paintings were still clearly remembered and described to us a few years ago.[5] And we were told that many houses in the other neighbouring tribes[6] were decorated in this style, which at one time may have been fairly general all along the coast. To use the words of our best Tsimsyan informant, Nees-yaranæt,[7] "There were more paintings than poles in the early days." "This was true also among the Gitrhahla (on

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[1]The author intends eventually to prepare a monograph on the totem poles and house-front paintings of the Nass River tribes and the Tsimsyan.

[2]The place now is called Fishery bay.

[3]There are said to be two now decaying on the ground near Shames; there were that many at Gitsemrælem and at Ginaihdoik.

[4]A few of these were recently restored and re-erected.

[5]By Nees-yaranæt (Herbert Wallace), of Port Simpson, B.C.

[6]Geenarhangeek, Gitwilgyawts, Gisparhlawts, Gitlen, and others.

[7]Old Herbert Wallace, head-chief of the Gitsees tribe, who belongs to the Raven phratry. He is domiciled at Port Simpson.

Porcher island). Of the two kinds, the house-front paintings *(neksugyet)* were the most important; they were the real crest boards. The poles *(ptsœn)* were merely commemorative."

* * * *

Our subject here is largely confined to the totem poles of the Gitksan, yet we may for a moment venture beyond the frontiers of the upper Skeena, and discuss the problem of more remote origins.

The remarkable North West Coast custom of carving and erecting house poles and tall, mortuary columns, or of painting coats-of-arms on house-fronts is sufficiently uniform in type to suggest that it originated in a single centre and spread in various directions. Its frontiers coincide with those of the North West Coast art proper, which embraces the carving or painting of wood, leather, stone, bone, or ivory.

This art itself seems much more ancient in some of its smaller forms than in its larger ones. Its origin on the North West coast is remote. It goes back to prehistoric times. It was already in existence and fully mature and quite as conventionalized as it is today, at the time of the early Spanish, English, and French explorers (1775-1800). The carved dish or the Raven head on a horn ladle observed by Dixon[1], about 1785, is substantially like those that were carved later, in the nineteenth century, and that we find in our museums. Most of the early circumnavigators—Cook, Dixon, Meares, Vancouver, Marchand, and la Pérouse—give ample evidence that masks, chests, and ceremonial objects were, at the end of the last century, decorated in the style now familiar to us (*See* the excerpts from these explorers' records in the *Appendix*, Nos. 1-7). They also sometimes mention that house-fronts were ornamented with painted designs. In a drawing reproduced in Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery. . . .*[2] at least eighteen out of about twenty-eight houses in a village in Johnston straits[3] were thus decorated.

There is in the accounts of the early navigators a striking lack of evidence of the existence of totem poles proper, that is, of detached funeral memorials, either south or north. Yet several villages of the Tlingit, the Haidas or the Tsimsyan, the Kwakiutl, and the Nootkas were often visited by mariners in the early days. The verbal descriptions or the sketches that casually appear in some of their records of exploration fail to give us any hint of their presence, still less of their actual appearance.[4] For instance, Dixon examined several of the Haida villages on Queen Charlotte islands; yet there is no mention of totem poles in his records. He, however, described small carved objects, trays and spoons, and left some illustrations.

But there were already—from 1780 to 1800—some carved house poles in existence. These early references are particularly valuable, and we will reproduce them here in full.

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[1] *A Voyage Round the World but More Particularly to the North West Coast of America and Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787. Captains Portlock and Dixon. By Captain George Dixon. Second edition*, p. 188.

[2] *See Appendix, No. 4.* The drawing appears on p. 345, vol. I.

[3] This village must have been one among the northern Kwakiutl or the Bellabellas, where such paintings were in vogue until fifty years ago. The Bellabellas were reputed the best painters of the North West Coast.

[4] *See* two such sketches in Meares *Voyages*, p. 221—Nootka sound; or in Vancouver's *Voyage*, p. 346.

Captain Cook[1] gave the following description of a Nootka house, which he visited on the western side of Vancouver island, about 1780:

"Amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly, or by pairs, at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of these images is Klumma; and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder, in one of the houses, were Natchkoa and Matfeeta. Mr. Webber's view of the inside of a Nootka house, in which these images are represented, will convey a more perfect idea of them than any description. A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part, hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove; and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It should seem that they are, at times, accustomed to make offerings to them; if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images, when they drew aside the mats that covered them."

Meares,[2] in 1788 and 1789, observed like Nootka carvings in the same neighbourhood:

"Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported at the ends and in the middle by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber.

The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity as well as our astonishment was on its utmost strength, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanic powers. The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down the chin . . . ."

"In most of their houses they have, as has already been observed, certain huge idols or images, to whom we never saw them pay any mark of common respect, much less of worship or adoration. These misshapen figures occupied, as it appeared, somewhat of a distinguished and appropriate place, wherever we saw them; but they seemed to have no exclusive privilege whatever, and shared the common filth of those who lived beneath the same roof with them."[3]

". . . . He continued to inform us that the people killed the old man, and took his canoe; and that from this event they derived their fondness for copper. He also gave us to understand that the images in their houses were intended to represent the form, and perpetuate the mission of the old man who came from the sky."[4]

The earliest drawing of a carved pole, and this is a house frontal or entrance pole of the Haidas, is found in Bartlett's Journal, 1790.[5]

The following description of Vancouver (1790-1795) refers to a village presumably in Bellabella country on the west coast between the Skeena and Vancouver island:

"Accompanied by some of the officers, Mr. Menzies, and our new guest Cheslakees, I repaired to the village, and found it pleasantly situated on a sloping hill, above the banks of a fine freshwater rivulet, discharging itself into a small creek or cove. It was exposed to a southern aspect, whilst higher hills behind, covered with lofty pines, sheltered it completely from the northern winds. The houses, in number thirty-four, were arranged in regular streets; the larger ones were the habitations of the principal people, who had them decorated with paintings and other ornaments, forming various figures, apparently the rude designs of fancy; though it is by no means improbable they might annex some meaning to the figures they described, too remote, or hieroglyphical, for our comprehension."

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[1] *See Appendix*, No. 1. His "*A Voyage* . . .", vol. II, p. 317.
[2] *See* Appendix, No. 3, His *Voyages* . . ., p. 138.
[3] Meares, p. 268.
[4] Meares, p. 270.
[5] Cf. *The Sea, the Ship, and the Sailor*, by Captain Elliot Snow, Salem, Mass., 1925. The credit for this reference goes to Mr. W. A. Newcombe, of Victoria, B.C.

Nootka houses were also visited and described by Vancouver, as follows:

"In the evening we passed close to the rock on which the village last mentioned is situated; it appeared to be about half a mile in circuit, and was entirely occupied by the habitations of the natives. These appeared to be well constructed; the boards forming the sides of the houses were well fitted, and the roofs rose from each side with sufficient inclination to throw off the rain. The gable ends were decorated with curious painting, and near one or two of the most conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features.

The construction of the Nootka houses, especially with respect to their inside, has been so fully treated by Captain Cook as to preclude any material addition from my pen; yet it is singularly remarkable (although particularly represented in Mr. Webber's drawing of the village in Friendly cove) that Captain Cook should not have taken any notice whatever in his journal, of the immense pieces of timber which are raised, and horizontally placed on wooden pillars, about eighteen inches above the roof of the largest houses in that village; one of which pieces of timber was of size sufficient to have made a lower mast for a third-rate man of war. These, together with the large images, were at that time supposed to denote the habitation of the chief, or principal person, of the tribe; and the opinion then formed has been repeatedly confirmed by observations made during this voyage. One or more houses in many of the deserted villages, as well as in most of the inhabited ones we had visited, were thus distinguished. On the house of Maquinna were three of these immense spars; the middle piece was the largest, and measured at the butt-end nearly five feet in diameter; this extended the whole length of the habitation, which was about an hundred feet long. It was placed on pillars of wood; that which supported it within the upper end of the house was about fifteen feet in circumference, and on it was carved one of their distorted representations of a gigantic human figure."

Marchand[1] gives a full description of the house of a chief in the country of the Kwakiutl or the Tsimsyan, on the main coast:

"What particularly attracted the attention of the French, and well deserved to fix it, were two pictures, each of which eight or nine feet long, by five high, was composed only of two planks put together. On one of these pictures is seen represented, in colours rather lively, red, black, and green, the different parts of the human body, painted separately; and the whole surface is covered with them. The latter picture appears to be a copy of the former, or perhaps it is the original; it is difficult to decide to which of the two belongs the priority, so much are the features of both effaced by age. The natives gave Captain Chanal to understand that these pictures are called Caniak in their language; and this is all that he could get from them."

Another description of a similar house elsewhere is also from his pen:

"This door, the threshold of which is raised about a foot and a half above the ground, is of an elliptical figure; the great diameter, which is given by the height of the opening, is not more than three feet, and the small diameter or the breadth is not more than two; it may be conceived that it is not very convenient to enter the house by this oval. This opening is made in the thickness of a large trunk of a tree which rises perpendicularly in the middle of one of the fronts of the habitation, and occupies the whole of its height: it imitates the form of a gaping human mouth, or rather that of a beast and it is surmounted by a hooked nose, about two feet in length, proportioned, in point of size, to the monstrous face to which it belongs. It might, therefore, be imagined that, in the language of the inhabitants of North island of Queen Charlotte's Isles, the door of the house is called *the mouth.*

Over the door is seen the figure of a man carved, in the attitude of a child in the womb, and remarkable for the extreme smallness of the parts which characterize his sex; and above this figure, rises a gigantic statue of a man erect, which terminates the sculpture and the decoration of the portal; the head of this statute is dressed with a cap in the form of a sugar-loaf, the height of which is almost equal to that of the figure itself. On the parts of the surface which are not occupied by the capital subjects, are interspersed carved figures of frogs or toads, lizards, and other animals, and arms, legs, thighs, and other parts of the human body: a stranger might imagine that he saw the ex voto suspended to the door-case of the niche of a Madonna.

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[1] *Appendix*, No. 6. His "A Voyage . . .," pp. 396-397.

The habitations[1] are, in general, painted and decorated in various ways; but what was particularly remarkable in that which the French visited, was a picture somewhat like those which they had seen in the sort of redoubt erected in the small island of the strait, which occupied the head of the apartment, as is seen suspended in the drawing-rooms in Spain, over the Estrado, the picture of the Immaculate Conception. Surgeon Roblet has described this production of the fine arts of the North West Coast of America. 'Among a great number of figures very much varied, and which at first appeared to me,' says he 'to resemble nothing, I distinguished in the middle a human figure which its extraordinary proportions, still more than its size, render monstrous. Its thighs extended horizontally, after the manner of tailors seated, are slim, long, out of all proportion, and form a carpenter's square with the legs which are equally ill-made; the arms extended in the form of a cross, and terminated by fingers, slender and bent. The face is twelve (French) inches, from the extremity of the chin to the top of the forehead, and eighteen inches from one ear to the other; it is surmounted by a sort of cap. Dark red.' adds he, 'applegreen, and black are here blended with the natural colour of the wood, and distributed in symmetrical spots with sufficient intelligence to afford at a distance an agreeable object.'

We see, in the small islands which would scarcely be thought habitable, each habitation with a portal that occupies the whole elevation of the forefront, surmounted by wooden statues erect, and ornamented on its jambs with carved figures of birds, fishes, and other animals; we there see a sort of temple, monuments in honour of the dead; and, what undoubtedly is no less astonishing, pictures painted on wood, nine feet long by five feet broad, on which all the parts of the human body, drawn separately, are represented in different colours; the features of which, partly effaced, attest the antiquity of the work."

Carved house poles and portals, it appears from these excerpts, were already familiar at the close of the eighteenth century among several of the North West Coast nations. But we find no mention of totem poles or memorial columns proper anywhere, with the single exception of Vancouver's statement concerning a Nootka village: "Near one or two of the most conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features." From this we conclude that they did not exist at the time in the villages which have since become so typically their home—those of the Queen Charlotte islands and the adjacent coast.

The custom of carving and erecting memorial columns to the dead is, therefore, modern; it may exceed slightly the span of the last century. Can we without further data trace back its origin to its very birthplace? This is an open question. Yet we may without undue temerity reach out towards the likely solution.

These tall monuments undoubtedly go back to simpler or smaller prototypes. Their elaboration solely depends upon the use of iron and steel tools;[2] in other words, they are post-European. Small ceremonial objects—masks, rattles, charms, trays—were most common everywhere on the coast at the date of our earliest records (*See Appendix*), whereas the only larger carvings were house posts, short, stumpy, and crude, that could be seen in some villages and differentiated the houses of the chiefs from the others. The evolution of this art from smaller carvings to larger ones repeated itself among the Gitksan, where the technique in the earliest poles is that of mask carving; the figures being carved out of the log as if they were affixed to its surface with wooden pegs.

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[1] *Appendix*, No. 6, p. 200. Marchand's "*A Voyage* . . .," pp. 417, 418, 419.

[2] Although the natives, strictly speaking, could have carved large poles with their primitive tools, stone axes, bone knives, and beaver incisors. *See* the concluding remarks under "The Poles of Kweeyaihl, at Kispayaks," p. 91.

The simple house poles and memorial poles, of the Nootkas and the Haidas, as described by Cook, Dixon, and Bartlett, are not likely in themselves to represent a form of native art of the stone age in its purely aboriginal state, undisturbed by foreign influences. They were observed from 1775 to 1790. Even at that date iron and copper were found in the possession of the natives; and they were used everywhere as only they could be by expert craftsmen through lifelong habit. The North West Coast at that date was no longer unchanged. The Russians had discovered and explored it many years before. "The reports of the Cossach Dezhnev, who discovered Bering straits, a century before Bering," according to Leo Sternberg, "already contain a description of the American Eskimo."[1] The Spanish sailing from San Blas, on the west side of the Mexican peninsula, had already left traces of their passage. Moreover, the influence of the French and the English had crossed the continent through contacts between intermediate tribes and the arrival of halfbreeds and coureur-des-bois west of the mountain ranges. It was presumed by the first regular explorers that metals were introduced early from the eastern trading posts and could be obtained in the course of a normal, continuous system of barter, from hand to hand, between the tribes across the continent. Quotations from the early sources here will definitely establish this notion.

The following excerpts, from Captain Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, bear on some of his observations on this point, among the Nootkas on the west side of Vancouver island.[2]

"They took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron, than of any other of our articles of commerce; appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal.

From their possessing which metals, we could infer that they had either been visited before by some civilized nation, or had connexions with tribes on their continent, who had communication with them.

These visitors also appeared to be more plentifully supplied with iron then the inhabitants of the sound.

Their great dexterity in works of wood, may, in some measure, be ascribed to the assistance they receive from iron tools. For as far as we know, they use no other; at least, we saw only one chisel of bone. And though, originally, their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which now is universally used in their various wooden works. The chisel and the knife are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them.

Most of them that we saw were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop; and their singular form marks that they are not of European make.

Besides this, it was evident that iron was too common here; was in too many hands; and the uses of it were too well known, for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately; or, indeed, at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date; for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon that continent, or receive it, perhaps, through several intermediate nations. The same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them.

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[1] *See* Appendix, No. 12, "*The Pacific-Russian Scientific Investigations*," 1926.

[2] *Appendix*, No. 1.

It is most probable, however, that the Spaniards are not such eager traders nor have formed such extensive connexions with the tribes north of Mexico, as to supply them with quantities of iron, from which they can spare so much to the people here.*

*(Cook's footnote)—Though the two silver tablespoons found at Nootka sound most probably came from the Spaniards in the south, there seems to be sufficient grounds for believing that the regular supply of iron comes from a different quarter. It is remarkable, that the Spaniards in 1775 found at Puerto de la Trinidad, in latitude 41° 7′, arrows pointed with copper or iron, which they understood were procured from the north.

For although the Russians live amongst them, we found much less of this metal in their possession, then we had met with in the possession of other tribes on the American continent, who had never seen, nor perhaps had any intercourse with the Russians."

Captain George Dixon (1785-1787)[1] also discusses the presence of metal and the problem of early foreign influences on the coast:

"Amongst the people who came to trade with us, was an old man, who seemed remarkably intelligent. He gave us to understand that a good while ago there had been two vessels at anchor near this place, one of which was considerably larger than ours; that they carried a great number of guns, and that the people resembled us in colour and dress. He showed us a white shirt they had given him, and which he seemed to regard as a great curiosity: on examining it, we found it made after the Spanish fashion, and immediately judged these vessels described by this Indian to be the Spaniards who (as I have already related) were on this coast in the year 1775."

A white man was left with the natives at King George sound, and seen the following year.

"Before Captain Cook's last voyage to the Pacific ocean, this part of the coast was little known. The celebrated Russian navigator, Beering, in the year 1741, fell in with the land in the latitude 58 deg. 28 min. north, and anchored in 59 deg. 18 min. But the account which is published of his voyage is very imperfect and inaccurate.

The Spaniards too, are probably well acquaninted with the coast a little to the southward of King George's sound, and about cape Edgcombe, at both which places they anchored in 1775; and I have reason to think that their knowledge of this part of the continent is confined to those particular situations.

Beads are held in much greater estimation in the harbours first mentioned than anywhere else within our observation. These ornaments were undoubtedly introduced here by the Russians, who have constantly traded with these people for many years past, and beads have been generally used in barter, so that if we make this a rule for judging how far the Russians have had a direct intercourse on the coast, it will appear that they have not been to the eastward of cape Hinchinbrook: and I think this conjecture far from improbable.

We must consider that this art is far from being in its infancy; a fondness for carving and sculpture was discovered amongst these people by Captain Cook: iron implements were then also in use; and their knives are so very thin that they bend them into a variety of forms, which answer their every purpose nearly as well as if they had recourse to a carpenter's tool chest. At what period iron was introduced on this coast is very uncertain, but it must doubtless be a considerable time ago; and I may venture to assert that their implements are not of English manufacture, so that there is little doubt of their being obtained from the Russians. The only implement I saw (iron excepted) was a toe made of jasper, the same as those used by the New Zealanders."

Similar observations are also found in Captain Vancouver's narrative (1790-1795):[2]

"The chief, for so we must distinguish him, had two hangers, one of Spanish, the other of English, manufacture, on which he seemed to set a very high value.

From these circumstances, and the general tenor of their behaviour, Mr. Whidbey concluded they had not before seen any Europeans, though, from the different articles they possessed, it was evident a communication had taken place; probably, by the means of distinct trading tribes.

[1] *Appendix, No. 2.*
[2] *Appendix, No. 4.*

Iron, in all its forms, they judiciously preferred to any other article we had to offer.

In most of the houses were two or three muskets, which, by their locks and mounting, appeared to be Spanish. Cheslakees had no less than eight in his house, all kept in excellent order: these, together with a great variety of other European commodities, I presumed, were procured immediately from Nootka.

So far as any conclusion could be drawn from this short interview, the Russians seemed to live upon the most intimate terms of friendship with the Indians of all descriptions, who appeared to be perfectly satisfied in being subjected to the Russian authority."

The Russians, according to Vancouver,[1] had effectively introduced foreign education on the Alaskan coast many years before 1790:

"The interest that the Indians seem to take in the success and welfare of the Russians, originates in principles of attachment and regard which do not appear likely to be easily removed by the influence of strangers to the prejudice of the Russian commercial interest, and which from the practice of the present day may probably be strengthened in the succeeding generations; for although the Russians did not appear to us either studious or learned, yet it was understood that in all their establishments the children of the natives are taken at an early age to apartments provided on purpose, where they are maintained and educated in the Russian language, and no doubt instructed in such principles as are most likely hereafter to be advantageously directed to the interests of that nation."

Marchand, the French circumnavigator (1790-1792), gives much interesting information on the early introduction of iron and the inroads of foreign culture among the North West Coast natives.[2]

"The first navigators who visited the North West coast of America, in ascending from the forty-second degree of latitude to the sixtieth parallel, found that the knowledge and the use of iron had long since arrived there; and they saw, in the hands of the natives, various instruments and tools of that metal: it is probable that the latter received it from the interior, by communicating, from tribe to tribe, with the nations which received it immediately through the medium of the Europeans, either from the English settlements of Hudson's bay or from the Spanish presidios. The trade of the Americans of the North West Coast with the Russians must, for upwards of half a century past, have made them acquainted with iron and copper.

The Tchinkitanayans are all armed with a metal dagger, fifteen or sixteen inches long, from two and a half to three broad, terminated in a point, and sharp on both sides.

Although the natives of Tchinkitanay have long been in possession of European hatchets, they do not yet make use of this instrument for felling the tree which they intend for the construction of a canoe.

It could not be doubted, from the sight of all the European utensils which this people possess, and the clothes of different sorts some of which were already worn out, that they had a communication for years past with English navigators, and had received from them frequent visits: the facility with which every individual pronounced the word Englishman, which they often repeated, was sufficient to prove this."

The natives may already have begun, at that date, to imitate foreign architecture in the construction of some of their houses, as we may see from the following note by Marchand:[3] The ground was excavated in some of the North West Coast houses—this type of house is called *da'aq* among the Tsimsyan—and it receded downwards towards the centre in the form of two or three steps. But there was nowhere an upper story or anything like a cellar in any of them. So that Marchand could hardly have referred to these.

"But, on the North West Coast of America, we have found houses with two stories, fifty feet in length, thirty-five feet in breadth, and twelve or fifteen feet in height, in which the assemblage of the framing and the strength of the wood ingeniously make up for the

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[1] *Appendix, No. 4.*

[2] *Appendix, No. 6.*

[3] *Appendix, No. 6.*

want of the more solid materials which, in order to be detached from the sides of the mountains or extracted from the bowels of the earth, require machines too complicated for the Americans to have been already able to have invented them."

La Perouse, another French circumnavigator of the same period (1785-1788), relates similar experiences among the same natives:[1]

A la Baie des Français (Alaska).

"Ils avaient l'air, à notre grand étonnement, d'être très accoutumés au traffic, et ils faisaient aussi bien leur marché que les plus habiles acheteurs d'Europe. De tous les articles de commerce, ils ne désiraient ardemment que le fer: ils acceptèrent aussi quelques rassades; mais elles servaient plutôt à conclure un marché qu'à former la base de l'échange. Ce métal ne leur était pas inconnu; ils en avaient tous un poignard pendu au cou: la forme de cet instrument ressemblait à celle du cry des Indiens; mais il n'y avait aucun rapport dans le manche, qui n'était que le prolongement de la lame, arrondie et sans tranchant: cette arme était enfermée dans un fourreau de peau tannée, et elle paraissait être leur meuble le plus précieux."

Tout nous portait à croire que les métaux que nous avions aperçus, provenaient des Russes, ou des employés de la compagnie d'Hudson, ou des négociants américains qui voyagent dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique, ou enfin des Espagnols; mais je ferai voir dans la suite qu'il est plus probable que ces métaux leur viennent des Russes.

Les Américains du Port des Français savent forger le fer, façonner le cuivre."

A publication of the Academy of Science of Petrograd[2] has recently (1926) brought to light an early period of Russian adventure and exploration in eastern Asia and the North West Coast of America, which was not currently known even among historians and ethnographers. Russian cossacks, trappers, and fur traders, it appears, penetrated the American fastness nearly a century before Bering started on his spectacular explorations. To use Sternberg's own words: "The reports of the Cossack Dezhnev, who discovered Bering straits a century before Bering, already contain a description of the American Eskimo." The discoveries of the second Kamchatka expedition were far reaching. The local fur traders, between 1745 and 1762, extended their activities from the Alaskan peninsula to the main coast of America; and, as states Sternberg, "The Russians came into contact not only with the Eskimo tribes, but also with the northwestern Indians—the Tlingit and Athapascan." Among those pioneers and traders were found a few men whose studies of linguistics and ethnography are said to be remarkable, particularly Lisianski, Langsdorff, Khvostov, Davydov, and others. These men of science observed the northwestern American natives, even as far south as California, at a very early date, and left extensive records that are still unpublished. Thus we hear of "another resident among this tribe" (the Koloshes—or Tlingit) whose detailed description of the Tlingit was used by Lutke in his reports to the Russian Imperial Government.

From these records and a few others it appears certain that the North West coast people were accessible to foreign influence for more than two hundred years, to say the least. When estimating the inroads of this influence upon their customs and manual arts and the rate of their progress, we must also consider how amenable the natives were to this change. The American Indians from the beginning were all more or less adaptable to European culture, and this is what caused the downfall of their culture taken as a whole. But nowhere in America did they show more avidity

[1] *Appendix, No. 7.*

[2] *See Appendix, No. 12.*

or greater skill to acquire and utilize whatever suited their needs from the sundry goods, tools, or crafts of the white man. They were naturally gifted with a sense of inventiveness and with manual dexterity, as may be seen in the activities of their craftsmen to the present day. These traits were often noted by visitors at various times. A few excerpts will make this evident.

Dixon (1790-1792) thus speaks of a North West Coast chief:[1]

"One of the Chiefs who came to trade with us, happening one day to cast his eyes on a piece of Sandwich Island cloth, which hung up in the shrouds to dry, became very importunate to have it given him. The man to whom the cloth belonged," [he continues], "parted with it very willingly, and the Indian was perfectly overjoyed with his present. After selling what furs he had brought, with great dispatch, he immediately left us, and paddled on shore, without favouring us with a parting song, as is generally the custom. Soon after daylight the next morning, our friend appeared alongside dressed in a coat made of the Sandwich Island cloth given him the day before, and cut exactly in the form of their skin coats, which greatly resemble a wagoner's frock, except the collar and wristbands. The Indian was more proud of his newly-acquired dress than ever London beau was of a birthday suit; and we were greatly pleased with this proof of these people's ingenuity and dispatch; the coat fitted exceedingly well; the seams were sewed with all the strength the cloth would admit of, and with a degree of neatness equal to that of an English mantua-maker."

Native costume had so entirely given way to European clothes when Marchand visited the coast,[2] in 1790 and the following years, that he was moved to say,[3]

"It is not known what was, previous to their intercourse with Europeans, the primitive dress, the peculiar costume of these islanders; the English who had a communication with them before we knew them, have not thought fit to give us a description of it: we see only that these Americans have substituted for the fur cloaks, in which they at this day trade, and with which, no doubt, they formerly covered themselves, the jackets, great coats, trousers, and other garments in use in our countries; some even wear a hat, stockings, and shoes; and those who were clothed completely in the European fashion would not appear in the midst of our cities, either as savages, or even foreigners.

As they have a spirit of imitation, we may presume that it will not be long before they improve among them the art of rigging and working their little vessels.

At a little distance from its mouth, on the south shore, is a cove, where they stopped: there, was situated the habitation which the thickness of the wood concealed from view. On the shouts given by the men belonging to the canoe, several Americans ran out; and the former jumped on shore, making signs that they would soon return. In fact, they did not keep their new friends waiting; but, what was the surprise of the French, when they saw all these Americans come back dressed in the English fashion: cloth jacket, petticoat trousers, round hat; they might have been taken for Thames watermen: but as for furs, they had none; nor had they anything to offer but a few fishes."

Even before the Russians and the Europeans had any perceptible influence on the natives, it is quite possible that iron and foreign objects were casually obtained from the Japanese junks that for several centuries are known to have been wrecked and salvaged on the North West Coast.[4] Several junks, with Japanese fishermen aboard still alive, were cast ashore on the coast within historical times, and survivors were kept as slaves by the natives. One of them, a blacksmith in the service of a chief, was

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[1]As quoted by Marchand. *See Appendix, No. 6.*

[2]In 1790, 1791, and 1792.

[3]*Appendix, No. 6.*

[4]*See* W. D. Lyman's *The Columbia River*, pp. 35, 36, 37.

observed by explorers and traders at the mouth of the Columbia, about 1808;[1] and two others were purchased from the Haidas in 1833, at Port Simpson, and given their freedom.[2]

An influence which may not be without significance in some respects is that of the Kanakas[3] on the North West Coast. Little has so far been said about it. Yet some traces of its presence have come to our attention, such as small wooden carvings or statuettes in some of our museums that are undoubtedly of South Sea technique, some costumes, and possibly also some manual processes. We may wonder whether the insertion of abalone pearl segments as decoration for wood carvings—and this is a notable feature of many of the finest Haida, Tsimsyan, and Tlingit carvings —is not to be traced to this source, since the large, deep sea, shells themselves, from which they are cut, were imported, so we understand, from the south sea in the course of transoceanic trade.

To sum up. Varied cultural influences from several quarters began to alter the life and the crafts of the North West Coast at an early date, even before our noted "discoverers," from Cook onwards, first explored the country and penned their valuable information for posterity. The plastic and pictorial arts of the coast villagers as a result soon began to develop in new directions. The introduction of metal tools rendered the carvers' work easier and more effective. The rising ambitions and growing wealth through the benefits of foreign trade in pelts and goods, stimulated pride in family heraldry and the display of personal achievements. To these elements may be ascribed the growth of the art to the astounding proportions it attained in the nineteenth century, particularly under the form of totem poles, argillite carvings, canoe and box making among the Haidas, and the carving of beautiful rattles and headdresses among the Nass River Indians. Many of these articles—the argillite carvings, the canoes and boxes, the rattles, and the headdresses—were in part meant for intertribal or foreign trade, after the fastness of pre-Columbian frontiers had broken down under stress.

A moot point still remains to be considered. Precisely where did the totem poles or mortuary columns first appear and at exactly what moment? The presumptions boil down to two. These heraldic monuments first became the fashion either on Nass river or among the Haidas of Queen Charlotte islands. Our evidence, as stated above, eliminates the Gitksan or the Tsimsyan proper from among the possibilities. Likewise, the tribes farther south cannot be considered. The Bellabellas were painters rather than carvers. The Kwakiutl and the Nootka plastic art always remained very crude compared with that of the northern nations; and besides it revelled in grotesque forms by preference. It seldom was at the service of heraldry as in the north, heraldry being of minor import on the coast south of the Skeena. Totem poles among the Kwakiutl and the Nootka are all very recent; not many of them, as they are currently

[1]W. D. Lyman, *The Columbia River*, quoted above.

[2]*See* a lengthy list of Japanese junks found adrift or stranded on the coast of North America or on the Hawaian or adjacent islands. By Charles Wolcott Brooks, in *Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences*, vol. VI (1875).

[3]The Kanakas were slaves or serfs from the Sandwich islands who were used in fair numbers by the ancient traders. There was an enclosure for them near Fort Victoria, on Vancouver island, in the early days. A group of them served as carriers or packers for the Astor expedition up the Columbia, about 1808. (*See* Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, pp. 169-79). And Vancouver incidentally speaks of one of them when he said: "Whilst he remained at Clayoquot, Wicananish, the chief of that district, had concerted a plan to capture his ship, by bribing a native of Owhyhee, whom Mr. Gray had with him, to wet the priming of all the firearms on board, which were constantly kept loaded."

known, may antedate 1880. The most familiar of the Kwakiutl poles, those of Alert bay, were all carved and erected since 1890. None of them stood at that date, when the late C. F. Newcombe visited the village. At first sight it seems more likely that the Tlingit, of the southern Alaskan frontier, might have initiated the custom of erecting memorials to the dead. They were closer to the Russian headquarters, and must have been among the first to obtain iron tools. There is no doubt, besides, that they were most skilful carvers and weavers. Yet there are good reasons why the credit for originating totem-poles should not fall to their lot. The early circumnavigators[1] that called at some of their villages made no mention of large carvings, not even of such house or grave posts as they observed among the Haidas farther south. The custom of erecting these monuments seems modern to a keen and experienced observer of these people, Lieutenant G. T. Emmons, who was stationed on the Alaskan coast for many years in an official capacity. From Lieutenant Emmons we learn[2] that the northern half of the Tlingit nation never had totem poles until very recently; and the few that have sprung up in that district within the scope of his observation are the property of a family or families that originally belonged to the southern tribes and have retained their southern affiliations. The custom of planting poles, in other words, is not typically Tlingit, it is characteristic only of the southern half of their tribes, those next to the Haida and Nisræ frontiers. Most if not all the Haida and the Nisræ tribes, on the other hand, were totem pole carvers and owned many poles in each village. The concept is more typically theirs than it is Tlingit.

The Haidas might next be dismissed from consideration as likely originators of the art, for the following reasons. The Haida poles, as we know them, are partly house poles and partly totem poles proper; the house poles are proportionally far more numerous among them than among the Tsimsyan. Indeed, none of the present Nisræ carvings were house poles. The two large posts observed among the Haidas by Bartlett and Marchand, in 1788-1792, were house portals.[3] Though the Haida villages were often visited at the end of the eighteenth century and in the first part of the nineteenth, we find no other reference to large poles, still less to the famous rows of poles at Massett and Skidegate as they were photographed about 1880. The Haida poles as we know them in our museums[4] and from photographs or Miss Carr's paintings[5] are all of the same advanced type of conventionalism, all of the same period—1830 to 1880—and from the hands of carvers that were contemporaries.[6] They were presumably from 10 to 30 years old when the Haidas became converts

[1]The relations of the early Russians on the Tlingit are not yet known to us, being in manuscript form and unavailable.

[2]This information was obtained in the course of long personal conversations we had in Prince Rupert, in the summer of 1927.

[3]*See Appendix, No. 6.*

[4]The Haida poles are well represented in several museums, even to the comparative exclusion of the others—at the Field Museum in Chicago, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, at Victoria, B.C., in Ottawa, and elsewhere.

[5]Emily Carr, of Victoria, British Columbia, visited several Haida villages about 1912 and reproduced quite a few of their totem poles in her fine pictures.

[6]Our Tsimsyan interpreter, William Beynon, reported that at Klawak (in a bay, southwest of Prince of Wales island, in the northern Haida country) a carved pole can be seen that must have fallen many years ago. A hemlock tree grown on it is now about a foot in diameter, that is, about thirty years old. The pole was about 12 feet high (it may have been a house pole), but the top seems broken off, and it represents the Grizzly-bear. A photograph of it is included in T. T. Waterman's Alaskan collection (presumably for the Heye Museum, N.Y.).

to Christianity and in consequence gave up their customs, cut down their poles and sold them to white people, about the year 1890 or afterwards. It is a common saying, however inaccurate it may be, that the fine row of poles in one of their best-known towns, had risen from the proceeds of an inglorious type of barter in Victoria.[1] There is no evidence of mortuary poles among the Haidas antedating 1840 or 1850, though a few earlier and transitional ones may have served to introduce the fashion.

The probabilities are that totem poles proper ultimately originated among the Nisræ or northern Tsimsyan of Nass river. From narratives recorded among them, it seems that a few mortuary columns were erected on the lower Nass at a fairly early date, that is, a few generations ago. It is otherwise evident, from traditional recollections, that the custom of thus commemorating the dead is not very ancient among them; yet it certainly antedated that of the Gitksan or the Tsimsyan. And it is far more likely that the Haidas and the Tlingit imitated them than the reverse. The estuary of the Nass was the most important thoroughfare of Indian life in all the northern parts. *Ulaken* fishing in the neighbourhood of what is now called Fishery bay, near Gitrhatin—the largest Nisræ centre —was a dominant feature in native life. The grease from the *ulaken* or candle-fish was a fairly universal and indispensable staple along the coast. For the purpose of securing their supply of it the Haidas, the Tlingit, the Tsimsyan, and the Gitksan travelled over the sea or the inland trails every spring and camped in several temporary villages of their own, from Red-Bluffs eastwards on the lower Nass, side by side, for weeks at a time. During these yearly seasons, exchanges of all kinds, barter, social amenities, or feuds were quite normal. As a result, cultural features of the local hosts—whether they were willing hosts or not is an open question—were constantly under the observation of the strangers and were often a cause for envy or aggression. It is doubtful, on the other hand, whether the Tsimsyan ever travelled to Queen Charlotte islands or the Tlingit country, unless they did it on war raids or isolated visits between relatives.

It is accepted among specialists that the Nass River carvers were on the whole the best in the country.[2] Their art reached the highest point of development ever attained on the North West Coast. And their totem poles—more than twenty of which can still be observed in their original location[3]—are the best and among the tallest seen anywhere. The Haida poles are stilted, conventional, and offer little variety in comparison. It is noteworthy, besides, that the Tlingit poles resemble in character those of Nass river. And the Nisræ claim that a number of totem poles at Tongas (cape Fox),[4] the southernmost of the Tlingit villages, was the work of their carvers, within the memory of the passing generation.

In closing, we may draw the attention of the reader to the close similarities existing between the plastic arts of the North West Coast and

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[1]Dr. C. F. Newcombe and his son W. A. Newcombe, Dr. J. R. Swanton, of the Smithsonian Institute, and myself, have heard independently of each other this statement long familiar among west coast natives.

[2]Dr. C. F. Newcombe entertained that opinion, which we share, and he was with Dr. Franz Boas, the best versed in the matter of North West Coast art.

[3]Photographs of several more—now destroyed—confirm this impression. According to Mr. W. A. Newcombe, of Victoria, there were still, in 1905, the following number of poles on the Nass: at Angyedæ, 14 poles; at Gitwinksilk, 12; at Gwunahaw, 3 or 4 poles, all new; at Gitlarhdamks, 15 poles, all in good condition. The lowest village of Gitiks is omitted from this list.

[4]William Beynon, a Tsimsyan interpreter, told us that some of the Tongas poles seem very old.

those of various people around the edges of the Pacific ocean. An instance will suffice here. The early navigators noticed, about 1780-1790, the striking resemblance between the fortresses of the Haidas, the Kwakiutl, and other coast natives, and the *hippah* of the New Zealand natives.[1] The totem poles, *as fairly recently carved and erected* on both sides of the Pacific, offer the same compelling resemblance (*See* Plate XXX, figures 2-5; Plate XXXI, figures 1, 2; Plate XXXIII, figures 1, 2). The technique for their erection was also identical (*See* Plate XXXI, figures 1, 2).

TECHNIQUE

The Gitksan poles were made from the trunks of red cedars, and their length varied from 15 to 60 feet. A suitable tree was first selected and felled, then hauled to its intended destination, sometimes many miles away. The "fathers"—or paternal relatives, of the opposite phratry—rendered ceremonial services and benefited by liberal compensation. They took charge of the work, were fed and entertained during the progress of the work, and were paid at the conclusion. The total expense of the first operations exhausted the resources which a family or a clan could muster at one time. So the log was left lying uncarved in the village for a year or more.

A carver was then hired, the best available from among the "fathers." When he lacked the required ability, he appointed a substitute, whose work it was to carve the pole while he "stood over him." The carving was done under shelter, as secretly as possible; and the figures were selected by the owners from among their several crests. The greater their wealth and the higher their rank, the taller the pole and the more elaborately decorated. The carver was usually paid in guns, blankets, or skins, and the price for his services seldom exceeded in all the equivalent of $600.

Far more costly was the erection of the carved pole, which as a rule was postponed another year. When sufficient wealth and food were accumulated, invitations for a festival were dispatched far and wide. Several tribes gathered for the event. And the totem pole was raised in the midst of celebrations that were one of the outstanding features of Indian life.

Raising a large pole by means of primitive devices required great ingenuity and the co-operation of several tribes. A hole was first dug in the ground, at least 6 feet deep. The butt was sunk in a trench leading to the hole, and the smaller end was raised gradually on wooden props. Stout ropes of twisted cedar bark attached to the top of the shaft and thrown over a high supporting frame were hauled by numerous hands, until finally the pole was hoisted into place.

The technique of raising a pole from the ground is illustrated in Plate XXXI, figure 2, which was drawn from information obtained from Hlengwah (or Jim Larahnitz) and Arhkawt (Alfred Sinclair), at Kitwanga, in 1923. Its resemblance to the Polynesian process, of the South Seas, may be appreciated upon its comparison with that illustrated in Plate XXXI, figure 1, from a picture in *The Pa Maori. . . ., by Elsdon Best, 1927.*

A typical instance of the exact proceedings in the erection of a totem pole is given on pages 53, 54.

[1]*See Appendix*

THE TOTEM POLES

POLES OF THE LARHSAIL (FROG-RAVEN) PHRATRY

(1) Poles of Kweenu, at Gitwinlkul

OWNERS

Kweenu and his family belong to the Frog-woman or 'Neegyamks clan of the Raven phratry. They seem to have preserved the traditions of the clan better than any other of their relatives in other tribes and are its most typical representatives.

Their clan relatives abroad are, according to their own claim: *on Nass river:* Hai'mas of Gitrhatin;[1] Trharhamlarhæt, Ksemrhsan, and Maslegyæ'ns, of Gitlarhdamks; *on Skeena river:* Lælt, of Kitwanga; and, possibly Harhu, of Kispayaks.[2]

As Ksemrhsan, of Gitlarhdamks, is their kinsman, it follows that the descendants of Ksemrhsan are also related laterally to Kweenu; we mean, the members of the Tongue-licked *(Nœqt)* clan: Arhkawt, of Kitwanga (whose family is now part of that of Hlengwah); Rarhs-rabarhs or Wistis, of Gitsegyukla; and Næqt or Haray or Tælramuk, of Kispayaks.

The first part of their traditions of origin, besides, is so similar to those of the Tongue-licked clan, that it may be considered as a ramification of the same original accounts.

Kweenu and his family own eight totem poles at Gitwinlkul, half of which are of unusually good quality. No other family among the Tsimsyan can boast of as many poles to commemorate its dead.

DESCRIPTION

The eight poles of Kweenu and his family are the following: (1) the Raven-soaring *(Qansil)*; (2) the Eagle-person *(Gyœdem-rhskyœk)*; (3) the Cane *(Qaat)*; (4) the Starfish-person *(Gyœdem-ramats)*; (5) All-frogs *(Trha-ranaa'o)*; (6) the Raven-drum *(Qaqawm'anuhl)*; (7) the Starfish-person *(Gyœdem-ramats)*; and (8) Drifted-aside *(Gisgyawtu)*. These poles stand together in two clusters at the northern end of the old village of Gitwinlkul; two of them (Plate IV, figures 3, 5) stand by themselves, near the river bank.

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[1]Hai'mas and Kweenu were among those that formerly lived at the prehistoric village of Antegwawlæ, below Fishery bay, on the Nass.

[2]Harhu claimed Kweenu as a relative; but no mention was made of him, as a relative, in the family of Kweenu. They own in common the crests of the Frog-woman, the Frogs, the Water-lily, and the myths explaining their origin, which in itself is a sign of genetic relationship.

(1) *The Raven-soaring (Qansil)*

This pole (Plate III, figure 1, Plate IV, figure 1) is called On-soaring *(Qansil)*, that is, On-it-the-Raven-soars, or Raven-all-covered-with-pearl *(Thra-belatrhum-qaq)*. Its figures are: the Soaring-raven, perched at the top, its wings spread out; Drifted-aside *(Gisgyawtu)*, an ancestor, holding a bow in his hand, the Abalone-pearl-bow *(Bælham-hakutak)*—the bow is covered with insertions of abalone pearl; two human-like beings, presumably the People-of-the-bottom-boards of the canoe *(Gyædem-tsawks)*, one above the other, the lower one upside down (the feet of both come together between the two), these constitute the Double-headed monster derived from the Haida canoe called "Double-headed" *(Larah-wæsuh)*; a bird-like man, presumably 'Aadzeks *(Proud)*,[1] whose nose is a curved beak like that of the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; a bird, the Eagle, under the special name of Mawdzeks, with wings brought forward in front of its body—this bird may be the one called Child-of-the-Sun *(Hlku-hlawrhs)*, a family crest;[2] the Frog *(Ranaa'o)* or Small-frog-across or Frog-dish *(Tsakyem-ranaa'o)*, a ceremonial food tray, which was a privileged possession of this family—the Frog here is transversal to the pole and it may be meant as the headdress of the large human figure standing immediately below; Naraat, a spirit with a war club in his hand;[3] Prince-of-Ravens again, with wings folded and brought forward; and two large, human-like figures, one above the other, at the bottom, one of these is presumably Come-from-sickness *(Ksemeseepu)*, with large, deep nostrils, a spirit-name, and the other is said to be the Heartless-small-slave *(Arhkawdem-ku-Hlingit)*, a personal spirit-name.[4]

(2) *The Eagle-person (Gyædem-rhskyæk)*

This pole (Plate III, figure 2) is called Eagle-person or Man-eagle. Its figures are: Eagle-person *(Gyædem-rhyskyæk)*, with a semi-human and bird face, a crown of claws on his head,[5] bird wings folded down and held under his arms, and feet like the talons of an eagle; a carving presumably representing the Bottom-boards (of a canoe) or, more fully, the People-of-the-bottom-boards *(Gyædem-tsawhs)*; the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; the Eagle headdress of Eagle-person (smaller than the neighbouring figures); Eagle-person again, represented here holding the Tadpole, head down, by its long tail; Water-lily *(Skasewasandet)*, a vertical stem, resting on a horizontal ring, with leaves on both sides of the stem, which branches off horizontally at the top; at least two, perhaps three, small faces are engraved on as many of the flat leaves; six or ten Tadpoles, in pairs, at the opposite ends of long tails serving for two, those above with face upwards and the others at the bottom face downwards; and Eagle-person again, here holding the Mountain-trout *(Hayurabas)* in his hands in front of his body.[6]

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[1] An important supernatural or spirit-name in this family.

[2] Mawdzeks is always thus represented.

[3] The war club has fallen off and disappeared.

[4] The identity of these figures is rather doubtful. The Heartless-small-slave was said here to be a spirit-name belonging to the Kitwanga Eagles, and it may have been placed here as the carver's signature.

[5] Like the grizzly-bear claws used by medicine-men.

[6] One of these lower figures, we are not positive which, is called Havuqaabes, and was described by Mrs. John Larahnitz-Kweenu, as trout-like, with small frogs on its body.

(3) *The Cane (Qaat)*

This pole is also called Ribs-of-the-Frogs (*'Anptœhl-ranaa'o*). The upper part cannot be described fully for lack of a complete record. Its figures are (Plate III, figure 3): in the upper part, two human figures,[1] one above the other, possibly Starfish-person (*Gyœdem-ramats*); a Raven is likely once to have surmounted the pole, as the spur at the top seems to indicate; a small Eagle (*Mawdzeks*) or Child-of-the-Sun (*Hlku-hlawrhs*), in bare outline, with wings brought forward on its body; the head of a small quadruped turned downwards, possibly a small Wolverine, a spirit-name owned within the clan; Big-Wolverine (*Weemenawzek*),[2] head downwards and a short tail turned back on its spine; the Water-lily (*Skasewasandet*), in two branches; the Raven-drum (*Qaqawm'anuhl*), a box-like device the front side of which, on the pole, has the appearance of a native copper shield covered with an engraved, human-like figure (this may be meant to represent another crest also owned in other branches of the clan—People-in-the-copper-shield[3]) : the Prince-of-Ravens stands on top of the drum, with its wings outspread; Person-of-Starfish (*Gyœdem-ramats*) with human-like features, whose face and body are covered with starfish—a starfish on the forehead, the nose, both hands, and the centre of the stomach; the ancestress 'Neegyamks (Sun-shines-on) or Frog-woman, with small frogs on her body—on the forehead, the nose, and possibly on other parts of the body; a smaller carving on Frog-woman's body was chopped off many years ago.

(4) *The Starfish-person (Gyœdem-ramats)*

The figures on this pole (Plate IV, figure 1) are: Prince-of-Ravens (*Hlkuwilksehlkem-qaq*), at the top, with wings open: nearly one-third of the upper part of the pole, under the Raven, is uncarved; Starfish-person (*Gyœdem-ramats*)—a starfish with four arms and a human face on the central disk ; two Eagles (*Mawdzeks*), one above the other; presumably Person-of-the-drum (*Gyœdem'anuhl*) or Person-of-bottom-boards (*Gyœdem-tsawks*); and Frog-dish (*Tsakyem-ranaa'o*).

(5) *All-frogs (Trha-ranaa'o)*

The name of this pole is All-frogs, from its reference to the myth of 'Neegyamks, Frog-person. Its figures are: the ancestress 'Neegyamks, with small frogs crawling down her body and her hands; and the heads of two other frogs in her eyes; three Hanging-frogs (*Spœrem-ranaa'o*) with head down, one above the other (Plate IV, figure 2).

(6) *The Raven-drum (Qaqawm'anuhl)*

The name of this pole is Raven-drum (*Qaqawm'anuhl*) or Raven-of-the-drum or Frog-person (*Gyœdem-ranaa'o*). Its figures (Plate IV, figure

[1]According to Kweenu's verbal description; from recollection.

[2]This is a chief's name in the Kisgagas tribe of the Gitksan, near the junction of the Skeena and the Babine or Kisgagas river, near the headwaters.

[3]*See The Poles of Ha'ku and T-haku, of Kitwanga*, p. 45.

3) are: presumably People-of-the-drum *(Lugeegyædem'anuhl)*, the human figure at the top; the Raven-drum; the Large-Raven *('Wee-qaq)*—meant here as part of the drum, but actually represented under it; The Large-frog *('Wee-ranaa'o)* and Frog-person *(Gyædem-ranaa'o)*, at the bottom.

(7) *The Frog-hanging (Spærem-ranaa'o)*

The upper half of the pole is uncarved. The figures in the lower part (Plate IV, figure 4) are: Hanging-frog *(Spærem-ranaa'o)*; Starfish-person *(Gyædem-ramats)*—a starfish with four arms and a human face on the disk; the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*, represented with a bird's head, a human body with wings outlined under the arms, and a crown of grizzly-bear claws.

(8) *Drifted-aside (Gisgyawtu)*

The name of this short and new pole (Plate IV, figure 5) is Drifted-aside or Drifted-to-one-side, after the traditional name of an ancestor. Its figures are: Pearled-Raven or All-abalone-pearl-Raven *(Trha-belatrhum-qaq)*, standing on the top of Gisgyawtu's head; Gisgyawtu holds the Pearled-bow *(bælham-hakutak)* in his hands.

To sum up: There are altogether more than sixty-two figures on the eight totem poles of Kweenu. Of these: seventeen are variants of the Frog crest; nine of the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)* and Eagle-person; eight of the Raven; four of the Starfish. The other figures are either crests or spirit-names *(narhnawks)*; the crests are: Neegyamks (Sun-shines-on) or Frog-woman; Drifted-aside *(Gisgyawtu)*, a legendary ancestor in the clan, repeated twice; the Raven-drum, repeated twice—perhaps alluded to, a third time; the Pearl-bow, repeated twice; the Bottom-boards, repeated two or three times; the Water-lily twice. The other figures, appearing only once, are: Naran, a spirit with a war club; Come-from-sickness, a spirit name in the family; Heartless-small-slave, another spirit name; another human figure whose identity is doubtful; Wolverine, possibly repeated twice.

ORIGIN

In bare outline Kweenu's traditional account of origin is as follows: the ancestors of his clan lived at Git'anyao,[1] before the deluge. When the land was submerged everywhere, their rafts drifted until the flood subsided, and they settled in the country of the Haidas (on Queen Charlotte islands). Their ancestress there had three children, a daughter and two sons, whose personal names, still preserved in the family, refer to their Haida adventure. Mother and children migrated from the islands to the main coast, in the large canoe named *Gweerh-saw*[2] or Larah-wawsu, "Double-headed," intending to go to Nass river (the Bottom-boards crest, with two heads opposite each other, at the ends of the board, is derived from this possession). But they failed to reach their goal and landed at a place named

[1]This is a legendary village, the location of which is not known. Some Gitwinlkul people believe that it was situated a few miles below the present village of Gitwinlkul.

[2]Sometimes this canoe is represented in miniature in the feast house, as Lutraisuh's canoe is in the Tongue-licked clan (*See* **Plate V, figure 3**).

Hlku'l.[1] Here began their supernatural experiences, wherein various crests were secured. Gisgyawt, one of the ancestors, took his Pearled-yew-bow *(Belham-hakutak)*[2] and killed a monster appearing out of a lake, the huge Black-bear-of-the water *('Olem-tsem'aks)*; farther away, a huge Starfish with human faces on its arms emerged from the water and caught Gisgyawts' canoe, but was finally captured and taken as a crest. The crest of the Bottom-boards of the canoe originated also at the same time. These people ultimately joined the tribe of 'Antegwawlæ, on the Nass (below the present Fishery bay). While they lived there Luwisiyæ, the daughter of the first ancestress, married a Nass River man, and had a daughter whose name was Sun-shines-on *('Neegyamks)*, and who was to become the Frog-woman or Neegyamks (Sun-shines-on) and the "mother" of the Frog-woman clan. After their posterity had expanded on the middle-Nass, they migrated up the river to a village called Tsemgunqærh, "Village-of-the-calling-Ravens" (the present Gitwinksilk, at the canyon), and may have acquired some of their Raven crests there; thence they moved up the river to what was to become Gitlarhdamks. They acquired various hunting and fishing grounds on the upper Nass. At Ksegunlæurh, one of their camping-places, they may have acquired the crest of the Mountain-trout (*Lœurh*). Ultimately, their descendants moved southwards through the Carrier country, and apparently sojourned with the Hagwelget tribe for a while. There they acquired the Water-lily crest and possibly the spirit-name, Spirit-of-sickness *(Ksemeseepu)*, which seems to have come from the Kwakiutl, through the Carriers. From the Carrier or Tsetsaut country they moved down to their present habitat at Gitwinlkul (People-where-it-is-narrow). Here their numbers were reduced by a plague. They had a quarrel with Qawm, of Kitsalas, of the same phratry, and conquered at least one of his crests, the Prince-of-Ravens.[3] Now they are considered as belonging as much to the Nass as to the Skeena; and, in the present generation, the family has become divided into two halves, one of which resides on the upper Nass, and the other on the Skeena.[4]

The Eagle-person *(Gyædem-rhskyæk)* and Water-lily crests are said to have been secured while this family was on its ancient migration from the Hagwelget country to the present Gitwinlkul. Haiwen and Wutarhkyet discovered in a lake a large human being who had an eagle-like head; his headdress consisted of a crown of Grizzly-bear claws,[5] and around it were the Water-lily leaves. At the same lake they also saw and adopted as crests the Tadpoles and the Mountain-trout. More precisely, the origin of these crests, in the family of Kweenu, came through the adoption within this family of the households of Teeræwen, Hudemerh, and Wutarhkyet. These three chiefs once were members of the family of Gyædem-skanees, of the Hagwelget (Carrier) tribe, whose emblems were Eagle-person, the Water-lily, and the Mountain-trout.[6]

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[1]A place now named Summerville.

[2]Mrs. John Larahnitz said "a spear," evidently by mistake.

[3]*Hayahleelarhs*, the usual name for smallpox. It must have been after the arrival of the Europeans on the American continent.

[4]The respective chiefs of both branches bear the same name of Kweenu—a man, Dan Kweenu, at Gitlarhdamks (Nass); and a woman, Mrs. John Larahnitz, at Kitwanga, Skeena.

[5]The crown of Grizzly-bear claws is part of the paraphernalia of medicine-men among the Athapascan tribes of the neighbourhood; its use has spread to the Tsimsyan, particularly the Gitksan and other river and coast tribes.

[6]Mrs. John Larahnitz (Kweenu) went as far as to say: "The myth of Eagleman and the crest belong to Hudemerh exclusively, not to Kweenu," although the two families are more or less identical now.

The Raven-drum is more of a ceremonial device and privilege than a crest. It consists of a large cedar-box drum on which is painted or carved the Raven; it is used particularly when the dirge song of the family is sung over the body of a chief. Likewise the Frog-dish is a ceremonial dish, carved to represent the Frog, and used in festivals.

The Double-headed monster or the Bottom-boards person is from the Haida canoe in which migrated remote ancestors from Queen Charlotte islands to the mainland. The Larah-wawsuh monster is well known all over the North West Coast; it is called Sisiutl farther south, among the Kwakiutl and the Nootkas, and its mystic powers are supposed to cause death at sight.

FUNCTION

(1) *The Raven-soaring (Qansil) pole,* the tallest of the eight poles of this family, and one of the three most interesting, was erected, according to Lælt,[1] about forty years ago; or, according to Kweenu herself,[2] before she was born—from fifty to sixty years ago. It stands in commemoration of a former Kweenu, and was erected by his successor of the same name.

(2) *The Eagle-person (Gyædem-rhskyæk)* was erected in memory of Ksemeseepu, a sub-chief under Kweenu, who more properly belongs to the household of Hodemerh, whose ancestors were Carriers of the Hagwelget tribe. It seems to be of approximately the same age as No. 1—the Raven-soaring— which is fifty years old.[3]

(3) *The Cane (Qaat).* This pole was erected in commemoration of Kawagyænee, a member of the household.[4] It was erected, as usual, by the whole family and their relatives abroad.

(4) *The Starfish-person (Gyædem-ramats).* This pole may commemorate more than one of the former leading members of this family. Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz) gave the name of Legee-em (who later became Kweenu)[5] and Lælt (Salomon Harris), those of Gitzarhlæhl and Qæqhl, of this family.[6]

(5) *All-frogs (Trha-ranaa'o)* was erected about forty-five or fifty years ago, in commemoration of a member of the household of Kweenu.

(6) *The Raven-drum (Qaqawm'anuhl).* This pole was described as "the grave" of Kwawqahl (otherwise known as Bob Qaqhl), whose former name was Adzeks, a chief in this family. It was erected about forty years ago, when Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz) was less than 12 years old, that s, a few years before No. 4—the Starfish-person.

(7) *The Frog-hanging (Spærem-ranaa'o).* This pole "is the grave" of Ho'demerh[7] who was buried "right under it." It was erected about 1916, and Kweenu was the cause of its erection.

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[1]Salomon Harris, of Kitwanga, of the same clan; now an old man.

[2]Mrs. John Larahnitz.

[3]Mrs. John Larahnitz (Kweenu) said that, like No. 1, it was erected before she was born.

[4]According to Lælt, it commemorates Adzeks, presumably another name of the same man.

[5]She added "the father of 'Namihl."

[6]These names may all have belonged at various times to the same chief.

[7]For that reason it was inappropriately called Eagle-person (Hrskyaegem-get) by Lælt, as Eagle-person, Ho'demerh's principal crest, although it is not actually represented on this pole.

(8) *Drifted-aside (Gisgyawtu).* This short pole was erected less than 20 years ago,[1] in commemoration of Gitzarhlæhl, of the family of Kweenu. Qahl brought about its erection.

CARVERS

(1) *The Raven-soaring (Qansil)* pole was carved by Sqateen, the head-chief of the Wolf phratry at Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass—evidently the Sqateen, who was reputed carver of headdresses and rattles, and became a Christian convert towards the end of his life.[2] It is possible that another Nass River carver—Arhtsip, of Gitwinksilk, of the Fireweed phratry—may have been connected with the work, as he was also mentioned as its carver.

(2) *The Eagle-person (Gyædem-rhskyæk).* The identity of the carver could not be remembered.

(3) *The Cane (Qaat).* This pole was carved by Nees-laranows, of the Wolf phratry of Gitwinlkul, about the year 1884, when Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz) had reached maturity.[3]

(4) *The Starfish-person (Gyædem-ramats).* Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz) belived that this pole, like the previous one, had been carved by Nees-laranows, of Gitwinlkul; but Lælt (Salomon Harris) ascribed the work to Mark Weegyet, the Fireweed head-chief of Gitsegyukla. They may both have been entrusted with the undertaking; but the quality of the pole makes it plain that Nees-laranows, rather than Weegyet, is in the main responsible for most of the carving.[4]

(5) *All-frogs (Trha-ranaa'o).* It is said to have been carved by Pees, a Hagwelget (Carrier) carver, of the Wolf phratry.[5]

(6) *The Raven-drum (Qaqawm'anuhl).* This pole, like the previous ones, was carved by Nees-laranows, of the Wolf phratry in Gitwinlkul.

(7) *The Frog-hanging (Spærem-ranaa'o).* Qaqhl, of the Wolf phratry and the Gitwinlkul tribe, was entrusted with the work of carving this pole, but he merely directed the work, and "stood over" Trhawawq, of the same phratry and tribe, who actually carved it.[6]

(8) *Drifted-aside (Gisgyawtu).* This pole was carved by Mark Weegyet (of the Fireweed phratry), head-chief of the Gitsegyukla tribe.[7]

Three or four of these poles—Raven-soaring, Eagle-person, The Cane, in particular (Nos. 1, 2, 3)— are among the finest totem poles of the three Tsimsyan nations. They are also among the tallest, measuring 50 feet

[1]According to Lælt of Kitwanga.

[2]He became a Christian about 30 years ago and moved down to the mission village of Kincolith, on the lower Nass.

[3]Possibly at a later date, as Mrs. Larahnitz does not seem to have attained sixty years of age.

[4]The poles at Gitsegyukla that were carved by Weegyet are of rather inferior craftmanship.

[5]According to Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz). We rather doubt the ability of a carrier carver to achieve such fine work. He may simply have stood over the actual carver.

[6]According to Lælt—who, in this instance, does not seem so well informed as Kweenu—Qaqhl was assisted by Ksudzam-sem'awiget, of the family of Yæl (Fireweed phratry) of Gitwinlkul.

[7]Lælt stated that it was carved by Ksrarom-larhæ (Fireweed), of Gitsegyukla. Probably both Weegyet and Ksrarom-larhæ were connected with the work.

or more in length, and contain a large number of heraldic figures. Their carving is far more characteristic of the Nass River art than of that of the Skeena; indeed, the carvers of the first two, possibly also the third,[1] were from the Nass. These poles are also among the oldest, being around fifty or sixty years old. A few of them are hollowed out at the back (No. 5 and possibly No. 3). In the pole of Eagle-person (No. 2), the artist resorted to an unusual device, that of adding on to the upper part of the pole another section, by means of pegs; and the head of Eagle-person is carved from the larger end of the log, so that the log is placed upside down on the pole. Thus the pole is wider at the top than it is about midway down. In a very few other poles, the whole log is planted upside down, so as to give more slope for the carving at the top; but this is the only example of planting the tree in its normal state and then adding a section of another tree. The excellence of the figures at the lower end of the Cane (No. 3)—Starfish-person and Frog-woman—is seldom surpassed elsewhere.

(2) Poles of Wistis or Rarhs-rabarhs, at Gitsegyukla

OWNERS

The family of Wistis or Rarhs-rabarhs form part of what may be termed the Tongue-licked *(Nœqt)* clan of the Larhsail phratry. They consider the other members of this clan abroad as their own blood relatives, and they formed part, until fairly recently, of the family of Nœqt, the famous warrior of the Ta'awdzep fortress. This claim is reciprocated by the other branches of the clan. Their relatives at large are: Ksemrhsan, of Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass, Hlengwah, of Kitwanga, insofar only as he represents the Nœqt or Arhkwat family amalgamated with his own; and Nœqt or Haray, of Kispayaks.

The circumstances of the separation of Wistis from the family of Hlengwah and Arhkawt are well remembered; they are recent. According to the present Rarhs-rabarhs,[2] his ancestors once lived at Gitlusæk (People-of-pulling-in-fish-nets), below Kitwanga on the Skeena, near the place where now stands Cedarvale. The name of their chief was Big-eagle *(Wee-rhskyœk)*. From there they moved on to Place-of-Otter *(Gun-watserh)*; later, to the Ta'awdzep fortress, where they became part of Hlengwah's household; and finally, to Kitwanga. While they were living at the Fortress, some women of this family became the wives of Ksrarom-larhæ's nephews, a Fireweed chief of Gitsegyukla. A relative of Hlengwah meanwhile came up from Kitsalas and was accepted as a member of his household. But he eventually proved to be a sorcerer *(haldaogyet)*, whose black art caused the death of some people around him. Rarhs-rabarhs, frightened, left Kitwanga with his family. He was well received at Gitsegyukla by Ksrarom-larhæ, on account of marriage ties already existing between the two families, and settled there, thus becoming a permanent member of the tribe.

Wistis or Rarhs-rabarhs owns two totem poles, which stand at the river's edge, the first in the line at the upper end of the old village.

[1] In spite of the opinion given that No. 3 was the work of Nees-laranows, of Gitwinlkul. The work of this carver, as represented in the newer pole No. 5—Raven-drum—does not reach the same degree of excellence.

[2] Simon Turner, of Gitsegyukla.

DESCRIPTION

The older of the two poles (Plate V, figure 1), is named Whole-person or All-men *(Marhgyet)*, or, according to another opinion, Qalmas (Empty-canoe, Canoe-shape, or Just-bark or Bark-sundried in canoe-shape).[1] Its figures are: the Eagle, under the special crest-name of Mawdzeks or Maw';[2] Empty-canoe or Bark-sundried *(Qalmas)*; inside the canoe, All-flattened-boards or Rafters *(Trha-ralprhan)*, with human heads and faces carved at each end, their chin inwards; the Eagle, *Maw'*, and, at the bottom, Whole-person *(Marhgyet)*.

The second pole (Plate V, figure 2), is variously named Whole-person *(Marhgyet)* or *Maw'* (Eagle). Its figures are: the Eagle or Live-eagle *(Maw'* or *Mawdzeks*, or *Dedilsem-rhskyœk)*; Towards-looking or To-be-looked-at[3] *(Kwun'alrasks)* or Rafters (Trha-ralprhan, All-flattened-boards);[4] Whole-person or All-men *(Marhkyet)*, the two human figures at the bottom.[5]

ORIGIN

Whole-person *(Marhgyet)* is the same crest as that described for the family of Hlengwah (page 49) under the name of *Marhkyawl*.[6] It belongs to the various branches of this clan on the Skeena;[7] its origin must be fairly ancient. It is represented twice on Plate V, figure 2, and once on Plate V, figure 1, in both instances at the bases of the poles. Four Whole-beings used to appear on the corner-posts or uprights of the old house[8] of Wistis, at Gitsegyukla. The local traditions agree with those of Kitwanga as to its origin, and they also explain, as part of the same event of the past, the origin of Empty-canoe *(Qalmas)*,[9] of Rafters *(Trha-ralphan)*, and of Live-eagle *(Maw'* or *Dedilsem-rhskyœk)*. These crests were all conquered in warfare against a seacoast tribe to the south; some say, the Nawittee (a northern Kwakiutl tribe); the others, the Kitamat, up Kitimat arm, at the end of the Lakælse trail from the Skeena to the seacoast. We may quote here, to this effect, an extract from a long narrative bearing on the past history of Wistis:[10] Næqt, the famous ancestor and warrior, travelled to the seacoast with his nephews and a party of raiders. They attacked the Kitamat without warning, defeated them, killed many people, and kept a young woman as a prisoner.

"The chief's house was a very unusual one, quite large, with beautiful carvings inside. The beams in the house were carved like canoes. Næqt inquired from the young woman, his prisoner, 'How does your uncle call this carving.' She answered, 'He calls this Just-

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[1]According to a third informant, Wawralaw (Alec Brown), its name is Urhtsan, the meaning of which is obscure and was interpreted as "Pole used for a purpose."

[2]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.

[3]The following interpretations were given: "advised to look at something worth while," "allowed to look at," "for people to look at" or "to show".

[4]There are six Rafters, with a human face at the upper end of each, represented here; but there were many more of them carved on the beams of the house.

[5]Alec Brown (Wawralaw) added that the Whole-person was also used as masks (or *narhnawks*) in the feasts.

[6]*Marhkyawl* among the Kitwanga people, and *Trhahkawlk*, among the Tsimsyan.

[7]To Hlengwah, of Kitwanga; Qawm, of Kitsalas, and Nees-yaranæt, of Gitsees—the last two, among the Tsimsyan.

[8]No longer in existence.

[9]Two human faces were carved under the beams in the house.

[10]Dictated by Kamayæm (Charles Mark), of Gitsegyukla, and interpretated by Mrs. Constance Cox.

bark (*Qalmas*).' At the four corners of the house were posts that went through the roof, at the upper end of which were figures of men. Næqt again inquired, 'How does your uncle call these carvings on the posts?' She answered, 'The name is All-people (*Marhgyet*).' The rafters of the house went out through the eaves; on the end of each were carved faces of children, looking downwards with their hair hanging down. He inquired again, 'How does your uncle call these carvings?' She replied, 'He calls them Worth-while-looking-at (*Kwun'alralsu*).' Outside the door there was a large totem pole. He asked her the name of the figure at the top. It was a remarkable carving: as soon as anybody walked near the pole, the bird waved its wings and moved its head. He inquired, 'How does your uncle call this bird on the end of the totem pole?' She replied, 'He calls it Live-eagle (*Dedilsem-rhskyœk*)!' Næqt took all these names and crests (*ayuks*) as his own . . . . And he returned to his village on the Skeena."

Thus, through conquest, the Eagle became the emblem of several Skeena River families, of the Larhsail phratry, in spite of the rule, elsewhere prevalent, that the Eagle is an outstanding emblem owned exclusively within the phratry of the same name. The Gitksan, for that reason, admit only reluctantly that it is an Eagle. The present Rarhs-rabarhs[1] acknowledged that "It resembles the Eagle very much. It was conquered. But we call it the *Maw*' out of respect for the Larkskeek (Eagle phratry), not to hurt their feelings." The Kitamat raid was explained somewhat differently by Tseegwee,[2] as follows:

"Næqt and his party found the houses deserted. The people had taken to flight, but had left behind a very stout woman. They went and looked around the village. On one of the poles was a being, a bird that gazed at them wherever they went, and seemed to turn around as if it were alive. Næqt asked the woman, 'What is that, on the pole?' She replied in Tsimsyan, 'That is the Geeladal.'[3] Then they saw the huge rafters of the chief's house. These were logs, hollowed out. Næqt inquired, 'How do you call them?' She answered, 'We known them as Without-bark (*Qalmas*)'. They went out, along the shore and saw a large war canoe. . . . They took everything that was of value, filled the canoe and started homewards."

FUNCTION

The older of the two poles, Empty-canoe *(Qalmas)*[4] was erected from 25 to 40 years ago,[5] in memory of a former Nemluleq (whose later name was that of the household chief *Rarhs-rabarhs)*, by an uncle of the present chief.

The newer pole was erected about ten years later than the first,[6] in memory of Wistis (or Rarhs-rabarhs), by his successor of the same name.[7] In the words of Alec Brown (Wawralaw), the first pole was erected for Nemluleq, and the second for his successor, who died two years after his uncle, whom he had replaced.

CARVERS

The pole of Empty-canoe *(Qalmas)* was "adzed and carved" by Mark Weegyet, the head-chief of Gitsegyukla, of the Fireweed phratry.[8]

[1]Simon Turner, of Gitsegyukla.

[2]Isaac Tæns, another Gitsegyukla informant.

[3]The Thunder-bird, the Mountain eagle, also owned by Hlengwah, of Kitwanga.

[4]The second in the row.

[5]About 26 years ago (in 1924), according to Simon Turner (Rarhs-rabarhs); 20 years ago (1924), according to Alec Brown (Wawralaw); and about 40 years ago (in 1923), according to Charles Mark (Ramayæm).

[6]That is, according to Charles Mark, about 30 years ago (in 1923); or, according to Simon Turner, 15 years ago (in 1924).

[7]This second Wistis died recently.

[8]Who died a very old man, in 1925. Charles Mark was mistaken when he asserted that it had been carved by Hlamee, of Gitwinlkul, as the other pole. The technique is not the same, although it is rather alike in both carvings.

Hlamee, of the Larhsail phratry of Gitwinlkul, carved the newer of the two poles, though he himself belonged to the same phratry.[1] Kaldihgyet (Tom Campbell, a carver now of Hazelton) caused its erection as a leading member of this family.

The technique of these two poles distinctly belongs to the same type and period. It is recent, and includes both carving and painting, in what may be termed the Hlamee style. The shaft of the pole, as well as the figures, was wholly painted; and the paint used—white, blue (?), and black (with little or no red)—was not of the native varieties. Pole, Plate V, figure 2, is a good sample of Hlamee's work. The figures, in spite of the paint, retain much of the ancient sculptural quality that characterizes Hæsem-hliyawn's older carvings. But they are rather stilted in comparison. Although the limbs of Whole-being *(Marhgyet)* at the bottom are treated in the current traditional manner, the arms and hands in the upper figure of the same mythological being are an effort—none too interesting—towards independent realism. The nails of the hand even are distinctly drawn and painted, as they are on another figure of a pole of Ksrarom-larhæ in the same village, the Snag-of-the-sand-bar (Cf. page 243). The Snag is also the work of Hlamee. It is by far the older and the better of the two poles.

(3) The Pole of Næqt, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

Næqt, or as he is now currently known, Haray, of Kispayaks, descends from the warrior Næqt, whose semi-historical name is connected with the Ta'awdzep "fortress," behind the village of Kitwanga. An outline of his life and adventures is given on page 52 (Cf. *The Poles of Hlengwah, of Kitwanga*). It seems agreed, among the informants, that the ancestors of Næqt and his mother Lutraisuh originally lived at Temlaham, and later moved up Skeena river to its Kispayaks (Kispiox) tributary, and became part of the Kispayaks tribe. It is from Kispayaks that they went in the springtime to the mouth of the Nass, for *ulaken* fishing, and the young woman Lutraisuh met with her Haida adventure. When Lutraisuh and her son Næqt migrated from Gitlarhdamks on the Nass towards the Skeena, they sojourned several years at Gitwinlkul, as guests of Kwinu, a chief in the Larhsail phratry. From there, they proceeded to Kitwanga, where they were received and adopted as relatives by Hlengwah. After the raids of Næqt against seacoast tribes and the seige of Ta'awdzep, Lutraisuh and her son decided to go up the river to the home of their maternal ancestors—Kispayaks. She said to Næqt, "We had better go back to your great-grand-uncle's village." Before leaving Kitwanga, they gave to Hlengwah, as a sign of gratitude, the name of Næqt and the magical war-club of Næqt. The present Næqt or Haray, of Kispayaks, is their direct descendant according to native computation.

Næqt owns a totem pole, which stands facing the main row of totem poles, on the western side of the village lane.

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[1]But not to the same clan.

DESCRIPTION

This pole (Plate V, figure 3; Plate VI, figure 1) is known under the name of Attacked-within *(Lutraisuh)*, from the name of the ancestress of the clan. It belongs to the family of Næqt or Haray, of Kispayaks. It contains the following figures: The Eagle-prince *(Hlkuwilksegem-hrskyæk)*, at the top, which is decorated with mother-of-pearl; the Thunder-bird *(Geemerhantu)*;[1] the Haida chief Bull-head *(Kawakee)*,[2] the "father" of Næqt, who was murdered by his Gitksan wife, his tongue protrudes from his mouth, as it did in the canoe, when Lutraisuh took Kawakee's head as a trophy back home in her canoe; and Lutraisuh's[3] canoe *(*Hrsaw*)*, a miniature Haida dug-out transversal to the pole and resting on two pegs, under Kawakee's head.

ORIGIN

The traditions of this family, as related by its chief, Haray,[4] do not differ materially from those of the other branches of the same clan at Kitwanga and Gitsegyukla (*See* page 52). The figure of Bullhead *(Kawakee)*, with his tongue protruding, and the canoe, are illustrations of the same episode in the past family history. The two Eagles—the Eagle-prince and the Thunder-bird— at first seemed to be individual variations on the heraldic emblems of a seacoast family at Kitamat which were conquered by the ancestor Næqt in the same raid; yet, according to two dependable informants, they were acquired through purchase from Yu'amawtks, of the Larhsail phratry at Kisgagas, by Næqt, not very long ago. The explanation of Meluleq (Mrs. Jimmy Williams) as to how the transfer of crest happened is more explicit: "Mahlasu, of the family of Ksemgit-geegænih (of the Larhsail phratry), of Kisgagas, died at Kispayaks at the same time as four other members of his family. Haray who was their clan relative, buried the five at his expense. Yu'amawtks, the head of the family at the time, ceded to him his Eagle and Thunder-bird crests in compensation.

FUNCTION

This pole was erected about forty years ago (record being taken in 1924), in memory of a former Haray or Næqt, of Kispayaks, by his successor and his family.

CARVER

It was carved by Larhwilemhot, of the Wolf phratry, a Nass River Tsimsyan of the Gitrhatin tribe. It is one of the most remarkable and finest poles in existence. Its sculptural quality is not lessened by the introduction of paint—black and red—for the decoration of the eyes, nostrils, lips, tongue, and even the body and the wings of the lower Eagle. The use of added parts, such as the canoe, the wings of the lower Eagle,

[1]It was described here as the bald-headed eagle; or mountain-eagle; or, another form of the Hrkeemsem, the seacoast Thunder-bird.

[2]Or Kawa'i.

[3]Lutraisuh's name means "Attacked within."

[4]Old Salomon Johnson.

and the Eagle itself at the top, is resorted to very effectively. The lines of the miniature canoe are graceful and true to type. The features and limbs of Bullhead, the Haida chief, and of the Eagles are drawn according to native conventions; yet there is more than mere convention and style. The artist conveyed impressively through them much of the subconscious impressions derived from the familiar beliefs and traditions of his people.

(4) Pole of Tælramuk, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

Tælramuk's family is a subdivision of that of Næqt (*See* page 38). They still consider each other as brothers. If they live apart now, the explanation given is that "their house at one time was too full, so that they built another beside it. Whatever was law for one was law for the other."

Tælramuk and his relatives own a single totem pole, at Kispayaks; it stands behind a grave, among the totem poles of the Fireweed families whose principal crest is the Owl.

DESCRIPTION

This totem pole (Plate VI, figure 2) is called Half-way-out *(Ramdeprh-sætu)*.[1] Although it seems nearly 40 feet high, it contains but one figure, that of a human being, squatting, at the bottom, which gives its name to the pole.

ORIGIN

The crest of Half-way-out *(Ramdeprh-sætu)*, like several others that belong to the scattered descendants of the warrior Næqt, goes back to the war expedition of Næqt against the Kitamat tribe on the seacoast. It is the property of Tælramuk and seems to have been inherited exclusively in direct line from the beginning. "Haray's[2] great-grandfather, Næqt," according to his own account, "started on the warpath against Kitamat. On his way down, he came upon a camp, wherein a man sat by himself. He took his knife and cut the man through the middle almost in two halves, so strong was he. The wounded man ran out into the lake, and stood in the water up to the ribs." From this incident was derived the name and crest of Half-way-out, which Næqt brought back with him.

FUNCTION AND CARVER

The pole of Half-way-out was carved over fifty years ago—a reliable informant[3] says nearly seventy years ago—by Wawsemlarhæ,[4] a chief of the Fireweed phratry in the same village. The only figure on it is carved in the conventional way, its knees folded up to the point almost of reaching the chin, and its hands holding the shins, in the middle.

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[1]Or "Only-half-protruding out of. . . ."

[2]Or Næqt, or the present Salomon Johnson, our old informant, and chief of the family of Næqt, at Kispayaks.

[3]John Brown, who was from 65 to 70 years old (in 1925). Brown came to Kispayaks from Kisgagas, when he was young; and he says that he "always saw it where it stands."

[4]Robinson, who died, a very old man about 1922.

(5) Poles of Lælt, at Kitwanga

OWNERS

Lælt and his family form part of what may be called the 'Neegyamks (Sun-shines-on) or Frog-woman clan of the Larhsail phratry among the Gitksan and the Nisræ. This clan, according to tradition, originated at the ancient village of Antegwalæ on the middle Nass, in the neighbourhood of the present Fishery bay. After the apparition of supernatural Squirrels *(Tsenhleek)*, the members of the ancestor's family scattered in various directions. Several of them were adopted by friendly families among the Gitksan. It is said, for instance, that[1]

"Other women of this family proceeded from the Nass to Gitwinlkul towards the Skeena. One of them went into the house of Kweenu, where she remained. Her name was Ukslarhtæ. Another, Deeluyæ, went on to Kitwanga, and was received by Lælt as a member of his family. That is why we use the same myth, the same dirge songs, though some of our crests differ."

Another informant[2] believed that "Lælt and his family originated at Antegwalæ, on the Nass, and had migrated from there to Kitwanga, after the flood." Another time he added, "They are not quite of the Kitwanga tribe, having come here lately from the Black-river[3] (on the upper Nass). For that reason, they have no hunting ground on the Skeena—because they are not of this river."

The relatives of Lælt abroad are given as the following: *on the Nass*—at Gitlarhdamks, Trahram-larhæt, Ksem-rhsan, and Ramlu'aks; 'Ahlta-qawrhs, at Gitrhatin; 'Arhlawals and Wakyas, at Gitrhahla, among the seacoast Tsimsyan; Kweenu, at Gitwinlkul; and, although not mentioned in the list, it seems that the family of Harhu, of Kispayaks, and Wutarhayæts, of Hagwelget (among the Carriers), are somehow also of the same group, since they, on their side, use the 'Neegyamks crest and myth, and indicate Kweenu as their kinsman.

The family of Lælt at Kitwanga consists of six households; those of: Lælt,[4] Ha'ku,[5] Alla-ist or T-haku,[6] Wawderh, and Luleq. The members of this group own altogether five totem poles at Kitwanga, all but one of which now stand[7] along the village lane and face north, instead of being at the river's edge and facing south, as formerly.

Lælt's family and that of Hlengwah, the head-chief of the local Larhsail, are distantly related, although not of the same clan. Their relationship is rather complex. Hlengwah's maternal ancestors, as we see below on page 48, belonged to two distinct clans that amalgamated less than two hundred years ago; one of his ancestors was Qawm, of Kitsalas, among the Tsimsyan; the other was Arhkawt, of Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass. The famous warrior Næqt belonged to this second branch of the family, and it is at the time of his coming that Arhkawt joined the band

[1]According to Lælt (Salomon Harris), the head of the families of this clan at Kitwanga.

[2]Head-chief Hlengwah (Jim Larahnitz), of Kitwanga.

[3]Windaw'tsaks: Where-is-blackwater. Lælt's hunting grounds still are in the Blackwater district.

[4]Now Salomon Harris.

[5]John Fowler.

[6]Benson.

[7]Since they have been restored and preserved.

that was to become the Kitwanga tribe, and became a member of Hlengwah's family through adoption. Both Lælt and Arhkawt, of Kitwanga, claim that the family of Ksem-rhsan, of Gitlarhdamks, represents the original family of their common ancestors. The direct maternal ancestors of Lælt seem to have migrated to the Skeena some time before Arhkawt, possibly a few generations—altogether two hundred years ago or less. The 'Neegyamks or Water-lily clan or families of Harhu, of Kispayaks, and Wutarhayæts, of the Carrier village of Hagwelget, as well as Kweenu of Gitwinlkul, also partly belong to the same stock through recent intermixture.

Lælt owns two out of the five totem poles belonging to the Kitwanga group under his leadership. These two poles, out of the four in the rear row, stand on the left hand, to the east.

DESCRIPTIONS

The older of the two poles (Plate VI, figure 3), is named Hanging-frogs, or Frogs-hanging-down *(Spœrem-ranaa'o)*; or Ribs-of-the-Frog *(Andeptœhl-ranaa'o)*. It is sometimes called the Pole-of-Trhahaphapu, from the name of the family sub-chief in whose memory it was erected. Its figures are: Person-in-the-Lake *(Lugyœdem-dzem-darh)*; Copper-smell *('Is'owq)*, the shape of which is exactly like that of the steel strike-a-fire implement of the French Canadian pioneers; the Mawdzeks, with wings folded in front of its body, the emblematic bird which is really the Eagle, but is currently known under the special name of Mawdzeks or Mawq;[1] Frog-hanging-down *(Spœrem-ranaa'o)*; the Mawdzeks (Eagle); six small Frogs-hanging-down *(Spœrem-ranaa'o)*; Person-of-the-door-way post *(Gyœdem-ran-ptaw')*, with hands resting on a decorated stick or a rope; the Beaver *(Tsemœlih)*; Real-chief-frog *(Sem'awgeedem-ranaa'o)* in a squatting position.

The second and more recent pole (Plate VI, figure 4) is named Pole-whereon-climb-the-Frogs *(Randeptœhl-ranaa'o)*. Its figures are: *Mawdzeks* (the Eagle) with the Frog, head upwards, on its body; either Copper-smell *('Is'owq)*, in the shape of a human being, or Person-of-the-lake *(Lugyœdem-dzem-darh)*,[2] Copper-smell seems to hold two small objects or beings in his hands, over his knees, these may be the White-groundhogs *('Maskweeyuk)*, another family crest;[3] Climbing-frog or Where-the-Frog-climbs *(Andeptœldehl-ranaa'o)*.[4] The ancestress Lutraisuh, mother of the warrior Næqt, in her Haida canoe—her face is upside down at the lower end, the two faces above hers are those of Kawak, her beheaded Haida husband, whose protruding tongue extends to the mouth of Næqt, his son; Climbing-frog again; and Half-of-bear *(Hrtsarawm-tsem-smaih)*, at the base.[5]

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[1]Here again we suggested the name of Hawk with indifferent results. Informant Lælt replied: "another kind of Hawk, but small." As stated elsewhere (*Poles of Rarhs-rabarhs*), this name is given to the Eagle in order not to hurt the feelings of the people belonging to the Eagle phratry.

[2]Opinions of informants differ as to which of the two.

[3]Groundhogs are represented likewise on the Ladder-in-steps pole of Weegyet of Gitsegyukla (p. 105).

[4]Lælt stated that his family had other poles, which have fallen and been burnt.

[5]Alfred Sinclair, the interpreter, believed that this figure was Ensnared-bear (*Tsœphum-smaih*).

ORIGIN

The list of crests used on the two totem poles of Lælt is one of the longest on record. But these emblems are not all the property, or at least the exclusive property, of Lælt and his family—as we shall see presently.

The origin of the Frogs as variously represented here is explained in the myth of the ancestress 'Neegyamks.[1] 'Neegyamks, the daughter of chief Negwa'on, is the "grandmother" of Lælt and other members of the 'Neegyamks (Frog-woman) clan. Several chiefs had courted her without success. One night, while she slept in the maidens' compartment at the rear of the house, she disappeared; and the frogs were heard, as every day, croaking in the lake above the village of Antegwalæ, on the Nass, where Negwa'on and his family lived. Her relatives thought that one of her suitors had kidnapped her. For two years they could not find her. The people, one day, beheld two Frogs in Negwa'on's doorway; one of them carried the other on its back. They were apparently trying to speak, one saying, "Tsewit," and the other "Qaderh." This was later to be their names. And they led the people on to the lake. Negwa'on invited the neighbouring tribes, Gitlarhdamks and Gitwinksilk, to come and help in draining the lake. When the lake was drained, the people beheld a huge number of small frogs taking to flight; then the Flying-frogs flew by. A Gitwinlkul man, Sedawqt—of the family of Wutarhayæts[2]—caught a Flying-frog that had wings and looked like a moth. When the lake was nearly dry, a house-front painting was seen floating; and the young woman, 'Neegyamks, sat upon it. One of her brothers speared the house-front, and captured it. The people then saw that 'Neegyamks had frogs all over her body—on her knees, the back of her hands, her breasts, her eyebrows. Many small frogs were painted on the house-front. Since then the Frogs have been the special crest of this clan.[3] 'Neegyamks said, after she had been rescued from the lake, "I am not fit to come among the people again. You had better kill me. Put me away, but keep my children." After they complied with her request, they saw a huge cane, the Pole-whereon-climb-frogs *(Randeptæhl-ranaa'o)* rising from the lake bottom. At its base was a human-like being; a number of small frogs climbed along the shaft; and a large Frog sat at the top. They decided to use the same figures on their own pole. Between the ribs of the large Frog, the Frog-chief, the heads of people were to be seen. They killed this Frog and adopted it as their principal crest. After 'Neegyamks had died they heard from the lake bottom a song, which they have since retained as a dirge. This summary will explain the mythic origin of the several Frog crests of Lælt and his clan: the Hanging-frogs, Ribs-of-the-Frog, Person-of-the-lake, Frogs-of-the-doorway (or frogs-jammed-up).[4] Real-frog-chief, and Pole-whereon-climb frogs.

The emblems of Copper-smell *('Is'owq)* and Person-of-the-doorway *(Gyædem-ran-ptaw')*, were acquired in the same way and at the same time as Frog-woman, in the lake near Antegwalæ, on the Nass. A few

[1]The myth, of which this is a brief summary, was recorded from Lælt of Kitwanga, as also from others, in other tribes.

[2]Of the Larhsail phratry.

[3]Lælt expressed it in this incomplete way: "It is the exclusive crest of the household of Lælt."

[4]See *The Poles of Harhu, of Kispayaks*, p. 77.

words in a traditional song in the myth of Frog-woman describe the relation of Copper-smell with the Chief-frog: "The large Frog said, I am sad at heart; although I have been saved, my body is now copper-like." The graphic symbol for Copper-smell in the first of the two poles offers a puzzle. The six small objects in three layers are exact representations of as many steel strike-a-lights, such as were introduced by the French Canadians in the early days of the fur trade. It is quite likely that the natives at first did not keenly distinguish between steel, iron, and copper—native copper being the only metal presumably known to them in prehistoric times; and that the picture of a steel implement may have evoked among the natives the notion of the magic piece of copper found in the lake.

The Haida canoe and the three faces within symbolize the adventure of Lutraisuh, her Haida husband, and their war-like son Næqt. Although this is not really the crest of Lælt, but of Arhkawt of the same tribe, its use here is not altogether unjustified; there may have been, besides, special reasons for its display on this pole. Lælt and Arhkawt both are descendants of Ksemrhsan, now of Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass.

The Mawdzeks or Eagle was secured as a crest by the ancestors of Lælt,[1] while they camped at Sitting-between-two-mountains *(Lusparæt'at)*, at the edge of Copper river, a tributary of the Skeena. It appeared to them early in the morning, first after daylight, in the form of a giant in the distance, at the top of a big mountain. They did not discern his features, on account of the mist, but decided to use him as a crest.[2]

The White-groundhog crest *('Maskweeyuk)* was obtained at Canyon-water *(Kselarh-tselasut)*, a stream that runs through the hunting-grounds of Lælt. Tarhtsuh, a member of this family, once killed white groundhogs in a mystic adventure and adopted them as emblems. Two songs allude to this experience of the past; one of these contains the words: "I am longing to move on to another place . . . . Who knows what the Groundhog of the canyon has done to me."

The Beaver *(Tsemælih)* was introduced on the older of the two poles as the signature of the carver, Gitrhawn,[3] of the Eagle phratry at Kitsalas.

The Half-of-bear crest *(Hrtsarawm-tsem-smaih)* was not originally a crest of this family, but was secured in compensation for a murder. Tseelærant, of the Kisgagas tribe,[4] once[5] murdered two women of Lælt's household, named Neetawts and Nawrhs'untks. In the ceremony of compensation that took the place of retaliation, one of Tsilærant's crests—the Bear-cut-in-half—was handed over to Lælt as "blood money" *(Kseesuh)* for his exclusive use.[6]

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[1]This is according to Lælt's own account.

[2]The Mawdzeks crest here is evidently related to that of other Larhsail families on the upper Skeena; its origin through conquest is explained on page 37); but it is supposed here to have originated separately. This crest may have been the property of some Gitksan families even before Næqt conquered one of its form among the Kitamat.

[3]The Beaver is his principal crest.

[4]Of the family of Yæyerh, of the Wolf phratry.

[5]"Not very long ago, before my time" (Lælt).

[6]Alfred Sinclair, another informant, was under the presumably faulty impression that this pole had been erected by Willits of Gitwinlkul, who had carved his crest on the pole as a signature.

FUNCTION

The pole of Hanging-frogs or Frogs-hanging-down *(Spœrem-ranaa'o)* was erected less than forty years ago,[1] in commemoration of Lælt. Trhap-hapu caused its erection.[2]

The second monument, Pole-whereon-climb-the-frogs *(Randeptœhl-ranaa'o)* was erected in memory of Tarhtsuh, of the family of Lælt, about twenty or twenty-five years ago.[3] Lælt and Geebum'andaw, of the same family, were responsible for it. The guests at the erection of the pole were representatives of ten villages of the Skeena and the Nass. Among other presents distributed were twenty bales of blankets of ten blankets each. Lælt wanted to adopt his own son as his successor, on that occasion.[4] But his relatives (on the mother's side) would not give their assent, and the plan fell through.

CARVERS

Trhap-hapu's father belonged to the family of Gitrhawn—of the Eagle phratry, of Kitsalas. He, for that reason, requested Gitrhawn to carve the Hanging-frogs pole.[5] Gitrhawn undertook the work with the assistance of 'Nees-warhayæ and 'Nees'adaai, both of the family of Lælt, who had resided at Kitsalas for many years. The carving here is not of the best, although the representation of the small frogs hanging was quite effective before crude commercial paint spoiled them through restoration.

The second pole, Whereon-climb-the-Frogs, is, on the whole, one of the crudest carvings in Kitwanga, though it is elaborate and not devoid of good qualities, especially in its upper part. It is the work of Kwawdzee-barh, one of Lælt's nephews, of the family of Haqu (in the Larhsail phratry, at Kitwanga).

(6) Poles of Ha'ku and T-haku, at Kitwanga

OWNERS

Both Ha'ku and T-haku are[6] closely related to Lælt, the chief of the Frog-woman *('Neegyamks)* clan, of the Larhsail phratry at Kitwanga. They are called "his nephews." Their separate households originated through a subdivision of Lælt's family, when growing numbers made it necessary. Their crests and inherited privileges are practically identical, their semi-independence being too recent to have given rise to a marked differentiation.

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[1] Lælt, now an old man, had this pole erected at the time when his uncle Lælt died, and he assumed his name and rank.

[2] Lælt (Salomon Harris) claimed that he had himself been responsible for its erection, to commemorate his uncle Lælt, four years after his death.

[3] This happened shortly after the death of Tarhtsuh, and after Lælt had married Ksarhgyaw, a young woman of Hrleemlarhæ's family (Wolf phratry), of Kispayaks.

[4] Relationship and the inheritance of clan badges and affiliations are exclusively matrilinear, that is, on the mother's side.

[5] Lælt added, "There was no artist at that time among the Gitksan who could carve poles (he means in the eligible families paternally related to him), and Gitrhawn was the best."

[6] T-haku's household sometimes appears under the name of Alla-ist or of Kwawdzebarh, as a leader. John Fowler is the present Ha'ku; and Paul Benson—T-haku.

They own three totem poles, which used to stand next to those of Lælt, their chief, at the western or lower end of the front row of totem poles, near the river. After their restoration, in 1926, two of these poles were removed to the rear, along the village lane, they now face northwards, at the lower (western) end of the row.

DESCRIPTIONS

The oldest of these three poles, and the shortest (Plate VII, figure 1) is called Supernatural-frog *(Narhnarom-ranaa'o)*. Its figures are: Hanging frog *(Spœrem-ranaa'o)*; Man-cut-in-two *(Stagyet)*; the Frog *(Ranaa'o)*, or rather, its head, upside down, on the man's body; and a round opening for a ceremonial doorway, now partly underground.

The second pole, and the tallest of the three (Plate VII, figure 2), is called People-in-the-Copper-shield *(Lugeegyœdem-hayœts)*. Its figures are: supposedly Ha'ku, the family chief in whose memory the pole was erected, holding the Bear-cub *(Smaih)* upside down, between his hands; the Hanging-frog *(Spœrem-ranaa'o)*; Supernatural-frog *(Narhnarom-ranaa'o)*, head downwards; People-in-the-Copper-shield *(Lugeegyœdem-hayœts)*—the copper slab representing a copper shield and a human being sitting in it; a large human face, representing Hlærem-rænerh, a man in Ha'ku's family, in whose commemoration the pole stands[1]; on his body, the Hanging-frog, head downwards; at the bottom, a large human face supposedly representing Kwaw-amawn, member of Ha'ku's family, whom the pole commemorates.

The third and most recent pole (Plate VII, figure 3) stood, until it was restored, at the western or lower end of the front row of poles. It is now the last in the rear row, at the same end of the village. It is named People-in-the-copper-shield *(Lugeegyœdem-hayœts)*. Its figures are: Man-in-the-copper *(Gyœdem-hayœts)*; a long section of the shaft is uncarved, more than one-third of the whole length of the pole; Man-in-the-copper-shield *(Gyœdem-hayœts)*; Hanging-frog *(Spœrem-ranaa'o)*; a large human face at the bottom, supposedly representing T-haku (who was also called Kwawdzabarh),[2] in whose memory the pole was erected.

ORIGIN

The origin of some of these family or clan emblems is practically the same as that of Lælt's coat-of-arms. The Frog is identical.

Most of the other emblems, however, seem to have been obtained, some time in the near past, from the family of Wee'alerh, of Kispayaks, a distant relative. Wee'alerh's traditional privileges are now for the most part the property of Næqt or Haræ or Telramuk, of Kispayaks. But some of them devolved in permanence upon Ha'ku of Kitwanga, for the following reason. One of Tarhtsurh's uncles (of this household) once went up to Kispayaks for gambling. He returned home with Hlawraw-larhlaq, a Kispayaks woman, whom he adopted as his sister. She was the only survivor in the family of Wee'alerh (of the Larhsail phratry), of

[1]This interpretation, from Alfred Sinclair, of this family at Kitwanga, may be erroneous. Sinclair, the interpreter, had been educated by missionaries and seemed at times not to possess sufficient knowledge of some of the old customs. We rather believe that this large face, represented three times on the poles of this family, and the Man-cut-in-two, are crests derived from the extinct family of Wee'alerh, of Kispayaks. If they are, then the name of the large face is Half-way-out (*Ramdeprhœtu*).

[2]Again, Sinclair, who gave this information, seems to have been mistaken. This large face may once more represent the crest Half-way-out.

Kispayaks. All the others had died through war and epidemics. As a result of this adoption, Ha'ku and his family became the owners of several of Wee'alerh's crests: People-in-the-copper-shield, Half-way-out, and presumably also Man-cut-in-two *(Stagyet)*.[1] Wee'alerh was of the same family as Næqt, the warrior, and his descendants Næqt or Haray, of Kispayaks. The crests, therefore, must be those which Næqt conquered or obtained at Kitamat, on the seacoast, during his raid[2]. Man-cut-in-two and Half-way-out undoubtedly refer to the Kitamat villager whom Næqt stabbed and cut nearly in half, and who ran off into the water up to his waist. People-in-the-copper-shield was not previously mentioned, but it is quite likely that a copper shield *(hayœts)* with a human-like crest engraved on it was captured at the same coast village and is now thus reproduced among Ha'ku's coat-of-arms. There were formerly four of these People-in-the-copper-shield standing inside Ha'ku's house.[3]

The Bear crest *(Smaih)* does not really belong to Ha'ku as a crest. It is introduced here as an exception to the rule; it is one of the crests of Kyærhu (Escaped), a Wolf chief of Gitlarhdamks on the Nass, the father of Ha'ku, whom the pole commemorates; it stands for his signature, as he carved it.

FUNCTION

The tallest of these three poles, People-in-the-copper-shield, commemorates a former Ha'ku. It has stood slightly over fifty years.

The shortest (Frog-hanging-down) pole formerly served as a ceremonial entrance into Ha'ku's house. It was erected in memory of "old Ha'ku," when the second of that name took his place. It is one of the oldest in Kitwanga—presumably sixty or seventy years old.[4]

The newest of these three poles, People-in-the-copper-shield, was erected about 1920, in memory of Kwawdzabarh, a leading member of this family.

CARVERS

The name of the carver of the oldest and shortest pole is not remembered. The carving—although of small dimensions—is one of the most interesting on the Skeena. Its technique—particularly the hollowed-out section between the Frog and the Man—indicates beyond doubt that it is the work of a Nass River carver, some of whose work is also to be seen at Angyedæ. It is hollowed out at the back.

The tallest of the three poles is a remarkable monument. It is characteristic of the work of the upper Nass artists. The figures are compact and well conceived and the carving is mature and firm. There is evidence of only very little paint having been used in its decoration.

The newest pole, People-in-the-copper-shield, was carved by Harhpegwawtu (of the Fireweed phratry) of Gitsegyukla and completely decorated with commercial paint—the whole shaft, white; and the figures, pale blue; the eyes black, and the nostrils red.

[1] According to Alfred Sinclair, the Man-cut-in-two was found in the lake, together with the Supernatural-frogs.
[2] *See* p. 51.
[3] According to Lælt (Salomon Harris).
[4] It was standing when Alfred Sinclair was a child. Sinclair died in 1924; he was less than 60 years of age.

(7) Poles of Hlengwah, at Kitwanga

OWNERS

There are two groups of Larhsail (Raven-Frog phratry) at Kitwanga, which seem unrelated to each other. Their leaders are: Hlengwah,[1] the head-chief, who belongs to the higher of the two clans; and Lælt,[2] a subordinate chief. They respectively stand at the head of a few semi-independent families, each of which has a chief and owns a separate house. These are: under Hlengwah—Hlengwah's own household, Arhkawt or Næqt, and Ha'lus; under Lælt—Lælt's or Tarhtsuh's own household, Ha'ku, T-haku, or Alla-ist, and two other families. There is also a detached Larhsail family—that of Nees'alurh—which settled in Kitwanga only about 25 years ago, whose closest relative, Wutarhayæts, still belongs to Gitwinlkul. He owns no totem pole.

The families under Hlengwah at first seemed to be part of a fairly homogeneous group, whose origin could be traced back to one source. Their foreign relatives were given as the following: Qawm, of Kitsalas, and Nees-yaranæt, of Gitsees—both of these among the Tsimsyan, on the lower Skeena; on the upper Skeena, Wistis and Rarhs-rabarhs, of Gitsegyukla; and Wutarhkwats, of Hagwelget, among the Carriers, on Bulkley river; on Nass river, Hai'mas, of Gitrhatin, Ksemrhsan of Gitlarhdamks; among the Haidas of Massett, on Queen Charlotte islands, Larh'neets; and at Kitamat, on the Tsimsyan-Bellabella frontier, south of the Skeena, Neeskamalæ. But on further examination it became clear that they must be divided into two strands, according to their origin: one, to which Hlengwah himself belongs, is from the family of Qawm, of Kitsalas, and more remotely from the Gitsees family of Hai'mas (now Nees-yaranæt); the other, that of Arhkawt and Næqt, from the family of Ksemrhsan, now of Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass. These two groups came together and amalgamated not very long ago, possibly on account of distant relationship, then remembered, or for some political reason, such as mutual help in warfare. Hlengwah's own ancestors are said[3] to have joined what was to become the Kitwanga tribe later than did Arhkawt.

The closely related families of Hai'mas and Nees'yaranæt in the Gitsees tribe of the Tsimsyan, from which those of Qawm of Kitsalas and Larahnitz of Kitwanga are derived, are among the most notable of the whole Tsimsyan nation. Their traditional history is extensively remembered; and the accounts of their warfare with the northern tribes of the Tlingit show that, if they belonged to the original Gitsees stock, they had close affiliations with the Tlingits. At one time, not very long ago, they spoke Tlingit themselves, and belonged as much to the Tlingit nation as to the Tsimsyan. Indeed, according to the chief of the Gilodzar tribe,[4] these people were originally Tlingit (Gidaraneets), who were engaged in warfare long ago with the Haidas (Gitraaits) of North island, on the Alaskan coast. As a result of their defeat they migrated southeastwards and became Tsimsyan.

[1]His current name is Jim Larahnitz.

[2]Sometimes known under an English name: Salomon Harris.

[3]Informant Lælt said: "The household of Hlengwah came from the family of Qawm. It was not originally of Kitwanga. It is not the same as that of Næqt, but joined it only after it had settled here."

[4]Which tribe incorporated most of the former Gitwilksebæ tribe. Informant, the late David Swanson, of Port Simpson.

Hlengwah, as chief of his own household and that of Arhkawt, owns three totem poles, which still stand at Kitwanga, four carved house poles, and a section of an older pole which was recently purchased for the National Museum of Canada.

DESCRIPTIONS

The Man-crushing-log *(Qœnugyet)*[1] totem pole lies on the ground[2] at the upper end of the front row of totem poles (Plate VII, figure 4). It belongs to the family of Arhkawt. Its figures are from the top down:[3] Whole-being or Whole-man or All-one-person *(Marhkyawl)*, as it is named, among the Gitksan; or *(Trhahkawlk)*, among the Tsimsyan; a large human face, presumably Half-way-out *(Ramdeprh-sœtu)*; six small figures above each other, representing the Kitamat and other seacoast warriors defeated in their attack on the fortress Ta'awdzep and crushed by the logs rolling down the steep slope; Whole-being *(Marhkyawl)* again; and a representation, at the bottom of the pole, of Half-way-out[4].

The newer Man-crushing-log *(Qœnugyet)* pole (Plate VII, figure 5; Plate VIII, figure 1) stands at the west end of the back row of totem poles. Its figures are: the Door *(Ptaw')* or the fortress door, formerly covered with deer hoofs, it represents the door of the Ta'awdzep fortress at the time when the Kitamat and seacoast warriors came to attack Næqt and his tribe; Thunder-bird *(Geeladal)*; Næqt or Tongue-licked, the famous warrior in his Grizzly-bear armour, the *Gyelarht* (Strike-just-once) war club in his hand—a magical club, a single blow of which caused death; the Man-crushing-log *(Qœnugyet)*, which here represents the logs that rolled down the slope and killed the enemies scaling it; two of the Kitamat warriors crushed by the log; Whole-being *(Marhkyawl)*; and, at the bottom, the Toad *(Warh'as)* or Flying-frog *(Geepœigem-ranaa'o)*.

The Raven-sailing-through-the-air[5] *(Qansil* or *Ksilem-qaq)* stands next to the Man-crushing pole in the back row (Plate VII, figure 6; Plate VIII, figure 2). Its figures are: Raven-sailing-through-the-air, at the top, or what is described as "the first of the three Raven children"; and chief Arhkawt, in whose memory the pole was erected, Arhkawt's garments—a bear skin,[6] and twisted bark cedar rings—are like those which he wore at a festival. The bearskin garment that used to cover his body, on the pole, was the Sticky-blanket or Næqt's grizzly-bear armour *(Kwisended-zae'hl)*, a crest, and the copper slab under his arm is a pictorial reference to a *potla'ch* (or feast) in which he appeared with a valuable copper shield *(hayœts)* in his possession.

A section of an old pole, which stood for many years in front of Hlengwah's house,[7] at Kitwanga, is now in the keeping of the National Museum, at Ottawa (Plate VIII, figure 3). The name of the pole was Næqt (Tongue-licked), from the famous warrior, an ancestor of the present Arhkawt,

[1]Or Trap-for-people or Human-trap.

[2]It has now been placed under cover at the initiative of the Totem Pole Committee, of Ottawa.

[3]One, at least, of the figures at the top has fallen off and decayed.

[4]These figures were identified by Alfred Sinclair, the interpreter, who was the present Arhkawt. We have already noted his bias in one respect, which was to consider human-like figures on various poles as representing chiefs in whose memory the pole was erected. Instead of giving the name of Half-way-out to two of the figures, he thought that they were representatives of chief Arhkawt, in whose memory the pole was erected.

[5]Sinclair, the interpreter, used the word "volplaning."

[6]The Bear skin seems to have been in reference to the grizzly-bear armour of the ancestor Næqt.

[7]Or Jim Larahnitz.

who established the fortified village of Ta'awdzep, about 2 miles up Gitwinlkul valley, behind the present village of Kitwanga. Before the pole was cut, it was quite a long one; but we could not obtain a detailed description of its figures.

Two other totem poles of this family[1] fell and disappeared many years ago.

The first of them fell some years before 1888. It was carved by Hæsemhliyawn (of the Larhsail phratry, of Gitwinlkul)[2]; it was long and contained the same heraldic figures as the other poles of the same family. The second pole was erected many years later, under the direction of the present chief (Larahnitz). It was carved by Tæsuh (of the Wolf phratry, of Gitwinlkul).

The four carved house-poles in the house of Larahnitz represent: Soul-put-on *(Kurh'awdzentuh)*, at the rear of the house, on the left (Plate VIII, figure 4); on the right the Toad (Warh'as) (Plate VIII, figure 5); Whole-being (Marhkyawl) (Plate VIII, figure 6) on the right side of the entrance; on the left (Plate VIII, figure 7) presumably one of the Kitamat warriors, with the conical root hat as used on the seacoast.

ORIGIN

The crests of this family, as represented on the poles, fall into two groups, being derived from the once independent houses of Hlengwah and Arhkawt, now amalgamated. The crests that are more properly those of Hlengwah and originated down the Skeena are: the Whole-being, Raven-sailing-through-the-air, and the Thunder-bird *(Geeladal)*. Those that were brought over from the Nass by Arhkawt's ancestors are: the Flying-frog or Toad, and the semi-historical figures of the warrior Næqt, the Man-crushing-log, the Strike-but-once war club, the *Ptaw'* door, and the small Kitamat warriors with conical hats.

The Raven *(Qaq)* is one of the oldest crests and the most important in this phratry. It is in some ways often mistaken for the crest of the phratry itself, though actually it is not. The ancient relatives of Hlengwah in the Kitsalas and the Gitsees tribe also own it under various forms. Among the Gitsees, it is the main crest of Nees-yaranæt, who also had it carved and placed on top of a totem pole.[3] The Raven-sailing-through-the-air *(Qansil)* as such seems to belong exclusively to the family of Hlengwah. There is no myth, excepting the general cosmogonic myth, to account for its heraldic origin, which seems to be quite ancient.

The Whole-being crest (called *Marhkyawl*, among the Gitksan, and *Trhahkawlk*, among the Tsimsyan) is also ancient, since it belongs in common to the three branches of the clan in the Kitwanga, the Kitsalas, and the Gitsees tribes. Chief Hlengwah gave it first in his list as the most important or characteristic. Its origin as a carved figure on a pole is accounted for in two narratives. The first, from Hlengwah himself, explains how it once surged out of the sea as part of the supernatural Snag. Part of this clan, at that time, was known under the name of *Mætsenaanurh*,[4]

[1] According to Jim Larahnitz.

[2] Hæsemhliyawn died presumably about 25 or 30 years ago. The pole was carved, according to Larahnitz, "during his uncle's lifetime," when himself, Larahnitz, was young; that is approximately 60 years ago, since he claims to have had something to do with the selection of the carver.

[3] Its name is here "Place-where-Raven-sleeps."

[4] Hlengwah said that this was then the equivalent of the Gitksan phratric name of Larhsail.

and formed part of the now extinct Gitwilksebæ tribe, whose home was above Lakelse and below the canyon on the Skeena. The warriors of this clan went to war against the Nawade (Nawittee) coast tribe, above Bellabella. On their way, crossing a lake, they discovered the supernatural Snag-of-the-water *(Kanem-tsem'aus)*. Their canoes surrounded it, and repeated attempts were made to pull it out of the water. When they finally succeeded, they beheld a complete human figure carved at the foot of the Snag. And they gave it the name of *Marhkyawl*, "Whole-man."[1]

According to another account, from Nees-yaranæt (of the Gitsees tribe), it was first carved at Red-bluffs *(Kwarabal)*, near Fishery bay on the lower Nass, presumably for Hai'mas, in commemoration of his aged brother Nees-yaranæt, whom he had killed in order to assume the leadership of the tribe in his stead. A feud resulted, which concluded with a peace ceremony. While the participants were gathered together, they were told, "Return to your houses, We are going to the forest to cut a tree and stand it in memory of the departed chief." To use the words of the narrative:

"It was then that they first carved the crest *Trhakawlk*, meaning All-one-being, at the top of which sat the Raven. When everything was ready, they convoked all the Tsimsyans and erected the pole. But they turned it the wrong way, facing the hills rather than the river, as was the custom. And the workers seemed unable to turn it, as it stood firmly in the ground. The Gitsees women ran to the pole, intent upon showing their strength, and turned its face to the river. To commemorate this feat of strength, they composed a song, which became traditional: 'Were it not for the Women-of-the-Robins *(Ksem-Geelakyaw)*, chief Weerhæ could not have turned the pole on which sleeps the Raven'. This pole was later destroyed by the Haidas, who then removed the abalone pearls that adorned it."

From the circumstances of the narrative, we presume this event to have taken place some time before 1850; but after the white people had first come to the west coast.

The use of the Thunder-bird *(Geeladal)* as a crest in the Larhsail phratry is exceptional, even though it appears here under a special name not known elsewhere. Various clans of the Fireweed or Gispewudwade phratry own it as their own. It was also used, quite legitimately, in this household as a mask *(narhnawk)*, 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.[2] The regular crest *(ayuks)* may thus have been derived from the mask *(narhnawk)*, as sometimes happened in other instances. Or it may go back to the time when Larahnitz' (or Hlengwah's) ancestors were still part of Qawm's family at Kitsalas. Qawm owns what is known as the Thunder-house *(Kalepleebem-wælp)*; and also, a crest named Hair-on-tongue *(Kawsem-dule)*, which is obviously related to the Thunder-bird of Hlengwah. Hair-on-tongue, a mythological monster, was formerly represented on a front house-pole (underneath the rafters) of Larahnitz'[3] house at Kitsalas. Its features were human-like, with the exception of a long beak, the tip of which turned backwards, hook-like—quite like the *Geeladal*. The Hair-on-tongue emblem did not really belong to these

[1] *Trhakawlk* is represented on a house pole at Kitsalas with a paddle between his hands, in the former house of Larahnitz, at Gitrhtsæth, on the railroad side of the river.

[2] This mask is now at the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

[3] The name of Larahnitz is still one of the two leading names of Qawm's family at Kitsalas.

people in the first place, but was introduced by way of exception from outside, as a gift to one of the first Larahnitz from his father,[1] "to show his paternal origin." According to another account (*See The Poles of Wistis, of Gitsegyukla*, page 55) it is one of the crests conquered by Næqt at Kitamat, on the seacoast.

The Frog crest may have come to Hlengwah either from his own Kitsalas ancestors or from those of Arhkawt, whose foremost relative abroad is Ksemrhsan of Gitlarhdamks on the upper Nass. But its present form as Toad *(Warh'as)* or Flying-frog bears more resemblance to the Frog of the Nass River ancestors than of those of the Tsimsyan. The narrative explaining the mythical origin of the Flying-frog is summarized elsewhere (Cf. page 43).

The remaining crests of this family, as illustrated on the pole—Næqt, Man-crushing-log, the Door, the Strike-but-once-war-club, and the Kitamat warriors—are of an exceptional type, since they illustrate semi-historical events of the near-past. They were originally the exclusive property of Arhkawt, but are now the legitimate possession of Hlengwah's family taken as a whole. These events are recounted in lengthy narratives, which in bare outline are as follows:

A party of Haidas, from Queen Charlotte islands, raided a fishing camp at the mouth of the Nass, massacred many of the occupants,[2] and captured a beautiful young woman of high rank, whose name was Lutraisuh. She became the wife of Qawæk, a Haida chief, and gave birth to two sons, whom the father smothered to death after their birth, for fear that some day they might avenge the death of their uncles. Lutraisuh deceived her husband as to the sex of her third child, making him believe in the birth of a daughter, whose life he spared for that reason. With the help of some relatives of the Raven crest, Lutraisuh murdered her Haida husband, cut off his head, and escaped by night in a dug-out. The tale of her flight across the sea to the mainland is illustrated in a few poles of this clan, which may be called the Næqt (Tongue-licked) clan. Her child in the bow of the canoe is supposed to have sucked the protruding tongue of his father's head; which feature is shown on a pole of Lælt and a small stone monument, at Kitwanga; and on the pole of Haray, at Kispayaks. Lutraisuh was rescued at the mouth of the Nass and was adopted there by a family of relatives. Her son, named Næqt (Tongue-licked) from the episode of his mother's flight in a canoe, grew into a strong, reckless boy, inheriting many of his father's characteristics. The uncles finally dismissed both mother and son, who then began a life of wanderings and solitude in the forest. Næqt grew up with but one ambition, that of punishing the wrongs which he and his mother had to suffer. He became a bold and powerful warrior and made friends with some families on the Skeena which later were to become the Kitwanga tribe. He fashioned for his use an armour out of a grizzly-bear skin reinforced inside with a coat of pitch and flakes of slate, and began his career as a mysterious raider of coast and Nass River settlements. He was mistaken for a mythic Grizzly-bear, whose attacks could not be resisted, on account of a magical war club in his front paw, the Strike-but-once-club. But his identity was ultimately discovered, after

[1]Inheritance being otherwise always exclusively in the maternal line.

[2]An informant stated that they were from Kispayaks (Kispiox) river, on the upper Skeena, and belonged to the Raven crest.

he had killed many people. Several tribes, from Kitamat and the Nass, organized together to defeat him and his confederates and curb his ascent to power. He then established his tribal quarters on Ta'awdzep (Fortress), a pyramid-like hill 2 miles north of the present village of Kitwanga, on Gitwinlkul river. To protect his stronghold against a surprise attack, which was anticipated, he made a fence of logs around the five houses of his tribe, and a trap door covered with deer hoofs, which would rattle at the least contact. When the enemies one night tried to climb the steep slope of Ta'awdzep, they were crushed to death by the logs that rattled down as soon as they were released by the besieged warriors above. This event is illustrated in the poles of Arhkawt. Næqt was later wounded, some say by a gunshot (from the first gun used in the country), while he donned his Grizzly-bear armour on an expedition, and then clubbed to death.

FUNCTION

The Man-crushing-log *(Qœnugyet)*, on the ground under cover,[1] was erected in memory of Arhkawt,[2] at the time when the present Hlengwah (or Jim Larahnitz) was promoted, as a young man, to the rank of chief[3] —that is slightly over fifty years ago.

The newer Man-crushing-log *(Qœnagyet)*[4] stands in memory of the former Hlengwah and Arhkawt, who died within two years of each other. It was erected from 20 to 25 years ago, through the efforts of Hlengwah's successor, the present Jim Larahnitz. Here is a detailed account of the event, by Larahnitz:

"My uncle died—Hlengwah or Næqt (he had both names). I gave in his honour a *potlatch* at which I invited the people of Gitsegyukla, Gitenmaks, Kispayaks, and Gitwinlkul Two years after, another uncle died—Arhkawt, and I gave another *potlatch*, two years after his death. I became *halla-it* (chief) in his place. I had a cedar pole cut, which was to become the *Qœnagyet* with the Door. This was done by Qawk (the head-chief of the Eagle phratry, in the same village) and Nees-laranows (of the Wolf phratry, at Gitwinlkul). Their payment was eighty blankets each. They selected the pole themselves, about 4 miles from Kitwanga, at the foot of the mountains, on the other side of the river. Tiyœnsk, of the Wolf phratry (of Gitwinlkul) had the right to carve the pole. But she could not come. Her husband did the work for her—Kaldihgyet (Thom Campbell, of Hazelton), of the Larhsail phratry[5]. This happened about 20 years ago.[6] Not many members of my family could assist me, when I gave the feast (*yuku*) for its erection and the assumption of new names. Most of them had become Christians and moved down to Minskinish.[7] My only helpers were my sister Siuhliyæ and her family, and my mother's household—Kamkal'owl. We invited as our guests the various Gitksan tribes, and also some of the notables of Gitrhadeen, Gitwinksihl, and Gitlarhdamks. I assumed the (traditional) chief names of Næqt and Alerh, at that feast."

The Qansil pole (Raven-sailing-through-the-air) was erected about 1920. It stands in memory of Arhkawt, according to Alfred Sinclair; or, according to Larahnitz, in memory of two other people, his niece, who died

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[1]No. 4, Plate VII.

[2]According to Jim Larahnitz, it was to the memory of Rhstam-remgipæik, a personal name in the family of Arhkawt. This was presumably an early name of Arhkawt.

[3]As he termed it: "It was at the time I made myself an *o'yerh*. The people's hair at this feast was tied up with mink tails in Ksedækhl style."

[4]Plate VII, figure 5; Plate VIII, figure 1.

[5]Being of the same phratry as Larahnitz, though of an unrelated family, he could otherwise not have been chosen.

[6]Information taken down in 1924.

[7]Or Cedarvale, the Tomlinson mission village, some distance below Kitwanga.

some time after he had relinquished in her favour the name of Larahnitz, to take those of Hlengwah and Næqt; and also Nees-kamalæ, one of his uncles. The circumstances of this event, as related by Larahnitz, who was himself responsible for the undertaking, may be recorded here, as they give an insight into some of the social processes involved in the erection of totem poles:

"I asked Harhpegwawtu (of the Fireweed phratry at Gitsegyukla) to cut a pole, which he did, for $70. He got one half a mile from the river, about a mile and a half below Kitwanga, and towed it up here. When it was landed, I spent $300; some of my family helped me. Harhpegwawtu then carved it, and I gave him in payment one horse (valued at $110) and $80 in cash. After it was carved, the people of Gitsegyukla, Gitwinlkul, and Kitwanga, also some white people, hauled it up. So far I had spent about $600. Tom Maw (Moore?), a white man, cut two poles (to be used as supports), for $20. I spent about $150 on food for the guests (food either used or distributed at the ceremony). I gave away, among other things, thirty-five boxes of pilot bread. The pole was erected in October. The final event cost about $800 to me and $500, besides, to my family."

Even if not quite accurate—and they are likely to be—these details show the type of proceedings that accompany like ceremonial functions elsewhere. Much of the expenditure is not in compensation for actual labour, but in conformity with a traditional code of liberality that brings public recognition and high standing to the chiefs.

The section of the old pole of Næqt (Tongue-licked),[1] now at the National Museum of Canada, was cut out of the complete pole after it had fallen, many years ago. A feast was given on that occasion,[2] and the present owner stood on top of the figure of Næqt, as he "made himself a chief *(o'yerh)*" and assumed the name of Larahnitz.

Some years before this event, the chief of the household (presumably the present Larahnitz) summoned a carver for another totem pole—Tæsu, of the Wolf phratry at Gitwinlkul. The following expenditures were incurred for its carving and erection:[3] one hundred Hudson's Bay Company blankets at $3 each; and, besides, calico and money. Some of Larahnitz' relatives contributed goods, money, and property. It was a very expensive memorial. When the pole was erected, from $400 to $500 were spent on food distributed to the guests, and between $1,000 and $2,000 worth of goods. The neighbouring tribes were all invited for the event.

The poles inside Larahnitz' house were carved about 1920, and were erected at the same festival as the Qansil pole. The house itself is much older, since three household chiefs died in it. The roof beams which the poles support are believed to be about a hundred years old. Sixty dollars were paid to Wallace Campbell, a white man, for the purchase of the poles, and $100 for the carving.

CARVERS

The Man-crushing-log *(Qœnugyet)* totem pole, now under cover on the ground, was carved by Yarhyaq, of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul.[4]

[1]Plate VIII, figure 3.

[2]From the notes it is not quite clear whether or not Jim Larahnitz meant to say that he had himself erected the complete pole. Yet, as he gave the name of the carver it seems that the pole was carved during his lifetime.

[3]According to Jim Larahnitz.

[4]A carver of the same phratry,as in this instance, may not be employed. This rule is meant to be without exception. When this is actually done for some imperious reason, the work has to be placed in charge of a chief of a different phratry, who then relegates his charge to another. We do not know whether this happened here. The only explanation given here was that "though of the same phratry, this carver belonged to a family not related to that of Larahnitz."

The newer Man-crushing-log *(Qænugyet)* was carved by Kaldihgyet,[1] of the Larhsail phratry at Hazelton. The right to carve it belonged to his wife, Tiyænsu, of the Wolf phratry at Gitwinlkul, who used him as a substitute.

The *Næqt* pole (Tongue-licked), of which only a section is left, was carved by Gitrhawn, of the Eagle phratry at Kitsalas.

The *Qansil* (Raven-sailing . . .) pole was carved by Harhpegwawtu, of the Fireweed phratry at Gitsegyukla; and the four house poles are the work of Richard Dowse (Kwawshla'm), of the Wolf phratry at Gitwinlkul.

The two older poles that have fallen and disappeared many years ago were the work: the oldest, of Hæsemhliyawn, of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul,[2] the best carver of the district; the newer, of Tæsuh, of the Wolf phratry in the same tribe.

None of the poles of Hlengwah, as they are now left for our observation, is among the very best. Although the old Man-crushing-log is perhaps the most interesting historically in Kitwanga, its carving is crude. The treatment of little figures of the dead Kitamat warriors, however, is of particular interest. The newer Man-crushing-log, by Tom Campbell,[3] is a fairly impressive monument, well planned and boldly handled. Yet its style belongs to the type evolved by Hlamee of Gitwinlkul, after the white man's paint had begun to invade the field at the expense of sculpture. The fragment of the old Næqt pole, now preserved at the National Museum, is artistically the most valuable and it belongs to the best period of Skeena River sculpture.

(8) Pole of Halus, at Kitwanga

Halus and his household are part of the Larhsail phratry as represented at Kitwanga, and a subdivision of the family of Hlengwah. They own practically the same crests and enjoy the same traditional privileges as Hlengwah.

Their only totem pole stands facing north, near the centre of the row along the central village lane.[4]

DESCRIPTION

This totem pole (Plate IX, figure 1) is known under the name of Geeladal (a special crest-name for Thunder-bird).[5] Its figures are: The Thunder-bird, *Geeladal*; two Toads *(Warh'as)* or mythical Flying-frogs, facing upwards; and at the bottom, Whole-person *(Marhkyawl)*.

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[1]Tom Campbell.

[2]Again of the same phratry as the owner.

[3]Who is now a man of about 60 years of age, one of the last good totem-pole carvers left.

[4]Although fairly new it leaned sharply to one side, in 1924, and fell down in 1925. It has since been restored through the activities of the Totem Pole Committee.

[5]Larahnitz once used in this connexion another crest-name of the Thunder-bird: Skyemsem, which he described as the "golden eagle"; it is used by some families of the Gispewudwada phratry, among the Tsimshian.

ORIGIN

The traditional accounts of origin bearing on the Thunder-bird and the Whole-being *(Marhkyawl)* are the same as for Hlengwah. But the origin of the Flying-frog is remembered circumstantially, as follows: when Maskeebu (who later became the famous warrior Næqt) had grown up into manhood, at Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass, he was sent by his uncle Maslegyæ'ns) to hunt swans at a small lake named Floating-water-people. His companion, while he hunted, was his cousin Qalksedeprhæt. As they watched the swans at a short distance from each other, they managed to snare some of them. A Flying-frog *(Warh'as)* jumped on to Maskeebu's shoulder, while he was squatting at the edge of the lake. He caught it with his hands, and noticed that it was very small, smaller than the common frog, and it had wings. His companion took it home and made a ceremonial hat like it, for Maskeebu to use as a crest. A big feast was then given, and Maskeebu put the hat on and showed it to the guests (while giving presents). When Maskeebu moved down from the Nass to the Skeena, he brought the Flying-frog emblem with him. "That is why we have the Flying-frog in our family."

FUNCTION

This totem pole was erected about 1907 in memory of Halus, through the initiative of two of his relatives, an old woman named Senantus, and Halus' "brother" Tawalih. It is 26 feet high and of fairly good plastic quality, although the figures were completely painted—white, dark red, ochre, and black. The log was flattened on one side, though the core was not removed. The Geeladal as represented here is a human-like being, except for his long, curved beak, and the two wings covering his stomach, which he seems to hold under his arms. The Frogs are not actually represented with wings, as they are on a pole at Gitwinlkul and on a small marble monument not far from it at Kitwanga.

(9) Poles of Tseen and Lutkudzeeus, at Gitenmaks (Hazelton)

OWNERS

The household of Lutkudzeeus originated through a subdivision of the family of Tseen, of the same tribe. Both Tseen and Lutkudzeeus consider Wistis or Rarhs-rabarhs of Gitsegyukla as very closely related to them. They seem to have belonged to the same family, in Gitsegyukla, until fairly recently—that is, some time in the last century. Lutkudzeeus established a separate house only when that of Tseen became too small to accommodate all its members; and this may have happened only after 1850, at the time when the Gitenmaks tribe occupied the old village site immediately west of the present town of Hazelton. The name of the family chief in those days was Nawle. Their common origin is traced back to Temlaham, on the Skeena.[1]

[1]The possibility should be kept in mind that they may represent the original family of the Næqt clan at Temlaham, which stayed on at Gitenmaks while Næqt sojourned among various tribes; in other words, they may not be the descendants of Næqt, although belonging to the same clan.

Lutkudzeeus and his family own two totem poles, both of which fell down several years ago, but are still (in 1927) to be seen lying by the road-side, at Hazelton; the one, the newer of the two, on the reserve, northeast of the village; the other, near the bend of the road, west of the village.[1]

DESCRIPTION

The figures on the older pole (Plate IX, figure 2) are: the Eagle, under the name of *Mawdzeks* or *Maw'*[2]; Whole-person *(Marhgyet)*[3]; the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; and Whole-person *(Marhgyet)*; these two lower figures being of about the same size as the first two above.

The figures on the newer pole (Plate IX, figure 3) were not explicitly identified, as the pole now lies on the ground in two sections side by side and among thick weeds. From a recently recovered photograph of the complete pole, they seem to consist of the crests already familiar within the clan, with the only exception of the Woodpecker: the Woodpecker, under the name of *Ha'tu* (or Semgyæk), at the top[4]; Whole-person *(Marhgyet)*; Frog-between-two-sticks *(Ksemes'meedzem-ranaa'o)* or the Flying-frog *(Geepœigem-ranaa'o* or *Warh'as)* with arms and wings folded down in front of the body; the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; and, near the bottom, a section of the round log uncarved, 3 or 4 feet long, with an Eagle *(Mawdzeks)* face at each end, the one above, the right side up, and the other, at the base of the pole, upsidedown.

ORIGIN

These crests and their origins have previously been discussed,[5] with the exception of the Woodpecker *(Ha'tu* or *Semgyæk)*. The Woodpecker[6], described as a small, red-headed bird,[7] was represented in a mask with a very long beak. This mask was used as part of the dramatization of the spirit-name *(narhnawk)* of Ha'tu, which belongs to this family; it was, like other names of this kind, dramatized when assumed by a new owner. There is no myth to explain its origin, as it was not in the first place a real crest.

FUNCTION AND CARVERS

These poles were carved in commemoration of two of the family heads, Tseen and Lutkudzeeus. The newer of the two was erected some time after the establishment of the Indian reserve, which took place after 1890. The earlier pole, fallen and in a state of decay, seems to be about 25 years older. Both are apparently from the hands of artists from the neighbourhood—possibly of Gitsegyukla—the older being the better of

[1]The older pole fell down some time after 1912; when Miss Emily Carr painted it, about that time, it leaned sharply to the left; the newer pole was thrown down and broken when the road-builders widened the government road, before 1920.

[2]Here the name was first translated as Chicken-hawk, but, immediately after, the words were added, "same as Eagle, but so-called . . ."

[3]Its name was interpreted here as Four-persons, from their being formerly the four corner house posts.

[4]Or possibly the Mawdzeks. It is presumably the Woodpecker, as Tom Campbell, the chief of this house, indicated that it was represented on the pole; and this is the only figure that fits his description.

[5]*See* the Poles of Hlengwah (p. 48), of Wistis (p. 35), and of Halus (p. 55).

[6]According to Lutkudzeeus, or Tom Campbell.

[7]Its habit is, the informant added, to make a hole in a tree and place its nest inside.

the two. They were carved in strict conventional style, were not painted (with the possible exception of a few touches of colour for the eyes, the nostrils, and the lips), and do not count among the best carvings of the Gitksan.

(10) Pole of Ma'us, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

The families of Ma'us[1] and Arhkawt, of Kispayaks, originated as a subdivision of that of Kaldihgyet (or Lutkudzeeus), of Gitenmaks *(See page 56)*. They belong to the same clan, which is closely allied to the Tongue-licked (Næqt) clan. The household of Arhkawt entered into its separate existence as a subdivision of that of Ma'us slightly over thirty years ago; but it remains under the leadership of Ma'us. Both these Kispayaks families, as well as that of Kaldihgyet, of Gitenmaks (now Hazelton), claim that their origin goes back to Temlaham, on the Skeena; but that they separated while they still lived in that ancient village. They share in the same traditions *(ada-orh)*. There is no mention, in their accounts, of a genetic connexion with Næqt or the Tongue-licked clan, and several of their crests differ. We may presume, therefore, that they are not Næqt's direct descendants, but only lateral relations. Their crest of Person-of-the-smoke-hole, besides, indicates that they are related to the Wild-rice clan, of the headwaters of the Skeena, among the foremost representatives of which are Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn, of Gitwinlkul.

Ma'us owns a single totem pole, which is the third in the rear row, at its southern end, towards Kispayaks river.

DESCRIPTION

This totem pole (Plate IX, figure 4) is called Frog-pole (*Kanem-ranaa'o*). Its figures are: the Raven *(Qaq)* which formerly sat on top of the totem pole[2]; a section of 7 or 8 feet uncarved; Person-of-the-Smoke-hole *(Gyædem-alaih)* or Man-looking-down-the-smoke-hole, in the roof; the Frog or Tadpole *(Ranaa'o)* head downwards; Woodpecker *(Semgyeek)* or Real-woodpecker;[3] Man-of-the-smoke-hole, repeated; and the Frogs-jammed-up or squeezed *('Meetsehl-ranaa'o)* one, above, looking down, the other, in the centre, turned sideways, to the left, and the third, at the bottom, looking upwards.

ORIGIN

The crest of Person-of-the-Smoke-hole was not fully explained; and it seems that its origin is not the object of a myth. We may assume, therefore, that it was first used as a *narhnawk* or a spirit in the form of a carving used in dramatic representations in the winter festivals. It is described

[1]Now Jacob Molson of Kispayaks.

[2]It has fallen off and disappeared.

[3]In the sense of high or noble. An informant, Richard Morrison, of the family of Arhkawt, called it "Eagle." This very crest is tattooed on his chest. The radical for Woodpecker and Eagle bears a close resemblance: Semgyeek (Woodpecker) and Hrs-kyaek (Eagle). This may be a source of ambiguity. The carving itself is a conventional representation of the Woodpecker with a long, straight, pointed beak.

here as "a man looking down the smoke-hole, on the roof of the house." It is also the property, as an emblem, of Ramlarhyælk, the head-chief of the Larhsail phratry in Gitwinlkul. Here, however, it was known under a slightly different name, that of People-of-the-Smoke-hole *(Gyædem-ranalœ)*, and "it consisted sometimes of four carvings with human features at each corner of the smoke-hole." It also appears on a totem pole of the same chief, at Gitwinlkul. This common ownership of the same crest may point to a genetic relationship between Ma'us and Ramlarhyælk.

The Woodpecker *(Semgyeek)* crest is also used by Kaldihgyet, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton), sometimes under the name of Ha'tu. As the family of Ma'us originated as a subdivision of that of Kaldihgyet, the crest is undoubtedly the same. As may be seen on (page 57, it was first used as a *narhnawk* or a carving representing a spirit, to be used in the winter festivals.[1]

The Frogs or Frogs-jammed-up *('Meetsehl-ranaa'o)* are apparently the oldest emblems in this family, and it is said that "it came from Temlaham, when the people moved away." Under this special form, however, it is believed to have been obtained from Kweenu, a Larhsail chief of Gitwinlkul. "It came originally from Temlaham,[2] and belonged to the family of Kweenu (now of Gitwinlkul). It was a Frog squatting across the doorway of the house; there was a stick across its back, showing that it had been jammed or squeezed."

FUNCTION AND CARVER

This pole was erected, from 45 to 55 years ago, in commemoration of a chief of the name of Ma'us; its erection was brought about by his successor of the same name, whose English name was Charles Wilson. The carver was Wawsemlarhæ, of the Fireweed phratry and of the same village.[3] His work as seen in several poles at Kispayaks and Hazelton, is not of the best; but it is typical of the art of the Gitksan. It retains, here particularly, some characteristics of the early stages in the growth of totem pole art. The figures seem affixed to the surface of the pole as if by pegs, and they still retain the appearance of masks and semi-detached carvings, placed on the pole side by side, but unrelated to each other.

(11) Poles of Ramlarhyælk, at Gitwinlkul

OWNERS

Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn are two of the leading chiefs of the Larhsail phratry in Gitwinlkul. They are close relatives, claiming the same remote origin, though their families have lived independently, side by side, from time immemorial. They originally belonged to the Wild-rice[4] tribe *(Git'anrasrh)* at the headwaters of the Skeena, in what is now called the Groundhog country—on the interior plateaus. Their village was named

[1]It may be noted that the Real-woodpecker (*Semgyœk*) is used by Lurhawn, a Larhsail chief of Gitwinlkul, as one of his outstanding crests (p. 65).

[2]According to Kwiyaihl, of the Fireweed phratry at Kispayaks (John Brown).

[3]Wawsemlarhæ (Robison) died a very old man about 1923, at Hazelton.

[4]Not the wild rice of eastern Canada, but *Fritillazia kamtschatcensis.*

Footprints-in-shallow-water *(Tsem'anlusrœrhs)*. They were great hunters and rovers of the wilds, as are all the tribes of the same Athapascan origin. They spoke Tsetsaut, at least in the course of unknown generations, and were engaged in constant feuds with their Athapascan compatriots until a fairly recent date, indeed, almost to the present time. After they had moved down the river in flight, they settled at Where-people-seek-refuge *(Git'anyao)*, which later became Gitwinlkul. Their clan may, therefore, be called the Wild-rice *(Git'anrasrh)* clan of the Larhsail phratry.

The other families of the same clan abroad are (or rather were, as some of them are now practically extinct): Hrtseewæ', of the Qaldo tribe, near the headwaters of the Skeena; Ksemgunæq and Sqawil, also of the Qaldo tribe;[1] and Gitemraldo, of Gitenmaks (now Hazelton). Weemenawzek, of the Kisgagas tribe, on the upper Skeena, may also be of the same clan, although the claim, in his instance, is not so clearly established.

The totem poles of Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn are treated separately, although the crests illustrated on the five poles which they own at Gitwinlkul are almost identical.

Ramlarhyælk owns three poles, which still stand in the old village of Gitwinlkul next to those of Wutarhayæts, to the north, and of Weerhæ (of the Wolf phratry), to the south.

DESCRIPTION

The first and oldest of the three poles (Plate IX, figure 5; Plate X, figure 1) stands slightly in front of the two others and between them; it faces south instead of west, towards the Skeena, unlike most of the other poles in Gitwinlkul, which face Gitwinlkul river or creek. It now leans to the left. Its name is: People-of-the-smoke-hole or Real-people-of-the-ladder *(Gyædem-ranalœ*, or *Laderhsemgyet)*. Its figures are: seven human-like representations of the same family crest of the People-of-the smoke-hole or the Real-people-of-the-ladder. The one at the top is slightly smaller than the three below it. Immediately above the large figure at the bottom of the pole stand three figures of the same description, facing side by side three points of the compass. The positions of the limbs, especially the hands, differ slightly in most figures.

The second pole (Plate X, figure 2) stands to the north of the first. It is known under the same name. It is also called Sendihl, from the name of the chief it commemorates, to distinguish it from the first. Its figures are: On-sleeps-the-Raven *(Haneelahl-qaq)*, a small detached figure resting at the top of the pole; People-of-the-smoke-hole or Real-people-of-the-ladder (Gitksan name as above), represented here by a human being, sitting on his heels; the Eagle, under the name of Mawdzeks, with its wings drooping in front of its body; another human figure represents People-of-the-smoke-hole or People-of-the-ladder; a second Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; a reproduction of the heraldic Boards-of-the-smoke-hole *(Habarem-ala)*[2] that

[1]Most of the present families of the Qaldo tribe originated at Git'anrasrh (People-of-the-wild-rice), a village located farther up the river, in the Groundhog country. These people in recent years have moved down the river to Kispayaks village.

[2]The smoke-hole was in the centre of the roof, over the central fireplace. The original boards were "over a fathom long." The figures on them looked down into the house through this smoke-hole, and these were called Mawdzeks (Eagles).

is, a human face with arms below, on both sides—Person-of-the-smoke-hole—and under it a small Eagle *(Mawdzeks)* with two wings folded in the usual position; a human being squatting down, presumably Person-of-the-Smoke-hole, with a twisted cedar-bark headdress;[1] the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*, a large bird-figure at the bottom.

The third pole and the tallest (Plate X, figure 3) is called Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven *(Haneelahl-qaq)*. It is one of the tallest poles in existence—presumably over 60 feet high. It includes fourteen heraldic designs. Its figures are: Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven (Gitksan name above), with three Ravens perched on a short crossbar, the central one larger than the two others; a copper shield attached to the right side of the pole, under the Ravens, to indicate Ramlarhyælk's wealth; a small human being standing erect, with apparently three faces, one in front and the two others on each side of the head, these probably represent the family crest, People-of-the smoke-hole;[2] a human figure for the People-of-the-smoke-hole or People-of-the-ladder; the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; two concave notches in the pole, one above the other, representing the Ladder *(Ranærhs* or *Laademerhs)*, a family crest;[3] a third human figure, People-of-the ladder or Person-of-the-smoke-hole; the Frog *(Ranaa'o)* with head down—more precisely the Door-frog or Partition-frog *(Ptawrom-ranaa'o* or *Wa'awm-ranaa'o)*, which represents a very heavy, old-fashioned door hanging from the top; Headdress-of-upper-river *(Raidem-rhkeegyœnee)*, a ceremonial headgear, here represented as a ring of twisted cedar-bark with four cedar-bark cylinders resting on it side by side;[4] a fourth human figure represents People-of-the-ladder; a second Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; a second Door-frog, head down; and the Kingfisher or Real-kingfisher *(Sem-gyœk* or *Hee-semgyœk)*, at the bottom.

ORIGIN

Nine crests appear on Ramlarhyælk's three poles. A few of these are repeated several times, particularly People-of-the-smoke-hole or People-of-the-ladder. Most of these crests illustrate episodes in the lives of the ancestors while they still were Tsetsaut among the nomadic tribes of the interior; thus they are not shared by any of the other Gitksan clans. These are: People-of-the-smoke-hole or Real-people-of-the-ladder, Boards-of-the-smoke-hole, Headdress-of-upper-river. The smoke hole and the notch ladder here are not of the North West Coast type, but belong to the semi-subterranean lodges of the nomadic tribes of the interior.[5] The Real-kingfisher is also used exclusively by the members of the Gitwinlkul clan. The Eagle *(Mawdzeks)* and the Frog crests are shared by some of the other clans within the Larhsail phratry, although with different particulars; the Frog here is a Door-frog, and the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)* is part of the Boards-of-the-smoke-hole. On-sleeps-the-raven, according to traditional narratives, would be the most ancient, and it is northern in character.

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[1] A ring of twisted cedar-bark as is used in the secret society or fraternity ceremonials on the North West Coast. The end of this ring, over the ears, consists of a curl.

[2] Its characterization may have been influenced by the crests of Wilwilgyet or Hrpugwelawn (Three-faces) of another Gitwinlkul family of the same phratry, that of Wutarhayæts.

[3] This ladder was the one that Tsetsaut's ancestors climbed to go out of their subterranean lodges.

[4] This seems to be a variant of the theme of the Cylinder-hat (*Lanemrœt*), which Lurhawn owns as a crest.

[5] Round lodges, half sunk underground, with dome roofs, and the entrance through the roof; a log with deep notches served as a ladder. The boards were, we presume, used as a rim or movable cover for the entrance.

Here is, in brief outline, how the members of this family explain their origin[1]. While the ancestors still lived at Footprints-in-shallow-water *(Tsem'anlu-srærhs)*, among the Tsetsaut, their chief pursuit was the hunt. The eldest of four brothers, Ramlarhyælk, once stopped at a spring "where the water always boiled." After a meal he went to the spring for water. He beheld a human-like being within the spring and ten small offspring of the Raven perched on him. On top of his head was a Raven's nest. An incomplete reproduction of this vision is attempted on the tallest of Ramlarhyælk's poles, as described above. The four brothers tried to pull the strange being out of the water, but failed at first. Finally, they called Lurhawn and his family to their assistance and drained the spring by digging a trench. At the spot where the strange being had appeared to them they saw a large pillar of stone upon which was engraved a large human figure, with the offspring of the Raven perched on it. They called more people of the Wolf and the Fireweed phratries to their help and hauled the pillar of stone to their village and placed it in front of Ramlarhyælk's house. But while they had gone to invite other bands of the Stikeen Tsetsaut to a big feast, the stone pillar disappeared in the lake, leaving a deep trench in its track. Ramlarhyælk, when he discovered his loss, composed a song, which is still preserved, in which he vented his grief. To avoid humiliation when the guests came, he reproduced the mystic being in a wood carving, a totem pole, which he christened, Person-of-spring-bottom *(Gyædem-dzooyerh)*, and he called the ravens on it Ravens-of-the-water *(Qaqem-dzem'aks)*. "He had many carvers working for him, to finish the pole, while the people were coming in and actually feasting. He had the pole erected and gave it the name of On-lies-the-Raven *(Ha'-neelahl-qaq)*." This is the name of one of the poles of Ramlarhyælk, at Gitwinlkul.

After this event, the brothers started for the hunt in the mountains. While they were away, one of them, Gyæbesu, was lost, and the others could not find him. They in the end gave up their search for him. One of the "brothers" kept on by himself looking for him in the direction of the headwaters of the river called Water-of-wild-rice-gathering *(Ksa'anrasrh)*. There he observed excrements of human beings at the bottom of a huge tree. In the tree was a nest, and in the nest a large bird on the back of which sat Gyæbesu, "his hands holding on to the wings of the bird, his head just behind that of the bird, and his feet in the middle of the bird's back. This bird was the Real-kingfisher *(Semgyæk)*. In full it is called Real-kingfisher-in-the-nest *(Semgyærem-tsem'anluhl)*. Gyæbesu was induced to come back to the village, where a big feast was given, with the assistance of Ramlarhyælk, Lurhawn, and the Larhsail people. The new crest of the Real-kingfisher was produced in the feast; and a song was composed, to commemorate the event. The Real-kingfisher and the Raven thus were the first two crests obtained by the ancestors of the clan.

The members of this clan migrated, at a later period, towards the sea-coast to the place now called Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass. There Ramlarhyælk distributed numerous presents at a feast to the guests, and exhibited for the first time the Raven crest in the form of a house-front

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[1]Informants: George Derrick (Lurhawn, of Gitwinlkul), Ambrose Derrick (now of Kitwanga), Arthur Derrick (Ramlarhyælk, of Gitlarhdamks), and Salomon Harris (Lælt, of Kitwanga).

painting *(qawarh)*.[1] This crest was called Raven-house-front-painting *(qawan-qaq)*. It consisted of a single Raven with two smaller birds under each wing. Lurhawn, who had his own separate house, also gave a feast, with the assistance of his clan. There he exhibited his crests, while he distributed presents. These crests were: Real-people-of-the-ladder *(Lademeh-semgyœt)*—a "notched-ladder in a log serving to climb down into the house through an entrance at the top consisting of two large Frogs surrounded by human-like beings." He also had a large wooden Frog *(Ranaa'o)*, with abalone pearl and caribou hoof decorations, placed on the rear platform in the house. This Frog was called Frog-of-the-house-partition *(Ranaa'um-larhptaw')*. The trap door hanging and swinging from the top was called Frog-door *(Ptsawrom-ranaa'o)*. His third crest, which he also exhibited in the feast, was a large, human-like being wearing a conical hat surmounted with four cylinders, called *Lanemrœt*.[2]

The copper shield used on the pole may allude to another episode of the traditional recollections of the clan. At the time when these families had settled at Where-people-seek-refuge *(Gitanyao)*, near the present Gitwinlkul, a feud developed between the family of Lurhawn and some Tsetsaut hunters of the interior. Gyæbesu, of this family, invited a Tsetsaut visitor into his house and killed him, thus securing his insignia, among them a headdress of bear cub skin upon which were tacked miniature copper shields, eyes of abalone shell, and dentalia *(tsiq)* shells. This is now used as a crest by Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn—the Headdress-of-upper-river *(Raidem-rhkeegyœnee)*.

The reason why the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)* is used by this family is not given, except that it was carved on the boards for the smoke hole, at a very early period, when the ancestors still lived in the Black-water country, among the Tsetsaut. This is an ancient crest, one of the most generally diffused among the Larhsail clans of the Gitksan.

FUNCTION

The first pole (Plate IX, figure 5; Plate X, figure 1), that of the People-of-the-smoke-hole *(Gyœdem-ranalœ)*, was erected in commemoration of a former Ramlarhyælk and Sendihl, a member of the family.[3] It is one of the oldest poles in Gitwinlkul, and it may have stood over sixty or seventy years.[4]

The second pole (Plate X, figure 2), standing next to the first, on the north side, was erected in commemoration of a former Hlamee, presumably many years later than the other.[5] It is still in a good state of preservation; the name of its carver is remembered; and it stands as it was first planted.

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[1]The term for house-front painting in Tsimsyan is *neksuugyet*.

[2]This last is used by Lurhawn as his exclusive crest; the others are still more or less shared with his "brother" Ramlarhyælk.

[3]From this an informant, Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz), called it "the Sendihl pole."

[4]It stood when Mrs. John Larahnitz was a child, and she seems over fifty years old. As it is remembered by the older informants that the carver was a Nass River artist, the time of its erection is not far beyond the living generations.

[5]From a statement of Lælt, our informant, we infer that it was erected over fifty years ago—when Lælt himself was about twenty years of age.

The erection of the third and tallest pole, Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven (Plate X, figure 3), was brought about by Hlamee, the totem pole carver, in memory of his brother Ramlarhyælk, about 1890—or, as Kweenu puts it,[1] "after Gitwinlkul Jim's murder."[2] It stands just a few paces behind Ramlarhyælk's grave.

CARVERS

The old pole of People-of-the-smoke-hole (Plate IX, figure 5; Plate X, figure 1) was carved by a Nass River artist, whose name is not remembered.

The second pole, of the same name, and standing to the north (Plate X, figure 2, the pole behind the one leaning), was also carved by a Nass River artist, Hrtseeyæ, of Gitlarhdamks, a member of the family of Qawq, of the Eagle phratry.

The third pole, the Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven (Plate X, figure 3) was carved by Hlamee himself,[3] although he was of the same family as the deceased. A paternal relative of the deceased, from another phratry, may have been appointed to "stand over" the work, so as not to break the rule that such ceremonial services must not be rendered within the same phratry.

The tallest of these three poles is the most recent of the three; it is presumably about 60 feet high, and the long, slender log was not hollowed out at the back, as was done in many of the older poles. The other poles seem to be 30 or 40 feet high. Although the technique of carving is rather alike, and of fine quality, in both of the more recent poles, it is far more archaic in the older pole, where the relief of the figures is not so high. Indeed, it may rather be described as being in low relief, with the exception of the human figure at the top. The log was flattened at the back, in the two older poles, so as to reduce its weight when it was erected. If the more recent of the three poles was actually carved by Hlamee, of Gitwinlkul, as it is said to have been, it is clear that this reputed carver's work was at its best, and more archaic, in his earlier period, before he resorted to commercial paint, than in later life. Its figures here are vigorously embossed, though a trifle too small and numerous in the upper half of the pole. Were it not said to be the work of Hlamee, we would have ascribed it to a Gitlarhdamks carver, as its treatment and general appearance are quite similar to those of a few poles of the upper Nass.[4]

(12) Poles of Lurhawn, at Gitwinlkul

Lurhawn is a clan 'brother' of Ramlarhyælk. The traditions and crests of both are virtually the same, except for the latter part of these two chief's traditional narratives, where they are shown as living in different houses, sometimes apart on their hunting grounds, and as having fought together over disputed privileges.

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[1] Mrs. John Larahnitz.

[2] 1887.

[3] According to Lælt (Salomon Harris), of Kitwanga, a reliable old informant.

[4] It is indeed quite likely that two or three artists may have carved this pole, and that Hlamee merely assisted them without giving the stamp of his personality to the pole. Being of the same Larhsail phratry as the deceased whom it commemorates, it would have been a deviation from the rule to have Hlamee carve it under his own name.

Ramlarhyælk owns three totem poles and Lurhawn has two which stand farther south in the row of the totem poles. Two older poles of Lurhawn were cut down at the time when the newer of the two poles still standing was erected.[1]

DESCRIPTION

The older of the two poles, and the taller (Plate X, figure 4; Plate XI, figure 1) is called Real-kingfisher *(Semgyæk)*.[2] Its figures are: the Real-kingfisher, perched on the top of the pole; a short, uncarved section, under the Real-kingfisher; three large human beings, one above the other, representing the People-of-the-ladder—four of whom there were in all; the Frog-of-the-house-partition *(Ptawrom-ranaa'o)*; a fourth human figure, People-of-the-smoke-hole; and the Real-kingfisher *(Semgyæk)*.

The newer pole stands next to the first and immediately south of it (Plate X, figure 5; Plate XI, figure 2). It is known under the name of People-of-the-ladder, or at times, Tall-hat (with cylinders) *(Lanemræt)*. Its figures are: Tall-hat *(Lanemræt)*, on the head of Person-of-the-ladder (this mythic character holds the hat on his head with his right hand); a short, uncarved section; a second Person-of-the-ladder, standing on the Frog's neck, the Frog semi-erect and squatting—the legendary Ladder, which used to lead out of the house, had frogs for steps; a third Person-of-the-ladder, with another Frog under his feet (this second Frog is shown climbing up); a fourth Person-of-the-ladder to represent the four People-of-the-smoke-hole.

ORIGIN

The origin of these crests is the same as for Lurhawn's brother, Ramlarhyælk. It is accounted for in the same myths. According to Lurhawn's own version, it was at the Place-of-wild-rice *(Larh-ranrasrh)* that Kupesesa'i once disappeared, long ago, and was later found in a huge bird's nest, sitting on the back of the Real-kingfisher. From this place the ancestors divided into two bands, one of these moving down from the Blackwater country to the Nass and the other going first to the headwaters of the Skeena and then to Where-people-seek-refuge *(Gitanyao)*. It is claimed that the Tall-hat and the Frog-steps were first made[3] by Senræwen, of the family of Ramlarhyælk, while he lived long ago among the People-of-the-black-water *(Gitksedzuts)*, in the interior. For this reason this ceremonial headdress is still called Hat-of-upper-river *(Raidem-geegœnih)*. "It originally came from the Nass people."[4] The Frog and the Tall-hat became the joint property of Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn only after the two houses had more or less amalgamated on account of falling numbers, presumably after the coming of the white man on the west coast.

The Real-kingfisher was first used as a ceremonial entrance and house-front painting, in the early days. There was a round opening for a

[1] At another place it was stated that Lurhawn had several other poles, commemoration poles, of a similar nature.

[2] This is at times mistranslated into Woodpecker; but we have come to the conclusion that it is meant for Kingfisher.

[3] George Derrick (Lurhawn) actually said "that he made (dzapk)" these crests.

[4] Lurhawn explained that Person-of-the-ladder, who wore the Tall-hat on his head, was supposed to look down into the house from the smoke hole, or, again, to look around in all directions. He held his hat on his head with his hand to prevent the wind from blowing it off.

doorway, through which the guests would enter into the feast house. The opening was through the beak of the Real-kingfisher and its outspread wings were painted on both sides of the opening, on the house front.[1]

FUNCTION

The older Real-kingfisher pole is a memorial to a former Lurhawn.[2] It was erected at the initiative of his successor, of the same name, from forty to fifty years ago.

The Tall-hat pole was erected to commemorate this second Lurhawn, after his death, about thirty or forty years ago.

CARVERS

The Real-kingfisher pole (Plate X, figure 4; Plate XI, figure 1) was carved by Sa'anrhkwanks, of the family of Weesaiks, of Gitwinksilk on the Nass, who belongs to the Fireweed phratry.[3]

The Tall-hat pole was carved by Mark Weegyet, later the head-chief of Gitsegyukla, who belonged to the Fireweed phratry.[4]

These two poles are of the same type; they are both very tall—the taller is well over 50 feet and the design and layout of the figures are quite similar. We may infer that Weegyet, of Gitsegyukla, deliberately imitated the earlier pole of Sa'anrhkwanks, the Nass River carver, or that he was assisted in his work by a Nass River carver. Indeed, the carving ascribed to Weegyet here is markedly better than in his other work elsewhere. The older pole, however, is the finer of the two; the Real-kingfisher at the top, and at the bottom, are seldom excelled either on the Skeena or the Nass; the designs (eye, ear, feather, etc.) on the wings of the large Real-kingfisher at the bottom are characteristic of the upper Nass, and are among the best examples of flat decoration of this type. The four human figures above—the People-of-the-ladder—are also vigorously conceived and treated. It may be noted that the hands of these four beings are placed differently in each instance; in the uppermost figure, they are palm to palm and finger to finger; in the next below, the arms are crossed on the stomach, one hand being above the other; in the third, the hands are between the thighs; in the lowest, the hands are uplifted below the chin, and the palms are turned forward, away from the body.

(13) Poles of Gitemraldo and Sanaws, at Gitenmaks (Hazelton)

OWNERS

Gitemraldo and his kinsmen Sqawil and Sanaws, all three of whom now belong to the Gitenmaks tribe, came originally from the Groundhog country, at the headwaters of the Skeena.[5] They were part of the Qaldo

[1]The informant, George Derrick (Lurhawn), added here that this crest also belonged to the family of Wutarhayæts, of the Larhsail phratry of Gitwinlkul; but he used it as a painting on the rear partition inside the house.

[2]George Derrick, who is from sixty to seventy years of age, said that it was erected when he was "a small boy." On the other hand, Mrs. John Larahnitz, who is not far beyond fifty years of age, states that it was erected when she was twelve years old.

[3]Mrs. John Larahnitz thought that a Gitsegyukla carver had some connexion with the work.

[4]Weegyet died in 1926, a very old man.

[5]The family of Gitemraldo is now virtually extinct.

tribe, or more properly, the Wild-rice *(Git'anrasrh)* tribe, which antedated Qaldo. They still retain their hunting grounds in the Groundhog. Nawle, also of the Larhsail phratry, was the earlier head-chief of Gitenmaks, whom Gitemraldo supplanted through his ability and success in the *potlatch.* Sanaws' household came into existence not long ago as a subdivision of the family of Gitemraldo. Gitemraldo's clan relatives abroad are: Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn, of Gitwinlkul; 'Weemenawzek, and Ksemgunæq of Qaldo; Maluleq, of Kisgagas; Ma'us, of Kispayaks; Kelrænerh, of Gitlarhdamhs; and other members of the Wild-rice clan abroad.

Gitemraldo and his family until recently owned two totem poles at Hazelton, one on the old village site—which fell along the road many years ago, but was photographed before it was destroyed in 1926—and the other on the Indian reserve, in front of a potlatch house, the first pole and tallest in the row. Sanaws also owns a totem pole, which stands at the northern end of the Indian reserve at Hazelton.

DESCRIPTION

The pole of Gitemraldo on the old village site was called Doorway-person *(Aneksigyet)* or Half-way-out (Plate XI, figure 3). It consisted of a large, human-like being through the body of whom was the ceremonial entrance into the feast house. It illustrated the crest Heeladal, which belongs to this family. The small human beings—four or five of them—placed like a crown around his head, are called Lying-outwards-in-water[1] *(Gyawtkeeks)* or "Small-children" *(Gobetkyœhlu).*

The second pole of Gitemraldo is the tallest on the reserve (Plate XI, figure 4). It may be called Nose-like-cohoe *(Tsaram-œqhu),* from one of its heraldic emblems. The upper third of the pole has been adzed into a plain, square shaft. The figures below are: Corpse-split-in-two *(Gistarhluleq);* Nose-like-cohoe *(Tsaram-œqhu);* the next human-like being is presumably the spirit-name of the chief of this family, Man-of-the-wilds or Bush-man *(Gyœdem-raldo),* with a small Frog,[2] his crest, on his forehead and in his hands;[3] the Small-children or Lying-outwards-in-water (as above); and, at the bottom, either Half-way-out (as above) or Man-of-the-wilds.

The pole of Sanaws[4] (Plate XI, figure 5) consists of a plain shaft, about 25 feet high, with two birds, the Eagle *(Mawdzeks),* one above the other, near the lower part of the pole.

ORIGIN

Although it was nearly impossible to get reliable information on the family of Gitemraldo, owing to its being practically extinct, it is clear that the crests are mostly the same as are used by the other branches of the Wild-rice clan abroad.

[1] Like salmon.

[2] This frog stands for the Flying-frogs, to which crest this family is entitled like the other members of the clan.

[3] The Frog is held in his hands as a soul *(awdzen)* is held by a medicine man. It seems to be the same crest as is shown on one of Hlengwah's carved house-posts at Kitwanga and called Soul-put-on *(Kurh-awdzentuh).* Both may go back to the same prototype (Cf. *The Poles of Hlengwah, of Kitwanga.)*

[4] The old chief of this household at Hazelton is known under the name of Mozes Sanaws.

The emblem of Half-way-out is used in common by Wutarhayæts, of Gitwinlkul, and several other members of the wild-rice and Tongue-licked clan.[1]

The Small-children *(Gyawtkeeks)* were not really so much a crest as a spirit-device *(narhnawk)* or a dramatic representation in the winter ceremonials. Children of this household would lie unclad on the floor, in the centre of the house, which was supposed to be the river. They represented the salmon running upstream.

Nose-like-cohoe and Corpse-split-in-two also belong to Meluleq, of Kisgagas, a clan relative of Gitemraldo. No known myth accounts for its origin and significance. But it seems that this crest is in some way connected with that of some of the Wolf families of the headwaters, that of Tree-dweller or Dragon-fly and Large-belly, the origin of which is the subject of long narratives.[2]

(14) Poles of Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, at Gitsegyukla

OWNERS

Wawralaw and Tu'pesu are members of the Wild-rice clan *(Git'anrasrh)* of the Larhsail phratry, the original home of which was situated above the present Qaldo, near the headwaters of the Skeena, in the Groundhog country. They separated from the family of Sanaws,[3] while they lived together at Kisgagas, a village of the upper Skeena at the fork of the Skeena and Babine or Kisgagas rivers. The head-chief of their family at that time was Tewiltsin (the Brave). Wawralaw and Tu'pesu do not seem genetically related to each other; the family of the first is a subdivision of that of Sanaws; and the family of the second issued from that of Hlawhlatu, related to Sanaws. They claim as their close relatives the other members of the Wild-rice clan, particularly: Sanaws, and Neekyæten, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton); Meluleq and 'Weemenawzek, of Kisgagas; Yarhyaq, of Gitwinlkul, and others.

They own two totem poles, which stand about the centre of Gitsegyukla village, next to the Fireweed poles.[4]

DESCRIPTION

The pole of Wawralaw (Plate XI, figure 6) stands between those of Mawlarhen and of Tu'pesu—that is, to the northeast of that of Tu'pesu. Its figures are: The Eagle, under the name of Maw' or Mawdzeks, at the top; about half of the length of the log, under it, is left uncarved; the Hanging-frog *(Spærem-ranaa'o)*; the Eagle, Mawdzeks, a second time; three small Hanging-frogs *(Spærem-ranaa'o,* or *Cesoosem-ranaa'o)*; and a third Eagle *(Maw')*.

[1] Cf. *The poles of Hlengwah, of Wutarhayæts*, etc.

[2] Cf. *The pole of Ksemqaqhl, of Kispayaks*, p. 127. In this narrative a human being was captured by a monster with a long beak, who cut his body open as people do with the salmon, and placed it on a pole to dry.

[3] Now a member of the Gitenmaks tribe, at Hazelton.

[4] According to Nees-taw', old Mrs Anna Campbell, who remembers from actual experience, these two families owned four more poles, which were destroyed by the fire of 1872, in the old village. Had these not been destroyed, Harasu, Wawralaw, and Tu'pesu would have each two poles. One of those poles burnt down in 1872 was named Frog-pole *(Ptsœnem-ranaa'o)*; its figures were: the Frog, sitting at the base of the pole; three representations of the Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*; and another Frog. It had been carved by Wawsemlarhæ, of the Fireweed phratry, of Kispayaks.

The second pole of this group (Plate XI, figure 7) is named Great-protruding-(being)-from-the-lake *('Weeksehlaw'tu)*. It was erected jointly by Tu'pesu and Wawralaw.[1] It is usually considered as the pole of Tu'pesu. Its figures are: Great-protruding-(being)-from-the-lake *('Weeksehlaw'tu)*,[2] at the top, with the Brave's-helmet *(Raidem-alerh)*[3] on his head, a stick runs sideways through the helmet, and two Real-kingfishers *(Semgyæk)* are perched on it, on both sides of the head;[4] a long section of the pole—less than half of the whole—is left uncarved; the Hanging-frog *(Spæremranaa'o)*, head down; Three-beings-across *(Hrpegwelawn)*, small human beings, two rows of three each, one under the other, standing, their hands on their knees, with twisted cedar-bark crowns around their heads;[5] Shadows *(Ranaw'dsran)* or Reflections in the water, in the form of a human being, with hands uplifted, palms forward, and round faces in his hands.[6]

ORIGIN

The crests shown on these poles go back to the same mythic origin as those of Ramlarhyælk, of Gitwinlkul, and other members of the Wild-rice clan.[7] However, the accounts given for the families of Wawralaw and Tu'pesu differ considerably in their particulars—as variants of the same myths usually do when they are obtained from widely divergent sources.

According to traditional accounts, Sanaws, an ancestor of this family, and others, went to hunt around lake Ksemu'dzerh,[8] long ago. One of their women, crossing the lake on a raft, saw the faces of children in the water. Sanaws and other members of the family, informed of the occurrence, saw the same faces in the lake. They composed a dirge song, to commemorate the adoption of these Shadows or Reflections *(Ranaw'dsran)* as a crest. While they were gathered together in the feast house they heard a rumble in the lake, and beheld a large, human-like being emerging from the water—Great-protruding-(person)-from-the-water *('Weeksehl-aw'tu)*. It disappeared while the assembly stood at the edge of the lake. When the hunters came back home,[9] they convoked their clansmen, cut down a tree for a pole in the forest, engaged the best artists, who finished carving the pole while the guests were already assembled at Gitsegyukla. When the pole was erected, Sanaws sang the dirge. Similar poles, so the narrative concludes, were also erected by other members of the family at Gitenmaks, Kisgagas, and other places.[10]

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[1]Tu'pesu, according to Ramayæm (Charles Mark), was not wealthy enough to erect a pole by himself and give the expensive feast connected with its erection. He, therefore, entered into partnership with Wawralaw for its erection.

[2]Hat-brave.

[3]One of these fell off a few years ago.

[4]Ramayæm (Charles Mark) called this being The-brave *(Teeweltsin)*, and Wawralaw (Alex Brown) named it *Trha-agwendawlt*, which is the equivalent of Charles Mark's Hat-of-brave—*Kukstawt*. But we may take the information of old Mrs. Campbell as of greater precision.

[5]Charles Mark called these, People-across *(Hrpi-gigyet)*, and Alex Brown believed they were a dream-of-rattles *(atkyasu)*, or sorcerer's charms, on account of the cedar rings around their heads.

[6]This is carved exactly like the Person-of-comb *(Gyædem-aptsæ')* on Mawlarhen's pole.

[7]For a synopsis of the myths see *The poles of Ramlarhyælk, of Gitwinlkul*, p. 59.

[8]The lake was also called Tamris *(Lake-of-tributaries)*.

[9]In the local accounts the narratives are brought up to date, and the hunters are supposed to have returned to Gitsegyukla.

[10]Gitwinlkul might have been added—the poles of Ramlarhyælk and Yarhyaq, etc.

A close parallelism exists between all these crests and those of the other families of the Wild-rice clan, the Eagle *(Maw'* or *Mawdzeks)*, the Hanging-frogs, the Three-beings-across *(Hrpegwelawn)*, the Real-kingfisher *(Semgyæk)*, the Brave's-helmet, the Great-protruding-(person)-from-the-water, and the Shadows. The only differences are either in the names or circumstantial details; for instance, the birds perched at the top of Ramlarhyælk's pole are Ravens instead of Real-kingfishers; and the being emerging from the lake is called Person-of-spring-bottom *(Gyædem-dzooyerh)* instead of Great-protruding; and the headdress, instead of being called Brave's-helmet is Headdress-of-upper-river.

FUNCTION

The first pole was erected in commemoration of Wawralaw by his successor of the same name, about forty years ago.[1]

The second pole has stood in memory of a former 'Neestaw, or Tu'pesu, for slightly over thirty-five years. The present 'Neestaw (old Mrs. Anna Campbell) and her family assumed the responsibility for its erection.

CARVERS

The pole of Wawralaw (Plate XI, figure 6) was carved by Sqayæn, of the Eagle phratry, of Kitwanga.[2]

The pole of Great-protruding-being with the two rows of small figures (Plate XI, figure 7) was carved by Hlamee, of the Larhsail phratry[3] at Gitwinlkul. Our notes seem to imply that Harhpegwawtu[4], of the Fireweed phratry, "stood over" him, as the fictitious carver of the pole.

(15) Pole of Mawlarhen, at Gitsegyukla

OWNERS

Mawlarhen, now the head-chief of the Larhsail families of Gitsegyukla, traces back his origin to the Hagwelget tribe of the Carriers. He still claims Harasu, of Hagwelget, as his "brother." The migration of his ancestors from the interior to the Skeena goes back to the time, fairly recent, when his forbears, Mawlarhen and Harasu, of Hagwelget, had a quarrel over a mate. Harasu being a high chief and powerful had the upper hand, and Mawlarhen decided to seek another home. Adopted by Wawralaw, in his household, at Gitsegyukla, he became a member of the family. At a later date, he separated from him and built his own house for his family. He has since become the head of the Larhsail group in Gitsegyukla.[5]

[1]The date of 1883 was tentatively mentioned by Charles Mark; it was the year when the Indian methodist preacher, Lewis Gray, visited Gitsegyukla.

[2]According to Mrs Anna Campbell, whose information here is the most dependable, as she is the owner of the pole and largely responsible for its erection. According to others—less dependable—it was carved by Peter Johnson *(Gabaum-hrwan)*, the family of Weerhæ (Wolf phratry), of Gitwinlkul. Both of these carvers are still living.

[3]He was a close relative of this family, being of the same group as Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn, of Gitwinlkul.

[4]Arthur McDames, of Gitsegyukla.

[5]The present bearer of the name is a woman, the wife of Joe Brown. As the family of Mawlarhen became extinct, she was adopted from the family of Rarhs-rabarhs, to maintain it in existence.

There is some doubt as to the more remote antecedents of Mawlarhen's ancestors. Some say that they once lived in Kunradal, one of the two mythical villages of Temlaham on the upper Skeena; that, after the deluge, they resorted to the plateaus of Larhweeyip, in the interior (presumably among the Athapascan tribes); but it is more creditably believed that his earliest known ancestors were of the family of Qawm, of Kitsalas—the Canyon tribe of the Tsimsyan, on the Skeena. If this were true, then he would be a relative of the present Qawm, at Kitsalas, of Hlengwah, at Kitwanga, and Nees-yaranæt, of the Gitsees tribe of the seacoast Tsimsyan.

He owns a single totem pole, which stands third in the row, from above, in the lower village of Gitsegyukla, on the river bank.

DESCRIPTION

This pole (Plate XII, figure 1)[1] is known under the name of Raven-war-club *(Haralarem-qaq)*. Its figures are: the Raven *(Qaq)*, perched at the top; about half of the pole, under the Raven, is left uncarved; Large-eagle *('Wee-mawdzeks)*, in the usual conventional attitude, with wings folded on its body; the Frog, in a sitting posture (variously called: *Tam-ranaa'o*, Sitting-frog, *Gyawrom-ranaa'o*, Moving-frog, and *Ranaa'om-larh-Kunradal*, Frog-of-Kunradal); Frog-hanging *(Spærem-ranaa'o)*, with head down; Man-of-comb *(Gyædem-aptsæ')*, whose hands, raised with palms forwards, are like native combs.

ORIGIN

The Raven crest is the same as used by Hlengwah, of Kitwanga, and Qawm, of Kitsalas—Mawlarhen's presumed relatives. It is placed on top of the totem pole, in all three instances, and its special name is On-sleeps-the-Raven *(Hanilæhl-qaq)*. Its origin is the same.[2]

The Frog is one of the most nearly universal crests among the Larhsail clans of the upper Skeena.[3] Its mythic origin, therefore, is usually lost sight of, except with the 'Neegyamks or Frog-woman clan. Mawlarhen, however, explained that his Frog crest was not the same as the others, but that it was the Frog-of-Kunradal. After the deluge, the ancestors of this family drifted on their raft to Kunradal, in the midst of Temlaham. They overcame a monster Frog in the neighbourhood, which had destroyed many people. They made a wood carving to represent it; and since, they have incorporated it on their totem poles.

The Eagle *(Mawdzeks)*, an emblem almost as widely used among the upper Skeena Larhsails, also belongs to Mawlarhen—but not to his presumed relatives down the Skeena—Hlengwah, Qawm, and Nees-yaranæt. It seems to have been recently acquired from other Larhsail families in the neighbourhood. The present Mawlarhen claims that it was "seen" by the ancestors while they lived at On-the-prairie or plateau *(Larh-weeyip)*, in the interior, and then assumed as a crest.

[1] According to Gamayæm (Charles Mark).

[2] Cf. *The poles of Hlengwah*, p. 48.

[3] Many of the natives even reinterpret the name Larhsail, for the phratry, so as to make it mean Frog, instead of Raven—which latter meaning is implied among the Tsimsyan proper.

No explanation was given of the other heraldic figure Man-of-comb *(Gyædem-aptsæ)*, which, so far as we know, occurs nowhere else. It is a human-like being, with hands raised, palms forwards, with fingers like a native wooden comb, and little, round faces in the hands.

FUNCTION

This pole was erected from thirty-five to forty years ago[1] to commemorate the Mawlarhen who had died previously, and his sister named Poking-bullhead[2] *(Geehl-rayæ)*.

CARVER

It was carved by a local artist, Kwaw'amats[3] (Jimmy Good), of the Fireweed phratry, who was still living at Gitsegyukla in 1927. It does not rank very high for the quality of its carving. Like most of the modern poles of Gitsegyukla, it was almost completely painted when it was erected.

(16) Pole of Gyædem-skanees, at Hagwelget

OWNERS

Gyædem-skanees was once the head of three families of the Larhsailyu phratry (*Larhsail*, in Gitksan), in the Hagwelget tribe. The sub-chiefs under him were Teeræwen, Hudemerh, and Wutarhkyet.[4] These chiefs now live at Gitwinlkul, and are members of the family of Kweenu. Kweenu's ancestors, in their ancient migration from the north, sojourned for a period among the Carriers of Hagwelget, and were received as guests or relatives by the family of Gyædem-skanees.[5] They all moved together to Gitwinlkul at a later date; and they still form part of the same kinship unit. Their respective origins, however, seem quite different. Kweenu's ancestors are from the Nass and the seacoast, to the north, whereas Gyædem-skanees forefathers seem to have been of the Wild-rice *(Gitanrasrh)* clan of the upper Gitksan.

The latter's own personal name, meaning Man-of-the-Mountains *(Gyædem-skanees)*, is Gitksan. And the name of his principal crest—*Kaigyet*—is also Gitksan. It means Strong-man and may be the same as Very-strong-man *(Kaidarhgyet)*, a spirit-name of the family of Alla-ist, of the Larhsail phratry at Kisgagas.[6] Although we lack explicit corroboration on this point, we presume that Gyædem-skanees is related to the members of the Wild-rice clan of the Larhsail phratry among the Gitksan.

Gyædem-skanees owns a totem pole—the tallest and the best carved—at the canyon of Hagwelget. It stands last in the row, away from the mouth of the canyon.

[1] Alec Brown *(Wawralaw)*, one of our informants, was then a young man.

[2] A west coast fish, often used as a crest in the Kanhada phratry.

[3] A member of the family of Hanamuk.

[4] The same names have presumably been preserved in the Hagwelget tribe to this day.

[5] Cf. *The poles of Kweenu*, origin, p. 31.

[6] One of the two uppermost villages of the Gitksan.

DESCRIPTION

This pole of Mountain-man (Plate XII, figure 2) contains the following figures: Big-man or Strong-man *(Kaigyet)*, at the top; under Big-man, the Otter *(Dzande or Nihl-tsiuku)*; and four human figures representing Strong-man, with various secret society (or fraternity) paraphernalia—cedar collar, rings, and headdresses. Long-pointed noses, bird-like, used to characterize three of the lower beings, but they have dropped off their sockets, and been lost, many years ago.

ORIGIN

The Otter is not a real crest or emblem, but a spirit-name *(narhnawk)*. Hence, there is no myth to explain its origin. The name of Large-otter *('Wee'watserh)* also belongs to the family of Alla-ist of Kisgagas, among the upper Gitksan, who, as we have seen above, may be a foreign relative of Mountain-man, the chief of this family of Hagwelget.

The origin of Strong-man or Big-man *(Kaigyet)*[1] is explained in a myth, the outline of which is as follows. A hunter and his wife once were hunting, away from the village. While the hunter was away one night, his wife disappeared. He followed the tracks and found out that she had been taken away by a giant. When he discovered the monster he shot arrows at him, but to no avail, until he discovered his only vulnerable spot—the palm of his hands wherein appeared the figure of a heart. He saved the giant's offspring, who became the mythic Strong-man *(Kaigyet)*. Strong-man eventually caused the death of his protector, and killed all the people but two virgins, who were then living in seclusion. He gathered their eyes and tongues in a basket, and was preparing to cook them for a meal, when the virgins discovered him, and through a ruse, caused his death. They burnt his remains, and, recovering the eyes and tongues of their relatives, restored their tribesmen to life. But through their mistake in sorting out the missing parts they caused many people to be cross-eyed or more talkative than they used to be. The mythic being, Strong-man, is represented on Mountain man's pole on the presumption that these virgins were among his family ancestors.[2]

CARVERS

The pole of Mountain-man was carved by Samalee, of Hagwelget, and Tsyebasa, of the Fireweed phratry of Gitsegyukla.[3] It was erected some time after the construction of the Western Union Telegraph Line (1866).

Its technique is very primitive and, as such, is of particular interest. Like several of the oldest poles of the Gitksan, it is that of mask making rather than of totem pole carving. The faces of the people on the pole are like masks attached to the pole, and their bodies look like detached limbs affixed separately to the log. We have seen elsewhere, that the art of totem pole carving grew out of the earlier one of carving smaller objects for ceremonial and domestic purposes.

[1]This crest is practically the same as Woman-of-Strong-man *(Ksemkaigyet)* which belongs to Ksem-qaqhl, a member of the Wild-rice clan of the Wolf phratry among the Gitksan. Ksem-qaqhlnow resides in Hazelton, but was formerly of Kisgagas. Woman-of-strong-man is also represented with the same long, bird-like nose.

[2]Narrative dictated by Donald Grey, of Hagwelget.

[3]Donald Grey stated first that it had been carved by Lurhawn of Gitwinlkul, but he later corrected his statement, adding that it was the work of a Gitsegyukla carver. Tsyebasa, lived at Hagwelget. Information from D. Jenness.

(17) Poles of Wutarhayæts and Yarhyaq, at Gitwinlkul

OWNERS

The family of Wutarhayæts and Yarhyaq, as at present constituted, consists of two or three independent families which amalgamated some time in the recent past, on account of falling numbers. Yarhyaq had previously become connected with Hlengwah, of the Larhsail phratry, of Kitwanga. The earliest remembered home of Yarhyaq was Antkee'is, on the Skeena, near Kitwanga. The Antkee'is tribe later moved away from the river to the Fortress *(Ta'awdzep)*, and finally became the nucleus of the Kitwanga tribe. It is claimed that when Hlengwah (the present head-chief of the Larhsail phratry at Kitwanga) came up the river from Kitsalas, he was received and quasi-adopted in Yarhyaq's family. Yarhyaq became connected with the Tongue-licked clan *(Nœqt)*, as Hlengwah also did, through their adoption of Arhkawt, a member of that clan. For that reason he still claims Rarhs-rabarhs of Gitsegyukla—of the Tongue-licked clan—as his relative, although their crests differ.

It seems, from various statements, that Yarhyaq represents an old local family of the Skeena, the remote origin of which is beyond recollection; and that it became largely submerged in new, intrusive elements migrating at various times into the valley of the Skeena—in particular, Hlengwah, from the lower Skeena, and Arhkawt, from the Nass. Besides, the family of Yarhyaq at a fairly recent date has undergone further changes. After Wutarhayæts and his family, of Gitwinlkul, had become practically extinct, Yarhyaq and Tawrhens were invited by Ramlarhyælk—the head-chief of the Larhsail families of Gitwinlkul—to join the Gitwinlkul tribe and stand in their place.[1] Thus Yarhyaq became Wutarhayæts' successor, inheriting his rank, his hunting grounds—at least in part—his crests, his poles, and his traditional privileges.

Wutarhayæts seems to have been from a different stock; and it is claimed[2] that he came originally from Temlahani, and was associated with Lutkudzeeus and Gitemraldo, of Gitenmaks (the present Hazelton), and other members of the Wild-rice clan, of the headwaters of the Skeena—in particular Maluleq and Weemenawzek, of Kisgagas.

Wutarhayæts (or Yarhyaq) owns three totem-poles at Gitwinlkul, they stand between those of Kweenu and Ramlarhyælk, towards the northern end of the row.

DESCRIPTION

The first of these (Plate XII, figure 3) is known under the name of Real-kingfisher *(Semgyœk)* or Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven *(Haneelahl-qaq)*. Its figures are: the Real-kingfisher *(Semgyœk)*;[3] Skulls-of-people *(Hrpugwelawn*,[4] or *Hlegwulawn*, or *Wilwilgyet)*, usually represented as three heads or faces in a row—here only two; a human being, sitting down,

[1]According to Albert Williams (Wutarhayæts), Yarhyaq and his family had paid the funeral expenses of Ramlarhyælk and for that reason received a compensation. This happened not very long ago; Albert Williams, a man of about fifty years of age, saw the house-poles standing that had been put up at that time.

[2]According to Albert Williams—Wutarhayæts.

[3]Mrs. John Larahnitz believed that it was the Horse-fly *(Wulœq)*, a crest. But her opinion here finds no corroboration.

[4]Hrpugwelawn, Three-in-a-row.

possibly a woman[1]—the identity of which is in doubt; the Skulls-of-people, a second time—two human faces side by side; a second human being—presumably a woman, perhaps Lutraisuh and her son Næqt—with a child standing near her, at her side (there may be a similar figure on the other side of the pole as well); Three-in-a-row *(Hrpugwelawn)* or Skulls-of-people; the Raven *(Qaq)* with a small human being, inverted, at the end of its beak, which is bent down; Three-in-a-row *(Hrpugwelawn)*; Wee'andarh'is, Large-bladder-of-the-Grizzly, a man sitting in a box, represented by a detached carving, in whose commemoration the pole was erected; a third woman, standing, at the base of the pole—her face and shoulders behind the memorial box.

The second pole (Plate XIII, figure 1) is called Flying-frogs *(Gipœigem-ranaa'o)*. Its figures are: Stikeen, a spirit-name, that of one of the highest chiefs in this family;[2] a Flying-frog *(Gipœigem-ranaa'o)* head down and the wings above; a large human figure, sitting, with hands raised and palms forward; the Flying-frog, meant for the large Frog of the lake, with its wings drooping on both sides of its body, and a small Flying-frog, head down, on its body;[3] Just-sticking-out or Half-way-out *(Ramdep-ksœtu)*.[4]

The name of the third pole (Plate XIII, figure 2) is Three-in-a-row or Skulls-of-people *(Hrpugwelawn* or *Wilwilgyet)*. Its figures are: Skulls-of-people *(Wilwilgyet)*, one at the top, by itself, about 2 feet away from the others; Three-in-a-row *(Hrpugwelawn)*, three faces side by side; two large human beings in a sitting posture, one above the other, the hands of one, placed on the knees of the other, almost clasped together, under the chin; Half-way-out *(Ramdep-ksœtu)*, the upper half of a human being.

ORIGIN

It is evident that the crests of Wutarhayæts and Yarhyaq, as illustrated on their poles, are derived from various sources and were brought together only at a recent date. The leading members of their family[5] were on the whole at a loss as to the origin and meaning of their own emblems. But, from the elements that entered into the making of this complex group, we can easily surmise what they are. The Flying-frogs were acquired here as a crest through Wutarhayæts, whose ancestors were Arhkawt and Næqt, the Nass River exiles, who joined Hlengwah's and Yarhyaq's families on the Skeena, at the time when they moved together from Gitlusæk to the Fortress *(Ta'awdzep)*. Their mythic origin is described in the myth of Frog-woman *('Neegyamks)*.[6] Wutarhayæts is mentioned, in the myth, as having killed a Flying-frog of the lake that had landed on his shoulder.

The Skulls-of-people or Three-in-a-row, are an elaboration of the theme of the Haida husband beheaded by his Tsimsyan wife who took

[1]Aylwin H. Willlams, of this household, said that the three persons represented on this pole were women, since they are shown with labrets.

[2]That is, according to Mrs. John Larahnitz. It was meant for Wutarhayæts, according to Aylwin Williams. We presume that the two names were used in turn by the same man, Stikeen, being the lower of the two, was the first used.

[3]The wings of these mythic Frogs are feathered like those of birds.

[4]See the Pole of Tælramuk, of Kispayaks (p. 40), the corresponding crest of Half-way-out *(Ramdeprh-sætu)*.

[5]Albert and Aylwin Williams.

[6]Cf. *The poles of Lælt, of Kitwanga*, p. 41.

to flight in a canoe and returned home with her young son.[1] This emblem is used in various ways by most of the members of the Tongue-licked *(Nægt)* clan—for instance, by Arhkawt (in Hlengwah's family), Lælt,[2] Næqt or Haray,[3] and others.[4] Other families also distantly related to them—Kweenu, of Gitwinlkul, and Weemenawzek, of Kisgagas—also claim it as their own. Weemenawzek, of Kisgagas—near the headwaters of the Skeena—uses it under the name of Tsirhs-yarhyaq,[5] and had it carved as a row of five human heads all around his totem pole, with tongues protruding towards a lower row of five more heads upside down. The two other emblems of Weemenawzek, besides, are the same as those of Wutarhayæts—the Flying-frog and the Three-across *(Hrpugwelawn)*.

Just-sticking-out *(Ramdepksætu)* is a crest alluding to a war adventure of the warrior Næqt, when he raided a Kitamat village, on the sea-coast. One of the coast villagers after having been stabbed by Næqt ran out into the water until it reached his waist (Cf. *The pole of Tælramuk*, page 40).

The Real-kingfisher *(Semgyæk)* and Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven *(Haneelahl-qaq)* were acquired from Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn, their present neighbours and allies, after Yarhyaq once had paid their funeral expenses and been adopted in the place of Wutarhayæts, whose family had become extinct.

FUNCTION

The first pole, that of the Real-kingfisher (Plate XII, figure 3) was erected in memory of a former Wutarhayæts,[6] whose earlier name was Wee'andarh'is (Large-bladder-of-the-grizzly). It is the oldest of the three, and was already standing when our informants were children.[7] It may be about sixty years of age.

Ramrh-lauh, of the family of Wutarhayæts, was responsible for the erection of the Flying-frog pole, which commemorates a later Wutarhayæts.[8] It has stood for slightly over forty years.[9]

The newest pole and also the shortest was erected over twenty years ago in memory of a recent Wutarhayæts.

CARVERS

The name of the carver responsible for the oldest of the three poles (Plate XII, figure 3) is not remembered. But we believe it to be from the hand of a Nass River craftsman. The manner of representing the Raven

[1]Aylwin Williams, however, was under the impression that these represented three Tsetsaut heads. But this seems to be a reinterpretation, in the light of recent family experiences. According to him Wutarhayæts with other members of the Gitwinlkul tribe, raided a Tsetsaut camp of the Stikeen, and brought back three scalps, which are represented here.

[2]Of Kitwanga.

[3]Of Kispayaks.

[4]Rarhs-rabarhs, of Gitsegyukla.

[5]Or *Tsenirhs-yarhyaq*, which is described as "the head of a human being", the origin of which is accounted for in the myth of Næqt (Tongue-licked). The name of Yarhyaq, besides, is that of the first head of the present Wutarhayæts family on the Skeena.

[6]Aylwin Williams pronounced it Windarh'is and added that he was later named Wutarhayæts.

[7]Mrs. John Larahnitz, Aylwin and Albert Williams.

[8]Aylwin Williams believed it commemorated Tawrhens and Yarhyaq.

[9]Mrs. John Larahnitz remembered that it had been erected at the time of the epidemic of measles, in 1887.

with a small human being inverted at the end of its beak is essentially a chief's rattle design, and such rattles were almost exclusively[1] carved by the Nass River artists. The detached human figure sitting in a box near the bases of the pole is from the hand of another carver—Negutsræl, of the Larhsail phratry, of Kitwanga.[2]

The pole of the Flying-frogs (Plate XIII, figure 1) was carved by a Nass River artist, from the village of Gitwinksilk, at the canyon. His name was Tarhtsiprh, of the Fireweed phratry, according to Mrs. John Larahnitz; or, it was Wans, of the Eagle phratry, of the same village, according to Aylwin Williams. Both may have collaborated in the work. This pole is the best carved of the three belonging to this family. Its technique is firm and mature; the figures are vigorously embossed, while the contours are smooth. Its very finish and definiteness, however, overreaches itself in a way, and removes from its interpretation one of the finest qualities in Tsimsyan art, which is its inspiration and vacillating search for self-expression or individuality.

Here the art becomes set, just as it did in the sixties of the last century, among the Haidas; and although its forms are of the best, the spirit seems to be on the point of departing, through sheer efficiency of technique, which becomes self-centred and uppermost.

The third pole (Plate XIII, figure 2) was carved by Harhpegwawtu,[3] of the Fireweed phratry, of Gitsegyukla. It is, indeed, so much better in quality than some of the recent work of the same carver, that we are inclined to believe that he must have been assisted in his work by a carver more skilful than himself, over whom he may merely "have stood," in the accredited way.

(18) Pole of Harhu, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

The origin and affiliations of Harhu's family are the subject of conflicting opinions. Although an informant believed that Harhu's family originated as a subdivision of that of Kaldihgyet (or Lutkudzeeus), of Gitenmaks (Hazelton),[4] it is more likely that it is part of what may be called the Water-lily *(Skasewasan)* clan, which originated in the Carrier country, in the neighbourhood of Hagwelget; it is, indeed, claimed that his relatives abroad are Kwawqaq and Ho'demerh, of Gitwinlkul; Wutarhayæts and Hay'wen, of Hagwelget and Moricetown; all of whom are part of the Water-lily clan. Harhu is also a close relative of Kweenu, of Gitwinlkul, whose Sun-shines-on *('Neegyamks)* crest he also claims. This has come through the adoption of Kweena of the family of Kwawqaq and Ho'demerh into his own.

Harhu owns a totem pole, which stands at the head of the rear row, to the northeast.

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[1] If not exclusively.

[2] Of the family of the present Paul Benson, of Kitwanga.

[3] Arthur McDames, who is still alive, and over fifty years of age.

[4] *See* page 56.

DESCRIPTION

This pole bears the name of Pole-of-'Neegyamks *(Rans'Neegyamks)* from the most important of its emblematic figures (Plate XIII, figure 3; Plate XIV, figure 1). Its upper half is uncarved. The figures in the lower half are: the Frogs-jammed-up or squeezed *('Meetsehl-ranaa'o* or *'Meedzem-ranaa'o)*, two of them, head-down, one below the other; the Water-lily *(Skasewasan)*, represented in a conventional way on the saddle-like band across the two Frogs—a series of lobes on both sides of a stem running horizontally from the centre; and a bud at the opposite end—the Shingles *(Ran'arhgyeeku)*, represented like cedar shingles on the houses of white people—parallel lines, sloping downwards on both sides of a central ridge;[1] Sun-shines-on or 'Neegyamks, the mythical Frog-woman, small frogs on her eyes, her breasts, her hands, and crawling out of her mouth.

ORIGIN

The crest of Sun-shines-on *('Neegyamks)* is to be traced back, according to one informant,[2] to the Carrier family of Wutarhayæts, at Hagwelget and Moricetown. But Wutarhayæts, as we have seen, has relatives at Gitwinlkul, who also own the same crests. The mythic origin of this crest is explained in the family traditions of Kweenu of Gitwinlkul: A woman of this family, named 'Neegyamks, once was taken into a lake, near Nass river, by supernatural Frogs, where she stayed for several years. Her children were frogs. The people, seeking her, drained a lake, and found her exactly as she is represented on the totem poles of Kweenu and Harhu. The Frogs-jammed-up are traced back to the family of Kweenu, of Gitwinlkul.

The Water-lily crest originated in the Carrier country not long ago; in a lake, in the course of a supernatural experience, a huge lily was observed, and there were human faces to be seen on some of the leaves.

No explanation is given of the Shingles, as a special crest of this household. But the Shingles being a white man's architectural device, it is to be presumed that they were taken on as a crest only after some ancestor in this family had seen shingles at—presumably—Fort St. James, early in the nineteenth century, and was impressed enough to want them as an emblem, as if they had been seen in the course of a supernatural experience. A few other crests of the upper Gitksan—the High-road, the Palisade, the White-man's-dog, etc.—began in exactly the same way.

FUNCTION

The pole of 'Neegyamks was erected, from thirty to forty-five years ago, in commemoration of the late Harhu by his nephew, who assumed his name and rank.[3]

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[1]This crest was described by another informant, John Brown, as consisting of red lines painted on garments and also as a decoration painted inside the house, on the ceiling.

[2]John Brown, of Kispayaks.

[3]The present Harhu is Mark Simpson, of Glen Vowell.

CARVER

It was carved by a Gitwinlkul artist, named Rænem,[1] of the same phratry—the Larhsail. It counts among the best carvings of the Skeena. It is treated with vivid power and definiteness. Although its style conforms to the current conventions, it is remarkably ingenious and original. The figure of the Frog-woman, 'Neegyamks, with the tiny frogs creeping out of her mouth, over her eyes, and on her body, is certainly one of the most artistic and impressive illustrations ever made of a native myth on the whole of the North West Coast.

POLES OF THE FIREWEED PHRATRY

(19) Poles of Gurhsan, at Gitsegyukla

OWNERS

The family of Gurhsan is one of the most ancient in Gitsegyukla. It originated at Temlaham, according to the tradition, and claims as an ancestress the orphan-maiden Skawah, who was taken up to the sky by Sunbeams as his human bride. It is among the few families that settled at Gitsegyukla after the downfall of Temlaham and forms part of what may be termed the Sky clan of the Fireweed phratry, a remarkable and widely known clan on the North West Coast. Gurhsan ranks among its most authentic representatives, retaining as he does to this day, some of its original privileges.

The Sky clan consists of several ramifications that have grown out of one another and have spread in the course of time to the three Tsimsyan nations. Its members consider each other, from their genealogy, as blood relatives, the more definite their ties when they belong to the same branch of the clan. Dan Gurhsan, the present holder of the title of Gurhsan, claims as his kinsmen the following chiefs at home and abroad: Hahpeg-wawtu of Gitsegyukla; Gitludahl and Aret of Kispayaks; Teweesemdzap, among the Babines; Semaw'iget-Gyamk, of Hagwelget; Yæl, of Gitwinlkul; Weesaiks, of Gitwinksilk (Nass); a part of the Niyuks family of Gitrhatin (Nass); Hail, of Gitrhahla; Saiks, of Ginarhangyeek; Neesnawea, of Gillodzar; and Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas. Most of these, it is clear, are merely clan relations, their traditions and privileges not being wholly analogous, owing to their prolonged independent existence. But the relationship between Gurhsan and three Fireweed families, in particular those of Gitludahl, Wawsemlahæ, of Kispayaks, and Harhtisran, of Gitenmaks, is mutually considered as much closer, all three of them using in common the Owl, and special forms of the Moon or the Sun, among their emblems.

The family of Gurhsan owns two totem poles, now standing in the lower village of Gitsegyukla.

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[1]John Brown believes that James Green (Tsugyet, Wolf phratry) of Kispayaks, was the carver. Green seems to have been connected in some way with the preparation of this pole; but he himself stated that Rænem was the actual carver. This name, recorded from Green by Beynon, has not yet been identified on our list of names and we cannot state to what Gitwinlkul family he belonged.

DESCRIPTION

The first (Plate XIV, figure 2), called Pole-of-the-Moon *(Ptsœnem-hlawqs)*, represents the Mountain-goat *(Mateeh)* with a single horn; the Moon *(Hlawqs)*; (in the Moon) Skawah, the ancestress of the clan, with the earthquake *(Tsa-urh)* charm in her hand; (under the Moon) Legi-yuwen, one of Skawah's sky-born sons, an ancestor in the clan; the Owl *(Gutkwee-nurhs)*. At the back of the pole is affixed another representation of the Moon, smaller than the first, on which the picture of Skawah with the Earthquake charm is reproduced in red paint.[1]

The second (Plate XIV, figure 3), called The Owl *(Gutkwee-nurhs)* or Grave-of-Gurhsan *(Anskee-Gurshan)*, includes four representations of the mythic Owl. The only reason why the same figure is four times repeated is that the owners wanted carvings to cover most of the length of the pole.

ORIGIN

The origin of these figures, and the right of Gurhsan to use them as family emblems, is accounted for in three different myths: those of Skawah, of the Revenge of the Mountain Goats, and of the Owl.

The Skawah narratives are among the lengthiest and most characteristic myths of the nation. They describe the misfortunes of the maiden Skawah, after her relatives were slain by their enemies; her rescue by Rays-of-the-Sun, a sky spirit; the birth of several children to her in the Sky, their education, their training, and finally, their return to earth, where they avenged the memory of their uncles, established new customs, and adopted heraldic emblems or crests which were symbolic of their noble origin, in particular, the Moon, the Stars, the Rainbow, and Bird of the Sky. The Earthquake charm, in the hand of Skawah, was a bucket-like vessel given by Rays-of-the-Sun to his semi-divine children before they returned to earth, when raised and tilted in their hand, it caused the village of their enemies to quake, turn over, and be crushed under an avalanche of rock. This myth is shared by all the members of the clan as a traditional account of their common origin, presumably on Nass river to the north.

The Mountain-Goat crest was obtained at Temlaham, at a later period. The people had become sinful; they no longer observed the rule of the Sky according to which animals must be an object of respect. They recklessly slaughtered herds of mountain goats on Stekyawden (now Rocher Déboulé, near Hazelton), and made fun of a young goat, which they had taken home alive as a trophy. A young man adopted the goat as a pet, and saved it from abuse. The offenders were invited by Goats in human guise to a feast at the mountain lodge. There they perished by falling down the crags at night, all of them save the young man, who was led down the peaks to safety by his grateful pet. His family adopted as a crest the Mountain Goat with a single horn on its forehead. This crest is still used by several families of the Sky clan, both among the Gitksan and abroad, who retained it after they had left Temlaham, in the

[1]Some of the marks in paint, red, blue, and black, that formerly decorated part of these figures, may have been emblematic. The rainbow-like marks on Skawah's cheeks, for instance, may have alluded to the Rainbow crest of her posterity.

course of their migrations down the Nass, to the adjacent seacoast. It was only recently acquired by Gurhsan from the family of Gwunarhnuh, of the village of Gitwinksilk on the Nass, this family now being practically extinct.

The origin of the Owl emblem is more recent. Its use is restricted to a few families of the upper Skeena, those of Gurhsan, of the Wawsemlarhæ group of Kispayaks and Hazelton, and of Weegyet of Anlarasemdærh. It is stated in Gurhsan's own account, that the Owl was engraved or carved on his ancestors' house-posts at Temlaham. According to the more explicit narrative of Nurhs, of Kispayaks, it was first adopted by the related families of Wawsemlarhæ, Nurhs, and Hatisran, at Larhsendzihl, a fishing village of the Kispayaks tribe. A child, taken away by a mythic w ite Owl to its nest, and fed like the offspring of the bird, was finally recovered by his parents, with the help of the Grouse—also a family crest. The Owl was killed and his plumage adopted as a symbol of the event. The child retained throughout life, besides, some of the characteristics acquired while under the Owl's tutelage.

FUNCTIONS

The Pole of the Moon was erected over thirty years ago, in memory of three deceased members of the family, Tsa-ols, Menrimran, and Wudahlaks, by Gurhsan assisted by a female relative who then succeeded to the title of Tsa-ols.

The Owl pole stands in commemoration of the same Tsa-ols, and was put up after her death, about twelve years ago (1913?), by the present Gurhsan with the help of his family.

CARVERS

The first was carved by Jim Larahnitz (Hlengwah), now the aged head-chief of the Larhsail families in Kitwanga. The reason that probably determined his choice was that he had married Tsa-ols, a member of Gurhsan's family. The few poles in Gitsegyukla and Kitwanga—about half a dozen in all—that are ascribed to Larahnitz do not rank him among the best carvers of the Skeena; some of his recent work, indeed, is of the crudest—partly on account of old age. Yet, he showed in this pole that he had fully mastered the traditional technique of his art; and his interesting interpretation of the Skawah myth is the more valuable since it is the only one of its kind that has come under our observation.

The pole representing four Owls was more recently carved by Arthur Wilson (Qaqhl), of Gitwinlkul, who belongs to the Larhsail phratry.

(20) Poles of Hanamuk, at Gitsegyukla

OWNERS

Hanamuk's family traces back its origin to Temlaham, and also forms part of the Sky clan of the Fireweed phratry. It is, therefore, fairly closely related to the households of Gurhsan, Gitludahl, Wawsemlarhæ, and others of the same group, particularly among the Gitksan. They share in common the Temlaham traditions and most typical crests.

The present Hanamuk (Fanny Johnson) indicated Weedeldæl, of Gitsemrælem, and Tpee, of Nass river, as her closest relatives.[1] And, indeed, we find this claim substantially corroborated in the traditions of these families. Their mythic ancestress was also Skawah, and, among their emblems, we find the Sun, the Rainbow, and other associated crests. Their ancestors in their migrations down the river from Temlaham are also said to have sojourned at Gitsegyukla for a period.[2]

Yæl, of Gitwinlkul, was also claimed as a near relative, but through adoption. Both households used the Rainbow crest in common; as also the Lanemræt, the ceremonial hat surmounted by three cylindrical layers. But it is stated that Hanamuk secured the privilege of using some of Yæl's crests as a compensation for contributions to a funeral potlatch.

Hanamuk owns two totem poles at Gitsegyukla, which are the westernmost in the fishing village along the river bank.

DESCRIPTION

The first pole (Plate XIV, figure 4; Plate XV, figure 1) is known under the name of Person-of-the-Rainbow.

The figures are: the Hat (*Lanemræt*) with three cylinders; the man wearing the hat, whose identity is doubtful—according to Dan Gurhsan, he represents Ramarhtseræt, in whose memory the pole was erected after his death, or, according to the present Hanamuk (Fanny Johnson), he stands for Person-of-the-hills *(Gyædem-geelaolee)*, a family crest; the third figure, a human being with head down, is an emblem named Hanging-across *(Tsihs-yarhyak)* or Half-a-man *(Rapagyet)*, whose body is cut in two, the lower part being placed under his inverted head;[3] many small circles representing the Stars,[4] traced (and formerly painted) on a considerable part of the pole in the centre; the Rainbow, formerly traced and painted above the head of the human figure at the bottom; and last of all, the Rainbow-person.[5]

The second pole is also called Rainbow-person (Plate XV, figure 2). The figure at the top represents Neetuh, a former member of this family, wearing a crown of braided cedar bark, which indicates his membership in a native fraternity; the Rainbow, traced and painted in curved lines above the head of the lowest figure on both sides; and Rainbow-person, at the bottom.[6]

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[1]Another informant, Charles Mark, stated that Lawromdarh and Qam'awn, of Gitlarhdamks on the Nass, belonged to the same family.

[2]Weedeldæl is a subdivision of the higher family of Hlarah, of the same tribe; and Tpee presumably is a member of what is given as the Marhs household, recently migrated from Gitsemrælem to the lower Nass, and formerly of the house of Weedeldæl. The name of Tpee is pronounced Pee'l on the Nass.

[3]Diamond Jenness recorded this crest among the Carriers of Hagwelget, under the name of Tsim'yaqyaq, the meaning of which was unknown, the word being taken for Gitksan. The pole itself is said to have appeared in "dead man's country," as part of Gurhlaet's supernatural experiences.

[4]According to one out of three informants, Charles Mark, these represent the Sun-dogs (*Giphlawrhs*), also used elsewhere among the Fireweeds, as a crest.

[5]According to Charles Mark, this figure represented Gyædem-geelaolee, Person-of-the-hills; but his opinion here may be neglected.

[6]According to Charles Mark, this figure again would represent Person-of-the-hills.

ORIGIN

The Rainbow and the Stars, though appearing here in specialized forms, symbolize the semi-divine origin at Temlaham of this family, whose ancestress was Skawah, as we have seen (page 80).

The Hat with three cylinders *(Lanemræt)* was recently acquired by this family, possibly from Yæl, of Gitwinlkul, who also owns it and extended the privilege of its use to Hanamuk, as we have seen above. An informant, the present Hanamuk, however, stated that it was acquired from Tarhayæ, a member of the same clan, of Kitsalas. Tarhayæ, who had left his tribe with a grudge, was adopted as a nephew by his distant relative Hanamuk, in gratitude for which he gave him the Lanemræt.[1]

The Hanging-across emblem, with head down, was ceded to Hanamuk by Gurhlæt, a chief of the neighbouring Carrier village of Hagwelget, as compensation for the murder of a member of Hanamuk's family. Gurhlæt himself seems to have obtained it from the neighbouring Gitksan, possibly from Weemenawzek, of the Larhsail phratry at Qaldo and from Kisgagas, who also owns it as part of his family traditions, had it painted on his house-front and boxes, and carved on a totem pole. The Hanging-across crest of Weemenawzek is described by an informant[2] as being a man (whose body is cut in two parts), with feet upwards and head turned upside down next to his feet. Another authority,[3] whose knowledge was usually sound and dependable, asserted that this crest of Weemenawzek illustrated part of the adventures of his ancestor Næqt, the famous warrior who established the fortress behind Kitwanga, and native of the Nass (a summary is given on page 48. Cf. *The Poles of Hlengwah*). A human head with protruding tongue was intended to represent that of the Haida father beheaded by his Nass River wife, the mother of Næqt. Ten human heads, two by two, opposed to each other, and linked together by a tongue extending from mouth to mouth,[4] were carved in two rows all around the pole.

Man-of-the-Forest *(Gyædem-geelaolee)* was in the first place an important spirit-name *(narhnawk)* owned by this house. The investiture of a spirit-name as a rule took place in a ceremony in which a spirit was impersonated by the new holder of the name, who assumed the features of his *narhnawk*, by means of a mask and a costume, and dramatically reproduced the actions of his semi-mythic namesake. *Narhnawk* masks occasionally became family crests; the present is an interesting instance.

The representation of Neetuh on his own memorial pole is also an exceptional feature, at least among the Tsimsyan; crests and historical events being illustated rather than the features of plain human beings.

FUNCTION

The first pole, "the Rainbow person," stands in commemoration of Ramarhtseræh, who seems to have held some time the title of Hanamuk;

[1]This is supposed to have happened at a festival held at Kisraesk, near Kitwanga, in which a Kitsalas tribe participated.

[2]Paul Dzeeus, of Kisgagas.

[3]Malulek, the head-chief of Kisgagas (Mrs. Jimmy Williams), of the Larhsail phratry.

[4]In the same style as on the totem pole of 'Arhkawt, of Kitwanga (Plate VI, figure 4).

and also, according to a statement,[1] in commemoration of Neetuh.[2] It is believed to be over thirty years old.

The second pole was erected, twenty or thirty years ago, as a memorial to Neetuh, a leading member in Hanamuk's family, who was murdered for witchcraft by Kamehmelmuk (nicknamed Gitwinlkul Jim), in 1887.

CARVERS

The carver of this pole, Kwawdzabarh (of the family of Alla-ist), belonged to the Larhsail phratry, at Kitwanga.[3] His treatment of the figures is individual and mature; and the carving, of remarkably good quality, is a characteristic instance of Gitksan art.

The Neetuh pole was carved by Lutkudzeeus (Tom Campbell), of the Larhsail phratry, now about sixty years old and living at Hazelton.

(21) Poles of Gitludahl, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

The families of Gitludahl and Gurhsan mutually claim close relationship.[4] That of Gitludahl seems to have been part of the Kispayaks tribe practically since the time of its foundation. Gitludahl is connected with Wawsemlarhæ so intimately that their respective families are sometimes considered as part of the same kinship group. The former now is almost extinct. Both are, we surmise, branches of the same original stock, from Temlaham.

Two totem poles belong to the family of Gitludhal, those of the White-Owl and of the Grizzly-of-the-Sun.

DESCRIPTION

The first pole (Plate XIV, figure 5; Plate XVI, figure 1) consists of two large Owls, superposed, and of several diminutive human figures or heads. Two of the small figures or heads are treated as decoration in the ears of the Owl at the top; two others are between the ears, over the forehead, of the two Owls; and three stand independently, side by side, at the bottom of the pole. Two of these human figures, those on each side at the bottom, have fern tendrils as headgear. These conventional tendrils presumably allude to another crest of the same group, Mountain-fern (*'Wee'arh*), which will appear more fully on another pole, described below.[5]

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[1]By Dan Gurhsan.

[2]Fanny Johnson, the present Hanamuk (and the wife of Gitwinlkul Jim at the time of Neetuh's murder) claims to be responsible jointly with her relative Kwawmats (Jimmy Good) for the construction of this pole, some twenty-five years ago.

[3]Alec Brown (Wawralaw), of Gitsegyukla, believed that the author of this pole was the renowned carver Hlamee, of Gitwinlkul.

[4]To use the terms of Nurhs (Jimmy Williams), a Kispayaks informant, "Gurhsan is the only one we know as a foreign relative."

[5]This first totem pole of Gitludahl was acquired by the American Museum of Natural History, New York, about 1923. One of the smaller figures was at the time removed from the pole, the one between the ears of Owl at the top.

The second pole (Plate XV, figure 3), Grizzly-of-the-Sun *(Medeegem-gyamk)*, comprises two Owls, one at the top and the other at the bottom;[1] the Grizzly-bear, with the Sun around his neck; and five small human figures which were termed "People-around" *(Hrpee-geeget)* between the Bear and the lower Owl. The figures on this pole were painted, partly white and partly black.

ORIGIN

The Sun and the Owl are individual illustrations of the myths outlined above.[2] Other Fireweed families in Kispayaks and at large, as we shall see, share with Gitludahl the privilege of using the Grizzly-bear, though not coupled with the Sun. The origin of this emblem in its present form is said to go back to the time when Kispayaks, or more precisely Sindzihl, was established. The ancestors of Gitludahl were camping at Salmon-creek *(Shegunya)*, opposite the present-day Kispayaks, and fishing salmon. A maiden in seclusion saw coming down Salmon-creek the Bear with a "sun collar" around its neck *(Medeegem-gyamk)*, which her parents killed and gave her for her posterity to use as an emblem.

Wawsemlarhæ, of Kispayaks, also owns the Mountain-fern as a crest. Its origin will be described later.[3]

The People-around *(Hrpeegeeget* or *Tsem-rhpeegeeget,* Inside-half-person) belong more properly to Kwahamawn, of the Wolf phratry at Qaldo, to Neekyap, of Kisgagas, and their relatives elsewhere. Four small beings formerly represented this crest on a totem pole of Neekyap at Kisgagas. It is as a gift through marriage, so it is believed, that Gitludahl acquired the right to use it from a Qaldo family.

FUNCTION

The White Owl pole was among the oldest in Kispayaks; it was erected about seventy years ago. The object of its commemoration for this reason is not clearly remembered, though a reliable informant *(Kweeyaihl,* John Brown) stated that it stood in memory of a former Gitludahl.

The pole of the Grizzly-bear of the Sun was erected about thirty years ago as a memorial to another Gitludahl, or as otherwise stated, to a man of the same family whose name was Tailk (presumably two names of the same chief).

CARVERS

The Grizzly-bear of the Sun pole is the work of Tsugyet (of the household of Amagyet, Kispayaks), James Green, now an old man, belonging to the Wolf phratry. The identity of the other carver could not be discovered, owing to the age of the pole. His work in the White Owl pole is of remarkable and mature quality. The device of carving the upper figures inverted on the lower end of a large cedar tree, of removing the uncarved back and the core of the log and of replanting it upside down, was also resorted to in some of the oldest and best poles in other villages, particularly in Gitwinlkul. The carver is likely to have belonged either to Gitwinlkul or a village of the Nass.

[1] An informant, Jimmy Williams, termed these "Black Owls." They were formerly used on the corner posts of the interior of the house.

[2] *The Poles of Curhsan, of Citsegyukla*, p. 79.

[3] *The poles of Wawsemlarhæ, of Kispayaks*, p. 86.

(22) Poles of Wawsemlarhæ, at Kispayaks

The Fireweed households of Wawsemlarhæ and Nurhs, of Kispayaks, and of their Hazelton 'brothers', Hatisran, Guhwawtu, and Aret, formed a compact kinship unit within the Sky clan. Their traditions and crests, and to a certain extent their personal names, were identical. The semi-independent existence of the Hazelton branch of this family is indeed quite recent, dating back as it does to the time when the white people first settled in the upper valley, about 1871.

Larhsendzihl, on the Skeena above Kispayaks, was their original village. And some of them claim as relatives: Nuræ, among the Babine Indians; Hramrhæt, of Stewart lake; Tseebasæ, of Gitwinksilk, on the Nass; Hail, of Kitrhahla, on the seacoast; and Neeyuks, of the Gitlæn tribe of the Tsimsyan.

They own three totem poles, which still stand in the village of Kispayaks.

DESCRIPTION

The oldest of these (Plate XVI, figure 2) is named "The White Owl" pole. It is also the shortest and stands at the rear. It consists of four conventional representations of the Owl, one of which is apart from the others, at the top, on a pedestal that resembles a box. Between the lower figures are carved two smaller, mask-like, owl faces.

The pole (Plate XVI, figure 3) nearest to the road, and the tallest, was the second erected. It may not have had a different name of its own. Its figures are also those of four Owls, one of which reclines forward, at the top. A small human figure is inserted between the wings of the second (from the top) Owl—a further allusion to the child kidnapped by the Owl, in the myth. The Mountain-fern crest *('Wee' arh*—Large-fern) here appears in full with root and tendrils, between the two lower Owls (See Plate XXX, figure 1).

The third pole (Plate XVI, figure 4), between the two others, is known under the name of Sun-dogs *(Kip-hlawrs)*. Its figures—all three of which were carved or incised and painted—are the Thunder-bird *(Htsi-tiya'ituh)*, with a human face;[1] the rows of small, painted circles, which represent Sun-dogs; and the checker-work, at the bottom, the Mountain-fern emblem, in a different style.

On one of these poles formerly appeared the Grouse *(Pistæ'i)* crest, consisting of two birds, male and female, and their brood of five chickens, all of which were perched on a crossbar pegged on to the main shaft.

ORIGIN

The mythic origins of the Owl and the Sun or Moon crests have been explained (pages 80, 81). The Sun-dogs emblem seems to be a mere variation upon the Sun and Star themes of the Sky clan, the initial reason for which is given in the Skawah myth. Therefore, it is their legitimate property, without any further explanation under the form of a legend. Here it is represented in the same way as are the Stars on one of Hanamuk's poles at Gitsegyukla (page 239).

[1]According to Jimmy Williams (Nurhs). Two other informants described it as an Owl with a human face. Williams further stated that Htsi-tiya'ituh is the equivalent of Hkyemsem, among the Tsimsyan.

The mythic pedigree of the Thunder-bird is not so clear. No separate account could be found to explain it. Nurhs (Jimmy Williams) believed that his remote ancestors once had killed a bird of this description at the headwaters of the Skeena and had adopted it as a crest. But it is more likely to be a derivative of the Thunder-bird or Bird-of-the-air, which was among the emblems brought down from the sky, according to the Skawah myth, by the ancestors of the Sky clan.

The Mountain-fern emblem belongs exclusively to the Kispayaks family of Wawsemlarhæ and his close relatives both of Kispayaks and Hazelton. In various ways they seem to lay more emphasis upon it than upon the others, presumably because they are its exclusive owners; their other crests being shared by outsiders. A short narrative recounts in what circumstances four ancestors of these households once discovered the giant Mountain-fern at night, on their own mountain game preserve, at Maple-grows-on-it *(Larh'anse-warawrhs)*, 30 or 40 miles above Hazelton on the Kisgagas side. They dug up the fern root, brought it down to their village at Larh-sendzihl, and invited the four neighbouring tribes of Qaldo, Kisgagas, Gitenmaks, and Hagwelget to a feast. There, in the presence of all, they adopted the Mountain-fern as their own emblem.

Nowhere have we found the origin of the Grouse explained among those who use it on their coat-of-arms, both on the Skeena and the Nass.

FUNCTION

The oldest of these poles, "The White Owl," is stated to be "very old," about, or over, "seventy years," and to have been put up in memory of one of the former Wawsemlarhæ.

The second, at the front, was erected in memory of his successor, of the same name, from forty to fifty years ago.

The Sun-dog pole is about twenty years old (John Brown says thirty), and stands in commemoration of Nurhs, of the same family.

CARVERS

"The White Owl" pole is said to have been the work of a Nass River carver, Qelran, of Gitlarhdamks village, who belonged to the Wolf phratry.

The second, and tallest is ascribed to Haray (Salomon Johnson), of Kispayaks, whose phratry is the Larhsail.

The Sun-dog pole was carved by Tsinhlæk or Tsugyet (James Green), an old man still living at Kispayaks, and belonging to the Wolf phratry.

(23) Poles of Kweeyaihl, at Kispayaks

Kweeyaihl[1] of Kispayaks, and Nees-tarhawk,[2] of Kitsalas, are connected by strong family ties. They are believed[3] to have lived together in the same house at Temlaham, long ago, under the chieftainship of

[1]The first head of this family, in legendary times, was Ligi-yu'en, one of the sky-born sons of Skawah. At later dates, he was succeeded in that post by Qaugyæren, Kweeyaihl, and Hrantu.

[2]Whose name, in traditions, formerly was Sqagyaihlk.

[3]By John Brown, of Kispayaks, the present Kweeyaihl.

Qaugyæren. Their myth, in which the birth of their ancestors in the sky from Skawah is explained, traces back their legendary origin to Gitkimilæ. This place, where an ancient village is said to have stood, is located about 20 miles above Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass. The name of their ancestor was Ligi-yu'en, one of Skawah's sons. In their migrations the descendants of the Sky-born brothers passed overland from the Nass to the Skeena. Their families are supposed then to have settled together at Temlaham, thence to have explored the river in search of food, particularly of salmon, some up Skeena and Kispayaks (Kispiox) rivers, others down the Skeena as far as the seacoast. As they peregrinated along the Skeena various branches of their family established their houses at scattered points, where their posterity is found at the present day. Kweeyaihl is said to have journeyed down the Skeena with Sqagyaihl as far as the canyon of Kitsalas, thence to have returned to Temlaham. Later he joined the outlaw and fugtive Yæl, and with him and other leaders founded the independent tribe of Kispayaks at Gitangwalk, up Kispayaks river.

From traditions rather than from crests it appears that Kweeyaihl and his relatives abroad belong to a subdivision of the Sky clan, that is to a branch quite apart from those of Gurhsan, Ksrarom-larhæ, and Wawsemlarhæ, on the upper Skeena.[1] Their sub-clan may be called Gitkimilæ, from the location of their village of origin.

The family of Kweeyaihl owns two totem-poles and a carving on a platform, all three of which still stand in the village of Kispayaks.

DESCRIPTION

The first pole stands at the rear of the platform and is named Tsenaanurh (Plate XVI, figure 5; Plate XVII, figure 1) a mythical being, or several small human beings, the name of which means "Crazy." The figures consist of: Tsenaanurh thrice repeated, at the bottom, the centre, and the top of the pole; and the Rskaimsem, Thunder-bird or Golden-eagle of the mountains, twice repeated. From the hands of the uppermost Tsenaanurh is suspended a small human being; and on his head appears what seems to be a crown or headdress, presumably of claws.

The second pole, in front of the platform (Plate XVII, figure 2), is known under the name of the Prince-of-Blackfish *(Lkuwalkselkem'nærhl)*. It contains the following emblems: The Thunder-Bird, Rskaimsem; a large, human-like Tsenaanurh; three smaller Tsenaanurh, one of them larger than the two others under him; the Thunder-bird holding a groundhog in his claws; two white Otters *('Mas-watserh)* head downwards; Tsenaanurh; and, at the bottom, the Prince-of-Blackfish, with a long, protruding fin.

The Grizzly-bear-of-the-Sea *(Medeegem-dzawey'aks)* stands on the platform between the two poles (Plate XVII, figure 3).

[1]Here is a list of his foreign relatives as given by the present Kweeyaihl (John Brown, of Kispayaks): Tsak (or Tawisemtsak), of Babine, among the Carriers; 'Weelarhæ and Tseebasæ, of Gitwinksilk, on the Nass; Hail, of Gitrhahla, on the seacoast; Nees-nawæ (or earlier, Nees-nawee), of the Gillodzar tribe, on the Skeena; and Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas.

Another list, quite similar, although with some discrepancies, was obtained at Kitsalas from the present Nees-tarhawk (George Wright): Nees-nawæ, of the Gillodzar; Tseebesæ, of Gitrhahla (there is also a chief of that name here); Nees-wærhs, of Ginahdawk; Haots, of Kitsemrælem; Nees-wærhs, of Kitsalas; Gurhsan, Harhpegwawtu, and Weegyet, of Gitsegyukla; and Qæl, of Kispayaks.

ORIGIN

The Thunder-bird, appearing here under the name of Rskaimsem and described as the Golden-eagle or Mountain-eagle, frequently appears as a crest among the members of the Sky clan. It is another form of Larh-ohm or Bird-of-the-Sky, described in the myth of Skawah as one of the original crests of the clan. It is otherwise a variant upon the widespread aboriginal theme of the Thunder-bird.

The White-otter (*'Mas-watserh*) was adopted by Kweeyaihl when he lived, not long ago, at Qatqai'eeden (All visible), on Kispayaks (Kispiox) river. His family was on the verge of extinction,[1] and the survivors resorted, in the last extremities, to their hunting grounds in the mountains, there to meet with supernatural experiences. Among other supernatural beings, they saw the White-otter *(Mawkskwe-watserh,* in modern Gitksan, or as its name goes in archaic language, *'Mas-watserh),* which they later adopted as a crest.[2]

No satisfactory account could be secured about the remote origin of the Tsenaanurh crest, which resembles the Crown-of-claws *(Taqsem-asralt)* of Hak, of Qaldo (of the Wolf phratry), and Eagle-person *(Gyœdem-rhskyœk)* of Kweenu, of Gitwinlkul.[3] It was first allotted to Kweeyaihl, according to the tradition, some time after his ancestors and those of Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas, had separated in their recent migrations along the Skeena, the one to move up the river to Gitangwalk, and the other to settle at Kitsalas. Kweeyaihl's emblem at the time was the Grizzly-bear-of-the-water; to which Nees-tarhawk added the Prince-of-Blackfish, Tsenaanurh, and the Thunder-bird, Rskaimsem. A past Kweeyaihl[4] introduced it among his crests together with the Thunder-bird, the White-otter, and the White-porcupine, on a large totem pole "that stood up against the doorway of the house, through which the people entered" and was erected at the time when the white man's trade articles first appeared in the country.

Here is a summary of an account of the event, as given (in 1927) by John Brown,[5] of Kispayaks, the present Kweeyaihl:

"The *Tsenaanurh,* of Kitsalas, was an image. Its name in Tsimsyan is Senaanæ-Crazy. My great-grandfather Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas, sent an invitation to my grandfather Kweeyaihl, of Kispayaks, to come down to the canyon and help him out in a great feast which he intended to give. Kweeyaihl loaded his canoe with groundhog skins, and proceeded down the river. Nees-tarhawk was very glad when he saw him arrive, called him 'brother,' and invited the village to a feast for his welcome.

The upright posts of Nees-tarhawk's house were carved. In acknowledgment of Kweeyaihl's help he said, 'When my brother returns to Kispayaks, he will use these carvings in his house.' By this he did not mean to renounce their ownership, but simply to extend his privilege to his relative. Both afterwards could use the Tsenaanurh.

After Kweeyaihl had returned to his home at Kispayaks, he had a totem pole erected that served as an entrance pole or 'opening' *(urhtsan)* into his house. And he had the Tsenaanurh or Senaanæ crest carved on it.

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[1]After an epidemic of smallpox *(Kselak),* informant John Brown believes.

[2]Since its name still appears under an archaic form, it assumes for this reason an air of greater antiquity than we might be otherwise inclined to concede.

[3]See *The Poles of Kweenu, of Gitwinlkul,* p. 28.

[4]"The third Kweeyaihl, or, the fourth after Temlaham," explained John Brown.

[5]Brown's remarks here may be of some significance: "In this the family of Kweeyaihl was helped by all the Kispayaks people. The Fireweeds at that time took individual crests; the (various) Fireweed groups took their own crests." This may mean that the families of Kweeyaihl, as well as of other Kispayaks Fireweeds, at the time adopted new crests, which thereafter distinguished them from their kinsmen elsewhere. And the date of the event would be over a hundred years ago.

When Legyarh and his Kisparhlawts warriors later ascended the Skeena on a raid, they burnt the village of Kispayaks, but saved Kweeyaihl's house from destruction, on account of his being related to their ally, Nees-tarhawk. The house and its poles stood many years, and when the doorpost began to lean forward, it was taken down, cut in sections, and placed over a grave, as burial marks.[1]

This pole reached up to the eaves of the house, about 12 feet high. It was from the largest cedar log ever seen in Kispayaks. When found, it was hollow inside, from heart rot. This *urhtsan* or entrance was not the only one of its kind at the time; other chiefs also had theirs. But they were destroyed by Legyarh's warriors."

Brown could not tell exactly when this happened; it was before his time, he thought, perhaps a hundred and fifty years ago. But it is not really so long ago. The raids of Legyarh up the river seem to have taken place about the time when the Hudson's Bay Company established its post on his territories, at the mouth of the Nass (1831-33).

Another pole, the present Tsenaanurh, was erected about seventy years ago, for Hrantu, then the head of this house, and gave rise to an interesting controversy which is still locally remembered. Hrantu had engaged Kwikihl'wans[2] to carve his pole. This artist, formerly from the village of Qaldo, had been adopted by Haray, of Kispayaks[3]. When the pole was nearly completed, Hak, of the Wolf phratry,[4] came down on a visit from Qaldo with his wife, who was a Fireweed. They were both connected with the house of Hrantu, Hak being on the paternal side. Hearing that the carver was doing splendid work on the pole of Hrantu, which at the time was kept hidden, he went to see it, and removed the covering. He was very sorry when he beheld the pole, as he found something on it that resembled one of his own crests. It presumably was the top figure Tsanaanurh, which reminded him of his own crest, the Crown-of-claws *(Taqsem-asralt)*, which also stood at the top of his own pole. Provoked at what he took as a transgression, he stamped the ground with his feet, sneered at Hrantu to arouse his anger, threw dirt at the pole, and smeared the faces of Tsanaanurh with mud. Hrantu found out that his pole had been intentionally soiled. But he chose only to laugh at Hak for having given Tsanaanurh a dirty face; which prevented unpleasant complications.

The origin of the Blackfish symbol mentioned among the crests of Harhpegwawtu, of Gitsegyukla (page 95); that of the Grizzly-bear-of-the-water appears among those of Ksrarom-larhæ (page 93). The Grizzly-bear crest is said to have been obtained directly from Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas.

FUNCTION

The oldest pole and the shorter of the two, that of Tsenaanurh, at the rear, was erected about seventy years ago,[5] in memory of a former Hrantu.[6]

The taller of the two poles, at the front, was erected about fifty years ago, in commemoration of another Hrantu, the second of that name.[7]

The Grizzly-bear on the platform was set up, twenty or twenty-five years ago, in memory of Wiltsararh, of the house of Hrantu.

[1]This was done immediately before Brown's time—that is over fifty years ago. Brown is over seventy, but lived at Kisgagas until he reached the age of twenty.

[2]Of the Larhsail phratry.

[3]Of the same phratry.

[4]Of the family of Kwawhamawn.

[5]This, according to John Brown, the present Kweeyaihl; another informant mentioned sixty years.

[6]Described by Brown as the first Hrantu.

[7]According to Brown.

CARVERS

The Tsenaanurh pole was carved, as we have seen, by Kwikihl'wans,[1] who belonged to the Larhsail phratry, from Qaldo, the uppermost village of the Gitksan on the Skeena. His technique and treatment are excellent, particularly in the upper figure of Tsenaanurh. Yet, as we have noticed of the carvers of several old totem poles, they suggest a maker of masks rather than of taller monuments. The faces of the Thunder-bird, of Tsenaanurh, even the wings and the tails, are treated as separate parts, rather flat and disconnected, and are quaintly juxtaposed along the shaft of the pole. This is especially noticeable in the two representations of the Thunder-bird.

The Prince-of-Blackfish pole was the work of two carvers. The Thunder-bird, at the top, is ascribed to La'lawrh, a young man of the Larhsail phratry, at Kitwanga;[2] and the figures on the main shaft, to Hakst,[3] of the same phratry, at Kispayaks. The achievement of Hakst in this pole is of the best; it belongs to the maturity of the Skeena River art, having proceeded a stage farther than that of Kwikihl'wans, whose technique still belonged to the earlier period, when masks were the chief medium of the carver. Here the figures emerge out of the log, without sharp demarcation; they are part of it. And for this reason, they cling together much better, like a series of hieroglyphs forming a single pattern up and down the tall tree.

The Grizzly-bear-of-the-water was carved by Tsugyet (James Green), of the Wolf phratry, at Kispayaks, who is still living, and to whose credit as a carver several poles stand in his village.

John Brown, the present Kweeyaihl, added[4] the following information about totem pole carving:

"The rough work—cutting the tree down—was done with stone axes, in the old days. The figures on the pole were also outlined in the same way. But in the second part of the carving—the finer work—sharp bone knives or chisels were necessary, the leg bones of the bear or the caribou. To finish up the figures, in the third part of the work, beaver incisors were used—four incisors lashed "very tight," together, side by side, on to a handle."

(24) Poles of Ksrarom-larhæ, at Gitsegyukla

OWNERS

The Gitsegyukla families of Ksrarom-larhæ and Harhpegwawtu seem not to belong to the Sky clan of the Fireweed phratry. They form a group, with their relatives abroad, that stands apart from Gurhsan and Hanamuk, of the same tribe, and their Kispayaks relatives as described above. Their traditions and crests as a whole indicate west coast contacts, if not distinct affiliations. Temlaham, however, is claimed as their birthplace, and it seems that Skawah is also casually considered by some of them as their

[1]Brown described him as "my mother's father." Another informant stated that he belonged to the family of Wee'alsk, of Kispayaks; this may apply only after his local adoption.

[2]Of the house of Arh-rawt and Hlengwah group. He died a long while ago.

[3]A former Hakst, not the one still living in recent years, of the household of Ma'us or Arh-rawt.

[4]In 1927.

remote ancestress. But doubts may still be entertained as to the validity of their claim,[1] which may be due to the predominant belief among the upper Skeena Fireweeds in their remote Sky origin.

Their only close relatives or associates abroad, according to their own computation, are the members of Leelebeks family at Kispayaks, Aret (or Yæl) at Hazelton, and Ksrarom-larhæ, of Hagwelget. Leelebeks once was a member of Harhpegwawtu's family at Gitsegyukla, from which he separated and settled at Kispayaks.[2] Aret's household is a recent subdivision of that of Leelebeks.

Ksrarom-larhæ owns three totem poles at Gitsegyukla, two in the old village on the river bank, and one in the new village above.

DESCRIPTION

The oldest and tallest of these poles (Plate XVII, figure 4; Plate XVIII, figure 1) is named Snag-of-the-sand-bar *(Ranem-ktsem'aus)*.[3] Its figures are: the Grouse (with her offsprings, three altogether);[4] the Pretty-fireweed;[5] a mask affixed to the pole, the identity of which is doubtful—and informant[6] described it as the mask of the personal name Nees-nawee, which was placed on the pole after the death of a chief of that name;[7] Winged-person *(Rarayem-gyet)*; the ghost-like Moth *(Lawrom-balerh)* described in the myth; at the bottom, the monster Hagwelawrh, from under the water, on whose back the Snag-of-the-sand-bar was supposed to rise.

The second pole (Plate XVII, figure 5; Plate XVIII, figure 2), bears the names of Pole of Kuksdedalreh, or of Hat-of-Tsagyem-hanak. It consists of the following figures: Kuksdedalreh himself, the head of a subdivision in this family, in whose commemoration the pole was erected; on his head, the ceremonial Hat of Tsagyem-hanak, with three cylinders; Winged-person, twice repeated, the lower of the two holding a small human being in his claws, or according to a different opinion,[8] the Moth *(Lawrom-balerh)*; the Grouse, with its brood; and, at the bottom, the Moth, or, possibly, Winged-person.

The third pole recently erected in the new village is named Winged-person *(Rarayem-gyet)*. The bird at the top is the Grouse, the figure below stands for Winged-person.

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[1]Dan Gurhsan believed that Harhpegwawtu and his own ancestor Gurhsan formed part of the same household at Temlaham.

[2]Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas, Alim-larhæ, of Ginarhangeek, and Saiks, of Gitrhahla, are also considered as their relatives among the Tsimsyans abroad. Semaw-iget-gyamk, of Hagwelget, was also indicated as a relative, although in rather ambiguous terms.

[3]Or according to Wawralaw (Alec Brown), it was named "Pretty Fireweed" *(Subasemhæst)*.

[4]One of these recently fell off and was lost.

[5]Or *Subasemhæst*—a Tsimsyan word (according to Alec Brown, Wawralaw). Another informant, Charles Mark, called it Half-fireweed, because only half of the pole was occupied by the blossoms.

[6]Charles Mark. Another informant, Alec Brown, wondered whether it was not the *Lawrom-balerh* crest of this house.

[7]We do not find this name in the lists for the above families. The only one like it, which we can think of, is that of Nees-nawæ, one of the principal names of the same crest in the Gillodzar tribe of the Tsimsyan, whose totem pole also represented the Fireweed. An informant also gave us this name as belonging to a member of the Kitsalas tribes; but this may have been by mistake.

[8]That of Alec Brown.

ORIGIN

The whale-like sea monster Hagwelawrh, is the familiar emblem of several families of the lower Skeena belonging to the same phratry. A Tsimsyan account explains its origin, and its memory is refreshed by frequent allusions, as it is said at times to appear at the estuary of the river; and its dangerous, snag-like fin (also a crest) is supposed to wreck native crafts. This seacoast myth is here transposed to suit inland requirements. When the people of this family long ago lived at Temlaham, they used to dry fish at Anstegyawren lake (now Sealy lake, near South Hazelton). The level of the lake once rose and dropped in turn. A spirit, they discovered, dwelt under the water. They built a raft and challenged the monster with songs. When it rose to the surface, a long fin first appeared; then a Grizzly-bear-like monster, the Hagwelawrh. Two of its offsprings sprang from its body. They killed the Hagelawrh and adopted it as a crest. The ownership of this heraldic emblem on the upper Skeena, of itself discloses seacoast influences.

The ghost-like Moth *(Lawrom-balerh)* seems a favourite emblem of this, and other closely related, families, since it is their special appanage. It was first adopted by Yæl, of Kispayaks, and passed on to his Gitsegyukla relatives. A legend recounts how, during a famine and a drought, the people were dying of starvation on a plateau, up Segyukla river. They lived for a long while on mountain fern roots, decayed rose berries, and bones of salmon. Much weakened, they made snares for capturing mountain-goat, and built traps for fish, in the spring. 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 Moth and adopted its features as a crest, at Kispayaks. The name "Lawrom-balerh" itself is considered a Tsimsyan term—another coast feature among the crests of these households.

Winged-person *(Rarayem-gyet)* was first seen sitting on a mountain crest, by Seweemarh, a member of this house, who was hunting mountain goat in the company of Hlengwah,[1] of Kitwanga. Its face was that of a human being, but it had the wings of a bird. Its attributes are believed to be the same as those of the Gilladal, which Hlengwah owns as a crest; in other words, it is another variant upon the Thunder-bird theme.

The Hat-of-Tsagyem-hanak (of lying-woman) is a pictorial representation of a different type; it served to illustrate in part a spirit-name *(narhnawk)*, and it is still used as a headdress, rather than an independent crest.[2]

We are not acquainted with any ætiological explanation of the Grouse emblem, which also obtains among some of the Tsimsyan kinsmen of the Gitksan Fireweeds. The origin of the Fireweed crest is discussed below *(See Poles of Harhpegwawtu)*. But there is no reason given why the phratry itself is called Fireweed, except that most of the clearings on the upper Skeena turn purple with fireweed blossoms in the summer. The Fireweed as a crest is used only by a few families of the Tsimsyan; as a clan or rather family crest, not a phratric badge.

[1]Of the Larhsail phratry.

[2]The headdress of that name now in existence was made by Nagwa'awn of Hagwelget. Nagwa'on belongs to the Grizzly House of the Gitemdanyu phratry of the neighbouring Carriers.

The presence on a totem pole of a detached spirit mask *(narhnawk)*, associated with a personal name and placed on the pole after the death of the owner of the name, may be a unique feature, nowhere else duplicated among the Tsimsyan.

The pictorial representation on the pole of the person to whose memory it is dedicated seldom occurs anywhere on the Skeena; those of Kuksdedalreh and of Neetuh of Gitsegyukla, as seen above, are exceptional occurrences.

FUNCTION

The first pole, Snag-of-the-sand-bar, was erected in memory of a former Ksrarom-larhæ (?), of Hagwelawrh and Antkint, three members of the family, by the new Ksrarom-larhæ, whose name now is Alim-larhæ (old George Campbell), assisted by all his relatives.

The second pole was put up "over forty years ago" in memory of Kuksdedalreh, by the chief of the household and their kinsmen.

The third was planted about 1920, in memory of Alim-larhæ, of the fairly remote Ginarhangeek tribe of Port Simpson, by his distant relative Ksrarom-larhæ, who in the occurrence himself assumed the name of Alim-larhæ.[1] This occurrence is of an unusual type, poles being erected as a rule only to local and immediate relations.

CARVERS

The Snag-of-the-sand-bar was carved by Hlamee, of the Larhsail phratry (Thomas Derrick)[2] of Gitwinlkul, one of the best carvers of his day, among the Tsimsyan.

The Kuksdedalreh pole was the work of William Nass or Brown, when he was a young man, living practically as an outlaw at Hagwelget, away from his Kitsalas relatives, who were of Nees-halubs household. As Brown belongs to the Tsimsyan counterpart of the Fireweed phratry (the Gispwudwade), we find here an instance of a pole carved by a phratric relative, which is contrary to a universal custom. The imperious requirements of native law on this technical point must have been turned in some way, now forgotten—for instance, appointing another nominal carver, of a different crest, to take charge of the work. We know this to have occurred elsewhere.

(25) Poles of Harhpegwawtu, at Gitsegyukla

The family of Harhpegwawtu, whose affiliations have been described,[3] owns five totem poles at Gitsegyukla, three along the river bank, and two new ones in the upper village.

DESCRIPTION

The first pole (Plate XVIII, figure 3) erected in the old village shortly after the 1871 fire, is the Single-fireweed *(Gilhœst)*; a long shaft without any carving.

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[1]This name may have been previously in use at Gitsegyukla.

[2]Who died about 1922.

[3]Under the heading of The poles of Ksrarom-larhæ.

The second (Plate XVIII, figure 4) is called Decayed-corpse *(Lawrom-balerh)* or the Moth crest, also owned by Ksrarom-larhæ. The bird-like being, near the top, is Bird-on-high *(Larh'om)*; the many small figures of dead people (eleven in all, in three rows, one row at the top, and two in the centre) are called Many-small-people, or Many-skulls *(Gobegyet* or *Wilwilgyet)*; at the bottom, Decayed-corpse *(Lawrom-balerh)*, the crest appearing above. The bill or projecting nose of Decayed-corpse was broken off and lost some years ago.

The third pole (Plate XVIII, figure 5) bears the name of House-front-Blackfish *(Qawam'nærhl)*. Its carvings consist of a representation of a Blackfish *(delphinus orca,* or grampus, a variety of whale), at full length, head down, and a long fin on its back on which appear a human figure at the base and a round perforation above, which are part of this emblem. The human figure in the fin is that of Gunarhnæsems, a well-known mythic character.

The fourth pole and the accompanying carvings in the upper village (Plate XIX, figure 1) are named Where-meet-the-moving-Blackfish *(Windeldel-lugum'nærhl)*. It represents (Bird)-on-high, and has two attached, horizontal, figures of the Blackfish, with perforated fins.

The fifth is a plain pole recently erected in the new village, and again named Single-fireweed or One-fireweed *(Gilhæst)*.

ORIGIN

The Fireweed is said to have been given to this family as a crest by Yæl (or Rayæ), formerly a member of the house of Nees-haiwærhs, of Kitsalas, who migrated up the river, was associated for a period with Harhpegwawtu at Gitsegyukla, and finally settled at Gitwinlkul. A giant Fireweed had previously been seen in a vision by Nees-haiwærhs at the head of the Segyukla, and adopted as a family crest (page 87). According to another opinion, less orthodox, this crest originated after the deluge, when the people had deserted Temlaham. An ancestor named Yæl cleared the land of tall trees at Kisrawks (People-of-the-Balsam-trees), on Skeena river, below Kitwanga. All over the cleared land grew a thick patch of fireweeds. They, therefore, named the house, which they built up at this place, Graded-house-of-the-Fireweed *(Darem-hæst)*; and they adopted the Fireweed as one of their emblems.[1]

The origin of the Blackfish and Gunarhnæsems crests is accounted for in an adapted form of a familiar west coast myth. In outline, this tradition recounts at great length how a young Temlaham woman once mocked at the bears, and for her punishment was abducted by Bears in human guise and taken as a bride by one of them. One day she escaped and ran away to the seacoast, there to be rescued by Saradeelaw, a human-like monster of the edge of the sea, whose magical canoe was made of copper. After the pursuing Bears were killed by Saradeelaw, she, herself, became the wife of Saradeelaw's son, whose name was Gunarhnæsems. Both husband and wife were then sent back to Temlaham with the magical copper canoe, and were welcomed by Harhpegwawtu, the young woman's uncle. When Gunarhnæsems later hunted monsters, he came down to

[1]The Tsimsyan of Port Simpson gave a similar explanation, stating that their Gitksan relations use the Fireweed as one of their coat-of-arms because the fireweed is characteristic of their country in the summer.

the coast, and he temporarily lost his wife to the Blackfish of the sea, who kidnapped her on the shore and took her to their home beneath the waters. Gunarhnæsems pursued the sea monsters, and entered their abode in disguise. There he observed many young Blackfish moving about in the house *(Lugum'nærhl)*, and the House-front-painting-of-the-Blackfish *(Qawam'nærhl)*, which was a mural decoration at the rear of the house of the Blackfish; he then took to flight up the Skeena with his wife, there to adopt as emblems some of the outstanding features of his supernatural experiences. These are still used in the family of Harhpegwawtu and other related families who share in the same ancient patrimony.

The (Bird)-of-the-air *(Larh'om)* crest was part of the set of crests which the sons of Skawah brought down from the Sky, when they established their abode at Temlaham. In an account, it is given as the house-front painting of Ligi-yuwen, the fourth of the sky-born brothers.

The native interpretation of Decayed-corpse *(Lawrom-balerh)* is given on page 91. *(The Poles of Ksrarom-larhœ)*. This emblem is also used by some members of the "royal Gispwudwada" clan of the Tsimsyan, whose origin is traced back to Temlaham.

FUNCTION

The older of the two Single-fireweed poles was the first of the present set of poles erected at Gitsegyukla, soon after the fire of 1871.[1] It stands in commemoration of Harhpegwawtu and Nagwaa, and was paid for by their relatives under the direction of Kurhskyan, Neetamlarh'awks, and the new Harhpegwawtu.[2]

The pole of the Decayed-corpse *(Lawrom-balerh)* was erected about forty years ago, in memory of Neetamlarh'awks and Leelebeks, of this house, at the initiative of their kinswoman the new Neetamlarh'awks, assisted by Harhpegwawtu.[3]

The House-front-Blackfish pole *(Qawam'nærhl)* was erected about thirty years ago,[4] in honour of Ahledeks,[5] by his relative Harhpegwawtu.[6]

The pole of the Moving-blackfish *(Lugum'nærhl)* in the upper village is the most recent of all the carved poles of the Skeena, having been set up in 1925, in memory of Kurh-skyan, through the initiative of the present Harhpegwawtu (Arthur McDames).

The new Single-fireweed pole *(Gilhœst)* was raised early in 1926 at the expense of Harhpegwawtu, in memory of his mother, Gihlarh'awlks.

CARVERS

The pole of Decayed-corpse *(Lawrom-balerh)* was the work of Gisarhkees (Tom Harris, a brother of Lælt), of the Larhsail phratry at Kitwanga. The carvings in high relief, with flat surfaces, and attached parts (some of

[1]It was erected, informants say, in the same year as the Winil pole of Weegyet, (p. 109).

[2]Wawralaw (Alec Brown) heard that "it was erected by Kitsalas people," which may mean that the related family of Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas, also contributed.

[3]Two subdivisions of the house of Harhpegwawtu had a serious disagreement about this pole.

[4]The same year as Gurhsan's Mountain-goat and Moon pole.

[5]Another statement, equally credible, has it in memory of Harhpegwawtu. It may have been in memory of both jointly; the successor of Harpegwawtu promoting the event.

[6]Or, according to Wawralaw's statement (that of an outsider), it was erected as "the grave of Trhalgumtk, of the house of Kurhskyan.

which have since fallen off), reveal a highly individual and interesting treatment, unlike the work of any other carver on the Skeena[1]. The faces of the Small-people *(Gobigyet)* are handled almost as if they were separate masks affixed to the surface of the pole, which may come from the artist's technique as a carver of *narhnawk* masks.

The Blackfish pole seems to have been the work of more than one craftsman: Qawq (or Semedeek),[2] of the Eagle phratry, and Kwawdzabarh,[3] of the Larhsail phratry, both belonging to the Kitwanga tribe.

The new Moving-blackfish pole was made by Wawralaw (Alec Brown),[4] of the Larhsail phratry at Gitsegyukla, who did not reveal much ability or technique in his work.

Though no carving appears on the recent Single-fireweed *(Gilhæst)* pole, a maker was nevertheless appointed in the person of Hlengwah (Jim Larahnitz), of the Larhsail phratry at Kitwanga.

(26) Pole of Leelebeks, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

Leelebek's household was a subdivision of that of Harhpegwawtu of Gitsegyukla, as we have seen (page 94). Both still own in common the same characteristic Decayed-corpse *(Lawrom-balerh)* crest and the myth that explains it. Two other emblems, the Mountain-goat and the Wild-crab apple *(Mælikst)*, belong to Leelebeks, that are not shared by Harhpegwawtu; this means that they were acquired since their separation.

This family formerly owned: one totem pole, on which was carved the Mountain-goat, now fallen for nearly twenty years and decaying on the spot where it stood; and, according to local recollections,[5] either two or four corner house-posts or "sticks" standing outside the house, and carved to represent the Crab-apple-tree *(Mælikst)*. The Mountain-goat pole was recently replaced by a marble tombstone representing the Mountain-goat upright, with a single horn on the forehead (Plate XIX, figure 4A).

ORIGIN

The Mountain-goat must have been ceded to Leelebeks for some reason, now forgotten, by a member of the Sky clan, as it is not otherwise in the possession of his Gitsegyukla kinsmen, of the group of Harhpegwawtu, Ksrarom-larhæ, and their other relatives. Its mythic origin is explained above on page 80.

No ætiological reason could be found for the existence of the Wild-crab-apple in native heraldry. All that we know about it is that it was also used as a crest by the family of Trhaimsem, of the same phratry at Qaldo, by Weegyet, of Anlarasemdærh, and their relative Amatrhemwil, of Kisgagas. A large pole of Trhaimsem represented the Wild-crab-apple by

[1]With the likely exception of one of Kweeyaihl poles at Kispayaks.
[2]The old Eagle head-chief still living in 1926.
[3]The household of Alla-ist, of the Larhsail phratry.
[4]About fifty years old.
[5]Those of Nurhs, Jimmy Williams.

means of wavering lines up and down the shaft; according to an informant, it contained "small branches of the Crab-apple-tree carved into the wood." The name of Trhaimsem's house was "Inside-the-wild-crab-apple" *(Tsemmœliks)*.

No record was obtained as to the function and carver of this pole.

(27) Poles of Qæl, at Kispayaks

Qæl and his group of upper Gitksan relatives belong to a distinct clan of their own within the Fireweed phratry, the origin of which is traced back to the semi-legendary village of the People-of-the-wild-rice *(Gitanrasrh)*. This village long ago was situated between the headwaters of the Skeena and Bear lake to the south. From there Qæl's ancestors, under the leadership of Weegyet,[1] moved down the river to Anlarasemdærh, which until recently stood on the southern bank of the Skeena about 4 miles below Kisgagas, near the mouth of Babine (or Kisgagas) river. An informant[2] went so far as to say that Weegyet and his family originally were Babine Indians, from the east;[3] but this opinion was explicitly contradicted by another authority.[4] The similarity of crests and certain relationship ties between them and some families of the Wolf phratry keep them in a class by themselves among the Gitksan Fireweeds.

At the time when the Kispayaks tribe came into existence there arose a controversy as to who would take the leadership, either Gitludahl, of the Fireweed phratry, the founder of the tribe, or one of his independent colleagues Telramuk, Ma'us, or Hrantu, of the Larhsail phratry. It was finally agreed to invite an outsider and appoint him head-chief, that is, Su'ens, of the Fireweed crest at Anlarasemdærh, and belonging to the family of Weegyet. Long after Su'ens assumed the leadership at Kispayaks, his own household became extinct, while three of its subdivisions still subsisted in the same tribe: the sub-families of Hrkyadet, Lan, and Alerh. These relatives divided his privileges and crests among themselves, and preserved them to the present day, even to the identity of his household. Qæl now is the head of what formerly was Su'ens' family and of the Kispayaks tribe as well.

Qæl owns two totem poles and two other large carvings on a platform between them, all of these in a compact group, at Kispayaks.

DESCRIPTION

The totem pole to the left (Plate XIX, figure 2), and the only one elaborately carved, is called Leading-in *(Lu'ayorh)*,[5] a being with a human face and what is described as a very large mouth. The crest Leading-in is repeated three times on the pole, twice in the lower part, and once at the top. The second figure from the top is Grizzly-bear-woman *(Hanaremmedeek)*; below it is represented Dzaraurhlaw, a mythological person with a long, beak-like nose.[6]

[1]Of the same name as Weegyet of Gitsegyukla, but otherwise different.

[2]Paul Dzeeus, himself of Kisgagas.

[3]Of Athapascan extraction.

[4]John Brown, Kweeyaihl, of Kispayaks.

[5]Or Inside-governing.

[6]This crest, under another name, is also used by some clans of the Wolf and the Larhsail phratry.

The second pole, to the right (Plate XIX, figure 3), is named Big-snake *('Wee-lœlt)*, the whole length of the pole representing the monster head downwards. The protruding tongue of the Snake is represented under the form of a human head.

The Blackfish *('Nœrhl)* and the Grizzly-bear-of-the-water stand side by side on the platform between the two poles (Plate XIX, figure 4). The platform has been renewed in the past decade or two. It used to consist of two posts rising from the ground, one in front, and the other a few feet behind. The carvings were supported on each side, a few feet from the ground, by horizontal cross-pieces, in the manner of Harhpegwawtu's new Blackfish carvings at Gitsegyukla (page 247).

ORIGIN

None of the above emblems has been in the possession of Qæl's household for very long; neither do his ancestors seem to have owned any of them, presumably on account of their origin among a people who were unacquainted with this type of native heraldry. The Owl, the only crest of Weegyet of Anlarasemdærh, his relatives, is not claimed by Qæl, which shows that it must be a fairly recent acquisition in the older branch of his family.

The Big-snake is used as an emblem by nobody else, with the single exception of a sub-chief in Ksemrhsan family, of the Raven phratry, at Gitlarhdamks, on the Nass. It is said to have been found in a lake, presumably during one of the Gitksan raids against the Tsetsaut tribes of the interior. It is distinctly modern and is not to be found as a character in the mythology or carved figures of the Tsimsyan.[1]

The Leading-in crest was acquired in the course of an unusual and peculiar event. Luskeest, of this family at Kispayaks, had been captured as a slave by a raiding party of Tsimsyan,[2] and later redeemed by Hail, of Kitrhahla, in the belief that he was his close relative.[3] While he stayed at his redeemer's house, a child urinated on him, when he held it in his arms. The father, thus placed under obligations towards his Gitksan relative, compensated him for the moral injury by conferring upon him, so an informant believed, the crest of Leading-in,[4] which consisted of several human beings with very large mouths. Then he accompanied him homewards as far as the canyon of the Skeena and placed him in charge of Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas, his relative, who escorted him back to Kispayaks.

The Grizzly-bear-of-the-water, and presumably the Blackfish along with it, were obtained as a gift from Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas. Nees-tarhawk once came up the river to trade with the Kispayaks,[5] and stayed at Su'ens house as his guest. In acknowledgement of the feast in his honour given by Su'ens, Nees-tarhawk gave him one of his own names,

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[1]It differs from the double-headed, serpent-like, Monster called Lararh'wais, a well-known concept of the North West Coast tribes.

[2]Presumably over a century ago, when Legyarh raided Kispayaks village.

[3]One of our informants, Nurhs, of Kispayaks (Jimmy Williams), was emphatic in stating that Hail was under a misconception: Luskeest, though of the same phratry, was not of the same clan; he belonged to Weegyet's group, not to that of Wawsemlarhæ—which is the one related to Hail.

[4]We fail to find the Leading-in mentioned in the long list of crests of Hail; therefore, we may doubt the historical accuracy of this statement by Nurhs (Jimmy Williams) of Kispayaks.

[5]Presumably after the advent of the white traders on the North West Coast.

Qæl, and took his red paint and painted on the house-posts of Su'ens the picture of the Grizzly-bear-of-the-water, thus conferring it upon him as a crest.[1]

Neither was the Grizzly-bear-woman *(Hanarem-medeek)* originally in his possession. Qæl secured it fairly recently from some Tsimsyan who had come up the river to trade.[2] The Grizzly-bear-woman was not a crest in the first place, but a *narhnawk* with a mask, in other words, a personal name coupled with a semi-mythic concept. But after its adoption here it was transformed into a regular crest.

The Dzaraurhlaw or "Glass-nose" crest is considered the property of various Wolf families in the three Tsimsyan nations. The specific reason why it has been used in recent times, in Qæl's family, by Lan in particular, could not be recorded. It is described by an informant[3] as consisting of small human beings with very long noses. The Leading-in *(Lu'ayorh)* crest resembles the "Glass-nose" in many respects. Both of these, in the first place, were totem pole devices which served as ceremonial entrance to the feast house. The guests had to enter through the wide open mouth of the monster, whose jaws would close if the visitor were unwelcome. It was owned by some Wolf families of the Tsimsyan[4] and the Nisræ[5] under the same name (*See* page 175). Besides, it belonged to Nees-Hlkemeek and Neespints of the Gillodzar tribe,[6] under both the name of To-swallow *(Iyawprh)* and Glass-nose *(Dzarauhlaw)*. We also find it under the name of The-adviser *(Lu'ayaaurh)*—a wooden man on a totem pole—in a list of crests for Nees-tarhawk;[7] or under the name of The-hole-through-the-sky *(Wulnaqaq-larhœ)*, a ceremonial entrance into the feast house, in the possession of Hlararh of Gitsemrælem, a relative of Nees-tarhawk. This device, therefore, may have been obtained by Qæl, of Kispayaks, either from his mid-Skeena phratric relatives, or from the Wolf families of the Nisræ or the seacoast Tsimsyan. We may note here that Qæl's group is probably the only one that corresponds to the description once given us of the Kispayaks[8] Fireweeds, that they are considered as relatives of the Wolves and are called upon to help in their feasts; this even to the extent of precluding marriage between their members.

FUNCTION

The Leading-in *(Lu'ayorh)* pole was erected about fifty years ago in commemoration of a former Qæl. The Big-snake pole was erected about twenty years later for his successor.

The Grizzly-bear-of-the-water and the Blackfish were brought out at the same time, about thirty years ago, also as a memorial to Qæl, while he was still alive.

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[1]Informant Isaac Tæns, Hazelton. Although the Blackfish was not mentioned it is likely to have been presented to Qæl at the same time. The two crests are otherwise often associated together.

[2]The identity of these Tsimsyan traders was not remembered.

[3]Jimmy Williams, Nurhs.

[4]Hlebeksk, of Gitrhahla, and Asaralyæn, of Gitsees.

[5]The Leading-in of Skateen (Wolf phratry, Gitlarhdamks) was described as "a myth, not a crest."

[6]Of the Gispwudwada phratry, which corresponds to the Fireweed among the Gitksan.

[7]According to William Brown, of Hazelton, formerly of Kitsalas, whose information may not be wholly relied upon, owing to his having lived away from his tribe most of his life.

[8]John Brown described him as the "first Qæl."

CARVERS

The Leading-in pole is said to have been carved by Wawsemlarhæ,[1] of the same phratry, at Kispayaks. As the choice of a carver within the same phratry was a serious transgression of the rule, there must have been another man, of a different phratry, appointed in charge of the work as nominal carver; which was the accredited method of turning the difficulty.

The Big-snake memorial is the work of Tu'urh who was a member of Hleemlarhæ's household, of the Wolf phratry at Kispayaks.

The Blackfish and Grizzly-bear emblems are ascribed by an informant to Tsinhlæk (James Green), of the Wolf phratry at Kispayaks. According to another (John Brown), the Bear was carved by Kukranalk, of the Larhsail phratry at Kispayaks;[2] and the Blackfish, by Tu'urh, the maker of the Big-snake.[3]

(28) Pole of Hrkyadet, at Kispayaks

Hrkyadet was a semi-independent member of the house of Qæl, as we have seen (page 98). Like him he traced back his origin to the household of Weegyet, of Anlarasemdærh, up Skeena river, and shared with some members of the Wolf phratry some privileges which are usually considered of the nature of family ties.

Hrkyadet owns a totem pole at Kispayaks.

DESCRIPTION

This pole (Plate XIX, figure 5) is called On-it-sits-the-Cormorant *(Haneedœhl-ha'ots)*. It consists of the following figures: the Cormorant *(Ha'ots* or *Hleeu'en*—the Brant) twice repeated, at the top, and immediately above the Grizzly at the bottom; what is identified by an informant as the Mawdzeks, a conventional form of the Eagle, with human face and beak-like nose, or possibly the Glass-beak *(Dzarauh-hlaw)*;[4] and the Grizzly-bear (*Legyens*).

ORIGIN

The obscurity in which remain the origin and the significance of these crests, as also of those of Qæl, is partly due to their arbitrary adoption at what seems to be a fairly recent date and the disappearance of most of the members of these families.

The Cormorant, as well as some of Qæl's emblems, described above, are distinctly the property of various members of the Wolf phratry. Under a slightly different name and associated with the Bear, it belongs to Hrsarhgyaw, of the Wolf in the same village; and is also claimed by Pee'l, of the same phratry, at Gitlarhdamks, on the Nass. Elsewhere, among the Tsimsyan, it appears under the form of a ceremonial hat *(Ralk-ha'ots)*, and

[1]Some doubt may be entertained as to this point.

[2]In Tælramuk's family.

[3]From the character of the carvings we ourselves believe them to be the work of James Green.

[4]John Brown, Kweeyaihl, was under the impression, evidently wrong, that all the four birds on this pole stood for the Cormorant.

belongs to several families of the Eagle phratry, in various tribes. It was called the Brant *(Hleeu'en)* by informant Jimmy Williams, who added that it was not Hrkyadet's own crest, but that he adopted it from the family of Ksemrhsan, of the Raven phratry, at Gitlarhdamks, who owns it as a spirit name *(narhnawk)*.

The Mawdzeks—if this really be the Mawdzeks—is a crest of the Larhsail phratry in the lower villages of the Gitksan (page 161). It is more likely to be a representation of the "Glass-beak" of Qæl under another form.

The Grizzly-bear, at the bottom, was apparently also borrowed from the Wolf crest, as it goes under the name of *Legyens*—not *Medeegem-dzawey'aks*, as for the Fireweeds.[1] We may note, as of distinct significance, that this pole is planted next to that of Ksemqaqhl, of the Wolf phratry, that it consists of materially the same figures, and besides, is the work of the same carver.

FUNCTION

The Cormorant pole was erected in memory of Hrkyadet, over forty years ago.[2]

CARVER

It is ascribed to Haku, of the Larhsail phratry, at Kispayaks; and it is undoubtedly one of the best carved poles on the whole Skeena river.

(29) Pole of Wa-iget, at Kisgagas

Wa-iget is the head of one of the only two Fireweed households in Kisgagas, the other being that of Arhmathemwil. He traces his origin back to the family of Tseebasa, of Gitwinksilk, on Nass river. But Tseebasa's family consists of two heterogeneous parts,[3] only one of which belongs to the Temlaham group. And we cannot tell from which of these two branches issued Wa-iget's ancestors.

Wa-iget owns a totem-pole, one of the only two that still stand at Kisgagas, at the edge of the canyon.

DESCRIPTION

This pole (Plate XIX, figure 6) includes only two carvings; one, at the top—now in a state of decay—represents The-dog-of-Mr.-Ross *('Ause-Mœselaws)*; the other, the Blackfish *('Nœrhl)*, head downwards.

ORIGIN

The Blackfish crest is one of the most widely diffused among the three Tsimsyan nations, and if diffusion also means age—one of the most ancient. It is claimed by Tseebasa, of the Nass, as the principal badge of the two

[1] It might be another representation of the Grizzly-bear-woman *(Hanarum-medeek)*, although not remembered as such.

[2] We heard a usually well-informed white man state that it was one of the oldest poles in Kispayaks.

[3] Those under the respective leaderships of Weelarhæ and Kwanæs. Weelarhæ claims Temlaham as the birthplace of his ancestors.

households under him. We would naturally presume that it has been in the possession of his ancestors from time immemorial, taking it for granted that such native emblems are really of some antiquity. Had the Blackfish been the distinctive crest of his household at the time when Wa-iget separated from him and migrated southward to the Skeena, the new branch, as well as the parent, in the usual way would have retained the privilege of using it wherever they settled in the course of time. Yet, we find that the two crests owned by Wa-iget—the Blackfish, and The-Mr.-Ross'-dog—have not been in his possession for more than a century, if that long.

The Blackfish was for the first time adopted within, let us say, the last forty years, from his Nass River relative Tseebasa. John Brown *(Kweeyaihl)*, of Kispayaks, whose age exceeds sixty years,[1] remembers an interesting controversy about it. Wa-iget brought the Blackfish crest back from the Nass, where he had visited his relatives, and wanted to use it, to show his connexion with Tseebasa. But he met with opposition within his own phratry at home. Someone approached Kweeyaihl (Brown), who wanted him to join in and "make a fuss, to prevent the introduction of a *new* crest." But he "did not see any harm in this." The opposition collapsed; and the Blackfish was carved on the totem-pole. This, as we have seen in the "Introduction," is of considerable interest, since it throws some light on the growth and process of diffusion of this and similar crests at a recent date.

The crest of the White-man's-dog or, more precisely, Mr.-Ross'-dog, originated about 1825 in the following circumstances. The Tsetsaut or Sekanee Indians of the interior were the traditional enemies of the Gitksan. Raids and invasions upon each other's territories were of frequent occurrence. Soon after the North West Company established a post at Fort St. James (1808), it seems, at least from this narrative, that a subsidiary establishment had been founded at Bear lake *(Tamsesaayen)*, under the direction of a Mr. Ross. A Tsetsaut party at the time raided the village of Kisgagas, while most of the hunters were away, killed two men with the flint-lock musket in their possession—the first gun seen in the country—and returned home with a captive, a niece of the head-chief whom they had killed. This young woman was rescued by the white people at Bear lake and later sent back home. A retaliation party, under her guidance, proceeded to the Tsetsaut country; but decided to visit the white man's fort on the way. Here they observed the white man, his possessions, and his strange ways, for the first time, and considered their adventure in the light of a supernatural experience. They marvelled in particular at the white man's dog, the palisade or fortification around his houses, and the broad wagon road; all three of which they decided to adopt as crests. Wa-iget was allotted the White-man's-dog *('Ause-Midaw)*[2] or Mr.-Ross'-dog *('Ause-Mœselaws)* as his own share; the Palisade *(Yœs)* was granted to Malulek's family;[3] and other similar privileges were extended to other participants. They gave two big feasts during the next years, to which they invited representatives of the other Gitksan tribes as guests—the

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[1]And a dependable informant, who spent a part of his life at Kisgagas.

[2]The white man's dog differed from the native in several ways. The outstanding differences to the Indians, however, consisted in its long head and drooping ears, which features they emphasized in their carvings.

[3]The head-chief of Kisgagas, of the Larhsail phratry.

Qaldo, the Kispayaks, the Gitenmaks, the Gitsegyukla, the Kitwanga, and the Gitwinlkul. There they exhibited their new crests and privileges and formally adopted them in permanence.

CARVER

No information could be had as to the function and the time of erection of this pole, nor was the identity of the carver recorded. It seems, however, not to be over forty years old, as John Brown, of Kispayaks, was consulted in the controversy over its Blackfish figure. This carving resembles the Prince-of-Blackfish on Hrantu's pole at Kispayaks, in some ways, more particularly the head and the rib-lines along the body. It may be from the hand of the same carver, Hakst, of the Larhsail phratry at Kispayaks.[1]

(30) Poles of Weegyet, at Gitsegyukla

Weegyet's remote maternal ancestors, unlike those of other household chiefs studied above, belonged to the Eagle phratry; and the passage from Eagle to Fireweed of one of them, whose direct descendant he is, occurred in the following exceptional circumstances, here briefly outlined.

Long ago, Small-frogs *(Kip-ranaa'o)* was the nephew of Qawq, Eagle head-chief of the Geenarhaat, below the present Lorne creek.[2] He fell in love with his maternal sister, which was a crime, according to native standards. Banned, he lived for a time with her at Waters-of-Lake *(Ksedœ)*. Then they parted, she returning to her people, and he, being accepted by Tseegwee and Harhpegwawtu, two Fireweed chiefs of Gitsegyukla, as a son-in-law and odd member of their households.[3] The outlaw was thus adopted on account of the high rank and prestige of his family, which he would retain in his own lineage. His Fireweed patrons gave a feast to wipe off his shame, and had his name changed from Kip-ranaa'o to Mas-ranaa'o, for a new start in life.

Mas-ranaa'o was a man of courage and violent temper. He legitimately married a niece of Kamayæm,[4] a reputed warrior of the Gitandaw tribe of the Tsimsyan, for the sole purpose of murdering him; which he did on the occasion of Kamayæm's visit to Gitsegyukla, the following year. His purpose accomplished, he also killed his wife, and married a niece of Harhpegwawtu. As an acknowledgment of his exploits he became the Fireweed head-chief of the Gitsegyukla tribe; and his posterity increased in time and maintained his prestige. His name among his heirs was changed to that of Weegyet, which had been obtained from their ally Nees-tarhawk, of Kitsalas.

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[1]The pole of the Prince-of-Blackfish at Kispayaks was erected about fifty years ago.

[2]These people, together with others that joined them at a later date, became the Kitwanga tribe.

[3]Whether Small-frogs actually changed his phratry, that is, passed from the Eagles to the Fireweeds, is somewhat doubtful, our informants not being agreed on this point. One version actually has it that together with his family, wife and all, he was adopted by the Fireweeds of Gitsegyukla; but this seems unlikely. Too many rules and customs of the Tsimsyans would have been disregarded in the process. By retaining his phratric connexions with the Eagles and marrying into a Fireweed family at Gitsegyukla, on the other hand, he was conforming to the customs which he had disregarded at home, and which had caused his disgrace. It is true that he handed down to his heirs three of his Eagle crests, which is not according to custom—the children inheriting from the mother, not the father. But it seems to involve less disregard for custom than to have both husband and wife of the same phratry.

[4]She was a Gispwudwada among the Tsimsyan, which corresponds to the Gitksan Fireweeds.

Weegyet's family, though closely connected with that of Harhpeg-wawtu of Gitsegyukla, has since its local inception maintained an independent existence and been outwardly characterized by crests that are on the whole different.

He owns three totem poles, the older of which fell in 1922, and a carved figure formerly on a platform.

DESCRIPTION

The Snag-of-the-sand-bar *(Ranemtsem'aks)* is the name of the fallen pole; or, as it was also called, the Weneel (Plate XX, figure 1). Its figures are: the Thunder-bird, *Teyœ'itu*, four times repeated from the top down to the large figure at the bottom (the figure at the top was partly destroyed when it fell, and the long beaks of the others were lost; they compared in length and style with the beak on the other pole of Weegyet); Many skulls *(Gube-wilwilgyet*, or simply, *Wilwilgyet)*, more than twelve of them, some of them represented without bodies—the row at the top—and others with faces and bodies in intentionally diversified expression and postures; the Weneel at the bottom.

The second pole (Plate XXI, figure 1) is named Ladder-in-steps *(Lademrh-semyip):* It comprises the following crests: Wood-of-hemlock *(Ranarh-geeuk)*, or the rafters of the house, it symbolizes the mountain of Wusen-skeehl, a crest; Split-person *(Stagyet)*; Weneel, a long-nosed bird;[1] Hrkeegyent, or (three) human beings with groundhogs under their arms, symbolizing a hunting ground known under the name of Anarh-gigænih; and the Ladder, at the bottom.[2]

An entrance-post, about 8 feet high, used to stand in front of Weegyet's fish-cabin, at Git'anyus, near the edge of the cliff above the present railroad bridge, on the north side of the river. It (Plate XXI, figure 2) was recently discovered and photographed by Mr. H. I. Smith. It is presumably the oldest pole of Gitsegyukla.

A detached carving represents the Grizzly-bear-of-the-water, formerly with two fins on his back, and a number of human-like faces all over his body.

ORIGINS

Nine crests in all appear on Weegyet's totem poles and carvings. The explanation of their distinct origins is particularly interesting, since one of them was retained by Mas-ranaa'o after his schism from his family, of the Eagle phratry, passed on to his posterity at Gitsegyukla, and thus was transferred from the Eagles to the Fireweeds[3]—possibly the only occurrence of its kind among the Tsimsyan.

The Split-person *(Stagyet)* is still to the present day a crest of the Eagle families under the leadership of Qawq at Kitwanga, and it appears on their totem poles (*See* page 135).

[1]This, according to Mark Weegyet's own statement. Two other local informants described it as the Thunder-bird, *Teyœ'ituh*, which it otherwise resembles.

[2]Alec Brown (Wawralaw) here added that "the best or most valued crest is always placed at the bottom."

[3]Three Eagle crests were thus retained by Mas-ranaa'o: the Ranerhskyæk, the Beaver, and the Split-person, only the latter of which is reproduced here on a pole.

The Snag-of-the-sand-bar emblem was[1] acquired at the time when Uksmalks, of this house long ago, Saiks of Gitrhahla,[2] and Qasrh,[3] of the Gitsees tribe of the Tsimsyan, discovered it together and tried to pull it out of the water. They succeeded in lifting it up for a while and seeing it from top to bottom. But the rising tide swept it away. They knew it to be a supernatural being, as along its shaft were many beings, some of which were children. Every one of them had a name. Weegyet's ancestor, therefore, adopted them as his own crest, and their features were reproduced on his totem pole at Gitsegyukla. The first beings that appeared on the Snag at the top had only heads and no bodies. They were called Wilwigyet, Skulls, or Many-skulls;[4] the second was Thunder-bird *(Hrseteyœ'itu)*, with many small beings underneath. As the Snag was pulled farther out of the water, appeared Large-eyes *(Weneel)*, with a long beak; and then Weneel, with a large human face, whose body did not emerge from the water. The discoverers looked under the water, there to behold a huge Grizzly-bear-of-the-water *(Medeegem-dzawey'aks)* on whose back stood the Snag. Qasrh, the leader of the expedition, said to his colleagues of the Gispwudwada[5] phratry: "This is a good crest for you; it belongs to you." And this is how this emblem and its figures originated.

According to Charles Mark's account, the conquest of the Weneel happened otherwise. Small-frogs *(Mas-ranaa'o)* was starving with his family, up the Nass. As he stood at the edge of a lake, a monster emerged from the water—the Weneel, Large-eyes, with a huge human face. Assisted by his family, he cut this being in half and succeeded in pulling that part of his body out of the water. He gave a feast at a later date, and adopted Large-eyes as a crest. It is represented with a large human face, and a body without legs—just a trunk.

This family also acquired, in different circumstances, another Grizzly-bear crest, the Grizzly-bear with two fins, represented as a separate carving, on the body of which appear engraved faces. A supernatural being was living in a small lake at the foot of Stekyawden.[6] After its discovery, a party of Gitsegyukla people under the direction of Small-frogs *(Mas-ranaa'o)*, proceeded to the lake in a body, built a raft, and conjured the monster out of the water. When it emerged, Small-frogs hit it with his war club, dragged it out of the water on to the raft, and placed it on the shore. It was only stunned, and it tried to run back to the lake, while the people sang, "The Bear changes its position." They finally killed it and gave the skin to Small-frogs for him to reproduce as his crest. On its back were two fins, like those of a fish, and several faces; and its paws consisted of four human faces.[7]

When the maternal ancestors of Weegyet still lived at Temlaham, at the beginning, a party of hunters proceeded up the Skeena to their hunting

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[1]According to Mark Weegyet's account.

[2]Of the Gispwudwada phratry.

[3]Of the Ranhada (Raven) phratry.

[4]Alec Brown (Wawralaw) termed these small beings "Hiswildæget," or, "Pretending to go to war." Some of these represent the warriors carrying arrow quivers, others, those that were killed—for instance, one whose head is turned back on his shoulders.

[5]Corresponding to the Gitksan Fireweed.

[6]Rocher-déboulé, near Hazelton.

[7]This account closely resembles that of Ksrarom-larhæ of Gitsegyukla, but the differences are intentional; the Grizzly-bear-of-the-water of these two families are not quite alike, and are supposed to have originated independently.

grounds at Anarh-gigænih (Place uppermost),[1] wherein is a place in the mountains for hunting the groundhog, which place is named In-leaf *(Lusrayœns)*. Here they conquered the Weneel monster in a lake, according to some informants.[2] While hunting along the mountain side, an avalanche of rock imprisoned them in a narrow cave. They had to dig themselves out and build a notched ladder *(Lademrh-semyip)*.[3] This they later assumed as an emblem, together with the mountain itself, Along-lying *(Wusen-skeehl)*, which is symbolized by the Rafters-of-the-house or Wood-of-hemlock *(Ranarh-geeuk)*, a house which they had built there with rafters on which to dry fish and meat. The human beings with groundhogs under their arms, above the ladder on the pole, represent the hunting ground of Anarh-gigænih (Place-uppermost), in the midst of which they had met with their supernatural experiences.

FUNCTION

The oldest of these poles, the Snag-of-the-sand-bar, was erected four years after the fire of 1871,[4] in memory of Tseegwee.[5] Mark Weegyet had it erected with the assistance of Tseebasæ, Sawyemerh, and other members of his family.

In a letter written in 1924, he states that six villages (of the Gitksan) helped in securing and erecting it: Gitwinlkul, Kitwanga, Gitsegyukla, Hazelton, Hagwelget (a Carrier village), and Kispayaks. They first selected a large log 2 miles above Carnaby (9 miles from Gitsegyukla, along the Skeena) and hauled it down, the cost for which was $800 to Weegyet's family. After two years it was carved, and the carver was paid $400. The same tribes again gathered to erect it when it was ready, and the expenses on this occasion were $1,600; altogether $2,800.

The pole of Ladder-in-steps has stood for over forty years[6] in commemoration of Weegyet. It was erected by his nephew Mark Weegyet.[7]

The Grizzly-bear-of-the-water is also a memorial to the same Weegyet, and was erected at the same time as the Ladder-in-steps.

When Mark Weegyet had the totem pole of the Ladder erected in memory of his uncle, it is still remembered by his nephew Tseebasa (Stephen Morgan) that he had all the villages around, as far as Kisgagas, invited to the festival of commemoration. During the ceremony he stood in front of his fellow chiefs and, reciting the traditional narrative *(ada-orh)* of his family, he then explained his crests and gave a description of his hunting grounds. Tseebasa added that this was always done, in similar circumstances. After the conclusion of the narrative, food and presents are distributed to the guests as payment for their services.

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[1]Near the present Kisgagas, 50 miles above Hazelton.

[2]Isaac Tæns (Tseegwee), of Hazelton.

[3]In the old Indian style.

[4]Charles Mark added that it was erected in the same year as the Fireweed pole.

[5]Alec Brown stated that it was a memorial to Weegyet. But his information is less dependable here than that of Weegyet himself.

[6]Alec Brown said "over thirty years"; Charles Mark once said "fifty years"; another time, "thirty-five." In Mark Weegyet's own opinion, it was forty years—all of which shows the range of personal error.

[7]Who died a very old man, in 1925.

CARVERS

The Snag pole was carved by Hæsem-hliyawn,[1] of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul, one of the best native carvers of his time. The fine quality of his work may be appreciated in the features, the facial expressions, and the interesting contortions of the small figures, rather than in the larger ones, which were disfigured when the pole fell.

The Ladder pole and the Grizzly-bear are credited to Negutsræl or Warap'op,[2] of the Larhsail phratry at Kitwanga. This pole was partly decorated with paint. The feathers of the Weneel were not engraved in the wood, as on the earlier pole, but their outlines were painted black.

POLES OF THE WOLF PHRATRY

(31) Poles of Malee, at Gitwinlkul

OWNERS

Malee belongs to the Prairie *(Larhwiyip)* clan of the Wolf phratry. He is the present head of the family at Gitwinlkul which was established long ago among the People-of-the-foothill-trail *(Kaksparhskeet)* by a member of Ka-ugwait's household as a sequel to a family feud. His foremost relatives abroad, as we will see (page 113), are Spawrh of Gitenmaks, Skateen of Gitlarhdamks on the Nass; and Khleem-larhæ and other subsidiary households of Kispayaks.

He owns, conjointly with his brother Nees-laranows, three totem poles, which still stand in the village of Gitwinlkul.

DESCRIPTION

The oldest of these totem poles, tilting forwards, is called Sitting-grizzly *(Lepeda'thum-legyen'su)* (Plate XX, figure 2). Its figures are: at the top, presumably the Cormorant *(Ha-o'ts)*; The Sitting-grizzly; the two Grizzly Bear cubs, one facing upwards and the other transversally; a small human figure, possibly that of the ancestress, mother of the cubs, whose name was Disappeared *(Temdee-mawks)*; at the bottom, the large Grizzly, called White-bear *(Mas'ol)*, with the same cubs in his ears, here with human faces, and another between his knees.

The taller of the three poles, now leaning sideways (Plate XXII, figure 1) is called the Ribs-of-the-bear *('Anptæltu-kuhl-smaih)*. Its figures are: a human being or a bear in human form, at the top; slanting marks in two rows, erroneously identified by some informants as the claw marks of the Bear, these marks stand for the ribs of the Grizzly,[3] after which the pole is named; the two Bear cubs climbing the pole, one of them with his head protruding and turned sideways; the marks representing the ribs of the Grizzly; another Bear cub, head downwards; and the large Grizzly or the White-bear, whose paws stand out of the main shaft of the pole.

[1]Of the family of Wutarhayæts.

[2]Of the family of Taku (Benson). Charles Mark gave his name as Sekelmuks, of the same house. All these three names presumably were used by the carver at various periods of life.

[3]The mythical Grizzly was killed and skinned by the relatives of Disappeared (Temdee-mawks).

The figures on the third pole, the nearest of the three to the river (Plate XXIV, figure 1) are: presumably the Cormorant *(Ha-o'ts)* at the top and farther below; a Bear cub; and the ancestress Disappeared *(Temdee-mawks)*, at the bottom.

ORIGIN

The Grizzly or the White Bear emblems and the symbolic figure of the ancestress Disappeared, illustrate a myth that is given as a reason for their possession. While the ancestors of Malee were living at Salmon creek *(Shegunya)*,[1] a young woman of their family was lost in the forest. Her name was Disappeared *(Temdee-mawks)*. A year after, at the time when the bears come down to the river's edge to feed on salmon, she was seen walking down to the mouth of Salmon creek, followed by two bear cubs, her offspring, and a huge Grizzly Bear, her supernatural husband. She called her people across the stream, and her two brothers Ka-ugwaits and Kishæ responded to her appeal and took her into their canoe with the cubs. The Grizzly, a mythical being, sitting a short distance away, began to cry aloud, and the cubs jumped from the canoe and returned to his side. Then he swam after the canoe with them sitting on his ears. His lament was like a song which the people of this family have preserved as a dirge. As the Grizzly entered the house of his human wife's brothers, he was stabbed to death. His skin, his head with his teeth, and his paws were preserved as well as his ribs, after the flesh had been removed and buried. These were thereafter used as crests in the family.

The theme here being in its outline the same as that of the Gitrandakhl clan of the Wolf phratry (page 129), we may presume that both are genealogically connected. The two clans, besides, probably go back to the same remote origin.

A feud broke out soon after between the two brothers Ka-ugwaits and Kishæ, which caused the disruption of the family, as we have seen (page 113). The ancestors of Malee, as well as those of Skateen, of the Nass, and Hrleem-larhæ of Kispayaks, have since that time retained the Grizzly as their common crest, and they also share the same traditions of origin.

The emblem of the Cormorant *(Ha-o'ts)* is claimed only by the household of Rsarhgyaw—a subdivision of Hrleem-larhæ's family—in Kispayaks; and for some obscure reason it is also used[2] by Malee of Gitwinlkul, on two of his poles. It is claimed by Rsarhgyaw in particular on the grounds that it was required from Skaneesem-Semaw-iget, an Eagle chief of Geetiks on the Nass, as compensation for a murder, fairly long ago.

FUNCTION

The pole of the Sitting-Grizzly (Plate XX, figure 2) was erected, about fifty years ago, in commemoration of Arhkwundæsu, a leading member of Malee's household.

The Ribs-of-the-bear, the second (Plate XXII, figure 1) was erected some years later by Nees-laranows, in commemoration of Malee, after his death.

[1]Opposite the present village of Kispayaks.

[2]It seems to have acquired its importance only recently as a crest of Malee. It was not actually mentioned in his list of crests, and fails to appear on one of the two oldest poles. It is fully displayed, being repeated twice, only on the most recent of the three poles.

The third, the pole of the Cormorant (Plate XXIV, figure 1) is probably not over fifteen or twenty years old.

CARVERS

To Hæsem-hliyawn goes the credit of carving the pole of the Sitting-Grizzly, a fine example of native decorative treatment, particularly in the lower figures of the Grizzly and the smaller human-like beings on his head. Here we find Tsimsyan carving at its best in its most typical form. Hæsem-hliyawn belonged to the household of Wutarhayæts, of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul.

The poles of the Ribs-of-the-bear and of the Cormorant, were carved by Hlamee,[1] a member of Ramlarhyælk's family, of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul. As an interval of over twenty years lapsed between their erection, we can compare on the spot the work of Hlamee in his earlier and later periods; and we find that the older of the two poles reveals him at his best. The figures of the climbing cub, the head of which, in relief, is turned aside, and of the other cub over the head of the Grizzly, show genuine originality and independence, both in their treatment and plastic feeling. Here he was passing out of the merely conventional style of his fellow artists into the domain of pure sculpture.[2] His device of affixing parts in relief to the pole, though not confined to himself exclusively, is clever and well utilized. The figures in his later pole, possibly owing to his old age at the time when he carved it, revert on the whole to the ordinary stylistic treatment of the period. And the black and white paint with which he decorated them according to the new fashion does not compensate for the evident loss of his earlier inspiration and artistry.

(32) Poles of Gwarh-skyæk and Sqabæ', at Kispayaks

The families of Gwarh-skyæk, Sqabæ', and Hawaao separated some time in the past from that of Malee of Gitwinlkul, as a sequel of domestic strife over the wives of his nephews. Hence they belong to the Prairie clan *(Larhwiyip)* of the Wolf phratry. Their households, known under the name of The Fugitives *(Hagwenudet,* to flee from . . . . to), stand distinctly apart from those of Hrleem-larhæ and Hsarhgyaw, of the same tribe, though they also belong to the same clan. They branched off the parent stem and migrated to Kispayaks at a later date. Their use of an Eagle crest now characterizes them.

They own two totem poles, at Kispayaks, the more elaborately carved one belonging to Gwarh-skyæk, and the other to Sqabæ'.

DESCRIPTION

The older of the two poles, belonging to Gwarh-skyæk and standing at the rear (Plate XXI, figure 3), bears the name of Small-hat *(Hlkwaw-rœt),* or, according to another informant, Tall-hat *(Ksenaum-rœt).* It contains a single figure, that of a human being sitting, with a high conical-like hat on his head.

[1]Alexander was his English name.

[2]The face of the large Grizzly Bear is disfigured by the loss of its muzzle, which formerly stood out in relief

The second pole, that of Sqabæ' (Plate XXI, figure 4), is named Garment-of-Eagle-people *(Gwarhs-skeegyet)* or Hat-people *(Kœdem-gyet)*. An eagle, named Small-eagle *(Warhs-skyeek)*, used to top the pole.[1] Five human beings dangled from its claws, the one holding on to the legs of the other above, in a chain; Half-of-the-Bear *(Sterawtshem-smaih)* jutting out of the pole, near the bottom.

ORIGIN

The Bear, which is a distinctive crest of the Prairie clan as a whole, appears in the modified form of Half-of-the-Bear and is confined to this family. Its origin is accounted for in the Grizzly-bear myth given on page 109. The reason for its special adaptation here, however, is explained thus: a quarrel arose at Gitwinlkul, fairly long ago, between various nephews of Malee, over their wives. Love intrigues made it impossible for them to live together any longer. Instead of seeking redress in feuds, they decided to part and live henceforth in different villages. But they wrangled over the possession of the whole Grizzly-bear crest. Finally the difference was settled without bloodshed; the Gitwinlkul branch would retain the right to use the hindquarters of the bear as a crest, and the Kispayaks group the front part.

The Garment-of-Eagle *(Gwarh-skyeek)* is used both as a family crest and a personal name. It may have originated as a *narhnawk* or spirit name.[2] The account of its mythic origin is circumstantial. In brief, it tells how the head of this group at Kispayaks, Hawaao, once gambled away his wealth, in the early days. Defeated and impoverished he went to live in the forests, and chewed the devil's club, which was known to produce fortitude and exaltation. A supernatural salmon finally came to him and its scales turned into copper shields. With these new riches and accompanied by his supernatural protector, now changed into a woman, his mate, Hawaao returned to Kispayaks, and challenged his adversaries to a gambling contest. He defeated them. But they overpowered him, glued him to the bottom of a canoe with pitch and cast him adrift down the river. He was finally rescued by a strange tribe and adopted by his benefactors who had the Eagle-garment as their magical possession, wherewith they flew in the air and captured sea monsters. Once they hauled from under the water a snag on which were carved several crests. Hawaao, in the end, returned to Kispayaks in the shape of an Eagle, with the help of the magical garment conferred upon him by his relatives. When he saw one of his foes walking out of his house, he pounced upon him and lifted him in the air; several others ran out and caught one another's feet, in an attempt to rescue him; but they were all carried away in the air by the Eagle and dragged out to the sea, where they were dropped for their punishment. After this, Hawaao returned home with his new crest, recovered his wealth and his relatives, and gave a great feast, wherein he assumed the new name of Gwarh-skyæk and the Eagle crest with human beings dangling from its claws.

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[1]It has fallen off, but the carving is still available.

[2]It was used as a *narhnawk*, or personal spirit name, until recently. In the dramatic performances where the *narhnawk* appeared, the performers wore blankets over their heads, and waved their arms under them to represent the Eagle flying.

From this it seems clear that Hawaao, at the time when he was in seclusion, must have visited the village of the Eagles down the river, presumably at Kitsalas, and secured the use of some of their crests in some way; for the Kitsalas Eagle families to the present day own both the Salmon and the Eagle as chief emblems. Moreover, there is reference in their myths to the adoption of the Snag as a crest *(See* Weegyet, page 106). As the Eagle phratry had not spread to the upper Gitksan,[1] Hawaao encountered no difficulty in the adoption of an eagle crest within the Wolf phratry. This process of transferring Eagle crests out of their original frame was also resorted to by the Ravens and the Fireweeds of the Gitksan, as we may see elsewhere.

The crest of the Tall-hat *(Kaodem-gyet)* was adopted at a fairly recent date. A member of this family[2] was killed by a Nass River man, presumably of the family of Nees-tsawl, of the Wolf phratry at Gitwinksilk; and the crest of the Tall-hat was given as a compensation for the murder. This conical hat, as used in festivals, was made of wood, and a human face was painted on it.

FUNCTION

The pole of the Tall-hat was erected fifty or sixty years ago, presumably in memory of Gwarh-skyæk.

That of Garment-of-Eagle was erected to honour the memory of Tsugyet, a chief in the family of Sqabæ',[3] over twenty years ago.[4]

CARVER

The older of the two poles was the work of either Wawsem-larhæ, or of Kyalk, both of the Fireweed phratry, in the same village.

The second is ascribed, by an informant, to Rainems, of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul; or, according to another, to Tsugyet, of the Wolf, at Kispayaks. The first of the two opinions is preferable here.[5] The chain of human figures here is represented with remarkable skill and excellence. The technique in its chief characteristic is that of the Gitwinlkul and Nass River craftsmen.

(33) Pole of Spawrh, at Gitenmaks (Hazelton)

OWNERS

Spawrh belongs to an outstanding clan of the Wolf phratry, the Prairie *(Larhwiyip)*[6] clan, the ramifications of which extend to the three Tsimsyan nations. His foremost relatives abroad are Skateen, of Ayansh,[7] on the

[1]Indeed it appears independently only once in the Gitksan nation, that is their lowest village on the Skeena—Kitwanga.

[2]According to Kweeyaihl, John Brown, of Kispayaks.

[3]As Brown termed it, "It was not a grave," but a memorial.

[4]Brown believed it to have been erected about fifteen years after the first pole.

[5]Because a carver of another phratry must be employed for the work. John Brown who gave the name of Tsuget for that of the carver showed that his memory in such respects was very often at fault.

[6]On-wide-open (place).

[7]There are other related families of the same clan at Gitrhatin, on the Nass.

upper Nass, and Nees-laranows, of the Gitlæn tribe of the Tsimsyan; among the Gitksan, they are: Malee or Nees-laranows, of Gitwinlkul, and Kleem-larhæ, of Kispayaks.

The family traditions as recorded among these various branches of the clan enable us to reconstruct their history at least in its outlines.

Their remotest remembered ancestor belonged to the Tahltan nation,[1] at the headwaters of Stikine river to the north, and was born in the Larhwiyip country still occupied by the Tahltan.

After a war between the Wolf and the Raven phratries, at a place named Dehldaan, he took to flight down the Stikine, with his relatives embarked in six canoes. These fugitives spent a winter at a place named Hlaranus, a *Tlingit* term, and then proceeded to Stikeen, a point where one of their members settled with his family. The others joined another party of fugitives at Na'a (near the present Port Chester), and travelled southwards until they reached a stronghold of the Wolf people at Tongas, among the west coast Tlingit. Some of their members decided to join the Tongas tribe in permanence; others, in four canoes, continued on their migration southwards. Two canoe loads proceeded up Nass river, and the last two journeyed down to the coast Tsimsyan country, where they became members of the Gitlæn tribe.[2]

The two households which the Nass River branch of this clan established on the upper Skeena soon encountered adversity, through a feud between Ka-ugwaits and Keeshæ, their leaders. Ka-ugwaits, after his house was destroyed, took to flight, and ascended Kispayaks (Kispiox) river[3] to its head. Thence, he went beyond and founded a new home at the Dry-prairie *(Gitangwalk)*. One of his successors at a later date joined the tribe of the People-of-the-foothill-trail *(Kaksparh-skeet)*, now the Gitwinlkul, then living much farther north on the Grease Trail than at the present time. His direct heirs now are Malee of Gitwinlkul, and Kleem-larhæ and the subsidiary houses of Kispayaks.

Keeshæ, the head of the opposite household, meanwhile sojourned at Place-of-snat (a small shrub),[4] on Kispayaks river. One of his nephews, Mukweluks, after a time migrated to the Nass and settled at Gitlarhdamks. Skateen, the present head-chief of this tribe, is his foremost descendant. He himself moved down the river, to Temlaham; and his heirs now live at Gitenmaks (now Hazelton). Thus we have, roughly, the course of events which, according to tradition, have led to the present diffusion of the clan. Some of the families within the clan became further split up in modern times, and spread to other tribes, as we will see later, when describing their individual totem poles.

Spawrh owns a single totem pole, which now stands in the Indian section of Hazelton. Another may have stood in commemoration of a member of this family, in the older village.

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[1]Of the Athapascan linguistic stock.

[2]The traditional account of these migrations was recorded among the coast Tsimsyan. The following, which concerns the Gitksan and Nisræ branches of this clan, was obtained among the Gitksan.

[3]A tributary of the upper Skeena.

[4]Sransnat.

DESCRIPTION

This pole (Plate XXI, figure 5) bears the name of Standing-bear *(Hœthum-smaih* or *Tam-smaih).* It shows three complete figures of the Bear, meant to be the Grizzly, sitting erect, above one another; and the head of a fourth at the top.

ORIGIN

The Grizzly-bear is the outstanding crest of this clan. It appears under special forms and names in the possession of most, if not all, the members of its families among the three nations of the Tsimsyan.[1] The account of its mystic origin so far was recorded only once, in connexion with the household of Malee, at Gitwinlkul *(See* page 109). In the other narratives of the Gitksan branch of this clan it is mentioned once, in an episode wherein it is related that Ka-ugwait's house was destroyed for blood revenge, after he had slain his relative Keesæ. The avengers burnt the house-poles inside his house, whereon the figure of the Bear was represented, but saved the other Bear carvings for their own use, thus practically conquering them in warfare.

FUNCTION AND CARVER

It was erected over forty years ago, in memory of a former Spawrh,[2] by his successor of the same name. Three other men since have borne in turn the name of Spawrh, including the last (Johny Patsy), who died a few years ago.

The carver was Isaac Tæns (Tseegwee), of the Fireweed phratry, formerly of Gitsegyukla and most of his life domiciled at Hazelton.[3] Tæns, although not among the best carvers of the Gitksan, showed that he really belonged to their artistic lineage, in this pole, which is of good quality. The red, black, and white marks at the nostrils, the eyes, the eyebrows, the ears, the chops, and the teeth, add a mellow touch of colour to the plastic features of the bears, which were further improved by the natural growth of a yellow fungus on various parts of their bodies.

(34) Poles of Kleem-larhæ, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

Kleem-larhæ is a member of the Prairie *(Larhwiyip)* clan of the Wolves. His earliest ancestor on the Skeena was Ka-ugwaits, as we have seen (page 113), and his relatives abroad are: Spawrh, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton); Malee, of Gitwinlkul; Skateen, of Nass river, and Nees-laranows, of the Tsimsyan.

He owns two totem poles in the village of Kispayaks.

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[1]The Grizzly-bear, used as a crest by some clans of the Fireweed phratry, is of a different kind, being generally described as the Grizzly-bear-of-the-sea, with a fin on his back.

[2]Whose other name was Muq.

[3]Who died, an old man, about 1923.

DESCRIPTION

Both of these poles bear the name of Running-backwards *(Wuden-bebah)*.[1]

The older one (Plate XXII, figure 2; Plate XXIII, figures 1 and 2) includes five figures: The Wolf, horizontally, at the top; the Wolf, head down; Running-backwards *(Wuden-bebah)*, a mythic character; Where-the-hole-goes-through *(Wul'naqaq)*; and Running-backwards, at the bottom.[2]

The other (Plate XXIII, figure 2) now contains only one figure, that of Running-backwards. But formerly the Wolf, carved out of a separate piece, was pegged on to the shaft over the lower figure. When it fell, it is supposed to have injured a man, who happened to stand there.

ORIGIN

The Wolf as used in this family is known under the name of the Raiding-wolf *(Kitwœlthem-kibu)*, or the Wolf-raiding-the-people. It is said to have been derived from a personal spirit-name *(narhnawk)*. A mask represented it, in the first place; and it is still used both as a *narhnawk* and a family emblem. There is no myth, therefore, to explain its origin—the inception of personal names is not as a rule accounted for in set narratives.

The crest of Running-backwards *(Wuden-bebah* or *Tsem'widn-babah*, Into-between-the-thighs) does not seem to be ancient. It is not known elsewhere. It was carved originally to serve as a house-front post, in the shape of a human figure, between the legs of which was the doorway. The guests to the feast inside would enter through it. This carved doorpost was still in existence about forty years ago. The house itself bore the same name, that is, Entrance-between-the-legs. There seems to be no myth accounting for its origin.

The Hole-through *(Wul'naqaq)* was a family emblem and a house-front device. It consisted of a circular opening over the door. Around it were represented several small human-like beings, their feet resting on the rim of the circle. It served as ceremonial entrance into the house, whenever feasts were given; the regular door below it was blocked for the occasion, and the guests entered through the round hole above, by means of ladders outside and inside. There was supposedly a myth to explain its acquisition, but our informants could not remember it. The Hole-through also appears, more elaborately carved, on a pole of Haidzemerhs, also of the Wolf phratry, at Gitwinlkul.

There were formerly, it is remembered, two other poles belonging to this house. They have since fallen and disappeared.

FUNCTION

The older and taller of the two poles (Plate XXII, figure 2; Plate XXIII, figure 1) was erected about sixty years ago.[3] in memory of a former Kleem-larhæ.

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[1]Another translation given was "Large-thighs."

[2]The haunches and legs are turned backwards, in the lower carvings of the two poles. This is particularly noticeable in the newer one.

[3]John Brown said forty-six years ago (in 1926), and believed that the other pole was about seventy years old. But the other opinion seems more dependable here: that it has stood for about sixty years and the other about forty.

The smaller pole was carved in the neighbourhood of forty years ago, to commemorate Tsugyet, a chief in this family, who died at the time.

CARVERS

The more elaborate and older pole, one of the best examples of Gitksan art, was carved by Gurhnahaks, from the household of Arhawt, who belonged to the Larhsail phratry, at Kispayaks.

The other is ascribed to Tsenhlæk (James Green), of the same household, who is now an old man.

(35) Pole of Hrsarhgyaw, at Kispayaks

The household of Hrsarhgyaw is a subdivision of that of Hrleemlarhæ, of the same village; hence, indirectly, of that of Malee, of Gitwinlkul. It belongs to the Prairie clan (Larhwiyip) of the Wolf phratry.

Hrsarhgyaw owns a totem pole at Kispayaks.

DESCRIPTION

The bird at the top of this pole (Plate XXII, figure 3) is the Prince-of-Cormorants *(Hlku-wælksekem-ha'ots)*; the marks under it, down the pole, are the Ribs-of-the-Bear;[1] and, at the bottom sits the Ribbed-bear *(Ptæltkum-smaih)*.

ORIGIN

The Grizzly-Bear and the Ribs-of-the-Bear, as represented on this pole, are the same as those of Malee, of Gitwinlkul, the mythic origin of which was explained above (page 109). This crest seems to be the only fairly ancient one, being used among the various families of this clan.

The Prince-of-cormorants, on the other hand, was acquired more recently in compensation for the murder of a member of this house, from Ksqanisem-Semaw'iget, and Eagle chief of the Geetiks tribe on the Nass.[2]

FUNCTION AND CARVER

It was erected from thirty-five to forty years ago, presumably in memory of Hrsarhgyaw. The identity of the maker is uncertain. It is the work of a Kitwanga carver, whose name was forgotten.[3] The representation of the Bear here is of an unusual type; the head is twisted around, so that his jaw rests on his back. No symbolic significance, however, attached to this feature, which is merely stylistic.

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[1]John Brown misinterpreted this symbol, as is often done, and stated that the marks were meant for the claw-marks of a bear climbing a tree.

[2]Another informant stated that it came from the house of Thratkurarhs, of the Nass, about forty years ago. This may be another name of the same chief.

[3]According to John Brown, whose memory on such matters seems often at fault, it was carved by James Green (Tsinhlæk), of the Wolf phratry, at Kispayaks.

(36) Poles of Weerhæ, at Gitwinlkul

OWNERS

The family of Weerhæ traces back its origin to the seacoast, near the mouth of the Skeena; more precisely, to the prehistoric village of Sqæqhl[1] on Hrain (Kaien)[2] island (where now stands Prince Rupert). The evidence at hand shows that it once formed part of the family of Asaralyæn or of Anarhladay, of the Gitsees tribe. These two households are among the most ancient Wolf families of the Tsimsyan.[3]

The ancestors of this family were forced by misfortune to abandon their country long ago, after a fight with the Gitwilgyawts tribe, over the infidelity of Weerhæ's wife. They moved on to the upper Nass, and became incorporated in another Wolf family for a time, that of Negwa'on, of Gitrhatin. Thence, at a later date, they joined the interior band which afterwards became the Gitwinlkul tribe. Weerhæ has been the head-chief of this tribe for several generations.

The family of Weerhæ owns four totem poles in Gitwinlkul. The four house-posts of the feast house of Weerhæ, the name of which was Underground-grades-of-stone *(Taqam-law'p)*, used to be four Standing-bears, carved out of wood. They now have disappeared.

DESCRIPTION

The shortest and most impressive of the three (Plate XXV, figure 1) is known under the name of Mountain-eagle or Thunder-bird *(Skaimsem)*. On its top sits the bird-like monster variously known as Woodpecker *(Kyewahlran* or *Gitl'wins)*, Split-person or Twins or Double-headed-person *(Kaodihgyet* or *Kaldih-gyet)*, and, among the Tsimsyan, Caterpillar *(Hrtse' nawsuh)*; the ten or eleven children, in two rows, are those of the ancestress who was kidnapped by the mythic mountain-eagle *(Skaimsem)*, and of her semi-human children; the Mountain-eagle; and, at the bottom, Person-with-a-large-nose *(Git'weedzarat)* holding a child or a human being in his hands.[4]

The second pole standing to the right (Plate XXV, figure 2) is called a Split-person *(Kaodih-gyet)*. The figures on the upper half are Double-headed or Split-person, with two complete human beings on his head, on both sides of a headdress or a mask; the lower carvings represent the same characters, but the human figures on the head of Split-person are of a large size, and each holds a child in his arms.

The tallest of these poles, now leaning backwards (Plate XXV, figure 3; Plate XXIV, figure 2), illustrates still more extensively the same crests of the ancestress kidnapped by the Mountain-eagle *(Skaimsem)* and her children, and of Split-person. It stands in front of the two others. The figures of no less than twenty or twenty-one children actually appear

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[1]Or Skyærh.

[2]The Indian name, Hrain, is used in this report, not the Geographic Board spelling—Kaien.

[3]Their clan is considered by the informants as being of ancient Tsimsyan extraction, whereas the others are remembered for their foreign northern origin—either Tlingit, Tahltan, or Tsetsaut (Sekanais). Yet it may, like the others, have come down from the north at a remote date; the name of Anarhladay itself sounds distinctly Tlingit.

[4]The nose has fallen off.

complete on this pole; their arms are in varied postures; their heads are sometimes tilted sideways, and their countenances assume peculiar and diversified expressions. The largest figures at the top stand probably for Split-person; the single human face below the row of children may be meant for Tsiwiladaw, the ancestress that adopted the Woodpecker as a pet; the other large figure below two rows of children is Split-person again, with two human beings in her arms; the crest at the bottom seems to be Large-nosed-person, the nose of which has fallen off. This pole contains a total of over twenty-six figures—which is probably far in excess of any other pole in existence.

The fourth pole, the most recent, also bears the name of Mountain-eagle or Thunder-bird *(Skaimsem)*. It stands on the lower terrace, nearer to the river (Plate XXIV, figure 3), and represents in simplified form the same mythic adventures and emblems: Mountain-eagle, at the top; Tsiwiladaw, the mythic ancestress with a child in her arms; four of her children; and Large-nosed-person *(Git'weedzarat)*.

ORIGIN

There is much discrepancy in the accounts given locally of the mythic origin of the crests of the Woodpecker or the Caterpillars, the Split or Double-headed-person, the Thunder-bird and his human mate Tsiwiladaw, and the Person-with-a-long-nose. But these are all typical Wolf emblems, and must be of some antiquity.

The Person-with-a-long-nose is evidently the same, under a different name and with another myth, as Tree-dweller and Large-belly—whose nose was long and sharp like a knife. These are the emblems of some Wolf families of another clan on the upper Skeena (page 126).

Woodpecker is used as an emblem in another Wolf clan of the upper Skeena, that of Ksemqaqhl (page 128). There it appears under two forms, Dragon-fly and Mosquito.

The small, human-like beings with distinctive contortions are also familiar elsewhere, particularly in the Wild-rice clans of the Wolf phratry on the upper Skeena. But here their name and explanation are different, in spite of a general thematic resemblance. They appear sometimes as Shadows-in-the-lake or in the crest of Hole-through-the-Sky *(Wul'naqaq)* (page 123).

Split-Person also reminds one of the Split-bear of the same Wild-rice clans of the upper Skeena; on both sides there are representations of these mythic beings with their entrails out of their body.

The historic significance of these similarities is that all these kinship symbols undoubtedly go back to the same remote prototypes. As they travelled far apart for a considerable period, they became differentiated. If now, their names, their remembered significance, and the myths vary, it is that they are more recent than the pictorial emblems and the fundamental concepts themselves. The clans of the Wild-rice and that of Hrain (Kaien) island—here represented by Weerhæ—are likely to be genealogically related, if we take into account these ancient heirlooms in their common possession.

The accounts given of the origin of these crests in Weerhæ's family and among his Tsimsyan relatives of the Gitsees tribe are, in brief, as follows:

The Thunder-bird or Mountain-eagle (Skaimsem) Crest. A young woman of this family, long ago was taken away from her village by the Mountain-eagle, a human-like spirit, who made her his mate. His craving was for the flesh of human beings; and he devoured his own children, who were peculiar beings, part bird and part human. When later she returned home, she related her supernatural experience to her relatives and they commemorated it by means of carvings.

The Woodpecker or Caterpillar Crest. A hunter's wife on Hrain island (now Prince Rupert) had a lover, who finally lost his life at the hands of the angered husband. His body was left unburied behind the village, until Prince-of-the-Wolves, a spirit from the mountain, appeared and frightened the people into flight for their indignity. The hunters then captured in the hills four young mountain eagles, to rear them in their lodge. Their sister Tsiwiladaw at the same time secretly adopted a small woodpecker *(Kyewahlran* or *Gitl'wins)* as a pet; and she hid it in a pit under the house. As she kept feeding it all the time, the pet grew into a huge monster, serpent or caterpillar like,[1] whose abode was a tunnel underground. The parents, when they discovered it, killed it and adopted it as a crest.

The ancestors of this family, before they migrated from the seacoast to the Nass, killed Ligi-utkwætk, of the Gitwilgyawts tribe, who belonged to the Gispwudwada phratry. They were forced to concede to the family of their victim the use of a crest for compensation, that of the Woodpecker, which now is still preserved among them under the name of Caterpillar *(Htse'nawsu).* Peculiarly enough, it is represented as "a double-headed being, short-legged, with a head like a wolf's. Between his twin-heads is a human face." This description corresponds exactly to the figures that make up the crest of Split-person or Double-headed person, as it can be seen on the oldest pole of Weerhæ, at Gitwinlkul. An aged Kitwanga informant, Snake (Lælt), described Split-person in the following terms: "Split-person or Twin-person had two heads and one trunk. Its bowels fall out of its body. On the Nass, it is an Eagle crest; here it belongs to the Wolves. It is of Nass origin."

Kweenu[2] described it thus: "One man with two heads. The meaning of the whole pole of Split-person is 'One body, one stomach, and the bowels of one, for the two-head person'."

The Person-with-long-nose *(Git'weedzarat)* as used in this house is not given especial attention; nor does it seem to be accounted for in the family traditions. But is evidently a form of the familiar Wolf crest used elsewhere—Glass or Cutting-nose *(Dzaraohlaw),* and explained on page 128.

FUNCTION

The pole of the Thunder-bird *(Skaimsem)* is about thirty years old, since, according to Lælt, it was carved by Hæsem-hliyawn, after the death of Kameh-melmuk.[3] It was intended to commemorate Gurhshlam. But,

[1]Some describe it as a grub, of the type that burrow tunnels in trees. Kweenu said, "This woman gave birth to little grubs, worms, as one finds in tree trunks. One hears them burrowing their tunnels."

[2]Mrs. John Larahnitz, of Kitwanga.

[3]Nicknamed Gitwinlkul Jim. He himself had chosen and cut the tree. This was corroborated by Kweenu, Mrs. John Larahnitz, who said that it had been erected when she was very young.

according to Kweenu, it was raised instead in commemoration of Kameh-melmuk (Gitwinlkul Jim), who was shot down by the police in 1888.[1]

The pole of Split-person or Double-headed-person, to the right, is the oldest of the three. It was erected in front of Weerhæ's house, possibly sixty or seventy years ago,[2] in his memory. The carver may have been a Nass River artist.[3]

The fourth pole, of the Mountain-eagle, was erected about twenty-five years ago,[4] in commemoration of Wawralæ, one of the leading members of Weerhæ's family.

The tallest of the four poles, which leans backwards, was carved and erected over forty years ago. It seems somewhat more recent than the two other poles behind it. The object of its commemoration could not be remembered by Kweenu.

CARVERS

The three oldest poles of this family are among the most remarkable in existence. As a group, belonging to one household and standing close together, they are certainly unsurpassed among the Gitksan and the Tsimsyan, and perhaps, among the other North West Coast nations as well.

The oldest was possibly carved by a Nass River artist; the two larger and more elaborate ones, by Hæsem-hliyawn, of the Larhsail in the same village;[5] and the more recent, near the river, by the prolific carver, Hlamee (Alexander), of the Larhsail at Gitwinlkul. The Standing-bears in Weerhæ's house, which have disappeared, were also his work.

The diameter of the two older poles is greater at the top than at the base. The device of thus planting the tree upside down, to give wider scope for the carving at the top, is resorted to in only three other instances on the Skeena.

Although Hlamee's pole is one of the best from his hand, and he himself was perhaps the foremost Gitksan carver of his generation, it is nonetheless inferior in inspiration and originality to the three older poles by other artists. The art, instead of improving after 1880, had reached a stage of decadence. Hlamee, for one thing, introduced the white's man's paint to enhance the features of his figures. He did it with discretion and to good effect; yet paint immediately lessened the sculptural quality of the work, which was bound to remain its principal, we should say its only important, asset. The figures under Hlamee's chisel and paint brush are smoother than they were formerly; they are on the whole more stylized, their relief is thinner, and the arrangement of the figures more static, not so freely handled. Yet the head and face of the ancestress Tsiwiladaw are possibly his most remarkable achievement. They certainly bear the mark of a creative talent.

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[1]Kweenu added: "It was erected by Kameh-melmuk's relatives. Even the children helped to pay for it."

[2]Lælt, of Kitwanga, now an old man, believed that it had been raised before his time.

[3]According to Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz).

[4]That is, when Kweenu (Mrs. John Larahnitz) was old enough to help and dig the hole. She is now about forty-five (?).

[5]Of the household of Yarhyaq.

When we compare his work at close range with that of Hæsem-hliyawn, to whom he must have been indebted for his traditional art, perhaps his training, we cannot help concluding that the elder of the two was by far the greater artist. Hæsem-hliyawn belonged to the generation (1840-1880) where the totem pole art was still in its period of growth and all at once at its apogee. The small human figures on Hæsem-hliyawn's poles, with all their amusing contortions are one and all among the outstanding achievements of North West Coast art at its best.[1] Their facial expression is thoroughly characteristic of the race. Although their delineation preserves the traditional style and technique, it passes into a new and effective realism. The treatment of the birds and other monsters on these poles is not inferior to that of the human figures. The Mountain-eagle and the Woodpecker are about the best we know of these two mythic beings, which are a familiar theme elsewhere. The Gitwinlkul artist freely resorted, in the shorter of the two poles, to the device of supplementing the pole with external additions affixed with pegs, so as to enhance the features of his characters by means of high relief.

To Hæsem-hliyawn goes the credit of having emerged from mere traditional conventions and reached into the higher sphere of art, where a creator obeys his own instinct and freely expresses himself in terms that belong to humanity as a whole.

The older pole (on the right), if it is not actually from the chisel of the same carver, is not a whit inferior to the other two in craftsmanship and genuine feeling for form and decoration. No one could ever hope to draw more out of a plain tree trunk than has the carver. His figures are among the finest and most perfect of their kind. And their resemblance to those of Hæsem-hliyawn leads us to believe that, if they actually are from a different maker, the two artists must belong to the same school or else must be still more intimately correlated.

(37) Poles of Willits and Trawawq, at Gitwinlkul

OWNERS

The origin of Willits and Trawawq, of Gitwinlkul, is lost in obscurity. It is the same, according to various statements, as that of Weerhæ, the head-chief of Gitwinlkul; personal names and myths being used in common among them. Hence they would belong to the oldest Wolf clan of the Tsimsyan, and their migration from the seacoast would have taken place fairly early. Yet, their traditional rights have several points in common with those of Malee, their other tribesman of the Wolf phratry, whose distinct origin is traced back to Larhwiyip, the Prairie clan of the northern plateaux. The analogies, particularly as to crests, may come merely from prolonged contacts and interchanges; the coast and interior clans gradually merging into each other in the course of time. The crest of Running-backwards *(Wuden-bebah)*, for instance, is used elsewhere by

[1]They deserved a closer individual study than we could give them, in difficult circumstances. We were not supposed to photograph or draw them; and our stay at Gitwinlkul was very short.

Kleem-larhæ, of Kispayaks—a close relative of Malee; and Shadows-of-trees *(Kanawdzenerh)* also belongs to Kyæhu or Kwawhadaq, of Gitenmaks (now Hazelton), another semi-allied household.

Willits owns two poles, and Trawawq owns one, all three of which stand at the southern end of Gitwinlkul village.

DESCRIPTION

The first of the three poles (Plate XXII, figure 4), over 30 feet high, stands at the foot of the declivity, and the Wolf surmounts its top transversally. Little information could be obtained about these three poles, and photographs could be taken only under great difficulties, owing to the avowed hostility of the Wolf clan of Gitwinlkul against white intruders. The figures (from the top) are: the Wolf, the zigzag-like Shadows *(Kanawdzenerh)*; a large human being with body turned backwards—the mythic character Running-backwards *(Wuden-bebah)*; a human being; the Wolf sitting up with its tail turned up between its legs; a third human being, unidentified, at the base near the ground.

The other pole of Willits, presumably one of the two standing in the immediate neighbourhood of the first, could not be observed or photographed at close range; and it was impossible to secure other information.

The pole of Trawawq stands at the end of the row, to the south, and is surmounted by a Bear resting horizontally on the head of a human being. Under it stand, one above the other, four human beings (Plate XXII, figure 5).

The carvings on the first of these poles is of good quality, and resembles the work of some Gitlarhdamks artists, on the upper Nass. The lower figure of the Wolf sitting erect, with its tail turned upwards, is analogous to that seen on a few totem poles of the upper Nass, in particular that of Toq, of Gitlarhdamks, which now stands in the park at Prince Rupert.

(38) Pole of Haidzemerhs, at Gitwinlkul

OWNERS

Haidzemerhs and his family belong to the second Wild-rice clan of the Wolves, that which traces back its ancestry to Gwee-Sædzan, of the Wild-rice tribe *(Gitanrasrh)*, at the headwaters of the Skeena near Bear lake. More precisely, they are a subdivision of the family of Hrkwayemtu, of Anlarasem-dærh (near Kisgagas). Their relatives abroad are, in consequence: Kwawhadaq, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton); Hrkwayemtu, of Anlarasem-dærh; Weeraih, of Kisgagas; Nist, of Qaldo; and Gwæ', of Gitwinksilk, on the Nass. The Tsetsaut (Sekanais) almost annihilated them in a raid, not long ago.

They own a totem pole at Gitwinlkul.

DESCRIPTION

This pole (Plate XXII, figure 6) is known under the name of Place-of-opening or Hole-through-the-Sky *(Wul'naqaq-larhæ)*. Its figures are: Migrating-wolf *(Lurum-keebu)*,[1] head upwards, its tail turned back, and

[1]Or Pack-of-Wolves migrating or travelling together; and informant added "moving with baggage."

its jaw resting on its shoulder blade; Ligi-ralwil, a member of this clan, taken away by the Wolf, whose tail he holds in his hands; the Prince-of-Bears *(Hlkuwœlksegem-smaih)* split open; his stomach and entrails, fallen out of his body, are bitten by the Wolf;[1] the Hole-through *(Wul'naqaq)*, with twelve small human-like beings standing around it.

ORIGIN

The Grizzly-bear, as we have seen, is the most distinctive crest of all the Wolf clans. Here it is adapted to the use of this family and appears in a special form, that of the Split-bear whose entrails have fallen out of his body. The ætiological explanation of how this first happened was not remembered.

The Hole-through-the-sky is also a familiar emblem, but its ownership in this special form is circumscribed to a few families, in particular to two Wolf clans, those of Hleem-larhæ, of Kispayaks, and of Haidzemerhs. The small supernatural beings, with their characteristic contortions—the postures of their hands, which vary, are interesting—undoubtedly go back to the same concept as those that appear on the coat-of-arms of Weerhæ, of the same phratry and village, and of Weegyet, of the Fireweed phratry at Gitsegyukla (*See* pages 106, 115).

More emphasis is laid upon the Wolf crest, which is termed Wolf-pack-migrating. Two myths account for its legitimate possession here.[2]

In the first, it is related that the ancestors of this clan, when they still lived together at Wild-rice village, went to their hunting grounds, leaving behind them a young woman of the name of Tsenarh'ode. She gave birth to a child, in her seclusion. When the child was able to play alone outside her hut, it was taken away by a wolf pack, and its body was torn to bits. The mother lamented, "I am a Wolf myself," that is, a Larh-kibu, of the Wolf crest; "you are my brothers; it is to your own niece that you have done this!" Her brothers, when they returned from the hunt, followed the tracks of the wolves, but could not overtake them. One of them killed a grizzly on his way. After returning home they declared, "We will take the Wolf-pack-migrating for our crest, because the wolves captured Tsenarh-'ode's child while migrating." 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.

While the "grandfathers" of this clan lived at River-of-mists *(Ksendehl-tsan)*, they inhabited a large communal house named Log-house *(Wilp-qan)*. Snow fell in the winter until the house was almost buried under it. When the inmates woke up one morning the Wolf sat inside, near the door. The household chief spoke to him, questioning him, "What does this mean? . . . ." His name, therefore, became Questioning-within *(Ramlu-geedels)*. He ordered his people to give him food. But the Wolf could not eat. "See whether there is anything wrong with the Wolf," the chief ordered his nephews. They found a bone stuck in his throat, which they removed. The Wolf for the signal service became their

[1]The tail of the Wolf was pegged on and turned back. It has since fallen off; but the hole for the peg and th e groove on the back of the Wolf, where it was inserted, show its former position.

[2]These were obtained from Charles Martin, in 1920, who is a member of the Kisgagas branch of this clan (from Weeraih's household).

friend. But he soon went off to the woods. A famine was brought about by the deep snowfall. A being, speaking like a man, invited them outside at night. They were frightened, but when they recognized the tracks of their pet, the Wolf, in the snow, they followed them until they found several caribou which he had killed for their use. In memory of this supernatural event, they assumed another Wolf as a crest, which they call Single-Wolf. A quarrel, within the present generation, broke out between Weeraih's household and another Wolf family over the right to use this crest, which seems to be quite recent. The myth itself (the theme of the grateful animal) is likely to be post-European.

The representation on the pole of Ligi-ralwil—one of the two chiefs for whom the pole stands— seems to be a mere personal reference to his memory.

FUNCTION

This pole was erected under the direction of Algarem-skehl, of the same family, in memory of his uncles Haidzemerhs, the head-chief of this house, and his brother Ligi-ralwil. This happened less than forty years ago, according to Lælt (Snake), a reliable old informant of the same phratry at Kitwanga; or, according to Kweenu,[1] when her mother was still unmarried—that is, possibly, sixty years ago.

CARVER

This is one of Hæsem-hliyawn's poles[2]; and it undoubtedly is among the very best carvings of this excellent artist, although it is now somewhat disfigured.[3] In this pole he displayed his unique ability to draw the utmost out of a plain cedar log. Seventeen figures—besides the stomach, the liver, the heart, and the bowels of the Bear, and the Hole-through-the-sky—are actually represented; and a feeling of movement and action pervades his clever arrangement. Here the artist has proceeded far, indeed, from the stiff, mask-like arrangement of figures on the poles, which was characteristic of his predecessors and of most of his contemporaries.

The pole itself, as a type, belongs to the older period of the craft. It is a house-front pole, and one of the only four still in existence among the Gitksan, which were used as ceremonial entrances to the feast house. It is undoubtedly the best and most elaborate of these four—two of which have already fallen to the ground.[4] It was made out of a large log, the back and the core of which were removed either to reduce the weight of the pole or to prevent decay.

(39) Poles of Kwawhadaq, at Gitenmaks

OWNERS

Kwawhadaq or Kyærhu, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton), traces back his ancestry to the Wild-rice people *(Gitanrasrh)* of the headwaters of the

[1]Mrs. John Larahnitz of Gitwinlkul, for a long time a resident of Kitwanga.

[2]He belonged to the household of Wutarhayæts, of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul.

[3]The lower Wolf has lost its tail, and the Grizzly-bear, its snout.

[4]One at Kitwanga, which was re-erected by the Canadian Government and the Canadian National railways in 1925; and the other, at Hazelton, on the old village site.

Skeena, near Bear lake. He seems to belong in some ways to the Wild-rice clan of the Wolf phratry. He shares with the other members of this clan the privilege of using the tradition of the raid of Suweeraus against the Tsetsaut (Sekanais), in which the crest of Shadows was acquired. But the credit for this may go back to his own ancestors, under the leadership of Gwee-sædzan, of the same phratry and village, who took part in the same expedition and shared in the same benefits.

His other family emblems and privileges and his connexions abroad otherwise tend to indicate that his remote origin may have been different from that of the Wild-rice clan. Two of his crests are different: the Black-bears climbing a tree, and the Wolf-cut-in-half. His family myth, which accounts for the origin of the Shadows, is rather different from that of the Wild-rice clan, as we will see presently. His close relatives abroad are also different: Nist, of Qaldo; Weeraih, of Kisgagas; and Gwæ, of Gitwinksilk on the Nass,[1] all of whom seem to trace their origin to a common ancestor—Gwee-sædzan, of the Wild-rice village.

Kwawhadaq owns a totem pole at Hazelton. A section of another pole, formerly standing on the old village site, still existed a few years ago and was photographed before its disappearance.

DESCRIPTION

The totem pole that still stands in the new Indian village[2] at Hazelton (Plate XXVI, figure 1) is known under the name of Place-of-climbing *(Amptahlu)*; or, according to another interpretation, Place-where-bears-cool-off.

Its figures are: Wolf-cut-in-half *(Htserantsem-keebu)*, the front part of the wolf is shown head downwards, with black stripes for the ribs; Black-bears *(Smaih)* and their two cubs *(Ksi'awahl,* New-cubs) climbing around the pole, four altogether;[3] Shadows-of-trees *(Kanawdzenerh)* painted in black between the two bears, near the bottom of the pole, it consists of two parallel lines enclosing three circles, one at both ends and the other in the centre; both arms on each side of the central circle are disposed as are the arms of a clock at twenty-five to eleven.

The fragment (Plate XXVI, figure 2) formed part of an older pole standing in the old village near the junction of the Bulkley and the Skeena. More figures are said to have appeared on that pole than on the newer one.

ORIGIN

The Shadows-of-trees were obtained as an emblem by this family on the occasion of a raid against the Tsetsaut (Sekanais), under the direction of Suweeraus and Nurhs, of Qaldo. When the raiders came to the edge of a northern lake, they became aware of the presence of the enemy on the other side, and they watched for their shadows in the water. Finally they spied shadows moving at the opposite edge of the lake, and, antici-

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[1]Gwæ and Laqæ, of the same clan, at Gitwinksilk, belong to what is known on the Nass as the Larh-tiyawqhl tribe. The crests of Laqæ are Large-belly, and Long-cutting-nose *(Hoɣohlem-tsɣqh)*. The name of Kyæhu is also found in their possession.

[2]Established by the first Indian Agent, Mr. Loring, about 1890.

[3]There used to be a cub (according to some, it was a Wolf), on top of the pole. This crest as a whole was also called *Ah-wullayest*, Without-knowledge.

pating success, they said, "We will take this as a crest." Suweeraus conquered his emblem of Tree-dweller, and Nurhs, the White-Owl, on the same expedition.

No ætiological explanation is given of the other crests, Wolf-cut-in-half and the Climbing-bears. The Climbing-bears presumably go back to the same source as those appearing on Malee's poles at Gitwinlkul, though their two respective clans are not genealogically connected.

FUNCTION AND CARVER

This pole was erected about thirty-five years ago[1] in memory of Kwawhadaq. It was described as "his grave."[2]

The carver was Gitemraldo (the predecessor of the present), the head-chief of the Gitenmaks tribe, belonging to the Larhsail phratry. His work is fairly crude, yet the style of high relief shows that the artist was conscientious and painstaking.

(40) Poles of Kyawlugyet, at Qaldo

Kyawlugyet has been the head of the Wild-rice clan of the Wolf phratry from time immemorial. This clan, as we have seen (page 122), was first located at Village-of-the-wild-rice *(Gitanrasrh)*, between the headwaters of Skeena river and Bear lake.[3] The families issued from it are now located at Qaldo *(Kyawlugyet, Kwawhamawn,* and *Luus)*, at Kisgagas *(Kweelarhran, Neekyap,* and *Kwunitu . . . .)*, and at Kispayaks *(Amagyet* and *Ksemqaqh)*.

The largest and most important totem pole at Qaldo belongs to a chief of this clan, preseumably Kyawlugyet. It fell to the ground some years ago.

DESCRIPTION

This pole was photographed and measured by Mr. Diamond Jenness in the course of an expedition in the spring of 1924, from his headquarters at Hazelton to Qaldo, about 80 miles northeast—that is, over 250 miles from the seacoast.

Its figures are, from the top downwards: One of Yawl's brothers, captured by Large-belly, whose body the monster split open with his knife-like nose (the deep groove in the body on the pole is meant to illustrate this feature of the myth); Large-body or Tree-dweller, with a long, beak-like nose (now fallen off) and a bulging stomach; another of Yawl's brothers, whose body is split in two; and a four-lobed figure which, in all likelihood, is meant for Shadow-of-the-tree in the lake.

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[1]Our informant, Frank Clarke, of Hazelton (in 9124), believed it to have been erected over forty years ago. The new village itself is said to have been established only after the Indian Agent took up his duties about 1889. The pole was erected subsequently, that is presumably less than thirty-five years ago.

[2]The families of Kwawhadaq and Kyæhu have become extinct, and the name of Kwawhadaq has been assumed for its preservation by a local member of the Prairie clan, of the family of Spawrh (Edward Clarke).

[3]It is quite likely that this clan originated from the Tahltan, some time in the past. There is, however, no explicit tradition to confirm this assumption. There seems to be no connexion between it and the Prairie clan, which also goes back to the Tahltans, but cropped up by way of the seacoast and the Nass.

A small replica of another pole of Kyawlugyet was made for us, in 1920, by Isaac Tæns, at Hazelton (Plate XXVI, figure 3).

ORIGIN

The myths of origin of these crests, which are in the exclusive possession of this clan, are summarized in connexion with the pole of Ksemqaqhl, their relative at Kispayaks (page 128).

The only additional crest illustrated here is that of the Shadows. These are meant for the shadows of the young fugitives in the tree at the edge of the lake, when the female giant dived into the lake, mistaking their shadows for them.

FUNCTION AND CARVER

This pole is said to be quite old.[1] Even if it were the oldest on the Skeena, it might not exceed eighty years.

As the cedar from which it was carved is 2½ feet in diameter—that is, larger than the trees in the upper reaches of the Skeena—it must have been hauled up the river for a long distance and at considerable cost to the owner.

No record was made of other relevant historic data, that is in connexion with the person whose memory it was intended to commemorate, or the carver. The identification itself is guess-work, but it cannot be far afield, as the crests on it are easily recognizable.

(41) Pole of Ksemqaqhl, at Kispayaks

OWNERS

Ksemqaqhl is the head of a subdivision of Amagyet's family, in Kispayaks. Amagyet's group belongs to the Wild-rice clan of the Wolf phratry among the Gitksan, whose origin is traced back to the tribal village of Wild-rice *(Gitanrasrh)*, near the headwaters of the Skeena and in the neighbourhood of Bear lake. It issued fairly long ago from the family of Luus, now of the Qaldo tribe, up the river. Luus, of Qaldo, and the group of Neekyap and Kaspe-guhlparh, of Kisgagas, are still considered as Ksemqaqhl's closest relatives abroad, all of whom branched off the same parent stem.

The Wild-rice clan, as represented by Ksemqaqhl and Amagyet, own only one totem pole in Kispayaks.

DESCRIPTION

This pole is known under the name of Standing-bear, and it stands first at the entrance of the village, on the northern side (Plate XXVI, figure 4).

The figures are, from the top, downwards: the Dragon-fly or Horse-fly *(Wil'œq)*, with wings; Tree-dweller *(Needzabemlarh-ran*, Making-home-

[1] It may be from fifty to seventy years of age.

on-tree), with a long, sharp nose; Large-belly *(Law'yaspans)*, represented with human features; Tree-dweller or Large belly (?)[1] with a long, bird-like nose; and the Standing-bear *(Hœtkuhl-smaih)*.

ORIGIN

The origin of the Dragon-fly and Large-belly crests is accounted for in a myth, which also belongs to the other branches of the house; that of the Standing-bear and Tree-dweller is described in the narrative of a war expedition against a Tsetsaut (Sekanais) tribe of the interior. These traditions, in brief outline, are the following:

A young unmarried woman of this clan, whose name was Yaw'l, broke her seclusion taboos, to play with her brothers. Although it was summer-time, a deluge of snow covered the ground at night. And when the brothers and sister looked outside, they found themselves in a strange country. Their house was nearly covered with snow. Huge-belly, a monstrous being, appeared from time to time, calling the young taboo-breakers outside, one by one, to cut them open with his long, sharp, glass-like nose, and hang their bodies on the rafters of his lodge to smoke and dry like split salmon. One of them managed to slay him. The slayer took to flight with his sister and remaining brothers. But to little avail. A female being of the same kind, Ksemkaigyet, who could draw out her nose into a sharp knife, pursued them. As they hid on a tree at the edge of a lake, she detected their shadows in the frosty waters, and dived several times to capture them, until she was quite frozen. Then they killed her. But before she died, she declared, "The people will always suffer from my nose." From her remains were born the mosquitoes and other pests. The crests of the Dragon-fly and Large-belly were inherited as a consequence in the family of the survivors, who belonged to the family of Luus and Kyawlugyet, of Qaldo.

The emblems of Standing-bear and Tree-dweller originated in the course of a war expedition against the traditional enemies of the Gitksan, the nomadic tribes of the Tsetsaut (Sekanais), of the Groundhog country, in the interior. The leaders of this raid belonged to three different tribes of the upper Gitksan: Suweeraus, of Qaldo, Neekyap and Kamrangyehle, of Kisgagas, and Gutkweenurhs, of Kispayaks. On their way north-eastward they discovered and conquered two supernatural beings. One of them, Tree-dweller, was allotted as a crest to the Wolf participants; and another, the White-marten, passed into the hands of the Fireweed warrior, Kutweenurhs. Tree-dweller was a human-like giant, living in a tree. The warriors became aware of his presence at night, when camping under the tree, his abode. Each of the warriors in turn tried to capture him, but failed. The outer edge of his left hand was sharp like a knife. Suweeraus, the Wolf brave of Qaldo, finally overcame him, thus securing him as a crest for his heirs.

Before reaching the village of the Tsetsaut, one of them fought a Grizzly-bear, thrusting his arm into its throat while the others clubbed it to death. They made a reinforced armour of its skin. The leader of the expedition, Suweeraus, donned it and appeared outside the village of

[1]The carver here combined together two independent crests. This may or may not have been intentional.

the Tsetsaut, and led them into an ambush where they were defeated. The armour was retained in his family (that of Luus) both as a trophy and a crest. Here it is represented as the Standing-bear.

FUNCTION AND CARVER

The totem pole of Ksemqaqhl[1] was erected from forty to fifty years ago, in memory of Amagyet, the head-chief of this group in Kispayaks, by his heir (William Ellis), who then assumed the same name. The carver was Haqu, of the Larhsail phratry at Kispayaks. The positions of the hands in the higher human-like figures are varied and interesting.

(42) Poles of Arhteeh, at Kitwanga

OWNERS

The clan of which Arhteeh is a member may be termed Gitrhandakhl, from the name of the village at the headwaters of Kalem river, where his ancestors lived long ago.

The Nass, to the north, seems to have been the birthplace of this clan. The family of Ness-yawqt, at Gitlarhdamks, may belong to the ancestral stock; its crests and other privileges being considered analogous. The headwaters of the Kalem, besides, are situated close to the Nass, and the names of their geographic features are said to be in the Nisræ dialect.

The two Wolf households under Wudiwiyæ, of the Gitsemrælem tribe, among the Skeena River Tsimsyan, are the direct descendants of the same ancestors, on their ancient territories. An unusual relationship between them and the families of Hrpeesunt and Hpenawn, of the Raven phratry, was formed while both groups still lived together on upper Kalem river. A mutual exchange of privileges is known to have resulted. Some of these still characterize the Wolf clan of Gitrhandakhl and serve to keep it apart from other clans, the origin of which on the Nass was presumably the same in the indefinite past.

The three Wolf families immediately under Arhteeh at Kitwanga are those of Hrpeeharhæ, Tenemgyet, and Hlawts; the name of Arhteeh at the front rank being only of recent date. Although their three households belong to the same clan, their separation seems to have taken place long ago, according to traditional accounts. In the course of an ancient migration, Hrpeeharhæ is said to have met Tenemgyet at a point known as Round-bluff-island *(Kunekstæt)*, on the Skeena. Their families amalgamated, and from that moment passed out of the Tsimsyan nation into that of the Gitksan. Kalagwaw, of their family, went out to his former home on Kalem river, at a later date, killed a relative named Weehlawts, and conquered his hunting grounds and other possessions. The name of Weehlawts also passed to his family, thereafter to become that of a household chief among the Gitksan.

The close relationship between Arhteeh, on the one hand, and, on the other, 'Waws and Kurhwawq, two chiefs of the Carriers at Hagwelget, throws further light on the history of this clan. Arhteeh's family, taken as

[1]An informant called it "the pole of Kwawdeks-kyadet," another name for the same family head.

a whole, is believed, at Kitwanga, to be a branch of that of 'Waws, and to have come from the neighbouring Carriers. This naturally may not be true of the three households under him. It seems, from the traditional accounts, that a part of the Gitrhandakhl Wolves migrated in the first place from upper Kalem river to what is now the country of the Carriers on Bulkley river, there to establish in permanence two households under the chieftainship of 'Waws and Gurhwawq, and at a subsequent date, another among the Gitksan of Kunekstæt (the name of a tribe that later became Kitwanga). These households of Tenemgyet and Hlawts in particular are believed to have issued from that of 'Waws.

Thus we find that the Gitrhandakhl clan of the Wolf phratry at the present day consists of seven families: two in the Gitsemrælem tribe, of the Tsimsyan; two, among the Carriers of Hagwelget or Moricetown; and three, in the Kitwanga tribe of the Gitksan.

The Wolf families under Arhteeh, at Kitwanga, own three totem poles, and a carved emblem on a platform; one of these is the property of Hlawts.

DESCRIPTION

The oldest of these poles stands in commemoration of Hlawts (Plate XXVII, figure 1), and is known to some informants under the name of "Pole-of-the-Mountain-lion" *(Kanem-hawaao)*. Its figures are the Mountain-lion *(Hawaao)*, at the top;[1] the Wolf, head down, whose tail runs through the body of the Lion; the Bear, whose specific name here is Ensnared-bear *(Tsiphum-smaih)*; a second Wolf; and a second Bear, through the body of which an opening was carved—a ceremonial doorway to the feast house.

The second pole is called the Ensnared-bear *(Tsiphum-smaih)* (Plate XXVII, figure 2), and belongs to Arhteeh. Its figures are: the Wolf; the mythical ancestress whose name was Hrpeesunt, holding two bear cubs in her arms and sitting on a chest; the Wolf; the Ensnared-bear; the Wolf; and the Ensnared-bear.

The third pole was called the Pole-of-the-Wolf *(Kanem-keebu)* (Plate XXVII, figure 3). Its figures are: the Wolf; the Ensnared-bear; the Bear-cubs *(Seeawalhu)*; and Hrpeesunt, the mythic ancestress with a cub in her arms.

The carving on the platform (Plate XXVII, figure 4) represents the Mountain-lion *(Hawaao)*.

ORIGIN

Only three out of the five crests belonging to these families are represented, and they are several times repeated on their poles: the Wolf, the Ensnared-bear, and the Mountain-lion. The mythical woman Hrpeesunt and her bear cubs are less in the nature of a crest than of an illustration of a family myth.

The Gitksan, to our knowledge, possess no myth on the origin of the Wolf emblem and phratric name or badge; although such a myth exists among their Nisræ neighbours to the north. The Wolf crest here is taken for granted, without formal justification.

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[1]There are differences of opinion about this figure. Although three informants (Alfred Sinclair, Mrs. Stephen Morgan—Tenemgyet, and Jim Laralnitz) identified it as the Lion, others believed it to represent the Bear.

The Ensnared-bear and the Bear-cubs, together with the mythic ancestress Hrpeesunt, on the contrary, are the object of one of the longest and best-known traditional narratives of the Gitksan. At the time when the people of this family all lived at the headwaters of Kalem river, long ago, a beautiful maiden named Hrpeesunt, the sister of Tenemgyet and Hrpeelarhæ, once made abusive remarks about the bears, as she slipped in bear's dung on the trail. Two bears in human form overtook her and, for her punishment, led her to the feast house of their chief, where she was taken to wife by his son. She imperceptibly changed to a bear herself and, when living with the Bear in a cavern on the mountain side, she gave birth to twins, which were half human and half bear. Her brothers meanwhile searched for her. She saw them, as they stood at the bottom of a rock slide, squeezed a handful of snow in her hand and let the tiny ball roll down the slide. The brothers, thus made aware of her presence, climbed the rock slide and slew the Bear, saving her semi-human children. Before dying, the Bear husband taught his wife two ritual songs, which the hunters should use over his dead body, to ensure good luck. Hrpeesunt's children behaved like bears part of the time; they guided their uncles to the dens of bears in the mountains, and helped them to set their snares. With their assistance and through the use of the dirge songs, which they always sang over dead bears, the families of Tenemgyet, Hrpeelarhæ, and Arhteeh became prosperous bear hunters. And they adopted the Ensnared-bear as their crest.

This crest must have belonged to these families in a general way for a prolonged period. Yet, it seems that at least one of its forms, the Bear-with-offspring *(Trhahkilkum-smaih)*, or the Ensnared-bear *(Tsiphum-smaih)* as used on the poles, was acquired from Tseelæren, of the Wolf phratry at Kisgagas, as compensation for the murder of a member of Arhteeh's family at some time in the fairly distant past.[1]

The origin of the Mountain-lion[2] crest *(Hawaao)* is more recent. When the members of these families lived at Kwunekstæt,[3] on the Skeena, they learnt that a monster—the Hawaao—from the seacoast, was coming up the river, destroying the people on his way. An old woman named Eye-brow *(Larh'aw'e)*, one day, went with her bucket to the river's edge and was heard crying. Only her ankles were found on the shore. The monster had devoured her. Her relatives suceeded in overtaking it, and drove it into the river. There they killed it with arrows, from their canoes, while they sang the following song—now a sacred dirge and a paddling song—"The Lion draws back into the river. As fierce as a Grizzly, he is not frightened of his pursuers in the war canoe." After the monster was dead, the people cut its carcass open and found within its body haliotis pearl labrets, which they kept as charms. And they adopted the Lion as one of their emblems.[4]

FUNCTION

The pole with the Mountain-lion at the top (Plate XXVII, figure 1) was erected about seventy years ago, in memory of Hlawts or Wee-hlawts.[5]

[1]According to Stephen Morgan and his wife, the present Tenemgyet.

[2]Or puma.

[3]A mile above the present Cedarvale.

[4]The Hawaao is well-known as a mythic monster at Bellabella, on the coast.

[5]Mrs. Morgan (Tenemgyet) was probably mistaken when she said that it had been erected by Weehlawts in commemoration of Arhteeh.

The second pole, that of the Ensnared-bear (Plate XXVII, figure 2) was erected over fifty years ago as a monument to Arhteeh by his successor of the same name.

The third pole, of the Wolf (Plate XXVII, figure 3) was erected about thirty years ago, in memory of the Arhteeh who had the second pole made. To 'Wilweeuhtsanee is given the credit of its erection.

The Mountain-lion has stood on the platform since about 1910, in commemoration of Arhteeh. It was erected by his family under the direction of Charles Derrick, one of his relatives.[1]

CARVERS

Two artists shared in the work of carving the Mountain-lion pole. Nees-awelp, a Tsimsyan of the Eagle phratry in the Gisparhlawts tribe, carved the main shaft; and Hæsem-hliyawn, of the Larhsail phratry (family of Wutarhayæts) at Gitwinlkul,[2] carved the Lion, which was affixed transversely at the top.

The poles of the Ensnared-bear are ascribed by one informant (Tenemgyet, Mrs. Stephen Morgan) to the well-known and excellent carver Hlamee, of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul; whereas another (Alfred Sinclair) believed it to be the work of Tewalasu, a local chief of the Eagle phratry.

The pole of the Wolf (Plate XXVII, figure 3) was carved by Hlamee, the same Gitwinlkul artist.

Barely any paint was used on these three poles.

The Mountain-lion, on the platform, a very poor carving, was made by Hlengwah (Earthquake), whose familiar nickname is Jim Larahnitz, the present head-chief of the Larhsail at Kitwanga.

(43) Pole of Waws, at Hagwelget

OWNERS

Waws and his kinsmen[3] belong to the same clan as Arhteeh within the Wolf phratry, as we have seen (page 129). And we may presume[4] their origin, their crests, and their myths to be analogous. They own one of the two Wolf totem poles at Hagwelget.

DESCRIPTION

This pole, the second from the canyon (Plate XXVII, figure 5; Plate XXVIII, figure 1) is known under the name of Grizzly-bear *(Kyas)*. It contains two representations of the Bear, one above the other; the limbs of the upper Bear are human-like, and his feet rest on a square block meant for a cedar chest; and above, the Wolf *(Yis* or *Iyis)*, head down.

[1] All these poles are owned jointly, according to Tenemgyet, by Arhteeh, Tenemgyet, and Wee-hlawts.

[2] Haesem-hliyawn was known as one of the best carvers of Gitwinlkul. He is said to have died nearly forty years ago.

[3] Waws, according to Diamond Jenness, is the chief of the Gitemdanyu clan (phratry).

[4] For lack of specific information by the members of that family at Hagwelget. Tyee-Lake-David, of Telkwa, is their present chief.

FUNCTION

It was erected about fifty years ago in commemoration of Waws, by his successor Nirawlet. It formerly stood in front of a large communal house, about 60 feet by 50, and 20 feet high,[1] the name of which was "the Grizzly-bear-house" *(Kyas-iyaq)*.

CARVER

The carver of this pole was Lurhawn,[2] a chief of the Larhsail phratry at Gitwinlkul, presumably the uncle of the present chief of the same name, also a carver. The technique here, as in several of the older poles, is that of a carver of masks rather than of totem poles. The two heads of the Grizzlies in particular were handled exactly like masks.

POLES OF THE EAGLE PHRATRY

(44) Poles of Qawq, at Kitwanga

OWNERS

The three Larhskeek families of the Kitwanga tribe, headed by Qawq,[3] are the only ones of the Eagle phratry among the Gitksans. This phratry, taken as a whole, gradually filtered into the Tsimsyan system from the north, at a fairly recent date. Among the Gitksan, it has penetrated no farther than Kitwanga—the lowest Gitksan village on the Skeena. The former home of Qawq's households was Gitanræt, now Fiddlers creek,[4] about 25 miles below Kitwanga, on the Skeena.

Qawq traces his ancestry back to the Eagle families of Kitsemrælem, a Tsimsyan village below the canyon of the Skeena. He still claims as his kinsmen there 'Nees-kanwawdzeks, Qastuweene, Trhalarhæt, and 'Nees-pehlas. These Tsimsyan chiefs belong to the same stock as the famous warriors Legyarh and Skagwait whose historical traditions are among the most remarkable and explicit. This Eagle clan, according to recollection, originated among the Tlingit, at Na'a, now known as Loring, Alaska; and because of a feud with the Wolf clan of Nees-laranows, migrated southwards. After a sojourn at Bellabella (a Kwakiutl tribe named Wudstæ by the Tsimsyan), where a branch of the clan still remains, most of the family moved back to the north and settled, a part among the Haidas of Queen Charlotte islands, another at Gitsemrælem, among the Tsimsyan, and a third part among the Nisræ of Gitrhatin.

The chief representatives of the Na'a clan (thus named from its place of origin among the Tlingit) are: *among the Tsimsyan*—Legyarh, of the Gisparhlawts; Skagwait, of the Gitandaw, and Nees-kanwawdzeks, of

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[1]According to Thomy Namawks.

[2]According to three old informants consulted by Diamond Jenness. Donald Grey, a younger man, was under the impression that Gitrhawn, a Tsimsyan of the Eagle phratry at Kitsalas, had been the carver.

[3]The familiar name of Qawq is now Semedeek, the oldest chief at Kitwanga.

[4]Near the railway station of Dorreen.

Gitsemrælem; *among the Nisrœ*—Trhalarhæt, of Gitrhatin, and Menæsk, of Gitlarhdamks, both of whom claim as their direct progenitor the Gitsemrælem ancestor.

There is besides, at Gitlarhdamks, on the Nass, a family—that of Qawq[1]—which is obviously a fairly recent subdivision of that of Qawq of the Skeena. The circumstances of the split of Qawq's family into two parts on the Skeena are still the object of several narratives. The separation took place at the ancient village of Gitanræt; a part of the family migrated upstream to Larhantgees, opposite the present village of Kitwanga, and the other northwards to the Nass, where it settled with the Gisransnat tribe, now Gitlarhdamks. Both the heads of these related households bear the name of Qawq.

We have seen elsewhere[2] how the ancestry of Weegyet, the head-chief of Gitsegyukla, now of the Fireweed phratry, also goes back to the same Eagle clan. The severance of Weegyet's ancestors from the parent-stock was the result of an illicit marriage within the Eagle phratry and the exile of the guilty couple.

The three Eagle households at Kitwanga, those of Qawq, Sqayæn, and Tewalasu, descend from the same maternal ancestor—Qawq or Legee' næhle; of Gitanræt. They share in the same inherited privileges and traditions, although their crests have become slightly differentiated in the course of time.

Qawq owns two totem poles, still standing at Kitwanga. Semedeek, the present Qawq, claims that he formerly owned more poles, at least two of which have fallen and disappeared; a decaying fragment of one of them—the pole of Geelawaw—was seen on the ground in 1924.

DESCRIPTION

The first (Plate I, figure 1; Plate XXVIII, figure 2) is called The-Bear's-den *(Rhpe-sœmih)*. It stood until recently at the upper end of the row at the river's edge.[3] It contains the following figures (from the top down): Person-with-drum *(Gyœdem'anuhl)*; Split-person, or Half-man *(Rhstagyet)*; The-Bear's-den *(Rhpe-sœmih)*, a human-like being supposedly with a circular hole in the centre of his stomach—which would represent the entrance to the bear's den;[4] the Halibut *(Trhoih)* crest, or two halibuts, one hanging from each hand; Split-eagle *(Palrhum-rhskyœk)*; and again, presumably, Person-with-drum *(Gyœdem'anuhl)*, holding a crest or a mask in his hands. The identity of this emblem is not remembered; it is probably one of the three family crests, Bear-headdress *(Kaidem'ol)*, Weasel-headdress *(Kaidem-meksihl)* or White-marten *('Masha't)*; or it may represent, according to a different opinion, the mask of Indakawt (To-nurse a child), owned as a personal name in this family.

The second and newer pole (Plate XXVIII, figure 3) stands at the upper end of the rear row, in front of Semedeek's house. Its name is Drum-hangs-on *(Hanee'anuhl)*, and its figures are: the Eagle *(Rhsyœk)*;

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[1]Present English name, Dennis Woods.

[2]Cf. *Poles of Weegyet, Gitsegyukla*, page 104.

[3]It fell in 1925 and, in 1927, was lying along Qawq's smokehouse. It has since been restored.

[4]On the other pole of Qawq and that of Sqayæn the hole is actually represented.

Claw-marks-of-the-Bear *(Kahlaqs)*, along the upper part of the shaft; Halibut *(Trhoih)*, engraved, head-down; Split-eagle *(Palrhum-rhskyæk)*; The-Bear's-den person *(Rhpe-sæmih)*, with a circular hole in the centre of the body; and, attached to the right side of the pole, Drum or Drum-person *('Anuhl* or *Gyædem'anuhl)*.

A third pole, now fallen and destroyed, was also named The-Bear's-den *(Rhpe-sæmih)*. It was described by Semedeek and said to contain the following figures: The Eagle, at the top; The-Bear's-den person, with a hole in the body; Split-person *(Rhstagyet)*; Supernatural-halibut *(Narhnarom-trhoih)*; and The-Bear's-den person again, at the base, with a round opening in the body, through which the guests used to enter the feast house.

The decaying fragment of the pole of Geelawaw, also belonging to this family, was part of a pole that fell down many years ago. This pole, according to one informant,[1] included only one figure; but, according to Sqayæn, a sub-chief of the Eagle clan of Kitwanga, the figures on the complete pole included: the Halibut, at the top; the Eagle; the Split-eagle; Split-person *(Rhstagyet)* or Half-man, cut in two halves; and Crown-of-white-marten *(Qaiksto'masha't)*.

ORIGIN

The Eagle and the Halibut are among the most ancient crests of the Kitwanga Eagles, as well as of their relatives abroad. They were already in the possession of their Tlingit ancestors, according to the family traditions, at the time when they migrated southwards from what is now Loring and Hokan, Alaska.

As the result of a feud between Eagle and Wolf clans, at Na'a (in Alaska), the Eagles were forced to take to flight. The traditions give an account of how they built a raft, on which they placed their emblems, Fin-of-the-Shark, the big Mother-eagle of stone *('Nawt)*, the small Stone-eagle, and the Eagle's egg *(Hlkemat)*, a large round stone. Several members of this clan had raised eagles as pets, which had their nests on the corner posts of the original house in Alaska. These pets guided their masters while they migrated along the seacoast. From this occurrence had arisen a further crest, the Nest-house *(Nluhlkem-wælp)* of the Eagles.[2]

In the course of the Eagle clan's migrations southwards along the coast, Hlaray, the leader, was swallowed by the Supernatural-halibut *(Narhnarom-trhao)*, as he was swimming offshore in an attempt to reach a canoe set adrift by the tide. After the monster was killed, his relatives discovered that its body was entirely covered with human faces. The Halibut from that moment became their crest.

The Split-eagle *(Palrhum-rhskyæk)* is another variant of the same crest in the ownership of most of the Tsimsyan families of this Eagle clan. We cannot tell for sure when it came into existence in this form, but its resemblance to the Russian imperial escutcheon is striking enough to suggest the presumption of its foreign origin. The Russian cossacks visited

[1]Alfred Sinclair, the interpreter, an outsider to this family.

[2]Chief Semedeek, of Kitwanga, who did not know the traditions of his own family, explained the origin of his Eagle crest in his own way. According to him, some of his forefathers had killed some eagles and taken them for crests *(ayuks)*, at a big feast. At another time he said that the Eagle crest had been brought over from the Haidas by a woman who had taken to flight and sought refuge among the people of his clan.

the Tlingit country very early.[1] And the Russian crest quite possibly may have been adopted at an early date by one of the leading native families; other foreign features of the same kind were likewise imitated, to our knowledge, in other parts of the North West Coast.

The Weasel and the Bear headdresses *(Kaidem-meksihl, Kaidem'ol)* also go back to the time when the Eagles and the Wolves were living together at Na'a, among the Tlingit, on the Alaskan coast. The Weasel-headdress, according to the same traditions, was the ceremonial head-gear which the chief of the Eagles, Hlaræ, wore in a memorable single combat with the Wolf chief, whose own headdress was the Bear, one of his main emblems. The Bear headdress fell to the Eagle clan as a result of the victory of their chief over his rival. It has been the property of their descendants ever since. The other uses of the Bear in the list of Eagle crests, such as the Bear's den *(Rhpe-sœmih)* and the Clawmarks-of-the-Bear *(Kahlaqs)* may also go back to the same incident. In other words, they may have been conquered along with the Bear headdress from the Wolf clan, to whom they still belong in various forms. Else, they may have been obtained at a later date from other Wolf families, with whom this Eagle clan remained associated in the Skeena River villages, even after their ancient feud in Alaska.

The White-marten *('Masha't)* is not so ancient as the others. It apparently was assumed as a crest by the members of this family when they lived at Gitsemrælem, farther down the Skeena. The manner of its inception is not distinctly remembered. According to Semedeek, his ancestors there killed several monsters or supernatural beings—Bears, Beavers, Martens—and adopted them as emblems. Kwalæsu's nephew, a lucky hunter, discovered a large tree in the forest, the limbs of which were covered with black martens. In the tree was a *kanœurh*, their hole; and in the hole dwelt the White-marten. The hunter killed this supernatural animal and made it into a crest.

The figures of Drum-person *(Gyœdem'anuhl)* and Nursing-a-child *(Indakawt)* are not real crests. The Drum-person depicts a ceremonial privilege inherited in this family for unknown generations. It consists of a large cedar drum with a human figure on its side—like the one affixed to the totem pole—which was used to accompany traditional songs on ceremonial occasions. Nursing-a-child, on the other hand, is a personal name with a mask *(narhnawk)* belonging to this household. When the name of the fictive character Nursing-a-child is assumed by a new holder in a ceremony, he dramatizes it and appears in the feast house carrying a young child in his arms (in reality a wood carving); he nurses it and sings to it as if to keep it from crying while he slowly proceeds around the house.[2]

FUNCTION

We were told that the Bear's-den *(Hrpe-sœmih)* pole, recently fallen, was erected by the present Qawk (Semedeek), in memory of his predecessor

[1] *The Pacific, Academy of Sciences*, Leningrad, 1926. L. Sternberg: "Ethnography," p. 162.

[2] The reference to another crest named Marhkyawl, by Alfred Sinclair, an outsider, may be dismissed as a mistake, for lack of confirmation. Yet, it rather resembles in name, at least, another minor crest *(Trhakyawlk*—Whole-man) belonging to a family of the same clan on the Nass, that of Menaesk, of Gitlarhdamks.

of the same name, the local head-chief of the clan. It was erected about forty-five years ago, according to Maggie Wells, the present Sqayæn. It fell in 1926. A recent letter received by the Department of Indian Affairs adds the following particulars from an interested party:

Extract from Report of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, dated November 29, 1928

"The following is a voluntary statement given me by Ada Fowler, Indian Woman of Kitwanga, through Interpreter Wallace Morgan.
"Begins:

I, Ada Fowler, widow of Alexander Fowler (Kilawa), make the following voluntary statement.

About thirty-six years ago, two years after my daughter Christine was born, my husband, Alexander Fowler, and I commenced the usual tribal customs to erect a totem-pole to the memory of Kakl, the head chief of the Kitwanga band, who had died three years previously. The three years between Kakl's death and the commencement of our tribal customs were occupied in collecting the money for the erection of the pole (totem).

The present Chief, Semideeks of Kitwanga, was in partnership with my husband, Alexander Fowler, both sharing equal expenses.

Quissilla, Salomon Harris' younger brother, now deceased, was employed by Semideeks and Alexander Fowler to cut the pole and carve it.

When the pole was ready to be erected, a big potlatch was held, to which guests were invited from Hazelton, Kitseguekla, Hagwelget, and Kispiox. The expense was borne equally by Semideeks and Alexander Fowler (Kilawa). To complete the ceremony Alexander Fowler paraded the village dressed in the costume of the deceased Kakl's rank, which consisted of the Eagle headdress and robes. Semideeks was not present in the parade. At the conclusion of this parade Semideeks threatened Kilawa with a gun, and Kilawa, Alexander Fowler, having just turned Christian, wishing to avoid trouble, allowed Semideeks to assume the chieftainship.

About the year 1907 or 1908, Semideeks cut and erected his own totem-pole in front of his house at Kitwanga where it still stands, and all the chiefs agreed to let Semideeks have the head chieftainship. Kilawa did not assist in the erection of this pole.

About October the 20, 1928, I, Ada Fowler, noticed that the totem-pole, which I have a claim on, was moved to the lot at the Hudson's Bay Company's store. I did not give my consent to this. I wanted the totem-pole left in the village where it was originally erected. I do not want to sell it at all. I want it moved back to where it was taken from.

her
Sgd. Ada X Fowler
mark.

Ends."

The pole of Drum-person *(Gyædem'anuhl)* was erected about 1914, according to Semedeek, by himself with the assistance of his relatives, in memory of the local sub-chief Sqayæn, of the Eagle clan. It was erected two years after his death.

CARVERS

The first—Bear's-den—was carved by Geesarhkyees, of the Larhsail phratry at Kitwanga, a younger brother of Lælt (Snake).

The newer pole, in the back row, was carved by Qaqhl, also of the Larhsail phratry, of Gitwinlkul.

The two poles are hardly comparable in quality, and many more than five years, indeed more than a generation, seem to have lapsed between them. The carving of the older pole, from the hand of a local Kitwanga artist, is much finer and more vigorous. It is among the best at Kitwanga.

Its style and character, its bold high relief, belong to a period when poles were essentially carvings, paint being used as a mere accessory for effect. The eyes and eyebrows were painted black, the nostrils and lips red; and the feathers of the Eagle may have been painted white. The figure of the Eagle does not seem as genuine as the others; and the carver may have had in mind to imitate the American Eagle.

Although the few carved figures on the newer pole are good enough, they belong to the more recent type introduced by Hlamee of Gitwinlkul, after paint began to replace carving as a means of expression. The figures as a result are thinner—except for the Eagle at the top—more conventional, and far less interesting.

(45) Poles of Tewalasu, at Kitwanga

OWNERS

Tewalasu's family is one of the three subdivisions of the Eagle group of Kitwanga. It seems to have branched off the parent stem under the name of its present leader somewhat earlier than the family of Sqayæn. Its members occupied a separate house, next to that of Qawq, on the Ta'awdzep fortress.

Tewalasu owns two totem poles, which stand at the upper end of the front row at Kitwanga.

DESCRIPTION

The older of the two poles (Plate I, figure 2; Plate XXIX, figure 1) is named Dog-salmon *(Qanees)*. Its figures consist of two large fish, the Dog-salmon, head downwards; and three human beings; the upper one, fish spear in hand; the second, holding on to the tail of the salmon; and the smaller one, at the bottom, being swallowed by the salmon.

The second pole (Plate I, figure 3; Plate XXIX, figure 2; Plate XXVIII, figure 4) is that of On-top-sits-the-Squirrel *(Haneedœhl-tsenhlik)*. Its figures are: the Squirrel *(Tsenhlik)*; a human being, possibly the chief of the household in whose memory it was erected, Tewalasu, holding the Marten *('Atku)* in his hands; The-Eagle's-nest *(Anluhlkehl-hrskyœk)* or the Small-eagle-on-beams *(Hrskyœgem-ralp-ran)*, which was formerly carved on the front gable-ends of the roof beams; the Starfish *(Kamats)*; and a human being with Starfish on his hands representing Kweenu's coat-of-arms; Kweenu being a close paternal relative of Tewalasu and belonging to the Larhsail phratry, at Gitwinlkul.

ORIGIN

The Squirrel and Dog-salmon crests in Kitwanga are used mostly by the family of Tewalasu. Their origin goes back only to the time when the ancestors of this family lived farther down the river, among the Tsimsyan. The Dog-salmon emblem seems the older of the two, since it is still used by one of the related Kitsalas' families, that of Raraotsren, on the Gitrhtsærh side of the canyon.

A young man of Raraotsren's family, at Kitsalas, is said in the myth once to have shown particular respect to the dried salmon food of his relatives, and thus to have cured the Salmon chief of an infirmity. The live salmon, in gratitude, appeared to him as human beings in a canoe, at the river's edge, and took him to their home down the river. They led him into three huge houses of the Salmon tribe; on the front of one was painted the Dog-Salmon *(Qanees)*; on that of the second, the Steelhead-salmon *(Mælit)*, and on that of the third, the Spring-salmon. The salmon in those houses behaved as human beings. When the time for the salmon run arrived, the young man was provided with a fish garment and, changing into a salmon, he swam up the river with the school of salmon, until he reached the canyon, at the edge of which stood his home village. There his uncle Raraotsren caught a gigantic salmon which he could barely drag out of the water.[1] In its body he discovered his nephew, who had disappeared several moons before. The Dog-salmon thereafter became the family crest. It somehow became the possession of Tewalasu, either through transmission in direct line or later contacts as between kinsmen. The Dog-salmon crest has also been used at times in a dramatic performance (as a *narhnawk*) given by Tewalasu at Kitwanga.

The Squirrel emblem *(Tsenhlik)* is used only by the two families of Tewalasu of Kitwanga, and of Qawq of Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass. Qawq of Gitlarhdamks owes his origin to the household of the same name on the Skeena, and his migration northwards is supposed to have taken place only as a result of the events recounted in the Squirrel myth. The ancestors of both families, at one time, when camping near a salmon-fence at Larh-kunsrærh, on the upper Nass, were harassed by repeated apparitions of monster Squirrels, the size of bears. Some, in particular a woman and her two daughters, fled back to the Skeena, and joined their tribe at Gitanræt. When they received word, later, that the chief of the monsters, the White-squirrel, had been destroyed, the daughters went back to the Nass, and their mother stayed with her people on the Skeena. Both branches of this family, those of Tewalasu, and of Qawq of the Nass, trace back their ancestry to these women. And they have since claimed the exclusive privilege of using the Squirrel as their distinctive emblem, though they retain as well most of the other crests of their earlier ancestors.

The presence of the two lowest figures on the newer pole is worth especial attention as it is quite exceptional in character. The Starfish as a coat-of-arms does not belong to any of the Eagles, but only to some families of the Larhsail (Raven-Frog) phratry. Here it appears merely as the signature of one of the carvers of this pole, whose father was of the house of Tewalasu, and his mother belonged to the family of Kweenu, a Larhsail of Gitwinlkul, who owns the Starfish as one of his crests.

FUNCTION

The Dog-salmon pole was erected in memory of Tewalasu, less than seventy years ago.[2]

[1]The human figure spearing a salmon, as seen on the pole, is evidently meant to represent Raraotsren with his catch; and the smaller figure in the mouth of the lower salmon, his nephew.

[2]Old Semedeek says that he was quite small at the time of its erection, he was "not yet able to pack water from the river." According to Mrs. Wells, the present Sqayæn, it stands in memory of the second Tewalasu before the present.

The Squirrel pole stands in commemoration of a later Tewalasu,[1] and was carved about 1900-1905.

CARVERS

The Squirrel pole was carved by Kweenu, of Gitwinlkul, a carver who died many years ago. Although its carving is of fair quality, it belongs to the same type as that of Hlamee, one of Kweenu's contemporaries of the same village; and it is far inferior to that of its neighbour, the older pole of Tewalasu, which is one of the finest on the whole Skeena. The identity of the carver of the Dog-salmon pole is not remembered. But we are inclined to think that he was from Nass river, possibly from one of the two upper villages (Gitlarhdamks or Gitwinksilk), where this family has relatives and allies. The character of the carving inevitably reminds one of three other fish poles, one of which still stands at Angyedæ, on the Nass, another at Kitsalas,[2] and a third formerly standing at Gitlarhdamks.[3] These four poles seem to be approximately of the same age and technique; the fish design is used in the same manner, head-down, and the human beings at the tail are most adroitly half-submerged into the body of the salmon. The sculptural quality of these monuments is so high and the treatment so happy that one is apt to forget the strict limitations of the medium—a straight and slender cedar pole. The unity of treatment and design and the fine decorative sense are hardly surpassed in any other pole on the Skeena, with the possible exception of the other Dog-salmon pole at Kitsalas—which in some ways at least is the better of the two. Here, as in many poles of the same period, the device of adding parts (in this instance, fins) is effectively resorted to, to reinforce the contour of the design and as a concession to decorative realism. One side of the log, approximately a third of it, and also the core, were removed, as in most of the older poles; this seems to have contributed to the comparatively long life of the pole and its good state of preservation, in spite of its age.[4]

(46) Poles of Sqayæn, at Kitwanga

OWNERS

The family of Sqayæn is one of the three units of the Eagle group at Kitwanga, and apparently the last to come into semi-independent existence.[5] It is historically a subdivision of the household of Qawq which dates back to the time, a few generations ago, when the Eagle ancestors moved down from the fortress of Ta'awdzep, on Gitwinlkul river, and settled on the site of Kitwanga, along the Skeena; that is, at the edge of the river, near the spot occupied by the present railway station. Accord-

[1]The one whom Alfred Sinclair described as the second Tewalasu (of his own acquaintance).

[2]On the Giterhtsærh side (south) of the canyon of Kitsalas.

[3]Photographs of which are available.

[4]The heart rot that develops in a cedar pole when the core is not removed tends to hasten decay in neighbouring parts.

[5]Yet, the name of Leege-næhle—that of the ancient head-chief of the three households—is still retained only in the family of Sqayæn. In this respect at least, Sqayæn represents, rather than Qawq, the earlier leader of the family.

ing to Semedeek, this household separated from that of Qawq at the time when the family lived at Gitanræt, before the tribe moved up to the Ta'awdzep fortress. Both families lived together in the same house at Ta'awdzep.

Sqayæn owns two totem poles, which still stand[1] at the upper end of the front row, at Kitwanga.

DESCRIPTION

The older of the two poles (Plate XXXIII, figure 1) was formerly a front-door post; the ceremonial entrance into the feast house was through its opening, at the bottom. Its name was The-Bear's-den *(Hrpe-sœmih)*.[2] There used to be an Eagle at the top. The two human figures, with a round hole in the stomach, represent the entrance to the Bear's-den, and they are also called The-Bear's-den. Under them and over the round doorway is a small Eagle, with wings spread wide open; its name is Split-eagle *(Palrhum-rhskyœk)*.

The second (Plate XXIX, figure 3) also bears the name of The-Bear's-den *(Hrpe-sœmih)*. Its figures, from the top down, are: The Eagle *(Hrskyœk)* holding the White-marten *('Masha't)* in its talons; The-Bear's-den *(Hrpe-sœmih)*, the same human being with a round hole in the stomach; a large Eagle, named Palrhum-hrskyæk;[3] the Beaver *(Tsemœlih)*, sitting and gnawing a stick of cottonwood, and with its tail turned upwards on its stomach, in the conventional way; The-Bear's-den, the same human figure with a small round hole in the stomach; the Split-beaver *(Palrhum-tsemœlih)*, head down and gnawing a stick; and a human figure at the bottom, representing either The-Bear's-den person or, possibly[4], chief Sqayæn, in whose memory the pole was erected.

ORIGIN

Sqayæn's crests are the same—with the exception of the Beaver—as those of the head-chief of the Eagle families at Kitwanga, Qawq; a brief outline of their origin is given above, with the description of the poles of the head-chief.

The use of the Beaver as a crest goes back to the time when the ancestors of the three Eagle families of Kitwanga lived at Gitsemrælem, below the canyon of the Skeena. It is not used in the Nass River branch of the Eagle clan.

Strange visitors according to the myth of origin, mysteriously caused the death of some people at the canyon. They were pursued up the hillside to a lake, above Kitsalas, at Kwit'awren (Gravel-heart, or according to another interpretation, Cracked-stones). There, changing into beavers, they disappeared under the water. The people drained the lake, with the help of some of their Gitsemrælem relatives, and discovered the huge Beaver at the bottom, the body of which was covered

[1]One of these, the oldest at Kitwanga, fell down several years ago, but was restored and re-erected through the initiative of the Totem Pole Committee, of Ottawa, in 1925.

[2]Alfred Sinclair, the interpreter, was under the presumably mistaken impression that the upper human figure represented the first Sqayæn, and the other figure another former chief in this family.

[3]Although here, as in the former instance, the Eagle is not actually shown as the Split-eagle.

[4]This second alternative is suggested by Alfred Sinclair, the interpreter, whose notion—evidently biased to a certain extent—was that human figures on poles often represent the late chiefs whom they commemorate.

with human faces. Gip-ranaa'o and Larh'ayæorh, ancestors of the Kitwanga Eagles, assisted the Kitsalas people in overcoming and killing the monster. After they had drawn its body to the shore, they cut it in two parts, thus dividing it among themselves, half for Gitsemrælem and the other for Kitsalas. The Beaver thereafter became the crest of the captors. Sometimes it is shown complete, in a sitting posture; at other times, as once on the taller pole here, it is represented split in two halves. It is usually represented, at Kitsalas, its head down and with human-like faces all over its body.

FUNCTION

The older of the two poles was one of the first erected at Kitwanga, many years after the people had moved down from the Ta'awdzep fortress. It fell about 1912.[1] Chief Semedeek (from seventy to eighty years of age) does not remember when it was erected. It stood there when he was a boy. Alfred Sinclair (over fifty years old) states that it was erected during his father's lifetime. And the owner herself, Mrs. Wells, believes that it was erected in memory of Legee'næhle', then the chief of the family, slightly over seventy years ago. Her mother was then a young woman, and she is herself middle-aged. We may safely conclude that its erection took place about seventy-five years ago, perhaps a few years earlier, possibly somewhat later. Kitwanga could not have been on its present site earlier, since it is its second location after the removal from Ta'awdzep, which may have taken place as late as 1831.

The newer and later pole was erected less than fifty years ago (Mrs. Wells, in 1924, said that it was from forty to forty-five years old).[2]

CARVERS

The old pole is one of the most valuable relics of the kind on the Skeena. From it we may form a fair idea of what one of the earliest poles looked like, about eighty years ago. It was made from half of a large cedar log, the other half and the core having been removed. Two other poles of the same type were still in existence on the upper Skeena, in 1926, one at Gitwinlkul (that of Haidzemerhs, which still stands), and another on the old village site of Gitenmaks (the present Hazelton), which was destroyed in 1926. The pole of Sqayæn was not a true totem pole as we now know them, but really a house-front pole, which served as a ceremonial entrance into the feast house. It stands about 15 feet high, that is less than half the length of the newer pole, erected over forty years ago. The diminutive holes in the Bear's den crest above the entrance show that at that date the figure was already old enough to have become conventional and stylistic, and to be represented as a crest independently of its actual function as a ceremonial device.

The newer pole was carved by Negutsræl, of the family of Taku (in the Larhsail phratry), of Kitwanga. It is a moderately good carving of

[1]The first Kitwanga village site was slightly above the present location; that is, at the edge of the river, near the point where now stands the station. The removal from Ta'awdzep dates back, in the opinion of some informants, to the time when the white people first came to this country; and, according to Alfred Sinclair, to the time when the Hudson's Bay Company established its post at the mouth of the Nass (1831-33).

[2]The old chief was under the mistaken impression that it was only about twenty years old.

the transitional type. The Eagle at the top is not entirely the original one, its head having been replaced by a crude carving by Bob Sampare, in 1925. There were only scant evidences of paint left on the pole—that is on the eyes, and the eyebrows—when it was restored.

OTHER POLES

(47) Pole of Beenee, at Hagwelget

OWNERS

The phratries and clans among the Carriers of Hagwelget do not tally exactly with those of their western neighbours, the Gitksan. These people are of Athapascan extraction, and their remote ancestors were wholly nomadic, as are still their northern kinsmen. They have come under the influence of the west coast tribes, whose habit is to dwell in villages a part of the year, and whose social organization is complex and characterized by the use of heraldry. These west coast influences were from two or three different parts. They can be traced back to the early Tsimsyan occupants of the Skeena, the Kwakiutl south of the Skeena, and perhaps more remotely, the Tlingit[1] of the Alaskan coast. The organization, myths, and customs of the Carriers of Hagwelget are for that reason to a certain extent at variance with those of the modern Gitksan, in spite of a marked tendency to synchronize both systems for practical purposes—such as marriage and inheritance between people of mixed extraction.

Beenee and his relatives formerly belonged to the Tsayu clan of the Hagwelget people, of which Beenee was the head. This clan became practically extinct, less than a hundred years ago. It was decided to amalgamate it with the Larhtsamesyuh clan or phratry, and Beenee became the second chief of the new group. Beenee's family as now constituted combines elements that belong to two different phratries among the Gitksan, in particular: the Owl and the Fireweed, of the Fireweed phratry; the Eagle *(Sqee*, of the Hagwelget, and *Hrhskyœk*, of the Gitksan) and the Beaver, of the Eagle phratry.

Beenee owns a totem pole, which still stands near the smoke houses at the canyon of Hagwelget.

DESCRIPTION[2]

This pole (Plate XXIX, figure 4) is known under the name of Single-fireweed *(Geelas* or *Cilhœst*, a Tsimsyan word). It consists of a plain, uncarved log, about 50 feet high.[3] At the top stands a bird with wings spread out, as if it had just landed. Opinions differ as to the identity of this crest, whether it is the Grouse *(Gildzaat)* or the Eagle *(Sqee)*. Beenee's Beaver crest formerly was also part of this pole, but was taken off and placed on his grave, near the village, east of the canyon.

[1]Probably through the Tahltan and Sekanais of the Groundhog country and the Yukon.

[2]Part of the above and following information was obtained by Diamond Jenness among the Hagwelget people, in 1922.

[3]It is called Single-fireweed for that reason.

ORIGIN

There is no doubt that the name and concept of the Single-fireweed *(Gilhæst)* are borrowed from the neighbouring Gitksan. The name of *Gilhæst* itself is Gitksan, and the Fireweed is not only a phratric name among them *(Gisræst*, People-Fireweed), but it is a special crest of a few families within the Fireweed phratry. The possession of the Single-fireweed, an exclusive emblem, in the family of Beenee indicates that he must in some way be related to Harhpegwawtu, of Gitsegyukla, who is the owner of the Single-fireweed in the nearest Gitksan village, down the Skeena. Harhpegwawtu himself is said to have acquired the emblem from Nees-haiwærhs, of Kitsalas.[1] The mythic origin of this emblem is said to go back to a vision of Nees-haiwærhs.

The conflict of opinion as to the identity of the Eagle and the Grouse is due to the acknowledged right to use both crests in this family, though they originally belonged to different owners. The Grouse, among the Gitksan, is a Fireweed crest; and the Eagle is the principal crest in the Eagle phratry. The inception of this crest, be it the Grouse or the Eagle, is probably Gitksan.

The Beaver, among the Tsimsyan, is the property of an Eagle clan represented at Gitsemrælem and Kitsalas, near the canyon of the Skeena. But its semi-independent diffusion outside extends farther south than the Eagle, and may have reached Hagwelget from other tribes south of the Tsimsyan.

This pole formerly stood in front of a salmon smoke-house, the name of which was the Owl's house *(Mestseeyerh)*. Its front was decorated with a large carving and painting representing the Owl; the entrance was through the Owl's beak; and the wings of the bird were painted across the house front.[2] The Owl, like the Fireweed, is a familiar crest of the Fireweed families, among the neighbouring Gitksan.

FUNCTION

Beenee was responsible for the erection of this pole, according to most informants[3]. According to Mrs. Donald Grey, it was erected in commemoration of Beenee by a successor. It is one of the two oldest poles of Hagwelget; it was already standing at the time when the Western Union Telegraph Line was being constructed through the country (1866).[4]

CARVERS

Samalee,[5] of Hagwelget, carved the Eagle (or the Grouse) at the top of the pole; and Ahyewis[6] carved the Beaver.

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[1] Cf. *The poles of Harhpegwawtu, of Gitsegyukla*, p. 94.

[2] According to another statement obtained by D. Jenness, "formerly there was a representation of an Owl protruding outwards about two-thirds up the pole. But this has fallen off."

[3] According to Mrs. Donald Grey it has stood about fifty years.

[4] According to Felix George, William Chicken, Moose-skin-Johny, and Old Sam. (D. Jenness).

[5] According to information obtained by D. Jenness.

[6] Presumably 'Arh'yawas, of the family of Gitem-raldo (Larhsail phratry), of Gitenmaks, now Hazelton.

(48) Pole of Anklawrh, at Hagwelget

Information is still lacking as to whether Anklawrh or 'Nlaw,[1] the chief of the Grizzly-bear (Gitemdanyu) clan of Hagwelget (a Carrier village on Bulkley river), considers himself related to any of the families of the neighbouring Gitksans. The personal name of Sædzan, one of the most important in this household, may serve as a clue, as it is also that of two important chiefs abroad: Sædzan, of Kitsalas, and Sædzan, of the Geenarhdawks tribe of the Tsimsyan on the Skeena. Indeed, we find that the origin of Sædzan and Gabelran, of Kitsalas, is traced back to Hagwelget, and that their myth of crests refers to their relations long ago with the people of the Raven-frog phratry of Kispayaks. Sædzan, of Kitsalas, belongs to the Raven phratry, and his principal crest is House-front-painting-of-Raven. The Tetsan bird crest on the totem pole of Anklawrh, of Hagwelget, also represents the Raven. The other Sædzan (of the Ginahdawks tribe), however, belongs to the Wolf phratry, and owns both the Bear and the Raven crests, the Raven appearing quite exceptionally here, in the Wolf phratry, under the form of Where-Raven-has-a-human-face. These three households probably were related in the past, if they did not actually grow out of each other.

The totem pole owned by Anklawrh stands at the foot of Hagwelget canyon—the third from the mouth of the canyon.

DESCRIPTION

The figures on this totem pole (Plate XXIX, figure 5)—which is named 'Esrihl, Back-pack—are: two Ravens, called Tetsan, one above the other, with their beaks bent down; a human being, at the basis of the pole, on whose back was the 'Esrihl or Back-pack, a family crest. In the grave-box formerly affixed to the top of the pole were the charred bones of Sætsan, the daughter of Anklawrh[2], after her body had been cremated on a pyre.

ORIGIN

The origin of the Back-pack or fungus *('Esrihl)* emblem is not accounted for in the usual way, in a myth. This crest is simply described as having been obtained from Nelli, a Nitcaoten man of the Gitemdanyu clan, by the Hagwelget Gitemdanyu, in acknowledgement of their co-operation in a potlatch, in the Nitcaoten country. Nelli had granted to his helpers the right to use his crest *(nettse)* the Fungus.[3]

There is no explanation available for the Raven coat-of-arms, unless we accept the presumption that this family was formerly related to those of the two Sædzans among the Tsimsyan, that is, of the Kitsalas and the Geenarhdawks tribes. The Kitsalas[4] family belongs to the Raven (Kanhade) phratry and is said to have descended from the Kispayaks Ravens of the upper Skeena.

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[1]The first spelling is that of D. Jenness; the second, of William Beynon.

[2]The information about the grave of Sædzan was obtained by Mr. Jenness.

[3]Information recorded by D. Jenness.

[4]Of the Gitrhtsærh subdivision.

The Kispayaks ancestors in their migrations once saw a mythic Raven emerge from the water. They had built a raft, and, while crossing a large lake on it, had nearly perished in a storm. Wudzi'adawrh, one of their leaders, was drowned. The survivors, after the storm, beheld a Raven flying in the water, at the spot where Wudzi'adawrh had fallen overboard. It was not actually the reflection of a bird of the air above, as they first thought, but the drowned man himself reappearing to them under the water in the guise of a Raven. From that time they owned the Raven as their main crest, under the title of Raven-of-the-water *(Qaqem-dzem'aks)*.

The Sædzan family of the Ginahdawks explain their Raven crest otherwise. The Raven, whose name for them is Raven-with-human-face (*Wiltselems-gyetkehl-qaq*) once spoke to them in a vision, near their village of Larhpsæ. He was no other than Nees-nont, an uncle who had died and come back with the body of the Raven and a human face; the body and feet of the Raven being of stone. His words were: "Son, use this as a crest."[1]

FUNCTION

This pole, the oldest at Hagwelget, was erected "before the telegraph line came" (that is, the Great Western Union, in 1866), in memory of Sædzan, Anklawrh's daughter, whose ashes were placed in the box formerly at the top of the pole.[2]

CARVER

Wutarhayæts of Gitwinlkul, a Gitksan, was the carver, and his work here is of the poorest of the kind. When the pole was erected, a wooden imitation of a huge lump of fungus or punk, resembling a hollow ball, was made out of wood by Tcelee, a Larhsælyu, of what is now Moricetown; and it was fastened to the pole, at the back of the human figure below the two Ravens. It disappeared many years ago.

(49) Poles and House Paintings at Qaldo

Qaldo is the uppermost village of the Gitksan. It is situated near the headwaters of the Skeena, about 80 miles above Hazelton, and over 250 miles from the seacoast. Its totem poles are actually the farthest removed from the seacoast, and there were only a very few, three or four in all. This is also true of Kisgagas, farther down the river.

Mr. D. Jenness, who visited Qaldo in the spring of 1924, wrote:

"At old Kuldo, none of the old houses are standing, but there are five new ones, a smoke-house . . . . In front of two of the modern houses are two small totem-poles about 7 or 8 feet high. The only carving on them seems to be a large head at the top (Plate XXVII, figure 6). There was about 4½ feet of snow on the ground, so we did not see as much as we had hoped. . . . The fallen totem pole, the main object of the trip, is 37 feet long, in good condition."

(See The pole of Kyawlugyet, of Qaldo).

[1] It is most exceptional for the Raven crest to be used, as it is here, in the Wolf phratry. This may have resulted from the former acknowledged custom of these people of intermarrying with families of the Raven phratry. Their presumed relatives of Hagwelget in the same way use the Raven while belonging to the Grizzly-bear clan whose normal associations are with the Wolf, not the Raven.

[2] D. Jenness.

Our informants, in giving verbal descriptions of the crests of some of the Qaldo families, stated that they were represented on the totem poles of the owners. Their statements may have been misunderstood; they may have meant simply that the owners had a right to carve their crests on their totem poles, as no such poles are now in existence.

We were told that the See'awalrhu (Four-bear-cubs), of the family of 'Wee-raih (of the Wolf phratry) was carved on a pole, at Qaldo. Some of Kwawhamawn's crests (of the Wolf phratry) were also said[1] to have been likewise reproduced: the Bear-cub-in-half *(Tsawrawtsem-smaih)*, and Crown-of-claws *(Taqsem-asralt)*, represented as a human being, at the top of the pole. The round entrance through the front gable, called Hole through *(Wulnaraq)*, was mentioned as having been used at one time as a ceremonial doorway into the feast house for the guests. Two other crests of Kwawhamawn are also supposed to have been shown on totem poles[2]—the Inside-half-person *(Tsem-hrpigeegyet)* and the Wolf *(Keebu)*.

The Tree-dweller *('Needzabem-larh-ran)*,[3] a crest of the family of Kyawlugyet (Wolf phratry), was carved on a pole, a model of which was reproduced from memory by Isaac Tæns, of Hazelton (Plate XXVI, figure 3).

The Split-person *(Hapserhum-gyet)*, a crest of Luus (Wolf phratry) was[4] represented on a front-house pole, which served as an entrance into the feast house.[5]

The Man-wolf *(Keebœum-gyet)* of 'Neest (Wolf phratry) was shown on a pole; its head was human-like, and its body, that of the Wolf, a family crest.

The Thunder-bird crest called *Gyœmerhen*, with a hooklike beak, and large wings, was displayed on Wa'a's pole (Larhsail phratry);[6] as also the *Geeladal*, Thunder-bird.

A representation of the Wild-crab-apple tree *(Mailiks)* was carved on the totem pole of Ramræt-leeluks, of the Fireweed phratry.[7]

Some other crests belonging to Qaldo families were painted on the walls of the feast houses. The Shadows *(Kanawdzenerh)*, a crest of Kyawlugyet (Wolf phratry), were painted inside the house, in the form of a checker pattern, in red and white. The Wolf, which appeared on the pole outside, was also painted on the walls inside. The Dog *('Oos)*, belonging to the same owner, was painted on the walls inside the house. It was shown standing between two wolves, one of them holding it by the tail and the other by the head.

The following crests are also said, in the same way, to have been carved on poles:[8]

The Tsirhs-yarhyaq crest of Weemenawzek (Larhsail phratry), consisting of two rows of human heads around the pole, one on top, and the other upside down, in the lower row—the tongues of each protruding so as to reach that of the other face opposite.[9]

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[1]Informants, Isaac Tæns and his wife, Hazelton. Tæns' wife was one of the Qaldo leaders.

[2]According to Kweeyaihl, of the Fireweed phratry (John Brown), formerly of Kisgagas, now of Kispayaks.

[3]For a summary of the myth of Tree-dweller, see *The Pole of Ksemqaqhl*.

[4]According to John Brown (Kweeyaihl), of Kispayaks.

[5]*See The pole of Kyawlugyet, at Qaldo*, p. 126.

[6]According to John Brown.

[7]According to John Brown.

[8]We presume that the vague references given here by the informants were largely theoretical, that is, they refer to crests as they might have been represented or were actually shown in other villages of the Gitksan.

[9]Informant Meluleq, of Kisgagas (Mrs. Jimmy Williams).

The Flying-frog *(Geepœigem-ranaa'o)*, of the same owner, Weemenawzek.

Three-across *(Hrpugwelawn)*, originally the property of Ksemgitgeegœnih, represented on two-house-posts as part man and part woman, with the Frog.

(50) Poles and House Paintings at Kisgagas

Kisgagas is one of the two uppermost villages of the Gitksan. It is situated on Babine (or Kisgagas) river, about 5 miles above its junction with the Skeena.

There are only two totem-poles now standing in this village, and a third one (without carving, but with painted decorations) fallen and lying on the ground behind the potlatch houses. The only one of these three that really deserves the name of totem pole is that of Wa-igyet, of the Fireweed phratry, which has been described above.[1] There do not seem to have been more than a few poles actually standing in Kisgagas at any time.

Brief references were made by informants to totem poles and house paintings at Kisgagas. Some of these statements refer to totem poles and paintings as they may actually have existed; others are undoubtedly meant as a statement that the crests might have been used on totem poles and actually were used by relatives in other villages, such as Kispayaks, Gitwinlkul, and Gitenmaks. Here is a transcription of these scattered statements, as obtained in 1920, from various informants:[2]

One or two standing Bears *(Smaih)* were carved on house posts, at the rear of the house of Neekyap (of the Wolf phratry).

The crest of *Hrpee-geegyet*, also belonging to Neekyap, was carved on a pole; it consisted of the figures of four children.

The main crest of Weeraih (of the Wolf phratry) was Without-knowledge ('A'wullayest); it was shown on a pole, and consisted of three Bears climbing the pole. It was also called To-cool-off *('Anptaltu)*. The Wolf *(Keebu)* was placed at the top of that pole.

The Wolf *(Keebu)* was shown on a totem pole of *Hrkwawyemtu*, a Wolf chief. Some of the other crests of Hrkwawyemtu were also used on poles: Standing-bear *(Hœtkutsmaih)*, the man called Like-the-owl *(Segutkweenurhs)*, and the *Trha-ralp-qan*, a pole through which was the entrance into the feast house.

Tsaburh, another Wolf chief, had a front-house pole, through which was the ceremonial entrance. Its name was Kwisyara-raliutu. Many human faces were painted on both sides, on the house front.

Another house-front post, used as ceremonial doorway, was that of Ananemrawt, a Wolf chief. This pole was known under the name of Man-in-half *(Raldihgyet)*. The entrance was between the two halves of his body as represented on the pole.

The head-chief of Kisgagas, Meluleq, of the Larhsail phratry, also had some of his crests represented in paint or carved on poles. The Eagle Mawdzeks was painted on the front of his house, according to one statement,[3] or carved on his totem pole[4]. The Wild-celery *(Geela'mawq)* crest was represented as a plain, long pole, known under that name, which stood by the house of Meluleq until recently. Another of Meluleq's crests, the Nose-like-cohoe *(Tsarams'œqh)*, was also at one time painted around the walls of his house, inside.

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[1]Cf. *The pole of Wa-igyet*, p. 102.

[2]Mrs Jimmy Williams *(Meluleq)*, Paul Morrison *(Dzeeus)*, John Brown *(Kweeyaihl)*, Charles Martin, and others.

[3]From Paul Morrison *(Dzeeus)*, of Kisgagas.

[4]According to Meluleq (Mrs. Jimmy Williams).

Weemenawzek, a Larhsail chief, formerly of Qaldo, but lately of Kisgagas,[1] had his *Tsih-yarhyaq* crest—a man with feet up and head down—painted on his house front and carved on what was described as "a fine pole." His Frog crest was also painted and carved.

Two of Ksemgitgeegyænih's crests (this chief also belongs to the Larhsail phratry) were also painted on his house and carved on a totem-pole[2] the Eagle *(Xrhsxyæk)*; and the Hrpugweelawn—three human beings represented by as many carvings standing side by side inside the house, at the back.

Wistis was another Larhsail chief of Kisgagas, who belonged to the same clan as Weemenawzek. His crest Nose-like-cohoe *(Tsarams'œqh)* was painted all over the walls, at many places, inside his house.[3] He had a pole, a plain shaft, with no carving.[4]

(51) Poles at Hagwelget

The following notes were recorded by Mr. D. Jenness, among the Carriers of Hagwelget, in 1922.

"There was a totem pole of spruce—not cedar—erected east of Francis lake, at an old village called Dzekonekaz. It was about 25 feet high and uncarved. On top of the pole, inside a box, were placed the charred bones of two or three relatives. It was erected by Tchasbet, of the Gilserhyu clan "(what we call phratry elsewhere)" about 1875. It rotted and fell about 1919. This is the only totem pole outside Hagwelget (among the Carriers) of which Felix George[5] knows. The uncle of the man who erected the pole had a sister married to a Gitksan of Gitsegyukla.

A chief died at Bear lake. He was burned and his bones were set on top of a short pole. Charlie Hunter, of Fort Graham, saw the pole at Bear lake.

A pole was erected at the Moricetown canyon earlier than those at the Hagwelget canyon. It fell and was burnt after the construction of the Telegraph line (1866).

Totem Poles at Hagwelget. These poles were called *nætse'* or totems. They were brought several miles from the forests to their present site, hundreds of people helping to convey them. It took about a day to travel half a mile. The transport, the carving, and erection of the pole were done by people of clans other than that to which the pole was to belong. While the carving was being done—it sometimes required a whole winter—the pole was covered with cedar bark mats, so that no one might see the figures until it was erected. The carving was done in the place where it was to be erected. Each pole rests about 8 feet in the ground, and was hoisted by means of strong ropes of moose and caribou hide. The work of transporting, carving, and hoisting the pole was undertaken not only by the Carrier themselves, but by many of the Tsimsyan from Kispiox, Hazelton, and other Skeena River villages, where the clans were the same. As soon as it was erected, the husbands of the women to whose clan the pole belonged (whether Tsimsyan or Carrier) laid an offering at the foot of the pole—a coat, a gun, blankets, or skins. These were gathered into a pile by the clan to which the pole belonged and distributed as payment to all those who had helped in the work. Thus the owners' clan paid the other clans for their assistance. Totem poles were erected at a funeral potlatch.

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[1]Mentioned above as a member of the Qaldo tribe.

[2]Also according to Paul Morrison (*Dzeeus*).

[3]Also according to Paul Morrison.

[4]According to Mrs. Jimmy Williams.

[5]An old Carrier informant.

(52) Poles at Kitwanga

Notes on the erection of totem poles from chief Hlengwah (or Larahnitz, head-chief of the clans of the Larhsail phratry at Kitwanga):[1]

"About two years after a chief has died, his successor requests someone to cut a large tree for a totem-pole. A new *gwaraum* feast is contemplated, at which the pole will be planted. Several villages will be sent invitations to be present for the event. The man chosen to carve the pole is sometimes a "cousin" of the chief who has died. He must be a relative, a cousin on the father's side—*gwutrha'aw*. If he is not a "nephew," on the father's side, then he must be a "brother". When the pole is carved, all the chiefs of the various tribes arrive for its erection. A large rope is fastened to the smaller end of the pole, and the supporting frame or square chevalet *(trhadzaprh)* is put up next to the hole (6 or 8 feet deep) in which the pole is to stand. A short trench leads to the hole, and the larger end of the pole is rolled into it (Plate XXXI, figure 2). The rope is then thrown over the *chevalet*, and the group of people assisting in the manual work[2] pull all together in jerks, to the cadence of 'haw, haw, haw . . .' The family of the deceased meanwhile sing their dirge song *(limrh'oi)* and beat a large wooden drum as they sing. They distribute presents to the chiefs."

At a function of this kind in Kitwanga, Hlengwah, the head-chief of the Larhsails, gave $90 to each of his fellow chiefs, $60 and $50 to the lower chiefs.

Two years after putting up the pole, another feast is given to which the people at large are again invited. This feast is called Making-the-pole-dry *(gwalgwe')*. Grease *(ulaken*, etc. . . . .) is distributed to the guests, together with much other food—in recent years boxes of biscuits, sacks of flour.

Another feast, the last, is given two years later, or feast for food giving. Its name is *huks*.

To sum up, the ceremonials for the erection of a totem pole are the following:

(1) Hewing-the-pole *(quts-ran)*
(2) Putting-up-the-pole *(heden-sem-ran)*
(3) Making-dry *(gwalgwe')*
(4) *huks*.

DIGESTS

LIST OF VILLAGES WITH NUMBER OF TOTEM POLES IN EACH VILLAGE

Kitwanga. The Rabbit-tribe. The westernmost Gitksan village on the Skeena, near the Tsimsyan frontier, 150 miles from the coast.

16 Larhsail or Frog-Raven poles (including house posts)
6 Eagle poles
4 Wolf poles

Gitwinlkul. The Mountain-pass-tribe. Fourteen miles north of Kitwanga, away from the Skeena, on the Grease trail to the Nass.

16 Larhsail or Frog-Raven poles
11 Wolf poles

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[1]The interpreter: Alfred Sinclair (Arhkawt), of the same tribe.

[2]The family of the deceased naturally do not take part in the labour, which falls to the members of other phratries—not only the "fathers" (that is the family of the father), but also the other guests.

Gitsegyukla. People-of-Segyukla. On the Skeena, near the present Skeena Crossing, about 12 miles above Kitwanga.

14 Fireweed poles and figures
5 Larhsail or Frog-Raven poles

Gitenmaks. Torch-light-fishing-people. The present Hazelton, at the junction of Skeena and Bulkley rivers, 25 miles above Kitwanga or 176 from Prince Rupert on the coast.

5 Frog-Raven poles (standing or fallen)
3 Wolf poles (standing or fallen)

Hagwelget. The Mild-people. A Carrier or Babine tribe, of the interior nomadic Athapascan stock. Three miles above Hazelton, at the canyon of the Bulkley.

2 Wolf poles
1 Larhsailyu pole
1 unclassified pole

Kispayaks. Tribe-of-the-Hiding-place. Ten miles above Hazelton, at the junction of Skeena and Kispayaks (Kispiox) rivers.

13 Fireweed poles and figures, plus one pole decaying on the ground
6 Wolf poles
4 Frog-Raven poles

Kisgagas. Sea-gull-people. About 50 miles above Hazelton, on Babine (or Kisgagas) river, 3 or 4 miles above the junction of this river with the Skeena.

1 Fireweed pole
1 unclassified pole
1 fallen (not carved, but painted)

Qaldo. About 70 or 80 miles above Hazelton, or 250 miles from the coast, on the upper Skeena, in Groundhog district.

1 Wolf pole, fallen
2 others, house posts, unclassified

Modern mission villages, such as Glen Vowell and Andimawl have no totem pole.

GITKSAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribes. The tribes, as listed above, have their headquarters at villages of the same name. Each of them consists of a number of households, the inmates of which in former times may have numbered a few hundreds. Their population is now greatly reduced. The villages removed from the modern centres and railroads are largely deserted—Qaldo, Kisgagas, and also, to a lesser extent, Gitwinlkul. The Qaldo and Kisgagas people are mostly in Kispayaks, Glen Vowell, and Hazelton. Many of the Gitwinlkul people have moved away to Nass river—to Gitlarhdamks, in particular, or to Kitwanga and Gitsegyukla.

The households in each tribe belonged either to the same kinship group and were closely related; in other words, they belonged to the same clan; their ancestors, their privileges, their crests, their hunting grounds, and their *ada-orh* (mythic and pseudo history), were identical. Or they

belonged to another clan of the same phratry or company; that is, they did not consider themselves as real relatives, although they belonged together as a federated body, and could not intermarry with one another. Or again, they belonged to different phratries or companies. Thus, a tribe is an agglomeration of related, semi-related, and absolutely unrelated, households, the number of which seldom exceeded fifteen or twenty, and the actual population, from two to five hundred or less. It came into existence casually, as a rule after some other tribes had broken up through necessity or catastrophe; and it dissolved likewise. Families that belong to one tribe now, still distinctly conserve the memory of the times, within the last two hundred years, when their ancestors were members for a time of two or three different tribes in turn, and moved four or five times to as many different villages. They sometimes are still described under such tribal names of the past.

Phratries. There are four phratries or companies among the Gitksan. Every family inevitably belongs to one of them, and their members are found in the various tribes of the upper Skeena. These phratries are as follows.

Larhsail or Frog-Raven, the equivalent of the Ranhada phratry of the Tsimsyan.

Fireweed or Gisrast, the equivalent of which is the Gispewudwade, among the Tsimsyan and Nisræ.

Wolf or Larhkeebu.

Eagle or Larhskeek.

The largest of these, among the Gitksan, is the Frog-Raven. The Fireweed and the Wolf come next. The Eagle, on the other hand, is very small; it is a recent accretion from outside, being represented merely by one clan in the village of Kitwanga, the nearest to the Tsimsyan frontier. It must be noted, however, that Weegyet of the Fireweed phratry, at Gitsegyukla, traces back his ancestry to Eagle ancestors, formerly members of the Eagle group at Kitwanga; the change from one phratry to another happened as the result of what may be termed a social accident. Besides, not a few emblems that are now considered legitimate possessions of the Eagle phratry were previously acquired among the Gitksan by various families in the other phratries.

The phratries in their present form are not very ancient. They are more in the nature of a federation than the natural growth of kinship units, once small, into large groups; their ramifications extend through several nations. But it is not the object of this monograph to discuss social organization in detail.

Clans. The clans are groups of kinsmen within a phratry—the phratry comprising various clans. They usually consist of several families closely related to one another, though often scattered far and wide throughout the tribes of one nation or even beyond. Their members claim the same maternal ancestors and the same traditional rights and privileges. The various branches of a clan, or families and households, issued from each other in the course of time, and for this reason maintain ties of mutual

goodwill and interdependence. They assist one another in the outstanding events of their ceremonial life—the potlatches that accompany death, marriage, and the erection of totem poles.

Their remote origin is often lost in obscurity; and the farther removed the collateral branches of a clan, the less distinctly their relationship is remembered. Still, objective evidence of a common origin itself at times yields clues where human memory fails. The clans naturally vary in size and prestige. Some are of high standing, wealthy, and powerful; others are small and of low extraction. Evil fortune and warfare in the course of time brought vicissitudes to some of the clans, whereas others climbed the social ladder. Local families of varied extraction at times would amalgamate, chiefly to prevent extinction. This arbitrary process naturally tends to obscure the strands and thus make some of the clans composite like the phratries themselves.[1]

Families. The families are the subdivisions of the clan; their nature is the same. Their members are close relatives, who reside within one tribe in the same house or several houses usually in the same part of the village.

Conclusion. The tribes are nothing but casual geographic units. The phratries are political groups extending throughout several nations on the North West Coast. The clans and the families are essentially founded on kinship, independently of any fixed abode or tribal affiliation.

GITKSAN CLANS AND THEIR ORIGINS

Clans of the Frog-Raven or Larhsail Phratry

(a) The Frog-woman or 'Neegyamks clan. Its origin is traced back to the Nass. Some of the ancestors of this clan once resided among the Haidas, on Queen Charlotte islands *(See The Poles of Kweenu).* Its leading members, as mentioned in this monograph, are Kweenu, of Gitwinlkul; Lælt, Ha'ku, and T-haku, of Kitwanga; and Arhkawt, a member of Hlengwah's group, at Kitwanga.

(b) The Tongue-Licked or Næqt clan, a subdivision of the Frog-woman or 'Neegyamks clan. Its migration to the Skeena is also from the north—the Nass. Its leading members are: Wistis and Rarhs-rabarhs, of Gitsegyukla; and Tælramuk, of Kispayaks.

(c) A third clan consisting of the descendants of Nawle and Kaldihgyet. It is related somehow to those of the Frog-woman and Tongue-licked, collaterally, it seems. The myths and crests of its members are on the whole analogous; but their differentiation is marked. Temlaham is usually claimed as their original home; but its actual location is uncertain, either on the Skeena or the Nass, according to conflicting opinions. The leading families in this clan are Kaldihgyet or Lutkudzeeus, at Hazelton; and Ma'us and Harhu, of Kispayaks. Harhu and his family may, instead, be part of the Water-lily *(Skasewasan)* clan, from the headwaters of the Skeena.

[1]Cf. instance in *The Poles of Hlengwah, at Kitwanga; The Poles of Lælt, at Kitwanga; The Poles of Arhteeh, at Kitwanga; The Poles of Wutarhayæts, at Gitwinlkul.*

(d) The clan now under the leadership of Hlengwah, of Kitwanga. It is a subdivision of a Tsimsyan clan, that of Qawm, of Kitsalas, and Nees-yaranæt, of the Gitsees tribe. Representatives of this clan, which originated among the Tlingit, are to be found among the Gitksan, the Hagwelget,[1] the Tsimsyan, the Kitamat, and the Haida. It is one of the outstanding clans of the Larhsail-Ranhada phratry on the North West Coast. Halus, at Kitwanga, and Mawlarhen, of Gitsegyukla, are descendants of one of the first Hlengwah among the Gitksan. Hlengwah's ancestors, when they migrated up the Skeena, were adopted by a family under the leadership of Yarhyaq. And that family later amalgamated with that of Arhkawt, of the Frog-woman clan, after he had migrated south from the Nass.

(e) The Wild-rice clan *(Git'anrasrh)* of the Larhsail, traces back its origin to the nomadic Tsetsaut bands of the interior, to the north. Its leading families are those of Ramlarhyælk and Lurhawn, of Gitwinlkul; Gitemraldo and Sanaws, of Hazelton; Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, of Gitsegyukla; and Meluleq, of Kisgagas.

(f) The Water-lily clan *(Skasewasan)*, of the neighbouring Hagwelget people, is represented among the Gitksan by a few members: Kwawqaq Ho'demerh, and Wutarhayæts, of Gitwinlkul, who became part of the family of Kweenu, through amalgamation; and also, possibly, Harhu, of Kispayaks.

(g) Yarhyaq, Lælt, and perhaps some other elements in the Frog-Raven phratry of the Gitksan, did not originally belong to any of the above clans, though they have long since become associated, through amalgamation, with one of them. They seem to have come from a native stock already located on the Skeena at the time when the migrations from the north and the west overran the country.

Clans of the Fireweed Phratry

(a) The Sky clan is one of the most important among the Gitksan, the Tsimsyan, and the Nisræ; it is also represented among the Haidas of Queen Charlotte islands, and two Athapascan groups, the Babine and the Hagwelget, of the interior plateaux. Its origin is traced back to Temlaham, on the Skeena, and its remote ancestress was Skawah, the virgin whom Rays-of-the-Sun, a sky spirit, once took to wife, in mythic times. Its members among the Gitksan fall into three or four groups or sub-clans. Their differences are marked; and they consider each other as belonging to wholly different clans. The Gitksan families that belong to the Sky clan proper are: Gurhsan and Hanamuq, of Gitsegyukla; Gitludahl, Nurhs, and Wawsemlarhæ, of Kispayaks; Hatisran and Aret, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton);[2] Weedeldæl, of Gitsemrælem; Tpee, of the Nass; and the several "royal" Gispewudwade families among the Tsimsyan—Weesaiks, of the Ginarhangyeek; Nees-hlkemeek, of the Gillodzar; Nees-wærhs, of the Ginahdawks, and Tseebesæ, of the Gitrhahla.

(b) The Gitkeemelæ clan traces its origin to the mythic village of Keemelæ, a short distance above Gitlarhdamks, on Nass river. Its

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[1]Harasu and Gyædem-skanees, of Hagwelget, are members of this clan.

[2]The Hazelton branch dates back only to about 1872; it is a subdivision of the family of Wawsemlarhæ, Kispayaks.

ancestress also bore the name of Skawah, and her supernatural experiences were the same as for the Sky clan above. Kweeyaihl and his family of Kispayaks are its only representatives among the Gitksan; and Neestarhawk, of Kitsalas, among the Skeena River Tsimsyan.

(c) A third branch of the Sky clan is that to which belong Ksrarom-larhæ, of Gitsegyukla; Leelebeks, of Kispayaks, and Ksrarom-larhæ, of Hagwelget. From the inclusion among its crests of the Finback-whale, it discloses seacoast affiliations.

(d) The Wild-rice clan *(Git'anrasrh)*. The phratric status of this clan is very peculiar; it is indeed, quite unique. It belongs as much to the Wolf as to the Fireweed phratry. Some of its crests, the Grizzly, the Cormorant, and Sharp-nose *(Dzarauh-rhlaw)*, normally belong to members of the Wolf phratry. They consider themselves related to the Wolves, and are called to assist their Wolf relatives in potlatches. And it seems that they do not intermarry with them.[1] Its members are: Qæl and Hrkyadet, of Kispayaks; Weegyet, of Anlarasemdærh, a tribal village no longer in existence, but formerly situated a short distance below Kisgagas; and some other families among the Babines, of the interior.

(e) Weegyet, of Gitsegyukla, heads a family in the Fireweed phratry which stands all by itself. Its small size precludes the use for it of the term clan. It consists of the households of Weegyet and Tseebesæ, at Gitsegyukla; Tseegwee[2] of Hazelton; and another of its members at Gitwinlkul. Its origin is traced back to a clan of the Eagle phratry, that to which Qawq, of Kitwanga, belongs; the cause for its passage from the Eagle to the Fireweed phratry—a most exceptional occurrence—is remembered to this day *(See The Poles of Weegyet, at Gitsegyukla)*. The crests of Weegyet are largely those which his ancestors owned when they were still members of the Eagle phratry.

Clans of the Wolf Phratry

(a) The Prairie clan *(Larhwiyip)* is the largest and most powerful Wolf clan among the Gitksan. There is also a branch of it on Nass river. Its origin is traced back to the headwaters of Stikine river; and the remote ancestors were Tahltan—an Athapascan nomadic people, of the interior plateaux, to the north. The Prairie clan is supposed, according to its traditions, to have joined a band of Tlingit fugitives at Na'a (now Port Chester), Alaska, and to have migrated southwards with them. Some members of the party settled among the Nisræ, on Nass river;[3] others moved down the coast and joined the Tsimsyan;[4] and those that were to become Gitksan travelled from the upper Nass south to the Skeena. The Gitksan members of this clan are: Malee and Nees-laranows, of Gitwinlkul, whose group is called "People-of-the-foothill-trail"; their first ancestor on the Skeena was Ka-ugwait; Spawrh, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton); Hrleem-larhæ and Hrsarhgyaw, of Kispayaks; and Gwarh-skyæk and Sqabæ, also of Kispayaks. Gwarh-skyæk, like Hrleem-larhæ, descends from the house of

[1]Some doubt still prevails as to this.

[2]Otherwise known as Isaac Tæns.

[3]Their leader now is Skateen, of Gitlarhdamks.

[4]Nees-laranows, the head-chief of the Gitlæn tribe.

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Malee, but he and his family migrated to Kispayaks at a later date; they are usually called Hagwenuudet—Fugitives. Several crests, which are normally the property of Eagle clans, belong to this Wolf clan. This is, we take it, an ancient feature, since the Tahltans themselves have only two phratries, like many of the neighbouring Tlingit tribes—the Raven and the Wolf. And all the crests known to these people fall into the lot of these two divisions.[1]

(b) The Gitrhandakhl clan. It is undoubtedly part of the southward migratory movements of the northern Wolves, like the Prairie-clan. But its members trace back their origin only to Gitrhandakhl, at the headwaters of Kalem river, near the Nass. It consists of three branches on the Skeena: two families at Gitsemrælem; three, at Kitwanga; and one, at Hagwelget; and at least one on the Nass, that of Nees-yawet, at Gitlarhdamks. Arhteeh, Tenemgyet, and Hrpeelarhæ head this group of Kitwanga, and Waws, their relative, is the head of a family at Hagwelget.

(c) The Wild-rice clan *(Git'anrasrh)*.[2] The families that belong to this clan originated as subdivisions of the family of Luus, of Qaldo, near the headwaters of the Skeena. They are those under the leadership of: Amagyet and Ksemqaqhl, of Kispayaks, and presumably Kwawhabaq, of Gitenmaks (Hazelton).

(d) The second Wild-rice clan, that which traces back its origin to Gwee-sædzan, of the ancient Git'anrasrh tribe at the headwaters of the Skeena. Its members are Hrkwayemtu, formerly of Anlarasemdærh, and later of Kisgagas; and Haidzemerhs, of Gitwinlkul. Anklawrh, of Hagwelget, is also somehow related to this clan, although some of his crests link him with the Frog-Raven phratry rather than with the Wolf.

(e) The Hrain (Kaien) Island[3] clan of the seacoast. Its origin undoubtedly goes back to the Tahltans of Larhwiyip, on the plateaux, like the other members of the Prairie-clan above. But its explicit traditions begin with the sojourn and adventures of the ancestors on Hrain island. Weerhæ, the head-chief of the Wolves, at Gitwinlkul, and Kyærhu, of Gitlarhdamks, on the Nass, are members of this clan.

Another Wolf family, that of Willits and Thrawawq, of Gitwinlkul, cannot be definitely classified. It belongs to the same clan as either Malee or Weerhæ, and shares in the characteristics of both. This may be due to inheritance or to recent convergences due to proximity.

Eagle Phratry

Only one clan of this phratry exists among the Gitksan, under the leadership of Qawq, at Kitwanga. It may be designated as the Gitanræt[4] clan. It is part of the Na'a clan, which originated at Na'a, among the Tlingit, on the Alaskan coast, and migrated south after intratribal feuds with the Wolf clans. The Gitanræt sub-clan is a subdivision of the Git-

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[1]The Eagle phratry exists only in one part of the Tlingit nation.

[2]There are also Wild-rice *(Git'anrasrh)* clans in both the Frog-Raven and Fireweed phratries. These clans originated in the same country, at the headwaters of the Skeena, like the Wild-rice clan of the Wolves.

[3]Prince Rupert stands on this island.

[4]Gitanræt on the Skeena is now known under the name of Fiddlers Creek.

semrælem Eagle families, under one of the earliest Legyærh. Qawq now heads three Eagle families, of the same sub-clan, at Kitwanga, those of Qawq, Tewalasu, and Sqayæn.

Summary

There are six clans in the Frog-Raven phratry, most of which are remotely related to one another; the Frog-woman or 'Neegyamks clan, the Tongue-licked or Næqt clan, Nawle's clan, Hlengwah's clan, the Wild-rice clan, and the Water-lily clan.

The Fireweed phratry consists of three branches of the Sky-clan, one of which is known as Gitkeemelæ; the Wild-rice clan, and the clan under the leadership of Weegyet, which goes back to the Eagle phratry.

The Wolf phratry consists of five clans, all of which are genetically related: the Prairie clan, the Gitrhandakhl clan, the Wild-rice clan, the second Wild-rice clan, and the Hrain Island clan.

From the point of view of origin, it may be noted—although it is not our object here to draw attention to this important feature—that most of these clans originated in the north, either among the Tlingit, the Sekanais, or the Tsetsaut, or the Tahltan. The Wolf phratry as represented among the Gitksan is almost wholly, if not wholly, of Tahltan extraction—the Tahltans are a northern Athapascan people, of the Yukon frontier. The Eagles trace back their origin to Na'a, among the Tlingit. The clans of the two other phratries—the Frog-Ravens and the Fireweeds—are more distinctly aboriginal among the Gitksan. Yet most of their remote ancestors are said to have migrated from the north southwards. In the Frog-Raven phratry, the clans of Frog-woman and Tongue-Licked claim the lower Nass as their ancient home; and their Haida affiliations are a distinctive feature. Hlengwah, of Kitwanga and his Tsimsyan relatives, once were Tlingit. The Wild-rice clan was until recently Tsetsaut—from an Athapascan people to the north. And the Water-lily clan is also seemingly of similar extraction. Only two or three elements in this phratry seem native to the Skeena, and they are of small numerical importance—those of Yarhyaq, and possibly Nawle. The clans of the Fireweed phratry are more typically Gitksan than the others. Two of the Sky clans claim Temlaham, on the Skeena, as their original home. Yet, the second Sky clan, that of Gitkeemilæ, is from the Nass; and it is claimed by its members that Temlaham was situated on the Nass, not the Skeena. The Wild-rice clan of the Fireweed phratry belongs as much to the Athapascans of the interior as it does to the Gitksan. It may have originated in its present form among them, although its remote origin is, we presume, to be traced back to the Gitksan.[1]

[1]Since the interior Athapascans have no very ancient clans of their own.

GITKSAN CRESTS AS ILLUSTRATED ON TOTEM POLES CLASSIFIED LIST, ACCORDING TO TYPES

(The names of the owner, his phratry, and his tribe are given)

QUADRUPEDS

The Grizzly-bear

Grizzly-bear-of-the-sea, *Medeegem-dzawey'aks* (Kweeyaihl, of the Fireweed phratry, at Kispayaks).
Grizzly-of-the-Sun, *Medeegem-gyamk* (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Kispayaks).
Grizzly-of-the-sea (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks).
Grizzly-bear, *Legyœns* (Hrkyadet, Fireweed, Kispayaks).
Grizzly-bear-woman, *Hanarem-medeek* (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks).
Sitting-grizzly, *Lepedathum-legyœn'su*, several times repeated (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul).
Ribs-of-the-grizzly, *'Anptœltu-kuhl-smaih*, several times repeated (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul).
Bear cubs, several times repeated (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul).
White-grizzly, *Mas'ol*, with cubs (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul).
Grizzly-bear, *Kyas*, repeated twice on the pole (Waws, Wolf, Hagwelget).
Grizzly-bear-of-the-water, a detached figure (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla).

The Black or Ordinary Bear[1]

Ensnared-bear, *Tsiphum-smaih*, repeated five times. These may possibly be meant for Grizzly-bears (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga).
Bear cubs, *See-awalhu*, several of them (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga).
Standing or sitting-bear, *Hœthum-smaih* or *Tam-smaih*, here said to be a Grizzly, thrice repeated, and the head of a fourth at the top of the pole (Spawrh, Wolf, Gitenmaks).
Prince-of-bears, *Hlkuwœlksegem-smaih*, with the stomach open and the entrails hanging out (Haidzemerhs, Wolf, Gitwinlkul).
Black-bear, *Smaih* (Thrawawq, Wolf, Gitwinlkul).
Place-where-bears-cool-off or Place-of-climbing, *Anptahlu*, 2 black bears climbing the pole (Kwawhadaq or Kyærhu, Wolf, Gitenmaks).
New-cubs, *Ksi-awahl*, two (Kwawhadaq or Kyærhu, Wolf, Gitenmaks).
Standing-bear, *Hœtkuhl-smaih* (Ksemqaqhl, Wolf, Kispayaks).
Ribs-of-bear (Hrsarhgyaw, Wolf, Kispayaks).
Ribbed-bear, *Pteltkum-smaih* (Hrsarhgyaw, Wolf, Kispayaks).
Half-of-the-bear, *Sterawtshem-smaih* (Sqabæ', Wolf, Kispayaks).
Half-of-bear, *Hrtsarawm-tsem-smaih* (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga).
Claw-marks-of-Bear, *Kahlaqs* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga).
The-Bear's-headdress, *Kaidem'ol* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga) four times repeated.
The-Bear's-den, *Hrpe-sœmih* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga).
The-Bear's-den, *Hrpe-sœmih*, three or four times (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga).

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[1]It is rather doubtful whether there was a distinction originally between the Grizzly and the ordinary Bear, in matters of crest.

The Wolf

The Wolf, *Keebu*, six times repeated (Arhteeh, Wolf phratry, at Kitwanga).
Migrating-Wolf, and Biting-Wolf or Wolf-bitten, *Lurum-Keebu* (Haidzemerhs, Wolf, Gitwinlkul).
The Wolf, twice or thrice repeated (Willits and Thrawawq, Wolf, Gitwinlkul.
Wolf-cut-in-half, *Hrtserawtsem-keebu* (Kwawhadaq or Kyærhu, Wolf, Gitenmaks).
Without-knowledge, *Ah-wullayest* (Kwawhadaq or Kyærhu, Wolf, Gitenmaks).
The Wolf, *Yis* or *Iyis* (Waws, Wolf, Hagwelget).
Raiding-wolf (Kleem-larhæ, Wolf, Kispayaks).
The Wolf, three times repeated (Kleem-larhæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)

The Frog, Flying-Frog, or Toad

Flying-frog, *Geepœigem-ranaa'o*, thrice repeated (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Doorway or Partition-frog, *Ptawrom-ranaa'o*, twice repeated (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Frog-of-partition and Frog-of-ladder (*Ptawrom-ranaa'o*), twice repeated (Lurhawn, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Man-of-the-Wilds, with small frogs on his hands and forehead (Gitemraldo, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)
Hanging-frogs, *Spœrem-ranaa'o* or *Cesoosem-ranaa'o*, five of them (Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Frog under various names, or Hanging-frog; *Tam-ranaa'o*, Sitting-Frog; *Gyarom-ranaa'o*, Moving-Frog; *Ranaa'om-larh-Kunradal*, Frog-of-Kunradal; *Spœrem-ranaa'o*, Hanging-frog, repeated (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Frog-between-two-sticks, Flying-frog or Toad, *Ksemes-meedzem-ranaa'o*, *Geepœigem-ranaa'o*, or *Warh'as* (Lutkudzeeus, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)
Frogs-jammed-up or between-sticks, *Meetsehl-ranaa'o* or *Meedzem-ranaa'o* (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Neegyamks or Sun-shines-on with Frogs on her face and her body (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
All-frogs, *Trha-ranaa'o*; or Frog-dish, *Tsakyem-ranaa'o*; or Hanging-Frogs, *Spœrem-ranaa'o*; or Large-Frog, *'Wee-ranaa'o*; or Frog-person, *Gyœdem-ranaa'o*; or Ribs-of-the-Frog, *'Anptœhl-ranaa'o*, represented in seventeen variants on the poles (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Frog or Tadpole and Frogs-jammed-up, *Meetsehl-ranaa'o*, four altogether (Ma'us, Frog Raven, Kispayaks)
Flying-frog or Toad, *Warh'as* (Halus, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Hanging-frog or The Frog or Supernatural-Frog, *Narhnarom-ranaa'o*, *Spœrem-ranaa'o*, *Ranaa'o*, six of them (Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Flying-frog or Toad, Warh'as or *Geepœigem-ranaa'o*, twice repeated (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Hanging-frogs or Frogs-hanging-down, *Spœrem-ranaa'o*; or Ribs-of-the-Frog, *Anleptœhl-dehl-ranaa'o*; or Real-chief-Frog, *Sem'awgeedem-ranaa'o*; six of them (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
The Eagle, *Maw*, with Frog on its body (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

The Beaver

The Beaver, *Tsemælih* (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Split-beaver, *Palrhum-tsemælih* (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Beaver, *Tsemælih* (On a pole of Lælt, of the Frog-Raven phratry, at Kitwanga. Here it is a signature of the carver, who belonged to the Eagle phratry)
The Beaver (Beenee, of Hagwelget)

The Otter

The-white-otter, *'Mas-watserh*, two of them (Kweeyaihl, Fireweed, Kispayaks.
The Otter, *Dzande* or *Nihl-tsiuku* (Gyædem-skanees, Frog-Raven, Hagwelget)

The Marten

The-white-marten, *'Masha't* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Marten, *'Atku*, or rather, the Eagle holding the White-marten (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The-white-marten, *'Masha't* (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Crown-of-white-marten, *Qaiksto'masha't* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

The Mountain-goat

The Mountain-goat with one horn (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Mountain-goat, *Mateeh*, with one horn (Leelebeks, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Groundhog

The-white-groundhog (?) *'Maskweeyuk* (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Hrkeegyent, three beings with groundhogs under their arms (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Squirrel

The Squirrel, *Tsenhlik* (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)

The Wolverine

The Wolverine, *'Weemenawzek* (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

The Mountain-lion

The-Mountain-lion, *Hawaao*, used twice, on a pole and on a platform (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)

The Weasel or Ermine

The-weasel-headdress, *Kaidem-meksihl* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

The Dog

The-dog-of-Mr.-Ross, *'Ause-mæse-laws* (Waigyet, Fireweed, Kisgagas)

Birds

The Eagle is the most common among the bird crests. Yet, its use as an emblem is conventionalized. It appears under various forms, most of them conventionalized almost beyond recognition. As the Eagle is the emblem of some families in the Eagle phratry, it is intended, besides, that there should be no ambiguity and that the other stylistic forms of the Eagle should be known under wholly different captions, such as Thunder-bird *(Lepleep* and *Geeladal* and *Mawdzeks*) according to the owners.

The Eagle Proper (Hrskyœk)

Split-Eagle, *Palrhum-hrskyœk*, thrice repeated (Qawq, of the Eagle phratry, at Kitwanga)
The Eagle, *Hrskyœk* (Qawq of the Eagle phratry, at Kitwanga)
The-Eagle's-nest, *Anluhlkehl-hrskyœk* (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Small-Eagle-on-beams, *Hrskyœgem-ralp-ran* (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Split-Eagle, *Palrhum-hrskyœk* (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Eagle, *Hrskyœk* (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Eagle with the White-Marten (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Split-Eagle, so-called; it is not actually split here (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Eagle, *Sqee* or perhaps the Grouse? (Beenee, Hagwelget)
Eagle-prince, *Hlkuwilksegem-hrskyœk* (Næqt or Haray, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Garment-of-Eagle-people (Sqabæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)
The-Small-Eagle, *Warhs-hrskyœk*, twice repeated (Sqabæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)
Eagle-person, *Gwarhs-hrskyœk* (Kweenu, Raven-Frog, Gitwinlkul)

The Thunder-bird or Mountain-Eagle

Bird-on-high, *Larh'om*, twice repeated (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Thunder-bird, *Teyœ'itu*, four times repeated, perhaps five (Weegyæt, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Thunder-bird, Hrkyaimsen, thrice repeated, the third time with groundhogs (Kweeyaihl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Thunder-bird, *Hrsee-tiyœ'ituh* (Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Thunder-bird or Mountain eagle, *Hrskaimsem*, four times repeated (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Thunder-bird, *Geemerhantu*, twice (Næqt or Haray, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Thunder-bird, *Geeladal* (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Gitwanga)
Thunder-bird, *Ceeladal* (Halus, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

The Eagle, Mawdzeks or Maw'

Mawdzeks, seven times repeated, or Child-of-the-sun, *Hlku-hlawrhs* (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Mawdzeks, thrice repeated (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Wee'mawdzeks, Large-eagle (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Maw', three times repeated (Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

Mawdzeks, four or five times repeated (Lutkudzeeus, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Maw' or Live-Eagle, *Dedilsem-hrskyœk*, thrice repeated (Wistis or Rarhsrabarhs, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Maw', twice repeated (Sanaws, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)
Mawdzeks, six times repeated (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Mawdzeks (Hrkyadet, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Raven (Qaq)

On-soars-the-Raven or the Prince-of-Ravens, *Qansil*, or *Kseelem-qaq* (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Raven-war-club, *Haralarem-qaq* (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven, *Haneelahl-qaq*, the name of a totem-pole (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
The Raven, *Qaq* (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
The Raven-soaring, *Qansil*, and other Raven forms, repeated eight times (On-it-the-Raven-soars, or Raven-all-covered-with-pearls, *Thra-belatrhum-qaq*; or Large-Raven, *'Wee-qaq*; Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Raven-drum, *Qaqawn'anuhl*, twice repeated (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
The Raven, *Qaq* (Ma'us, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
On-sleeps-the-Raven, or Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven, *Haneelœhl-qaq* three Ravens represented (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
On-sleeps-the-Raven, *Haneelœhl-qaq*, name of a totem-pole (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
The Raven, *Tetsan*, twice repeated (Anklawrh, Hagwelget)

The Owl (Gutkweenurhs)

The White-Owl, *'Mas-gutkweenurhs*, ten or eleven times repeated on three poles (Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Owl, 4 times repeated (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Owl, Gutkweenurhs, five times repeated (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Kingfisher (Semgyœk)

Real-Kingfisher, *Semgyœk*, twice repeated (Lurhawn, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Real-Kingfisher, *Semgyœk* or *Hee-semgyœk*, or, in full, Real-Kingfisher-in-the-nest, *Semgyœrem-tsem'anlahl* (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Real-Kingfisher (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Real-Kingfisher (?), *Semgyœk*, or Woodpecker (Ma'us, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Real-Kingfisher, two of them, on a stick at the top of the pole (Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

The Woodpecker (Ha'tu)

The Woodpecker, Ha'tu, or perhaps the Real-Kingfisher, *Semgyœk* (Lutkudzeeus, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)
The Woodpecker, *Kyewahlran* or *Gitl'wins* (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

The Grouse (Pistæ'i)

The-Grouse-with-offspring, repeated twice; they are on the top of a pole, the second time in the centre (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Grouse, by itself, *Pistæ'i* (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Grouse, *Pistæ'i*, with its brood on a cross-bar (Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Grouse (?), *Gildzaat*, or the Eagle (Beenee, Hagwelget)

The Cormorant

On-sits-cormorant, *Haneedœhl-ha'ots*, the name of a pole (Hrkyadet, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Cormorant, *Ha'ots* or *Hleeu'en*, the Brant, twice repeated (Hrkyadet, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Cormorant, *Ha'ots*, two or three times repeated (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Prince-of-Cormorants, *Hlkuwalksekem-ha'ots* (Hrsarhgyaw, Wolf, Kispayaks)

FISH

The Finback-Whale ('Nœrhl) or Blackfish[1]

House-front-Blackfish, *Qawam'nœrh*, with a human-like dorsal fin, representing the mythological character Gunarhnaisems (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Where-meet-the-moving-Blackfish, *Windeldel-lugum'nœrhl* (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Blackfish, repeated twice (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Prince-of-Blackfish, *Hlkuwalkselkem-'nœrhl* (Kweeyaihl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Blackfish, 'Nærhl, on a platform (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks).

The Salmon

The Dog-salmon, *Qanees*, twice repeated (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)

The Trout

The Mountain-trout, *Hayurabas* (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

The Halibut (Throih)

Halibut, 4 times repeated (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Supernatural-halibut, *Narhnarom-trhoih* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

The Starfish (Ramats)

Starfish-person, *Gyœdem-kamats*, represented four times (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
The Starfish, *Kamats* (on Tewalasu's pole, Eagle, Kitwanga; here the signature of the carver, from the family of Kweenu)

[1] *Delphinus orca* or *grampus*, one of the five varieties of whales on the west coast.

Reptile

The Snake

Big-snake, *'Wee-Lælt*, with a human head at the tip of its tongue (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Plants and Trees

The Fireweed (Hæst)

Single-fireweed, Gilhæst, twice repeated (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Single-fireweed, *Geelas* or *Gihhæst* (Hlemran and Beenee, Hagwelget)
Pretty-fireweed, *Subasemhæst* (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Mountain-fern ('Arh)

The Large-Mountain-fern, *'Wee'arh*, repeated twice (Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Mountain-fern, *'Arh* or *'Wee'arh*, Large-Mountain-fern, represented as two tendrils on the head of a human being (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Water-lily (Skasewasan)

The Water-lily, *Skasewasandet*, repeated twice (Kweenu, or rather Ho' demerh in Kweenu's family, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
The Water-lily, *Skasewasan* (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)

The Crab-apple Tree

The Crab-apple-tree, *Mailikst*, represented with four carved sticks outside house-front (Leelebeks, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Sky and Other Phenomena

The Moon and the Stars

The Moon, *Hlawrhs*, twice repeated (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Bear-of-the-Moon, *Medeegem-hrlaws* (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Stars, *Piyæls* (Hanamuk, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Lightning is described above, under the heading of Thunder-bird

Phenomena

Rainbow-person, *Gyædem-marhai*, twice repeated (Hanamuk, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Sun-dogs, *Kip-hlawrs*, painted circles (Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Earthquake, a legendary charm named *tsa'urh*, twice repeated (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Shadows-of-trees, *Kanawdzencrh* (Kwawhadaq, Wolf, Gitenmaks)
Shadows or Reflections, *Ranawdsran* (Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Shadow-of-trees-in-lake (Kyawlugyet, Wolf, Qaldo)
Shadows, *Kanawdzenerh* (Willits and Trawawq, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

Insects

The Dragon-fly, *Wil'æq* (Ksemqaqhl, Wolf, Kispayaks)
The Caterpillar or Split-person, *Hrtse'nawsuh* or *Kaldihgyet* (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
The Moth or Decayed-corpse or Winged-person, *Lawrom-balerh*, five times repeated (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Moth or Decayed-corpse or Man-skulls, *Gobigyet* or *Wilwigyet*, thirteen figures (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Monsters, with Animal Features

Snag-of-the-Sand-bar, *Ranemtsem'aks* (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Snag-of-the-sand-bar, *Ranemtsem'aus*; or Under-the-water-monster, *Hagwelawrh* (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Nose-like-cohoe (salmon), *Tsaram-æqhu* (Gitemraldo, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)
Small-children or Lying-outwards-in-water, *Gyatkeeks* or *Gobetkyæhlu*, in the nature of a fish (salmon?) (Gitemraldo, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)
Winged-person, *Rarayem-gyet*, four times repeated (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Sharp-nose, *Dzarauh-hlaw* (?) (Hrkyadet, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Sharp-nose, *Dzarauh-hlaw* (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Weeneel, long-beaked bird, somewhat like Sharp-nose or the Thunder-bird (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Split-person, *Stagyet*, usually associated with Sharp-nose—a crest usually belonging to Wolf clans (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Split-person or Twins, or Double-headed-person, *Kaodihgyet* or *Kaldihgyet* (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Man-cut-in-two, *Stagyet* (Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Split-person or Half-man, *Hrstagyet*, thrice repeated (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Person-with-large-nose, *Gitweedzaret*, twice repeated (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Tsawiladaw, a mythical ancestress, with similar large cutting nose, repeated (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Split-person or Double-headed person or Caterpillar, *Kaodihgyet*, thrice repeated (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Tree-dweller or Large-body, or Large-belly, also with a long, sharp, cutting nose, repeated (Kyawlugyet, Wolf, Qaldo)
Split-body, twice repeated (Kyawlugyet, Wolf, Qaldo)
Tree-dweller or Large-belly, *Needzabem-larhran*, or *Law'yaspans* thrice repeated (Ksemqaqhl, Wolf, Kispayaks)
Split-person, *Rhstagyet* (Qawq, Eagle, Kispayaks)
Corpse-spilt-in-two, *Gistarh-luleq* (Gitemraldo and Sanaws, Frog-Raven, Kitamat)

Human-like Beings and Spirits

Half-way-out, *Randepr-sætu* (Tælramuk, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Great-protruding-being, with a brave's helmet, *'Wee-ksehlaw'tu*; the Brave's-helmet, *Raidem-alerh* (Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

Half-way-out, *Randep-ksætu*, from two to five times repeated (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Weeneel, Half-way-out, like a bird, twice repeated (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Kwaw'amawan, a large human face, reminding one of Half-way out (Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Hlærem-rænerh, also a large human face, presumably the same crest, wrongly identified (Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Large-face (Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Half-way-out (Lutkudzeeus, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)

Half-way-out or Doorway-person, *Randep-kseetu* or *Heeladal*, twice repeated (Gitemraldo and Sanaws, Frog-Raven, Kitamat)

Three-beings-across, *Hrpugwelawn*, usually associated with Great-protruding-being or Half-way-out (Gitemraldo and Sanaws, Frog-Raven, Kitamat)

Skulls-of-people or Three-in-a-row, *Hrpugwelawn* or *Hlegwulawn*, or *Wilwilgyet*, six times repeated (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Many-skulls, *Gube-wilwilgyet* or *Wilwilgyet*, more than twelve of them (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Many-skulls, *Gobigyet* or *Wilwilgyet*, eleven figures (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Hrkeegyent, three beings with groundhogs under their arms (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Hrpeegeegyet, People-around or Inside-half-person, *Tsem-rhpeegeegyet* (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Hanging-across or Half-man, *Rapagyet* or *Tsihsyaqyaq* (Hanamuk, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Running-backwards, *Wudenbebah*, four times repeated (Kleem-larhæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Person-of-Lake or Copper-smell, *Lugyædem-dzem-darh*, thrice repeated (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Whole-person or All-men, *Marhgyet*, or Empty-canoe, *Qalmas*, thrice repeated (Wistis and Rarhs-rabarhs, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

Whole-person, *Marhkyawl* (Halus, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Whole-being, *Marhkyawl*, thrice repeated (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Whole-person, *Marhgyet*, thrice repeated (Lutkudzeeus, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)

Person-of-the-smoke-hole or People-of-the-smoke-hole, *Gyædem-alaih* (Ma'us, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)

People-of-the-smoke-hole or Real-people-of-the-ladder or Boards-of-the-smoke-hole, *Gyædem-ranalæ* or *Laderh-semgyet*, *Habaren-ala* sixteen times repeated (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

People-of-the-ladder or Tall-hat, same as above, or *Lanemræt*, eight times repeated (Lurhawn, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Man-of-comb, *Gyædem-aptsæ'* (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

Mountain-man or Big-man, *Kaigyet*, four times repeated (Gyædem-skanees, Frog-Raven, Hagwelget)

Tsenaanurh, eight times repeated, resembles *Taqsem-asralt*, Crown-of-claws (Kweeyaihl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Esrihl, Back-pack or Fungus, a pack on the back of a human being (Anklawrh, Hagwelget)

Semi-mythical or Historical Ancestors, and People or Objects Associated with Them

Lutraisuh, a woman ancestress (Næqt or Haray, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Lutraisuh and her canoe (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Kawakee, Bullhead, the Haida husband (Næqt or Haray, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Kitamat warriors, nine of them represented (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Næqt, the ancestor, a famous warrior, twice repeated (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Ligi-ralwil, an ancestor taken away by the Wolves (Haidzemerhs, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Hrpeesunt, a maternal ancestress, twice repeated (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)
Skawah, a mythic ancestress (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Three human beings, ancestors, connected with the Dog-salmon myth (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Ligi-yuwen, a mythical ancestor (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
'Neegyamks, Sun-shines-on, or Frog-woman, a mythical ancestress (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
'Neegyamks, Sun-shines-on, or Frog-woman, a mythical ancestress (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Gisgyawtu, Drifted-aside, semi-mythical ancestor (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
'Aadzeks, Proud, a spirit-name (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Gwarh-hrshyæk, a mythical ancestor and five people of his family (Gwarh-hrshyæk, Wolf, Kispayaks)
An ancestress with child, presumably a variant on the 'Neegyamks theme, three or four times repeated (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Temdeemawks, an ancestress, two or three times repeated (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Tsewiladaw, an ancestress (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Tsewiladaw, with her children kidnapped, thirty-one figures representing the children (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

Objects, Devices, Masks

Hrsaw, the Canoe (Næqt, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Man-crushing-log, *Qœnugyet*, twice repeated (Hlengwah or Arhkawt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
The Trap-door, *Ptaw'* (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Strike-just-once, *Gyelarht*, a war club (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Tsa'urh, the Earthquake charm of Sqawah, a mythical ancestress (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Naran, a war club (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
The Cane, *Qaat*, a totem pole (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Pearled-bow, *Bœlham-hakutak* (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Raven-war-club, *Haralarem-qaq*, name of a totem-pole (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Nees-nawæ (?), a mask (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Come-from-sickness, *Ksemeseepu*, a *narhnawk* or spirit name, also a mask (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Arhkawden-ku-hlingit, Heartless-slave, a mask and spirit-name or *narhnawk* (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Raiding-wolf, *Kitwalthem-keebu*, a spirit-name or *narhnawk* (Kleem-larhæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Person-of-the-hills (?) *Gyædem-gilhaolee*, a spirit-name or *narhnawk* (Hana-muq, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Stikeen, a spirit-name or *narhnawk* (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinl-kul)

Gyædem-gilhaoli, Man-of-the-wilds, a *narhnawk* (Gyædem-raldo and Sanaws, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)

Gyædem-raldo, Man-of-the-wilds or Bush-man, a *narhnawk* or spirit name (Gyædem-raldo, Frog-raven, Gitenmaks)

Indakawt (?), To-nurse—a mask (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

Hat-of-Tsagyam-hanaq (Tsagyam-hanaq is a spirit-name), on the head of a late chief, Kuksdedalreh (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Small-hat, *Hlkwaw-rœt*, or tall-hat, *Kse-nagum-rœt*, on the head of a human being (Gwarh-hrskyæk, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Garment-of-Eagle-people, *Gwarhs-skeegyet*, the name of a totem-pole, or Hat-people, *Kyædem-gyet* (Gwarh-hrskyæk, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Headdress-of-upper-river, *Raidem-hrkeegyœnee* (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Ramarh-tserait (?), a person wearing a *lanemrait* or ceremonial conical hat (Hanamuq, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Running-backwards, *Wuden-bebah*, a house-front device, for entrance into the House (Kleem-larhæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Hole-through-the-sky, *Wulnaqaq-larhœ*, with twelve small human beings around it; a ceremonial entrance into the house, and a crest as well, with twelve small human beings around it (Haidzemerhs, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

Where-the-hole-goes-through, *Wul'naqaq*, a ceremonial entrance (Kleem-larhæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Pole with a round ceremonial entrance through it, the pole of Geelawaw (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

A round opening as a ceremonial entrance into the house (Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Person-of-doorway, *Gyædem-ran-ptaw*, a ceremonial entrance (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Doorway-person, *Aneksigyet* or Half-way-out (Gitemraldo, Frog-Raven, Gitenmaks)

Lu'ayok, Leading-in, ceremonial entrance, repeated thrice (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Ceremonial doorway opening, through the standing Bear (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)

Larah-wæsuh, Double-headed, a Haida canoe once belonging to this family (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

People-of-the-drum, *Lugeegyædem'anuhl* (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinl-kul)

Person-with-drum, *Gyædem'anuhl*, a ceremonial drum, twice repeated (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

Ladder-in-steps, *Lademrh-semyip*, twice repeated (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
Door-Frog or Partition-Frog, *Ptawrom-ranaa'o* or *Wa'awn-ranaa'o* (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Wood-of-hemlock, *Ranarh-geeuk*, the rafters of a house of the past, also representing the mountain of Wusen-skeehl (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
People-of-the-bottom-boards-of-the-canoe, *Gyædem-tsawks* twice or thrice repeated (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Rafters of the house, or To-be-looked-at, *Trha-ralp-rhan*, or *Kwun'alrasks* (Wistis, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
All-flattened-boards or Rafters, with human heads, chin inwards (Wistis, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Empty-canoe, or Bark-sun-dried, *Qalmas* (Wistis and Rarhs-rabarhs, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Shingles, *Ran'arhgyeeku* (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Soul-put-on (*Kurh'awdzentuh*), a house post (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Hrhpee-gigyet, small human beings near the Bear-of-the-Moon (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Three human beings, unidentified (Willits and Thrawaq, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)
Three human figures, unidentified (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)

People

Arhkawt, with his secret society garments, the man in whose commemoration the pole was erected (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Wee'andarh'is, the man in whose commemoration the pole was erected (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Ha'ku, holding the Bear-cub, *Smaih* (Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Neetsuh, the noted sorcerer who was killed by 'Gitwinlkul Jim' in 1887 (Hanamuk, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Totals

About 525 figures or crests on 109 totem poles, as follows:

Quadrupeds

The Bear (Grizzly and Black) about.....	43 occurrences
The Frog.....	65 or more
The Wolf.....	17
The Beaver.....	4
The Marten.....	4
The Otter.....	3
The Groundhog.....	3
The Mountain-goat.....	2
The Wolverine.....	2
The Mountain-lion.....	2
The Squirrel.....	1
The Ermine.....	1
The White-man's-dog.....	1

Birds

The Eagle proper	16 occurrences
The Mawdzeks Eagle	35
The Thunder-bird (Mountain-eagle)	18
The Raven	20
The Owl	12
The Grouse	8
The Kingfisher	7
The Cormorant	7
The Woodpecker	2

Fish

The Finback-whale	7 occurrences
The Halibut	5
The Starfish	6 to 10
The Mountain-trout	2
The Salmon	2

Reptile

The Snake	1

Plants

The Fireweed	4
The Mountain-fern	3
The Water-lily	3
The Crab-apple-tree	1

Sky and Other Phenomena

The Moon	3
The Stars	2
Lightning (listed with Thunder-bird, above)	
The Rainbow	2
Sundogs	2
Earthquake	2
Shadows-in-the-water	4

Insects

The Dragon-fly	1
The Moth	5 to 13 figures
The Caterpillar	1

Monsters, with Animal Features

Snag-of-the-sand-bar	2
Nose-like-cohoe	1
Small-children	Several
Sharp-nose	8
Split-person	10

Human-like Beings or Spirits

Half-way-out	9
Three-beings-across on skulls	15 occurrences with more figures
Whole-person	8
People-of- he-smoke-hole	25
Tsenaanurh	8
Mountain-man	4
Hanging-across	1
Running backwards	2
Back-pack	1
Man-of-comb	1

Ancestors, semi-historical

Ancestors	21
People connected with them	9

Objects, Devices, Masks, Charms

Canoe	4
Masks or *narhnawks*	9
House-front devices	9 or more
War-clubs	3
Earthquake charm	2
Pearled-bow	2
Trap-door	1
Man-crushing-log	2
Headdresses and costumes	4
Cane	1
Drums	2
Ladders	2
Partition	1
Rafters	3
Shingles	1
Soul-put-on	1
Small human beings	9

Actual People

People commemorated	4

84628—12½

CRESTS, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR ORIGINS AS CLAIMED BY THEIR OWNERS

Crests Inherited in the Maternal Line and Explained in a Myth

The truth of these myths *(ada-orh)* formerly was not questioned by the natives. Mythical experiences and adventures, encounters with spirits and visions, were the usual sources of such crests. These were nothing but emblematic commemorations of a supernatural experience of some ancestors in the past.

The Owl, the Moon, the Thunder-bird, the Mountain-fern (Owner: Wawsemlarhæ; phratry, the Fireweed; the tribe and village, Kispayaks)

The Rainbow and the Stars (Hanamuq, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Moon, Skawah, Ligiyu'wen, the Mountain-goat, the Owl, the Grouse (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Sun or the Moon, the Grizzly-bear, the Mountain-fern (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Bird-of-the-air, Decayed-corpse or the Moth, the Blackfish, the Fireweed (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Hagwelarh (sea-monster), the Moth, Winged-person (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Thunder-bird, White-otter, the Blackfish (Kweeyaihl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Snake (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Mountain-goat (Leelebeks, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Snag-of-the-water, Skulls, Thunder-bird, Large-eyes (*Weeneel*), Grizzly-bear-under-the-water, the Grizzly-of-Stekyawden (Weegyet, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Mr. Ross'-dog; this experience of everyday life at Fort St. James, after 1808—the first time a white man's dog was seen—was treated as a supernatural event (Wa-igyet, Fireweed, Kisgagas)

Whole-being *(Marhkyawl)*, Flying-frogs (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Flying-frogs (Halus, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

'Neegyamks and Flying-frogs (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

The Eagle, the Frog (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

The Flying-frogs, the Eagle Mawdzeks, the White-groundhog, Copper-Smell, Person-of-the-doorway (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Flying-frogs and 'Neegyamks, the Water-lily (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)

Real-Kingfisher, the Eagle Mawdzeks, the Frogs (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Shadows, Great-protruding-being (Lurhawn, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Strong-man, *Kaigyet* (Gyædem-skanees, Frog-Raven, Hagwelget)

Frogs-jammed-up (Ma'us, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)

Ensnared-bear, Hrpeesunt the ancestress, the Bear-cubs, the Mountain-lion (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)

The Woodpecker, the Thunder-bird, the Caterpillar, Tsewiladaw (Weerhæ, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

Wolf-pack-migrating, the Wolf, Ligi-ralwil (Haidzemerhs, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

Temdimawks—the ancestress, the Grizzly-bear (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

Shadows-in-the-lake (Kyawlugyet, Wolf, Qaldo)

The Dragon-fly, Large belly, Tree-dweller (Ksemqaqhl, Wolf, Kispayaks)
Shadows (Kwawhadaq, Wolf, Kispayaks)
Halibut, the White-marten (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Dog-salmon, the Squirrel (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Beaver (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Garment-of-Eagle (Sqabæ, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Crests that Commemorate Pseudo-historical Events in Traditions

Næqt the warrior, the Grizzly-bear armour, the Man-crushing-log, the Trap-door, Strike-but-once, the Kitamat warriors (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Empty-canoe or *Qalmas* (Wistis, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
Half-way-out (Tælramuk, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Skulls-of-People or Three-in-a-row, Just-sticking-out (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
People-of-smoke-hole or ladder (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Half-way-out (Wutarhayæts, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Double-headed monster in canoe (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)
Standing-bear, an armour (Ksemqaqhl, Wolf, Kispayaks)
Haida canoe and Lutraisuh (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)

Crests Obtained by Conquest of Enemies in Traditions

Eagle-prince, conquered from the Kitamat (Næqt, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Rafters and Live-Eagle, conquered from the Kitamat (Wistis, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)
The Thunder-bird (?), conquered by Næqt (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
Bear-headdress, conquered at Na'a from the Wolves (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Grizzly-bear (Spawrh, Wolf, Gitenmaks)
Half-bear, the result of splitting a crest after a quarrel (Gwarhskyæk, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Crests Acquired from Other Owners as Compensation for a Crime

Bear-cut-in-half, thus acquired from Tseelæren, Wolf, Kisgagas (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)
Half-bear, thus acquired from Tseelæren, Wolf, Kisgagas (Lælt, Wolf, Kitwanga)
Tall-hat, from Neestsawl, Wolf, Gitwinksilk (Gwarhshyæk, Wolf, Kispayaks)
Hanging-across, *Tsirhsyarhyaq*, acquired from Gurhtæl, of Hagwelget (Hanamuq, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Crests Acquired from the Owners in Compensation for Services, or in Trade, or Through the Extinction of a Family

The Grizzly-bear, the Blackfish—gifts of Nees-tarhawk to his presumed relative (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Leading-in *(Lu-ayok)*, a gift of Hail of Gitrahla, as compensation for mora injury (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Tsenaanurh, Grizzly-bear-of-the-water, a gift from Nees-tarhawk, in compensation for assistance in a *potlatch*—Nees-tarhawk retains also the privilege to use it (Kweeyaihl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The *Lanemræt* or conical hat, ceded by Yæl, Fireweed, Gitwinlkul, in compensation for funeral services; or, according to another account, acquired from Tarhayæ, Fireweed, Kitsalas, through adoption (Hanamuq, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Eagle-prince, from Yu'amawtks, Frog-Raven, Kisgagas, in compensation for burial services (Næqt, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Cormorant, obtained from an Eagle chief of Giteeks, on the Nass (Malee and Hrsarhgyaw, Wolf, Gitwinlkul and Kispayaks)

Grizzly-bear-woman—a spirit-name with mask, obtained through trading with a Tsimsyan (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

People around *(Hrpeegeegyet)*, from Kwahamawn, Wolf, Qaldo, acquired as a gift through marriage (Gitludahl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Mountain-goat, acquired from Gwunarhnuh, Fireweed, of Gitwinksilk, on the Nass—a relative—through extinction (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Fireweed, from Rayæ, Fireweed, of Kitsalas. who was adopted (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Back-pack, 'Esrihl, obtained from Nelli, in compensation for *potlatch* services (Anklawrh, Hagwelget)

Several of the crests of Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga, were acquired from the family of Wee'alerh, of Kispayaks, a distant relative, through the adoption in their family of the last survivor.

The Blackfish, from Tseebasæ, Fireweed, of Gitwinksilk, on the Nass; its adoption gave rise to a controversy (Wa-igyet, Fireweed, Kisgagas)

Several Hagwelget crests, Water-lily, Eagle-person, etc., were obtained through the adoption of Teeræwen, Hudemerh. . . . . (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Crests that First Were Personal Spirit-names or Narhnawks or Masks

Man-of-the-forests—*Gyædem-gilhaolee* (Hanamuk, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Person-of-the smoke-hole? (Ma'us, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)

Otter (Gyædem-skanees, Hagwelget)

Woodpecker—*Ha'tu* (Lutkudzeeus, Frog-Raven, Kitamat)

Mask or *narhnawk* of Nees-nawæ ? (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

Small-children—*Kubetkyæhlu* (Gitemraldo, Frog-Raven, Kitamat)

Hat-of-Tsagyem-hanaq, used as a headdress, part of a *narhnawk* (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Cormorant, now a crest of several Wolf families on the Skeena, may be derived from the *narhnawk* of the same name of Ksemrhsan, Frog-Raven, Gitlarhdamks, on the upper Nass (Hrkyadet and Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

Nursing-a-child—a *narhnawk* (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

Devices

Hole-through-sky—*Wulnaqaq*, a ceremonial entrance for a feast house, used by several families of the Wolf phratry (Haidzemerhs, Weerhæ, Kleemlarhæ, of Gitwinlkul and Kispayaks)

Dzarauhlaw—Large-nose, also a ceremonial entrance (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks, and several Wolf families on the upper Skeena)

Real-kingfisher, a ceremonial entrance (Lurhawn, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Drum-person, a ceremonial drum (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

Raven-drum and Frog-dish (Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Unaccounted for

Several of the most ancient crests, such as the Wolf, the Eagle, the Eagle Mawdzeks, the Frog, Blackfish, are as a rule taken for granted, without an ætiological explanation. Or else, the myth is lost.

Marhgyet or Marhkyawl (Wistis, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

Marhkyawl, Raven-sailing-through-the-air, Thunder-bird (Hlengwah, Frog-Raven)

Man-of-comb, On-sleeps-the-Raven, the Frog (Mawlarhen, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

Shingles, a white man's device, presumably adopted as a crest after it was first seen at Fort St. James, after 1808 (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)

Wolf-cut-in-half and Climbing-bears (Kwahadaq, Wolf, Kitamat)

Great-protruding-being (Mawlarhen and Tu'pesu, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

Real-kingfisher and Sleeping-place-of-Raven (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Nose-like-cohoe and Corpse-split (Gitemraldo, Frog-Raven, Kitamat)

Split-Eagle—may have been an imitation in the first place of the imperial Russian coat-of-arms (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)

Wild-crab-apple-tree (Leelebeks, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Wolf (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)

The Raven (Anklawrh, Hagwelget)

Crests that are Signatures of Carvers

The Star-fish, signature of the carver Kweenu, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul, on the pole of Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga

The Bear, crest of Kyærhu, Wolf, of Gitlarhdamks, on the Nass, the carver, on the pole of Ha'ku and T-haku, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga

The Beaver, signature of the carver Gitrhawn, Eagle, Kitsalas, on the pole of Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga

ORIGINS OF THE CRESTS EXPLAINED IN MYTHS (ADA-ORH) AND TRADITIONS

(a) A Spirit or a Monster "Seen" in the Course of a Supernatural Experience, Usually by the Members of One Family, Who Commemorated Their Experience by Depicting It in a New Crest, Thereafter Hereditary.

The Large-snake, "seen" in a lake (Qæl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)

The Single-fireweed, "seen" as a spirit at a long distance (Fireweed families of Kitsalas, Nees-tarhawk, etc.)

The Water-lily, "seen" in a lake in the Carrier country (Harhu, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
The Eagle Mawdzeks appeared in a "vision" (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
The Supernatural Mountain-fern, "seen" at night (Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Winged-person, resembling the Thunder-bird, "seen" on a mountain (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Raven, "seen" in a vision (Anklawrh, Hagwelget)
Frogs-jammed-up, "seen" at Temlaham (Ma'us, Frog-Raven, Kispayaks)
Shadows-in-the-lake and Great-protruding-being, "seen" in the lake (Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, Frog-Raven, Gitsegyukla)

(b) A Spirit or a Monster "Seen" and Killed in the Course of a Supernatural Experience, and Made into a Crest, Thereafter Hereditary

The Supernatural Beaver, the chief of the Beavers, appeared under human form, was followed to a lake, his home, near Kitsalas canyon; the lake was drained and he was killed, his unusual features being reproduced on the crest (Sqayæn, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Thunder-bird, seen and killed (Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Moth, seen in the course of a famine, feeding upon corpses, and killed (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The Hagwelawrh, or under the water monster, seen at Sealy lake, and killed (Ksrarom-larhæ, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)
The White-groundhog, killed in the course of a supernatural adventure (Lælt, Frog-Raven, Kitwanga)
The White-marten, a supernatural being, killed (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Halibut, and the Nest-house of the Eagle, seen in the course of ancestral migrations, "killed" and made into crests (Qawq, Eagle, Kitwanga)
The Squirrel, a monster frightening the people, finally overcome and killed (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)
Strong-man—Kaigyet, a giant killed and made into a crest (Gyædemskanees, Frog-Raven, Hagwelget)
The White-Otter, "seen" in times of trial and killed (Kweeyaihl, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
The Mountain-lion, a monster devouring people, killed and made into a crest (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)

A Spirit or Monster Who Kidnapped an Ancestor Usually for Violation of Taboos; the Spirit or Monster was Killed and Made into a Crest

'Neegyamks or Frog-woman and the Flying-frogs (Kweenu, Hlengwah, Lælt, Harhu, etc.; Frog-Raven; Gitwinlkul, Kitwanga, Kispayaks)
A child kidnapped by the mythic Owl; the Owl was killed with the help of the Grouse; both the Owl and the Grouse were made into crests (Gurhsan, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla; and Wawsemlarhæ, Fireweed, Kispayaks)
Real-Kingfisher, kidnapped a man, kept him in his nest. The man was later recovered. The Kingfisher was made into a crest together with its human "protégé" (Ramlarhyælk, Frog-Raven, Gitwinlkul)

Hrpeesunt, an ancestress, captured by Bears for making fun of them, changed into a bear, married to one of them, had bear children; the Bears were killed later, gave their protection to their descendants, and were made into crests (Arhteeh, Wolf, Kitwanga)

Temdeemawks, an ancestress taken away by Grizzly-bears—similar myth (Malee, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

The Mountain-goat, incensed at taboo violations, destroyed many people, and protected a human friend, giving him the right to use the features of the spirit as a crest (Gurhsan and Leelebeks, Fireweeds, Gitsegyukla and Kispayaks)

The Blackfish and Gunarhnesemgyet; taboo violations, interference of the spirits; and, finally the acquisition of a crest by a human "protégé" (Harhpegwawtu, Fireweed, Gitsegyukla)

The Dog-salmon; taboo violations; an ancestor was kidnapped by the Salmon, learned the taboos, came back and taught them to his people. The Dog-salmon became a crest, and the myth is illustrated in the crests (Tewalasu, Eagle, Kitwanga)

Garment-of-Eagle; an ancestor in great misfortune was protected by the Eagles and made successful in battle and prosperous in his tribe (Gwarhskyæk, Wolf, Kispayaks)

Wolf-pack-migrating, or the Wolf; a child taken away; or a Wolf choking with a bone in its throat, was assisted. The Wolf in turn helped his human friends, and was made into a crest (Haidzemerhs, Wolf, Gitwinlkul)

Crests Illustrative of Family Myths

The Rainbow, the Stars, the Moon, the Thunder-bird, Skawah, Ligiyuwen, the Earthquake charm, etc., all explained in Skawah's myth (Gurhsan, Hanamuk, Gitludahl, etc., Fireweed, Gitsegyukla and Kispayaks)

Crests Illustrative of Experineces in War

Næqt, the Grizzly-bear armour, Lutraisuh, Kawakee, the Haida canoe, Half-way-out or Just-sticking-out, Skulls-of-people, Double-headed (canoe), Man-crushing-log, the Kitamat warriors, the war club Strike-but-once, the Thunder-bird, Eagle-prince, all accounted for in the traditions on the war adventures of Næqt, the famous warrior-ancestor (Kweenu, Hlengwah, Lælt, Næqt, Wistis, etc. . . . Frog-Ravens; Gitwinlkul, Kitwanga, Gitsegyukla, and Kispayaks)

Large-belly or Sharp-nose, Tree-dweller, Grizzly-bear armour, or Standing-bear shadows, Dragon-fly, Great-protruding-being, all acquired during ancient war expeditions against the Tsetsaut of the interior (Kwawhadaq, Ksemqaqh, Kyawlugyet; Wolves; of Kitamat, Kispayaks, and Qaldo)

Mr. Ross'-dog, acquired in a similar war expedition (Wa-igyet, Fireweed, Kisgagas)

CARVERS OF TOTEM POLES AND POLES CARVED BY THEM

Gitwinlkul Carvers

Hœsem-hliyawn, of the Frog-Raven phratry (family of Wutarhayæts, household of Yarhyaq), said to have died about forty years ago (His work was done between about 1840 and 1887). The poles credited to him are:

(1) The-Whole-through *(Wulnaqaq)*, pole of Haidzemerhs, of the Wolf phratry at Gitwinlkul (Plate XXII, figure 6)

(2, 3) Weerhæ's poles Nos. 2 and 3, at Gitwinlkul, two of the largest (Plate XXIV, figure 2; Plate XXV, figures 1 and 3)

(4) The Sitting-Grizzlies pole of Malee (Wolf phratry), at Gitwinlkul (Plate XX, figure 2)

(5) The Snag-of-the-water pole, of Weegyet (Fireweed phratry), at Gitsegyukla (Plate XX, figure 1)

(6) The Mountain-lion pole of Arhteeh (Wolf phratry), at Kitwanga. The shaft was carved by Hæsem-hliyawn, but the Mountain-lion at the top is Nees'awælp's work (of the Eagle phratry and the Gisparhlawts tribe of the Tsimsyan) (Plate XXVII, figure 1)

(7) An old pole of Hlengwah (Frog-Raven phratry), at Kitwanga. Destroyed.

Wutarhayæts, of the same family as Hæsem-hliyawn—of the Frog-Raven phratry. The following pole is credited to him.

The pole of Anklawrh, of Hagwelget (Plate XXIX, figure 5)

Yarhyaq, of the same family as Hæsem-hliyawn and Wutarhayæts, above. The following pole is credited to him:

The old Man-crushing-log, now under cover, at Kitwanga, the property of Hlengwah, of the Frog-Raven phratry (Plate VII, figure 4)

Hlamee or Thomas Derrick, of the Frog-Raven phratry, who died about 1922. The following poles are credited to him:

(1) The Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven, of Ramlarhyælk, of the Frog-Raven phratry, at Gitwinlkul; or Ramlarhyælk's pole No. 3 (Plate X, figure 3)

(2) The Ensnared-bear, of Arhteeh (Wolf phratry), at Kitwanga; or Arhteeh's pole No. 2. This pole was ascribed to Tewalasu by some informants (Plate XXVII, figure 2)

(3) The Wolf pole, of Arhteeh, at Kitwanga; or Arhteeh's pole No. 3 (Plate XXVII, figure 3)

(4) The Ribs-of-the-bear pole, of Malee (Wolf phratry), at Gitwinlkul; or Malee's pole No. 2 (Plate XXII, figure 1)

(5) The Cormorant pole, also of Malee; or Malee's pole No. 3 (Plate XXIV, figure 3)

(6) The Snag-of-the-sand-bar pole, of Ksrarom-larhæ (Fireweed phratry), at Gitsegyukla; Ksrarom-larhæ's pole No. 1 (Plate XVII, figure 4)

(7) Weerhæ's pole No. 4, at Gitwinlkul (of the Wolf phratry) (Plate XXIV, figure 3)

(8) The Great-protruding-being pole of Wawralaw (Frog-Raven), at Gitsegyukla; or Wawralaw's pole No. 2 (Plate XI, figure 7)

(9) The newer pole of Wistis and Rarhs-rabarhs (Frog-Raven), at Gitsegyukla; or their pole No. 2 (Plate V, figure 2)

Nees-laranows, of the Wolf phratry, and of the family of Malee. The following poles are credited to him:

(1) The Cane totem pole of Kweenu (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul; or Kweenu's No. 3 (Plate III, figure 3)

(2) The Starfish-person, also of Kweenu, at Gitwinlkul; or Kweenu's No. 4 (Plate IV, figure 1)

(3) The Raven-drum pole, also of Kweenu, at Gitwinlkul; or Kweenu's No. 6 (Plate IV, figure 3)

Qaqhl, of the Frog-Raven Phratry, or Arthur Wilson. The following poles are credited to him:

(1) The Owl totem pole of Gurhsan (Fireweed phratry) at Gitsegyukla; or Gurhsan's No. 2 (Plate XIV, figure 3)

(2) The pole of Drum-person, of Qawq (Eagle phratry), at Kitwanga; or Qawq's No. 2 (Plate XXVIII, figure 3)

(3) The Frogs-hanging pole of Kweenu (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul; or Kweenu's No. 7 (Plate IV, figure 4). Qaqhl is said to have only "stood over" Thrawaq, who had actually carved it.

Kweenu, a Frog-Raven chief—his manner resembles closely that of Hlamee. The following pole is credited to him:

The Squirrel pole of Tewalasu (Eagle phratry), at Kitwanga (Plate XXVIII, figure 4)

Lurhawn, of the Frog-Raven phratry. The following pole is credited to him:

The pole of Waws, of the Wolf phratry, at Hagwelget (Plate XXVIII, figure 1)

Thrawawq, of the Wolf phratry, who belongs to the present generation. The following pole is credited to him:

The pole of Frogs-hanging, or the No. 7 of Kweenu (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul (Plate IV, figure 4)

Tœsuh, of the Wolf phratry. The following pole is credited to him:

An old pole, now disappeared, Hlengwah (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga

Rœnem (Frog-Raven)—his identification is incomplete. He may be one of the above carvers under one of his earlier names, especially since his carving here is one of the best on the Skeena.

(1) The pole of Harhu (Frog-Raven phratry), at Kispayaks

(2) The pole of Gwarhskyæk (Frog-Raven), at Kispayaks, is also ascribed to him, although it is also credited to another artist.

Richard Dowse, of the Wolf phratry, of the family of Weerhæ, the head-chief. Still living. His work is the following:

The four house posts of Hlengwah, Jim Larahnitz (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga (Plate VIII, figures 4-7)

Nass River Carvers

Tarhtseeprh, of the Fireweed phratry, at Gitwinksilk, the Nass River Canyon tribe. His work among the Gitksan is as follows:

(1) The Flying-frogs pole of Wutarhayæts (Frog-Raven phratry), at Gitwinlkul; or Wutarhayæts No. 2 (Plate XIII, figure 1)

(2) The Raven-soaring pole of Kweenu (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul; or Kweenu's No. 1. This pole is ascribed to Sqateen, but with the probability that Tarhtseeprh shared in the work (Plate III, figure 1)

Larhwilemhot, of the Wolf phratry, at Gitrhatin, on the lower Nass. His work among the Gitksan is the following pole:

The pole of Næqt or Haray (Frog-Raven), at Kispayaks (Plate V, figure 5; Plate VI, figure 1)

Sa'anrhkwanks, of the Fireweed phratry (a relative of 'Weesaiks), at Gitwinksilk, the canyon tribe of the Nass. His work among the Gitksan is the following pole:

The Real-kingfisher pole of Lurhawn (Frog-Raven phratry), at Gitwinlkul (Plate X, figure 4)

Hrtseeyœ, of the Eagle phratry, at Gitlarhdamks, the uppermost Nass River village. His work among the Gitksan is the following:

The pole No. 2 of Ramlarhyælk (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul (Plate X, figure 2)

Qelran, of the Wolf phratry, at Gitlarhdamks. His work among the Gitksan is the following:

The White-Owl pole of Wawsemlarhæ (Fireweed phratry), at Kispayaks; Wawsemlarhæ's No. 1 (Plate XVI, figure 2)

Sqateen, of the Wolf phratry, at Gitlarhdamks. His work among the Gitksan is:

The Raven-soaring pole of Kweenu (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul; or Kweenu's No. 1 (Plate III, figure 1)

Other Nass River artists, whose identity was forgotten. The following poles were definitely ascribed to Nass River carvers:

The pole No. 1 of Wutarhayæts (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul (Plate XII, figure 3)

The People-of-the-smoke-hole pole, of Ramlarhyælk (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul; or Ramlarhyælk's No. 1 (Plate X, figure 1)

The White-owl pole, of Gitludahl (Fireweed), at Kispayaks, was believed to have been the work of a Nass carver (Plate XIV, figure 5; Plate XVI, figure 1)

Other poles of the Gitksan that may be ascribed to Nass River carvers through various technical analogies.

The Frog-hanging pole, the oldest and shortest, of Ha'ku and T-haku (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga (Plate VII, figure 1)

The Dog-salmon pole of Tewalasu (Eagle phratry), at Kitwanga (Plate XXIX, figure 1)

Weerhæ's pole No. 1, of the Wolf phratry, at Gitwinlkul (Plate XXV, figure 1)

Ha'ku's and T-haku's No. 2 (Frog-Raven) at Kitwanga (Plate VII, figure 2)

Kispayaks Carvers

Gurhnahaks, of the family of Arhkawt and Tælramuk (Frog-Raven). His work:

The older of the two poles of Kleem-larhæ, of the Wolf phratry—one of the best on the Skeena (Plate XXII, figure 2; Plate XXIII, figures 1, 2)

Haku, of the Frog-Raven phratry. His work:

(1) The pole of Hrkyadet (Fireweed), Kispayaks; also one of the best carvings on the Skeena (Plate XIX, figure 5)

(2) The pole of Ksemqaqhl (Wolf phratry), at Kispayaks (Plate XXVI, figure 4)

Tsugyet or *Tsinhlæk* or James Green, still living; of the Wolf phratry (He belongs to the family of 'Amagyet). His work:

(1) The Grizzly-of-the-Sun, of Gitludahl (Fireweed phratry), at Kispayaks (Plate XV, figure 3)

(2) Kleem-larhæ's pole No. 2, of the Wolf phratry (Plate XXIII, figure 2)

(3) The Sun-dog pole of Wawsemlarhæ (Fireweed phratry), at Kispayaks; or Wawsemlarhæ's No. 3 (Plate XVI, figure 4)

(4) The Blackfish and the Grizzly's carvings on a platform; property of Qæl (Fireweed), at Kispayaks; or Qæl's No. 3 (Plate XIX, figure 4)

(5) The Grizzly-bear of Kweeyaihl (Fireweed) at Kispayaks; or Kweeyaihl's No. 3 (Plate XVII, figure 3)

(6) The pole No. 2 of Gwarhskyæk and Sqabæ (Wolf), at Kispayaks. It is also ascribed to Rainems (Frog-Raven), of Gitwinlkul, who may actually have carved it, or simply "stood over" Tsugyet or James Green (Plate XXI, figure 4)

Nœqt or *Haray* or Salomon Johnson, of the Frog-Raven phratry. Still living. His work:

The second pole of Wawsemlarhæ (Fireweed) at Kispayaks (Plate XVI, figure 3)

Wawsemlarhæ, of the Fireweed phratry, who died in 1921, a very old man. His work:

(1) The pole of Gwarh-skyæk and Sqabæ (Wolf), at Kispayaks; also ascribed to Kyalk, of the same phratry and village (Plate XXI, figure 3)

(2) The Leading-in or *Lu'ayok* pole, of Qæl (Fireweed), at Kispayaks; or Qæl's No 1 (Plate XIX, figure 2)

Hakst, of the Frog-Raven phratry; who died only a few years ago.

The shaft of the Prince-of-the-Blackfish pole, of Kweeyaihl (Fireweed) at Kispayaks. The Thunder-bird at the top is ascribed to a Kitwanga carver (Plate XVII, figure 2)

Tu'urh, of the Wolf phratry (Hrleem-larhæ's family).

(1) The Big-snake pole, of Qæl (Fireweed), at Kitwanga, only painted, not carved (Plate XIX, figure 3)

(2) The Backfish on a platform, of Qæl (Fireweed); it is also ascribed to Tsinhlæk, James Green (Plate XIX, figure 4)

Kukranalk, of the Frog-Raven phratry.

The Grizzly-bear carving on a platform, of Qæl (Fireweed), at Kispayaks, is ascribed to him, although there are differences of opinion as to this (Plate XIX, figures 3, 4)

Kitwanga Carvers

Negutsræl or *Warap'op*, of the family of T-haku, Benson. Frog-Raven phratry. His work:

(1) The Ladder pole of Weegyet (Fireweed), at Gitsegyukla; or Weegyet's No. 2 (Plate XXI, figure 1)

(2) The Grizzly-bear of Weegyet; or Weegyet's No. 3

(3) Sqayæn's pole No. 2, of the Eagle phratry, at Kitwanga (Plate XXVIII, figure 4; Plate XXIX, figure 2)

(4) The Man sitting in a box near the bottom of the pole No. 1 of Wutar-hayæts (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul; the pole itself is the work of another carver (Plate XII, figure 3)

Geesarhkees, of the family of Lælt, of the Frog-Raven phratry. His work:

(1) The pole of Decayed-corpse of Harhpegwawtu (Fireweed), at Gitsegyukla (Plate XVIII, figure 4)

(2) The Grizzly-bear's den of Qawq (Eagle phratry), at Kitwanga; or Qawq's No. 1 (Plate XXVIII, figure 2)

Kwawdzabarh, also of the family of Lælt, of the Frog-Raven phratry at Kitwanga. His work:

(1) The Blackfish pole of Harhpegwawtu (Fireweed), at Gitsegyukla; or Harhpegwawtu's No. 2 (this pole is also ascribed, presumably by mistake, to Qawq (Eagle), of Kitwanga (Plate XVIII, figure 5)

(2) Hanamuk's Rainbow-person pole, the older of the two; Hanamuk being of the Fireweed phratry, at Gitsegyukla. According to an opinion, it might be the work of Hlamee (Frog-Raven), of Gitwinlkul (Plate XIV, figure 4; Plate XV, figure 1)

(3) The Whereon-climb-the-Frogs of Lælt (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga (Plate VI, figure 4)

La'lawrh, of the Frog-Raven phratry. His work:

The Thunder-bird carving on the totem Prince-of-Blackfish pole of Kweeyaihl (Fireweed), at Kispayaks (Plate XVII, figure 2)

Hlengwah, or Jim Larahnitz, of the Frog-Raven phratry; still living. His work:

(1) The Moon pole of Gurhsan (Fireweed), at Gitsegyukla (Plate XIV, figure 2)

(2) The Single-fireweed pole of Harhpegwawtu (Fireweed), of Gitsegyukla

(3) The Mountain-lion or *Hawaao*, of Arhteeh (Wolf phratry), at Kitwanga (Plate XXVII, figure 4)

Tewalasu ? of the Eagle phratry. His work:

The Ensnared-bear of Arhteeh (Wolf), at Kitwanga, is ascribed to him or to Hlamee of Gitwinlkul. It is possible that it may be the work of Tewalasu, as it is quite different from Hlamee's usual work (Plate XXVII, figure 2)

Sqayœn, of the Eagle phratry. His work:

Wawralaw's pole No. 1, at Gitsegyukla (Plate XI, figure 6)

Another carving is ascribed to an unidentified Kitwanga carver:

The pole of Hrsarhgyaw (Wolf), at Kispayaks (Plate XXII, figure 3)

Gitsegyukla Carvers

Weegyet or Mark Weegyet, of the Fireweed phratry, who died in 1926, an old man. His work:

(1) The Tall-hat pole of Lurhawn (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul. It seems that some other carver of the upper Nass must have shared in the work, which is of better quality than is elsewhere observed in Weegyet's work (Plate X, figure 5)

(2) The Empty-canoe or Qalmas pole of Wistis and Rarhs-rabarhs (Frog-Raven), at Gitsegyukla (Plate V, figure 1)

(3) The Drifted-aside or Gisgyawtu pole of Kweenu (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul; or Kweenu's No. 8 (Plate IV, figure 5)

Harhpegwawtu, of the Fireweed phratry. Still living. His work:

(1) The pole No. 3 of Wutarhayæts (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul (Plate XIII, figure 2)

(2) The Copper-smell pole of Ha'ku and T-haku (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga; or Ha'ku's No. 3 (Plate VII, figure 3)

(3) The *Qansil* or Raven-soaring pole of Hlengwah (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga; or Hlengwah's No. 4 (Plate VII, figure 6; Plate VIII, figure 2)

Kwaw'amats, or Jimmy Good, of the Fireweed phratry. Still living. His work:

The pole of Mawlarhen (Frog-Raven), at Gitsegyukla (Plate XII, figure 1)

Wawralaw, or Alec Brown, of the Frog-Raven phratry. Still living. His work:

The Moving-blackfish pole of Harhpegwawtu (Fireweed), in the new village of Gitsegyukla

Tsimsyan Carvers, of the Lower Skeena

Gitrhawn, of the Eagle phratry, at Kitsalas, the canyon. His work:

(1) The old Næqt pole of Hlengwah (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga; or Hlengwah's No. 3 (Plate VIII, figure 3)

(2) The Hanging-frogs pole of Lælt (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga; or Lælt's No. 1. Gitrhawn was assisted in his work by two local artists, of the family of Lælt, but living at Kitsalas (Plate VI, figure 3)

Nees'awœlp, of the Eagle phratry, at Gitsemrælem—a Tsimsyan village. His work:

The Mountain-lion carving at the top of Arhteeh's pole No. 1 (Wolf phratry), at Kitwanga—the shaft of the pole was carved by Hæsemhliyawn, of Gitwinlkul (Plate XXVII, figure 1)

William Nass, of the Fireweed phratry, formerly of Gitsemrælem, but a resident of Hazelton most of his life. Still living.

The pole of Kuksdedalreh, of Ksrarom-larhæ (Fireweed), at Gitsegyukla, or Ksrarom-larhæ's No. 2 (Plate XVII, figure 5; Plate XVIII, figure 2)

Kitamat (Hazelton) Carvers

Kaldihgyet or *Lutkudzeeus* (Tom Campbell), of the Frog-Raven phratry. Still living. His work:

(1) The pole in commemoration of Neetuh (Fireweed), at Gitsegyukla; or Hanamuk's pole No. 2 (Plate XV, figure 2)

(2) The Man-killing-log or Trap-door pole of Hlengwah (Frog-Raven), at Kitwanga; or Hlengwah's No. 2 (Plate VII, figure 6; Plate VIII, figure 1)

Gitemraldo, of the Frog-Raven phratry. His work:

The pole of Kwawhadaq (Wolf phratry), at Hazelton (Plate XXVI, figure 1)

Tseegwee or Isaac Tæns, of the Fireweed phratry, formerly of Gitsegyukla, who died a few years ago. His work:

Spawrh's totem pole (Wolf phratry), at Hazelton (Plate XXI, figure 5)

A Qaldo Carver

Kwikihl'wans, of the Frog-Raven phratry, who carved Kweeyaihl's pole of Tsenaanurh (Fireweed phratry), at Kispayaks. The treatment is archaic (Plate XVI, figure 5; Plate XVII, figure 1)

Hagwelget or Carrier Carvers

Pees, who carved the pole All-frogs of Kweenu (Frog-Raven), at Gitwinlkul —an excellent carving, if actually by him;[1] or Kweenu's No. 5 (Plate IV, figure 2)

Samalee, who carved the Eagle (or Grouse?) at the top of Beenee's pole, at Hagwelget (Plate XXIX, figure 4)

Ahyewis, who carved the Beaver that used to form part of Beenee's pole, at Hagwelget, and was later placed on Beenee's grave.

Tselee, who carved the "Fungus" that used to form part of Anklawrh's pole at Hagwelget

Unidentified

There is no indication as to who carved two of the most interesting poles of the Gitksan.

The pole of the Bear's-den of Sqayæn (Eagle phratry), at Kitwanga. This entrance pole, recently restored, is one of the most archaic on the Skeena. It is presumably not the work of a local artist (Plate XXXIII, figure 1)

The pole of Kyawlugyet (Wolf phratry), at Qaldo; remarkable, not particularly on account of the quality of its carving, but because it is the remotest from the seacoast, and also one of the tallest and most ancient (Plate XXXIII, figure 2)

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[1] He may simply have "stood over" a carver.

Recapitulation

Carvers Whose Work Is Preserved in the Totem Poles of the Gitksan

Gitwinlkul Carvers:

Hæsemhli-yawn	(Frog-Raven)
Wutarhayæts	(Frog-Raven)
Yarhyaq	(Frog-Raven)
Hlamee	(Frog-Raven)
Nees-laranows	(Wolf)
Qaqhl	(Frog-Raven)
Kweenu	(Frog-Raven)
Lurhawn	(Frog-Raven)
Thrawawq	(Wolf)
Tæsu[1]	(Wolf)
Rænem[1]	(Frog-Raven)
Richard Dowse	(Wolf)

Thirty-five poles stand to their credit

Nass River Carvers:

Tarhtseeprh	(Fireweed)
Larhwilemhot	(Wolf)
Sa'anrhkwanks	(Fireweed)
Hrtseeyæ	(Eagle)
Qelran	(Wolf)
Sqateen	(Wolf)

Six carvers' names are remembered, others have been forgotten. From ten to fourteen poles stand to their credit

Kispayaks Carvers:

Gurhnalaks	(Frog-Raven)
Haku	(Frog-Raven)
Tsugyet	(Wolf)
Næqt	(Frog-Raven)
Wawsemlarhæ	(Fireweed)
Hakst	(Frog-Raven)
Tu'urh	(Wolf)
Kukranalk	(Frog-Raven)

Sixteen poles stand to their credit

Kitwanga Carvers:

Negutsræl	(Frog-Raven)
Geesarhkees	(Frog-Raven)
Kwawdzabarh	(Frog-Raven)
La'lawrh	(Frog-Raven
Hlengwah	(Frog-Raven)
Tewalasu (?)	(Eagle)
Sqayæn	(Eagle)

Fifteen poles to their credit

[1]Tæsu and Rænem may be earlier names of some of the other carvers.

Gitsegyukla Carvers:

Weegyet	(Fireweed)
Harhpegwawtu	(Fireweed)
Kwaw'amats	(Fireweed)
Wawralaw	(Frog-Raven)

Eight poles to their credit

Tsimsyan Carvers:

Gitrhawn	(Eagle)
Nees'awælp	(Eagle)
William Nass	(Fireweed)

Four poles to their credit

Kitamat (or Hazelton) Carvers:

Kaldihgyet	(Frog-Raven)
Gitemraldo	(Frog-Raven)
Tseegwee	(Fireweed)

Four poles to their credit

Qaldo Carver: Kwikihl'wans

One pole

Hagwelget Carvers:

Pees	(Frog-Raven)
Samalee	
Ahyewis	
Tcelee	

In all 31 to 34 Gitksan carvers: 13 Frog-Ravens; 9 Wolves; 7 Fireweeds; and 5 Eagles.

At least 14 of these still lived in 1920.

More than 13 foreign carvers are represented (more than 6 from the Nass; 3 Tsimsyan; 4 Carriers or Babines).

At least 78 poles were carved by the Gitksan. There are 13 instances of poles carved by members of the same phratry as the owners.

AGES OF THE TOTEM POLES

At Gitwinlkul

(1860-1916)

(1) The People-of-the-smoke-hole totem pole, of Ramlarhyælk (his No. 1)—60 or 70 years old, and stated to be "one of the oldest" (about 1860)

(2) The Split-person of Weerhæ (his No. 2)—the same age

(3) The Real-kingfisher, of Wutarhayæts (his No. 1)—about 60 years old (1865)

(4) Malee's Sitting-grizzly pole (his No. 1)—50 years old (1875)
(5) Ramlarhyælk's No. 2, a few years later than the first—about 1865-70
(6) The Hole-through *(Wulnaqaq)* pole of Haidzemerhs—from 40 to 60 years old (1865-1885)
(7) The Ribs-of-the-Bear pole of Malee (his No. 2)—more than 40 years old (1880-1885)
(8) The Raven-soaring pole of Kweenu (his No. 1)—from 40 to 50 years old (1875-1885)
(9) The Eagle-person of Kweenu (his No. 2)—the same age
(10) The All-frogs pole of Kweenu (his No. 5)—45 or 50 years old (1875-1880)
(11) The King-fisher pole of Lurhawn (his No. 1)—40 or 50 years old 1875-1885)
(12) Weerhæ's No. 5, the tallest—over 40 years old (1875-1885)
(13) The Flying-frog pole of Wutarhayæts (his No. 2)—over 40 years old (1880)
(14) The Cane pole of Kweenu (his No. 3)—about 1884
(15) The Raven-drum of Kweenu (his No. 6)—about 40 years old (1885)
(16) Lurhawn's Tall-hat pole (his No. 2)—from 30 to 40 years old (1885-1895)
(17) Ramlarhyælk's No. 3, the Sleeping-place-of-the-Raven (his No. 3)—about 1890
(18) The Thunder-bird-pole of Weerhæ (his No. 1)—about 30 years old (after 1888)
(19) The Mountain-eagle pole of Weerhæ (his No. 4)—about 25 years old (1900)
(20) Wutarhayæts' No. 3—over 20 years old (1900-1905)
(21) The Drifted-aside pole of Kweenu (his No. 8)—less than 20 years old (1905-1910)
(22) The Cormorant pole of Malee (his No. 3)—15 or 20 years old (1905-1910)
(23) The Frog-hanging pole of Kweenu (his No. 7), erected in 1916
The four other Gitwinlkul poles would be included in the average above

At Kitwanga

(1850-1920)

(1) The Bear's-den of Sqayæn (his No. 1), an entrance pole—one of the very oldest, apparently about 75 years old (1850)
(2) The shorter of the two Frog-hanging poles of Ha'ku and T-haku (their No. 2), an entrance pole—60 or 70 years old (around 1860)
(3) The Mountain-lion pole of Arhteeh (his No. 1)—about 70 years old (1865)
(4) The Dog-salmon pole of Tewalasu (his No. 1)—about 65 years old (1870)
(5) The Man-crushing-log, the older of the two, of Hlengwah (his No. 1) —slightly over 50 years old (1870)

(6) Sqayæn's No. 2—from 40 to 50 years old (1875-1885)
(7) The Bear's den pole of Qawq, fallen in 1926 (his No. 1)—45 years old (1880)
(8) Haku's No. 1, his tallest—over 50 years old (1870-75)
(9) The Ensnared-bear of Arhteeh (his No. 2)—about 50 years old (1875)
(10) An old pole carved by Hæsem-hliyawn and fallen in 1888 and disappeared—carved about 60 years ago (1865)
(11) Lælt's Hanging-frogs pole (his No 1)—less than 40 years old (1888)
(12) The Wolf pole of Arhteeh (his No. 3)—30 years old (1895)
(13) The Pole Whereon-climb-the-Frogs of Lælt (his No. 2)—20 or 25 years old (1900-1905)
(14) The Squirrel pole of Tewalasu (his No. 2)—1900-1905
(15) The newer of the two Man-crushing-logs of Hlengwah (his No. 2) 20 or 25 years old (1900-1905)
(16) The Mountain-lion on a platform, of Arhteeh—1910
(17) Halus' Thunder-bird pole—about 1907
(18) Qawq's Drum-person pole (his No. 2)—1914
(19) The *Qansil* or Raven-planing pole of Hlengwah—1920
(20) The People-in-the-copper-pole of Ha'ku (his No. 3)—1920
(21) Hlengwah's four house-poles—1920
A few others described elsewhere would not change the above average

At Kispayaks

(1850-1905)

(1) The White-Owl pole of Gitludahl—about 70 years old (1855)
(2) Kweeyaihl's Tsenaanurh pole (his No. 1)—about the same age
(3) Kleem-larhæ's Wolf pole (his No. 1)—from 60 to 70 years old (1855-65)
(4) The White-owl pole of Wawsemlarhæ (his No. 1)—over 70 years old (1850)
(5) Gwarhskyæk's Tall-hat pole (his No. 1)—from 50 to 60 years old (1865-1875)
(6) The newer of the two Tsenaanurh poles of Kweeyaihl (his No. 2) —50 years old (1875)
(7) Tælramuk's Half-way-out-pole—over 50 years old (1870)
(8) Qæl's No. 1—50 years old (1875)
(9) Ma'us pole—45 to 55 years old (1870-1880)
(10) Wawsemlarhæ's No. 2—45 or 50 years old (1875-80)
(11) Kleem-larhæ's No. 2—40 years old (1885)
(12) The 'Neegyamks pole of Harhu—from 30 to 45 years old (1880-1895)
(13) Lutraisuh's pole of Næqt or Haray—40 years old (1885)
(14, 15) Qæl's Grizzly and Blackfish on a platform—30 years old (1895)
(16) Qæl's Snake pole—same age
(17) The Sun-dog pole of Wawsemlarhæ (his No. 3)—20 or 30 years old (1895-1905)

(18) The Grizzly-bear-of-the-Sun of Gitludahl—30 years old (1895)
(19) Hrkyadet's pole—over 40 years old (1880)
(20) Ksemqaqhl's pole—40 or 50 years old (1875-1885)
(21) Kweeyaihl's Grizzly-bear, on a platform—20 or 25 years old (1900-05)
(22) The Garment-of-Eagle pole of Gwarhskyæk—over 20 years old (1900)

At Gitenmaks (Hazelton)

(1840-1900)

The four poles on the Indian Reserve were all erected after the establishment of the Reserve about 1889.

(1) The old doorway post of Lutkudzeeus, lying until recently on the old village site of Gitenmaks, was one of the very oldest on the Skeena, perhaps the oldest
(2) The second pole of Lutkudzeeus, lying on the old village site, is said to have been erected 20 years after the other
(3) The pole of Spawrh was erected soon after the establishment of the Reserve (1892-95)
(4) The pole of Kwahadaq was erected soon after
(5, 6, 7) The poles of Gitemraldo, Lutkudzeeus, and Sanaws, on the Reserve, are 25 or 30 years old (1895-1900)

At Hagwelget

(1850?-1875)

(1) The pole of Anklawrh is the oldest at Hagwelget. It was erected some time before the construction of the Great Western Union Telegraph line of 1866 (1850-60?)
(2) The pole of Beenee also stood at the time of the Great Western Union Telegraph construction; it was the second erected at Hagwelget
(3) The pole of Gyædem-skanees was erected after 1866
(4) The pole of Waws—a house-front pole—was erected about 1875

At Qaldo

(1860-1870?)

The pole of Kyawlugyet seems quite old, although no reliable data as to its age are available. It may be over sixty years old.

At Gitsegyukla

(1873-1926)

There were apparently three or four poles standing in the old village of Gitsegyukla destroyed by fire in 1872.

All the poles in the newer village along the river shore were erected after 1873.

(1) The Single-fireweed pole of Harhpegwawtu, erected about 1873-4

(2) The Snag-of-the-sand-bar (which fell down about 1922) of Weegyet—about 1874
(3) The Decayed-corpse pole of Harhpegwawtu—about 40 years old (1885)
(4, 5) Ksrarom-larhæ's No. 1 and No. 2—over 40 years old (1880-85)
(6) The Ladder pole of Weegyet (his No. 2)—about 40 years old (1885)
(7) The Grizzly-bear, on a platform—same age
(8, 9) Wawralaw's No. 1—40 years old; and his No. 2, 35 (1885-90)
(10) Mawlarhen's pole—35 or 40 years old (1885-90)
(11) Wistis' Empty-canoe pole—from 25 to 40 years old (1885-1900)
(12) The Pole-of-the-Moon, of Gurhsan (his No. 1)—over 30 years old (1890-95)
(13) The House-front-Blackfish of Harhpegwawtu—about 30 years old (1895)
(14) The Rainbow-person of Hanamuk—about 30 years old (1895)
(15) Hanamuk's second pole, commemorating Neetuh, over 30 years old (1890-95). Neetuh died in 1887
(16) Wistis' No. 2—about 20 or 30 years old (1895-1905)
(17) The Owl pole of Gurhsan—about 1910
(18) Ksrarom-larhæ's No. 3—erected in 1920
(19) Harhpegwawtu's No.4, "Moving-blackfish"—1925
(20) The Single-fireweed pole of Harhpegwawtu (his No. 5)—1926

At Kisgagas

The pole of Waigyet—the Blackfish—was erected about 40 years ago (1885)

APPENDIX

EXCERPTS FROM PRINTED RECORDS OF EARLY TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION ON THE NORTH WEST COAST

(1) A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean Undertaken by the Command of His Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere, in Three Volumes. Volumes I and II Written by Captain James Cook (1776-1780).

"Several of these natives stood up in their canoes haranguing, and making gestures after the manner of our first visitors. One canoe was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill, of an enormous size, painted on it; and a person who was in it, who seemed to be a Chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance; having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner. He held in his hand a carved bird of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first-mentioned had done." (Vol. II, p. 266.)

"They took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron, than of any other of our articles of commerce; appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal." (Vol. II, p. 267.)

"Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of them, and another sort of clothing made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears; fish-hooks and instruments of various kinds; wooden vizors of many different monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre; pieces of carved work; beads; and several chisels or pieces of iron, fixed to handles. From their possessing which metals, we could infer that they had either been visited before by some civilized nation, or had connections with tribes on their continent, who had communication with them." (Vol. II, pp. 270-271.)

"Sometimes the orator of the canoe would have his face covered with a mask, representing either a human visage or that of some animal; and, instead of a weapon, would hold a rattle in his hand, as before described." (Vol. II, p. 273.)

Captain Cook visits Nootka villages and houses, describes native occupations, but makes no mention of totem poles (from which we infer that he did not see any). (Vol. II, p. 280.)

Traces of earlier contacts with the Spanish. (Vol. II, p. 282.)

"These visitors also appeared to be more plentifully supplied with iron than the inhabitants of the sound." (Vol. II, p. 282.)

"I had also an opportunity of inspecting, more narrowly, the construction of the houses, household furniture, and utensils." (Vol. II, p. 285.)

Facial paint described. (Vol. II, p. 303.)

"Though their bodies are always covered with red paint, their faces are often stained with a black, a brighter red, or a white colour, by way of ornament." (Vol. II, p. 305.)

The face "is besmeared with a kind of tallow, mixed with paint, which is afterward formed into a great variety of regular figures, and appears like carved work." (Vol. II, p. 306.)

Wooden Masks and Headdresses. "Their monstrous decorations. These consist of an endless variety of carved wooden masks or vizors, applied on the face, or to the upper part of the head or forehead. Some of these resemble human faces, furnished with hair, beards, and eye-brows; others, the heads of birds, particularly of eagles and quebrantahueffos; and many, the heads of land and sea-animals, such as wolves, deer, and porpoises, and others. But in general these representations much exceed the natural size; and they are painted and often strewed with pieces of the foliaceous *mica*, which makes them glitter and serves to augment their enormous deformity. They even exceed this sometimes, and fix on the same part of the head large pieces of carved work, resembling the prow of a canoe, painted in the same manner, and projecting to a considerable distance. So fond are they of these disguises, that I have seen one of them put his head into a tin kettle he had got from us, for want of another sort of mask." (Vol. II, pp. 306-307.)

Bird Rattles. "The rattles are, for the most part, made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebbles in the belly; and the tail is the handle. They have others, however, that bear rather more resemblance to a child's rattle." (Vol. II, p. 311.)

Boxes. "They are often painted black, studded with the teeth of different animals or carved with a kind of freeze work, and figures of birds or animals, as decorations." (Vol. II, p. 316.)

"Amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly, or by pairs, at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face; the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of these images is Klumma; and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder, in one of the houses, were Natchkoa and Matfeeta. Mr. Webber's view of the inside of a Nootka house, in which these images are represented, will convey a more perfect idea of them than any description. A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part, hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove; and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It should seem that they are, at times, accustomed to make offerings to them; if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images, when they drew aside the mats that covered them.[1] It was natural, from these circumstances, for us to think that they were representatives of their gods, or symbols of some religious or superstitious object; and yet we had proofs of the little real estimation they were in; for with a small quantity of iron or brass, I could have purchased all the gods (if their images were such) in the place. I did not see one that was not offered to me; and I actually got two or three of the very smallest sort." (Vol. II, p. 317).

"The tomahawk is a stone, six or eight inches long, pointed at one end, and the other end fixed into a handle of wood. This handle resembles the head and neck of the human figure; and the stone is fixed in the mouth, so as to represent an enormously large tongue. To make the resemblance still stronger, human hair is also fixed to it. This weapon they call *taaweesh*, or *tsuskeeab*. (Vol. II, p. 324.)

Wool Garments: "The ornamental parts or figures in these garments, which are disposed with great taste, are commonly of a different colour, being dyed, chiefly, either of a deep brown, or of a yellow; the last of which, when it is new, equals the best in our carpets as to brightness.

To their taste or design in working figures upon their garments, corresponds their fondness for carving, in everything they make of wood. Nothing is without a kind of freeze-work, or the figure of some animal upon it; but the most general representation is that of the human face, which is often cut out upon birds, and the other monstrous figures mentioned before; and even upon their stone and their bone weapons. The general design of all these things is perfectly sufficient to convey a knowledge of the object they are intended to represent; but the carving is not executed with the nicety that a dexterous artist would bestow even upon an indifferent design. The same, however, cannot be said of many of the human masks and heads; where they show themselves to be ingenious sculptors. They not only preserve, with great exactness, the general character of their own faces, but finish the more minute parts, with a degree of accuracy in proportion, and neatness in execution. The strong propensity of this people to works of this sort is remarkable, in a vast variety of particulars. Small, whole human figures; representations of birds, fish, and land and sea animals; models of their household utensils and of their canoes, were found amongst them in great abundance." (Vol. II, p. 326.)

Pictorial Arts. "The imitative arts being nearly allied, no wonder that, to their skill in working figures in their garments, and carving them in wood, they should add that of drawing them in colours. We have sometimes seen the whole process of their whale-fishery painted on the caps they wear.

They have also other figures painted on some of their things; but it is doubtful if they ought to be considered as symbols, that have certain established significations, or only the mere creation of fancy and caprice." (Vol. II, p. 327.)

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[1]It would seem that Mr. Webber was obliged to repeat his offerings pretty frequently, before he could be permitted to finish his drawing of these images. The following account is in his own words: "After having made a general view of their habitations I fought for an inside, which might furnish me with sufficient matter to convey a perfect idea of the mode in which these people live. Such was soon found. While I was employed, a man approached me with a large knife in his hand, seemingly displeased, when he observed that my eyes were fixed on two representations of human figures, which were placed at one end of the apartment, carved on planks, of a gigantic proportion, and painted after their custom."

Canoes. "Some canoes have a little carving, and are decorated by setting seals' teeth on the surface, like studs; as is the practice on their masks and weapons. A few have, likewise, a kind of additional head or prow, like a large cutwater which is painted with the figure of some animal." (Vol. II, p. 327.)

"Their great dexterity in works of wood, may, in some measure, be ascribed to the assistance they received from iron tools. For as far as we know, they use no other; at least, we saw only one chisel of bone. And though, originally, their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which now is universally used in their various wooden works. The chisel and the knife are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them." (Vol. II, p. 329.)

"Most of them we saw were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop; and their singular form marks that they are not of European make." (Vol. II, p. 330.)

"Besides this, it was evident that iron was too common here; was in too many hands; and the uses of it were too well known, for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately; or, indeed, at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date; for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon that continent, or receive it, perhaps, through several intermediate nations. The same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them.

It is most probable, however, that the Spaniards are not such eager traders, nor have formed such extensive connections with the tribes north of Mexico, as to supply them with quantities of iron, from which they can spare so much to the people here.[1]

"I saw nothing that could give the least insight into their notions of religion, besides the figures before mentioned, called by them Klumma. Most probably these were idols; but as they frequently mentioned the word *acweek*, when they spoke of them, we may, perhaps, be authorized to suppose that they are the images of some of their ancestors, whom they venerate as divinities. But all this is mere conjecture; for we saw no act of religious homage paid to them; nor could we gain any information, as we had learned little more of their language than to ask the names of things, without being able to hold any conversation with the natives, that might instruct us as to their institutions or traditions." (Vol. II, p. 334.)

The use of iron, copper, European beads and articles among the Eskimos of Alaska is described in vol. II, pp. 358 (iron), 370 (European beads), 379 (copper and imported articles), 380 (copper, early European contacts), 401 (foreign articles), 414 (traces of earlier explorations by the Russians), 417 (Russian contacts).

At Bering Strait: "For although the Russians live amongst them, we found much less of this metal in their possession, than we had met with in the possession of other tribes on the American continent, who had never seen, nor perhaps had any intercourse with, the Russians." (Vol. II, p. 511.)

(2) A Voyage Round the World but More Particularly to the North-west Coast of America, Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, in the King George and Queen Charlotte. Captains Portlock and Dixon. By Captain George Dixon The Second Edition

Face paint of the Tlingit. (P. 171.)

Carvings on hooks. (P. 174.)

Burial Box: "On getting into the cave, he found the object which attracted his attention to be a square box, with a human head in it, deposited in the manner already described at Port Mulgrave; the box was very beautifully ornamented with small shells, and seemed to have been left there very recently, being the only one in the place." (P. 181.)

[1]Though the two silver tablespoons found at Nootka sound most probably came from the Spaniards in the south, there seems to be sufficient grounds for believing that the regular supply of iron comes from a different quarter. It is remarkable, that the Spaniards, in 1775, found at Puerto de la Trinidad, in latitude 41° 7', arrows pointed with copper or iron, which they understood were procured from the north. Mr. Daines Barrington, in a note at this part of the Spanish Journal, p. 20, says, "I should conceive that the copper and iron, here mentioned, must have originally been bartered at our forts in Hudson bay." (Vol. II, pp. 332-333.)

"Amongst the people who came to trade with us, was an old man, who seemed remarkably intelligent: he gave us to understand, that a good while ago there had been two vessels at anchor near this place, one of which was considerably larger than our's; that they carried a great number of guns, and that the people resembled us in colour and dress. He showed us a white shirt they had given him, and which he seemed to regard as a great curiosity: on examining it, we found it made after the Spanish fashion, and immediately judged these vessels described by this Indian to be the Spaniards who (as I have already related) were on this coast in the year 1775." (Pp. 182-183.)

Illustrations showing a carved dish. (P. 188.)

"About two o'clock in the afternoon, being close in shore, we saw several canoes putting off, on which we shortened sail, and lay to for them, as the wind blew pretty fresh. The place these people came from had a very singular appearance, and on examining it narrowly, we plainly perceived that they lived in a very large hut, built on a small island, and well fortified after the manner of an hippah, on which account we distinguished this place by the name of Hippah Island." (P. 205.)

"Captain Dixon no sooner saw the fortified hut just mentioned, than this suspicion was strengthened, as it was, he said, built exactly on the plan of the hippah of the savages at New Zealand." (P. 206.)

Labrets of wood ornamented with pearl and copper. Spoon with a raven head design. (*See* illustrations, p. 205.)

Queen Charlotte islands visited at several points. No mention of totem poles. (P. 224.)

A white man left with the natives at King George sound. Seen the following year. (P. 232.)

Earlier Explorers: "Before Captain Cook's last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, this part of the coast was little known. The celebrated Russian navigator, Beering, in the year 1741, fell in with the land in the latitude 58 deg. 28 min. North, and anchored in 59 deg. 18 min. But the account which is published of his voyage is very imperfect and inaccurate.

The Spaniards, too, are probably well acquainted with the coast a little to the Southward of King George's Sound, and about Cape Edgcombe, at both which places they anchored in 1775; and I have reason to think that their knowledge of this part of the continent is confined to those particular situations." (P. 235.)

Minerals: "There is little doubt of variety of metals and minerals being found here. I have already observed that we found a vein of coals in Cook's River. The paint used by the natives in daubing their faces and bodies, appears chiefly to be black lead and red oker; and we frequently saw large, circular wreaths of copper both at Norfolk Sound and Queen Charlotte's Islands, which did not appear to be foreign manufacture, but twisted into that shape by the natives themselves, to wear as an ornament about the neck." (P. 237.)

"Beads are held in much greater estimation in the harbours first mentioned than anywhere else within our observation. These ornaments were undoubtedly introduced here by the Russians, who have constantly traded with these people for many years past, and beads have been generally used in barter, so that if we make this a rule for judging how far the Russians have had a direct intercourse on the coast, it will appear that they have not been to the Eastward of Cape Hinchinbrook: and I think this conjecture far from improbable." (P. 240.)

"Besides the ornaments already mentioned, the Indians are very fond of masks or vizors and various kinds of caps, all of which are painted with different devices, such as birds, beasts, fishes, and sometimes representations of the human face; they have likewise many of these devices carved in wood, and some of them far from being ill executed." (P. 242.)

"Whenever any large party came to trade, these treasures were first produced, and the principal persons dressed out in all their finery before the singing commenced. In addition to this, the Chief (who always conducts the vocal concert) puts on a large coat, made of the elk skin, tanned, round the lower part of which is one, or sometimes two, rows of dried berries, or the beaks of birds, which make a rattling noise whenever he moves. In his hand he has a rattle, or more commonly a contrivance to answer the same end, which is of a circular form, about nine inches in diameter, and made of three small sticks bent round at different distances from each other: great numbers of birds' beaks and dried berries are tied to this curious instrument, which is shook by the Chief with great glee, and in his opinion makes no small addition to the concert. Their songs generally consist of several stanzas, to each of which is added a chorus. The beginning of each stanza is given

out by the Chief alone, after which both men and women join and sing in octaves, beating time regularly with their hands, or paddles: meanwhile the Chief shakes his rattle, and makes a thousand ridiculous gesticulations, singing at intervals in different notes from the rest; and this mirth generally continues near half an hour without intermission." (Pp. 242-243.)

"Whether or no they make use of any hieroglyphics to perpetuate the memory of events, I cannot say, though their numerous drawings of birds and fishes, and their carved representations of animals and human faces, might perhaps warrant a supposition of the kind. Many of these carvings are well proportioned and executed with a considerable degree of ingenuity, which appears rather extraordinary amongst a people so remote from civilized refinement. But then we must consider that this art is far from being in its infancy; a fondness for carving and sculpture was discovered amongst these people by Captain Cook: iron implements were then also in use; and their knives are so very thin that they bend them into a variety of forms, which answer their every purpose nearly as well as if they had recourse to a carpenter's tool chest. At what period iron was introduced on this coast is very uncertain, but it must doubtless be a considerable time ago; and I may venture to assert that their implements are not of English manufacture, so that there is little doubt of their being obtained from the Russians. The only implement I saw (iron excepted) was a toe made of *jasper*, the same as those used by the New Zealanders." (P. 243.)

"I have also taken notice of the articles most acceptable in barter, and shall only add on that head, that copper is almost the only article in request at King George's Sound." (P. 245.)

(3) Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the North West Coast of America, by John Meares, London, 1790.

Nootka Feast House with Carvings. "Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported at the ends and in the middle by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber. The same kind of broad planks covered the whole to keep out the rain; but they were so placed as to be removed at pleasure, either to receive the air and light, or let out the smoke." (P. 138.)

Carved Poles: "The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity as well as our astonishment was on its utmost stretch, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanic powers. The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down the chin. . . . . " (P. 138.)

"The royal coffers, which consisted of large chests rudely carved, and fancifully adorned with human teeth." (P. 140.)

Native Copper: "The pure malleable lumps of copper ore seen in the possession of the natives convince us that there are mines of this metal in the vicinity of this part of the western coast. We once saw a piece of it, which appeared to weigh about a pound, through which an hole had been perforated sufficiently large for a handle to pass, in order to make a kind of hammer. On inquiring of the man in whose possession it was, from whence he procured it, he made us understand that he had received it in barter from some of the native people who lived more to the northward. We had also occasionally seen necklaces and a sort of bracelets worn on the wrist, which were of the purest ore, and to all appearance had never been in the possession of a European." (P. 247.)

Armour: "But these are the dresses of peace; the people of Nootka have another for war, and is admirably contrived to answer the purpose for which it is put on. It consists of a thick leathern frock or doublet, made from the skin of the elk, cut into a fringe at the sides and neck, and adorned on the other parts with tassels of leather: it reaches from the neck to the heels, and is painted with various devices. This garment is sufficiently strong to resist the arrows or even the spears of their enemies, as by hanging loose it yields to the force, and checks the progress both of one and the other. It may, therefore, be considered as a very complete defensive armour. This dress is accompanied with a mask representin the head of some animal; it is made of wood, with the eyes, teeth, etc., and is a work of

considerable ingenuity. Of these masks they have a great variety, which are applicable to certain circumstances and occasions. Those, for example, which represent the head of the otter, or any other marine animals, are used only when they go to hunt them. In their war expeditions, but at no other time, they cover the whole of their dress with large bear-skins." (P. 254.)

Masks: "The seal is also an animal very difficult to take, on account of its being able to remain under water. Artifices are, therefore, made use of to decoy him within reach of the boats; and this is done in general by the means of masks of wood made in so exact a resemblance of nature that the animal takes it for one of his own species, and falls a prey to the deception. On such occasions, some of the natives put on these masks, and hiding their bodies with branches of trees as they lie among the rocks, the seals are tempted to approach so near the spot as to put it in the power of the natives to pierce them with their arrows. Similar artifices are employed against the sea-cow, etc. The otters, as well as some of the land animals, are, we believe, occasionally taken in the same manner." (P. 261.)

"In most of their houses they have, as has already been observed, certain huge idols or images, to whom we never saw them pay any mark of common respect, much less of worship or adoration. These misshappen figures occupied, as it appeared, somewhat of a distinguished and appropriate place, wherever we saw them; but they seemed to have no exclusive privilege whatever, and shared the common filth of those who lived beneath the same roof with them." (P. 268.)

"He continued to inform us that the people killed the old man, and took his canoe; and that from this event they derived their fondness for copper. He also gave us to understand that the images in their houses were intended to represent the form, and perpetuate the mission of the old man who came from the sky." (P. 270.)

(4) A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World; in which the Coast of North-West America has been Carefully Examined and Accurately Surveyed, in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795. Under the Command of Captain George Vancouver, in Three Volumes, London, 1798

"Whilst he remained at Clayoquot, Wicananish, the chief of that district, had concerted a plan to capture his ship, by bribing a native of Owhyhee, whom Mr. Gray had with him, to wet the priming of all the fire-arms on board, which were constantly kept loaded." (Vol. I, p. 215.)

"These people, in their persons, canoes, arms, implements, etc., seemed to resemble chiefly the inhabitants of Nootka; though less bedaubed with paint, and less filthy in their external appearance. They wore ornaments in their ears, but none were observed in their noses; some of them understood a few words of the Nootka language; they were clothed in the skins of deer, bear, and some other animals, but principally in a woollen garment of their own manufacture, extremely well wrought. They did not appear to possess any furs. Their bows and implements they freely bartered for knives, trinkets, copper, etc.; and, what was very extraordinary, they offered for sale two children, each about six or seven years of age, and being shown some copper, were very anxious that the bargain should be closed." (Vol. I, p. 230.)

"A canoe, in which there were three men, went alongside the launch, and bartered a few trifles for beads, iron, and copper, but declined every invitation to come on shore." (Vol. I, p. 240.)

"Their spears, arrows, fishgiggs, and other weapons, were shaped exactly like those of Nootka; but none were pointed with copper, or with mussel shell. The three former were generally barbed, and those pointed with common flint, agate, and bone, seemed of their original workmanship. Yet more of their arrows were observed to be pointed with thin, flat iron, than with bone or flint, and it was very singular that they should prefer exchanging those pointed with iron, to any of the others." (Vol. I, p. 253.)

"The chief, for so we must distinguish him, had two hangers, one of Spanish, the other of English manufacture, on which he seemed to set a very high value.

. . . . . induced Mr. Whidbey to continue his examination on shore; on which occasion he was accompanied by the chief and several of the party, who conducted themselves with the greatest propriety; though with no small degree of civil curiosity in examin-

ing his clothes, and expressing a great desire to be satisfied as to the colour of the skin they covered; making signs that his hands and face were painted white, instead of being black or red like their own; but when convinced of their mistake by opening his waistcoat, their astonishment was inexpressible. From these circumstances, and the general tenor of their behaviour, Mr. Whidbey concluded they had not before seen any Europeans, though, from the different articles they possessed, it was evident a communication had taken place; probably, by the means of distinct trading tribes." (Vol. I, p. 285.)

"Some fish, their garments, spears, bows, and arrows, to which these people wisely added their copper ornaments, comprised their general stock in trade. Iron, in all its forms, they judiciously preferred to any other article we had to offer." (Vol. I, p. 305.)

"Accompanied by some of the officers, Mr. Menzies, and our new guest Cheslakees, I repaired to the village, and found it pleasantly situated on a sloping hill, above the banks of a fine freshwater rivulet, discharging itself into a small creek or cove. It was exposed to a southern aspect, whilst higher hills behind, covered with lofty pines, sheltered it completely from the northern winds. The houses, in number thirty-four, were arranged in regular streets; the larger ones were the habitations of the principal people, who had them decorated with paintings and other ornaments, forming various figures, apparently the rude designs of fancy; though it is by no means improbable, they might annex some meaning to the figures they described, too remote, or hieroglyphical, for our comprehension." (Vol. I, p. 346.)

"In most of the houses were two or three muskets, which, by their locks and mounting, appeared to be Spanish. Cheslakees had no less than eight in his house, all kept in excellent order: these, together with a great variety of other European commodities, I presumed were procured immediately from Nootka, as, on pointing to many of them, they gave us to understand they had come from thence, and in their commercial concerns with us, frequently explained that their skins would fetch more at Nootka than we chose to offer. Their total number we estimated at about five hundred." (Vol. I, p. 348.)

"After dinner, Maquinna entertained us with a representation of their warlike achievements. A dozen men first appeared, armed with muskets, and equipped with all their appendages, who took their post in a very orderly manner within the entrance of the house, where they remained stationary, and were followed by eighteen very stout men, each bearing a spear or lance sixteen or eighteen feet in length, proportionately strong, and pointed with a long flat piece of iron, which seemed to be sharp on both edges, and was highly polished; the whole, however, appeared to form but an awkward and unwieldy weapon. These men made several movements in imitation of attack and defence, singing at the same time several war songs, in which they were joined by those with the muskets. Their different evolutions being concluded, I was presented with two small sea-otter skins, and the warriors having laid by their arms performed a mask dance, which was ridiculously aughable, particularly on the part of Maquinna, who took a considerable share in the representation. We were not backward in contributing to the amusements of the day, some songs were sung which the natives seemed much to admire, and being provided with drums and fifes, our sailors concluded the afternoon's diversion with reels and country dances." (Vol. I, p. 396.)

"In the evening we passed close to the rock on which the village last mentioned is situated; it appeared to be about half a mile in circuit, and was entirely occupied by the habitations of the natives. These appeared to be well constructed; the boards forming the sides of the houses were well fitted, and the roofs rose from each side with sufficient inclination to throw off the rain. The gable ends were decorated with curious painting, and near one or two of the most conspicuous mansions were carved figures in large logs of timber, representing a gigantic human form, with strange and uncommonly distorted features. Some of our former visitors again came off, and conducted themselves as before with great civility; but these, as well as those of shore, had great objections to our landing at their village; the latter making signs for us to keep off, and the former giving us to understand that our company was not desired at their habitations. Their numbers, I should imagine, amounted at least to three hundred. After gratifying our friends with some presents, they returned to their rock, and we continued our route homewards." (Vol. II, p. 272.)

"On the morning of the 27th they returned down this arm, which, after Sir Alan Gardner, I called Gardner's Canal." (Vol. II, p. 302.)

"We stopped to dine about a mile short of the low border of land which composed the head of the arm. Here we were visited by seven of the natives, who approached us in a canoe with much caution, and landed some of their party at a little distance, whilst the others advanced, seemingly with no small suspicion of our friendly intentions; this, how-

ever, was soon removed by the distribution of some trivial presents amongst them; and their reception being made known to their companions, who had landed, these without the least hesitation joined our party also. They were well-prepared with arms, consisting of long spears, bows, and arrows, together with an iron dagger that each man wore about his neck or wrist." (Vol. II, pp. 334-335.)

"Amongst these visitors was one whose character we could not define. This was a young man, who seemed to differ very materially from the rest in his general deportment. He was dressed in a blue jacket and trousers, and seemed to be perfectly at his ease, particularly with respect to the pockets, which to persons unacquainted with their use generally produce embarrassment; he was very fond of cigars, which he smoked in the Spanish fashion, discharging the fumes through his nostrils, and also of snuff; and we had great reason to believe that he had made free with a snuff-box that was in the cabin, and which was the only thing missed during the visit of these people. All our different kinds of provisions were perfectly familiar to this young man, who ate and drank of everything that was given to him for this purpose, without the least hesitation, and with the greatest glee and appetite. His person had nothing of the European character in it, but from attentively observing his countenance, we were inclined to suppose him a native of New Spain, who might possibly have deserted from some of the Spanish vessels employed in the examination of this coast. He was more intelligent than any of the Indians we had found on these shores, particularly in respect of the different channels leading through this divided country." (Vol. II, p. 394.)

"So far as any conclusion could be drawn from this short interview, the Russians seemed to live upon the most intimate terms of friendship with the Indians of all descriptions, who appeared to be perfectly satisfied in being subjected to the Russian authority." (Vol. III, p. 123.)

"Although we could not gratify our curiosity to the extent I could have wished respecting the situation of the Russians, yet I could not avoid feeling a degree of satisfaction in observing the comfortable manner in which they seem to live amongst these untutored children of nature; having gained them over to be obedient to their wishes they appear to maintain their influence not by fear, as their conquerors, but by having found the way to their hearts, and by securing an affectionate regard." (Vol. III, p. 199.)

"The interest that the Indians seem to take in the success and welfare of the Russians originates in principles of attachment and regard which do not appear likely to be easily removed by the influence of strangers to the prejudice of the Russian commercial interest, and which from the practice of the present day may probably be strengthened in the succeeding generations; for although the Russians did not appear to us either studious or learned, yet it was understood that in all their establishments the children of the natives are taken at an early age to apartments provided on purpose, where they are maintained and educated in the Russian language, and no doubt instructed in such principles as are most likely hereafter to be advantageously directed to the interests of that nation." (Vol. III, p. 201.)

"He hoped that we should be much pleased by being entertained according to their manner of receiving visitors.

This indescribable group of figures was drawn up before us; and notwithstanding we were perfectly satisfied of the harmless and peaceable intentions of these people, yet I believe there was not one of our party entirely free from those sensations which will naturally arise from the sight of such unusual objects; whose savage and barbarous appearance was not a little augmented by their actions and vociferous behaviour, accompanied by an exhibition that consisted principally of jumping in a very peculiar manner. In this effort the legs did not seem to partake much of the exertion, although they sometimes raised themselves to a considerable height; and we understood that those were considered to be the best performers who kept their feet constantly parallel to each other, or in one certain position, with the least possible inclination of the knees. After these had finished their part, Maquinna performed a mask dance by himself, in which, with great address, he frequently and almost imperceptibly changed his mask; this seemed to be a very favourite amusement of his, as he appeared to be in high spirits, and to take great delight in the performance. The masks he had made choice of, certainly did credit to his imagination in point of whimsical effect; his dress was different from that worn by any of the other performers, consisting of a cloak and a kind of short apron, covered with hollow shells, and small pieces of copper so placed as to strike against each other, and to produce a jingling noise; which, being accompanied by the music before described as a substitute for a drum, and some vocal exertions, produced a savage, discordant noise as offensive to the ear as the former exhibition had been to the eye." (Vol. III, pp 308-309.)

"The construction of the Nootka houses, especially with respect to their inside, has been so fully treated by Captain Cook as to preclude any material addition from my pen; yet it is singularly remarkable (although particularly represented in Mr. Weber's drawing of the village in Friendly cove) that Captain Cook should not have taken any notice whatever in his journal of the immense pieces of timber which are raised, and horizontally placed on wooden pillars, about eighteen inches above the roof of the largest houses in that village; one of which pieces of timber was of size sufficient to have made a lower mast for a third-rate man of war. These, together with the large images, were at that time supposed to denote the habitation of the chief, or principal person of the tribe; and the opinion then formed has been repeatedly confirmed by observations made during this voyage. One or more houses in many of the deserted villages, as well as in most of the inhabited ones we had visited, were thus distinguished. On the house of Maquinna were three of these immense spars; the middle piece was the largest, and measured at the butt-end nearly 5 feet in diameter; this extended the whole length of the habitation, which was about an hundred feet long. It was placed on pillars of wood; that which supported it within the upper end of the house was about fifteen feet in circumference, and on it was carved one of their distorted representations of a gigantic human figure." (Vol. III, p. 311.)

(5) Miscellanies, by the Honourable Daines Barrington, London, 1780

Journal of a Voyage in 1775 to Explore the Coast of America, Northward of California, by the Second Pilot of the Fleet, Don Francisco, Antonio Maurelle, in the King's Schooner, called The Sonora, and Commanded by Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega

"But what they chiefly value is iron, and particularly knives or hoops of old barrels; they also readily barter for bugles, whilst they rejected both provisions or any article of dress." (P. 489.)

"On the 9th of July I conceived myself to be in the latitude of the mouth of a river, discovered by John de Fuca (according to the French map)." (P. 493.)

"During this interval the Indians trafficked with us for various kinds of animals, for which they expected some pieces of iron in exchange, which they manifested by putting their hands upon the rudder-irons; our people, therefore, procured them such, from old chests." (P. 496.)

(6) A Voyage Round the World Performed During the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792, by Etienne Marchand—Translated from the French of C. P. Claret Fleurieu, Vol. I, London, 1801

"The articles which the natives preferred in exchange were basins, and especially those made of copper, stewpans, tin saucepans, iron pots, daggers, lances, halberts, pikes, and sabres: they set little value on hatchets, saws, two-handled knives, hammers, nails, and other tools or instruments." (P. 284.)

"The first navigators who visited the North West coast of America, in ascending from the forty-second degree of latitude to the sixtieth parallel, found that the knowledge and the use of iron had long since arrived there; and they saw, in the hands of the natives, various instruments and tools of that metal: it is probable that the latter received it from the interior, by communicating, from tribe to tribe, with the nations which receive it immediately through the medium of the Europeans, either from the English settlements of Hudson's Bay or from the Spanish presidios. The trade of the Americans of the North West Coast with the Russians must, for upwards of half a century past, have made them acquainted with iron and copper." (P. 341.)

"The Tchinkitanayans are all armed with a metal dagger, fifteen or sixteen inches long, from two and a half to three broad, terminated in a point, and sharp on both sides: this is the weapon which they are the most careful to preserve, and which they take a pleasure in keeping polished and bright: a grenadier is not more proud of his sabre than a Tchinkitanayan is of his dagger; he wears it in a shoulder-belt, in a leather scabbard, and is never without it, either day or night. It is with this weapon, which never ought

to have been turned against our fellow-creatures, that sometimes he engages the bear in close combat, and rips open its belly when the furious animal is ready to stifle him in its paws. It is not known how long this dagger, which, originally, must have been of hard wood, has been made of a metal the use of which man has not limited to his wants and conveniences, but which, in his hands, is become, for his species, the instrument of destruction. Their pikes, which, no doubt, were, at first, tipped with a hard stone, tapering to a point, or with a fish-bone, are at this day armed with an iron head of European manufacture." (P. 342.)

"One of the Chiefs who came to trade with us," says the Editor of Dixon's Journal, "happening one day to cast his eyes on a piece of Sandwich Island cloth, which hung up in the shrouds to dry, became very importunate to have it given him. The man to whom the cloth belonged," continues he, "parted with it very willingly, and the Indian was perfectly overjoyed with his present. After selling what furs he had brought, with great dispatch, he immediately left us, and paddled on shore, without favouring us with a parting song, as is generally the custom. Soon after day-light the next morning, our friend appeared alongside dressed in a coat made of the Sandwich Island cloth given him the day before, and cut exactly in the form of their skin coats, which greatly resemble a wagoner's frock, except the collar and wristbands. The Indian was more proud of his newly-acquired dress than ever a London beau was of a birthday suit; and we were greatly pleased with this proof of these people's ingenuity and dispatch; the coat fitted exceedingly well; the seams were sewed with all the strength the cloth would admit of, and with a degree of neatness equal to that of an English mantua-maker." (Dixon's Voyage, p. 189.) (P. 345.)

"The taste of ornament prevails in all the works of their hands; their canoes, their chests, and different little articles of furniture in use among them, are covered with figures which might be taken for a species of hieroglyphics: fishes and other animals, heads of men, and various whimsical designs, are mingled and confounded in order to compose a subject. It, undoubtedly, will not be expected that these figures should be perfectly regular, and the proportions in them exactly observed; for here, every man is a painter and sculptor; yet they are not deficient in a sort of elegance and perfection. But these paintings, these carvings, such as they are, are seen on all their furniture. Is this general taste simply produced and kept alive by the want of occupying the leisure of a long winter, if, however, winter leaves them leisure? Or rather does not its principle arise from the ancient state of their society, which is lost to us in the obscurity of their origin?" (Pp. 345-346.)

"Although the natives of Tchinkitanay have long been in possession of European hatches, they do not yet make use of this instrument for felling the tree which they intend for the construction of a canoe." (P. 348.)

"The Editor of Dixon's Journal reports that 'Mr. Turner, one of Captain Dixon's officers, while he was making an excursion in the boat on the west coast of the bay, about four miles to the northward of their first anchoring-birth, saw a large cave, formed by nature in the side of a mountain; curiosity prompted him to go on shore, in order to examine it, as there appeared something, which at a distance, looked bright and sparkling. On getting into the cave, he found the object which attracted his attention to be a square box, with a human head in it: the box was very beautifully ornamented with small shells, polished and shining, composing various designs, and seemed to have been left there very recently, being the only one in the place.' Captain Dixon, who had discovered Port Mulgrave, situated two degrees and a half to the northward of Tchinkitanay, there met, in his excursions, with several of this sort of burying-places." (Pp. 355-356.)

"On this small island, Captain Chanal perceived some palisades which appeared to be the work of Europeans; and he had the curiosity to examine them closely. He found that they form the enclosure of a platform of moderate elevation, resting on one side against the rock, and supported at certain distances by stakes, rafters, and other pieces of wood forming the frame of a building, well put together and well contrived: he ascended it by a staircase made out of the trunk of a tree. On examination, he judged this monument, with everything that belongs to it, to be the product of the arts of the west part of North America: the wood bore the impression of time and age; and this evidence against which no objection can be made, did not allow it to be supposed that the construction was modern, or the work of Europeans who might have anchored in the bay. He here remarked several boxes without a lid, the use of which the islanders explained: these perform the office of a drum from which they draw a sound, by striking with the fist against the outer sides. But what particularly attracted the attention of the French, and well deserved to fix it, were two pictures each of which, eight or nine feet long, by five high, were composed only of two planks put together. On one of these pictures is seen represented, in colours rather

lively, red, black, and green, the different parts of the human body, painted separately; and the whole surface is covered with them. The latter picture appears to be a copy of the former, or perhaps it is the original: it is difficult to decide to which of the two belongs the priority, so much are the features of both effaced by age. The natives gave Captain Chanal to understand that these pictures are called Caniak in their language; and this is all that he could get from them.

From the examination which was made of the sort of redoubt where are deposited these two monuments of an ancient date, it was not supposed, although it appeared very susceptible of being defended against an enemy who might wish to attack it, that the object of the islanders has been to secure there for themselves a retreat, a place of refuge in case of attack; Captain Chanal judged, from some information which he was able to obtain from them, and which he thought he understood, that it was rather a place consecrated to religious ceremonies, or public diversions, or perhaps to both uses." (Pp. 396-397.)

"In the course of the day, Captain Chanal had had a communication with seven or eight canoes, which might carry in the whole sixty individuals of all ages and of both sexes; but, to judge from the number of huts which he distinguished on the borders of the channel, he reckoned that he had seen but a small part of its inhabitants." (P. 397.)

"Waiting for their return, Captain Chanal and his party availed themselves of the good will of a chief of the district, who had offered to accompany them, and they employed the time in visiting two habitations, situated on this part of the coast, and built on a plan nearly uniform. In describing them, I shall blend the separate descriptions given by Captain Chanal and Surgeon Roblet, and form of them but one; they are the same in the main, and differ only by some details which are met with in the one, and are not to be found in the other.

"The form of these habitations is that of a regular parallelogram, from forty-five to fifty feet in front by thirty-five in depth. Six, eight, or ten trees, cut and planted in the ground on each front, form the enclosure of a habitation, and are fastened to each other, by planks ten inches in width by three or four in thickness, which are solidly joined to the stakes, by tenons and mortices." (P. 400.)

"This door, the threshold of which is raised about a foot and a half above the ground, is of an elliptical figure; the great diameter, which is given by the height of the opening, is not more than three feet, and the small diameter, or the breadth, is not more than two: it may be conceived that it is not very convenient to enter the house by this oval. This opening is made in the thickness of a large trunk of a tree which rises perpendicularly in the middle of one of the fronts of the habitation, and occupies the whole of its height: it imitates the form of a gaping human mouth, or rather that of a beast, and it is surmounted by a hooked nose,[1] about two feet in length, proportioned, in point of size, to the monstrous face to which it belongs. It might, therefore, be imagined that, in the language of the inhabitants of North island, of Queen Charlotte's Isles, the door of the house is called *the mouth*.

"Over the door is seen the figure of a man carved, in the attitude of a child in the womb, and remarkable for the extreme smallness of the parts which characterize his sex; and above this figure rises a gigantic statue of a man erect, which terminates the sculpture and the decoration of the portal; the head of this statue is dressed with a cap in the form of a sugar-loaf, the height of which is almost equal to that of the figure itself. On the parts of the surface which are not occupied by the capital subjects, are interspersed carved figures of frogs or toads, lizards, and other animals, and arms, legs, thighs, and other parts of the human body: a stranger might imagine that he saw the ex voto suspended to the door-case of the niche of a Madonna.

"On comparing these pieces of sculpture to those large pictures which had been seen the day before in a place which appears consecrated to a Supreme Being, we should be tempted to believe that these various figures are emblems which are connected with the religion of this people. But how inquire into the matter when the voyageur is ignorant of the language of the country? All that Captain Chanal and his party could comprehend from the answers which the chief of the district who accompanied them was pleased to give to the questions that they had endeavoured to make him understand, is that the erect figure, placed above each portal, and to which everything that is below appears to serve as a pedestal, is the image of a chief who was held in veneration in the country. It is recalling the arts to their real institution, to appropriate them to honour virtue, and to perpetuate the memory of men who have deserved well of their fellow-creatures.

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[1]It has been seen, in page 334 of this volume, that the grotesque heads which, in the extraordinary dress of the Tchinkitanayans, are applied over the knees, bear in like manner a hooked nose of an immoderate size.

"These works of sculpture cannot undoubtedly be compared, in any respect, to the master-pieces of which ancient Rome stripped Greece, and of which Italy, in her turn, has been stripped by France; but can we avoid being astonished to find them so numerous on an island which is not perhaps more than six leagues in circumference, where population is not extensive, and among a nation of hunters? And is not our astonishment iucreased when we consider the progress this people have made in architecture? What instinct, or rather what genius it has required to conceive and execute solidly, without the knowledge of the succours by which mechanism makes up for the weakness of the improved man, those edifices, those heavy frames of buildings of fifty feet in extent by eleven in elevation?. . . .

. . . . "When we examine the whole of the operations necessary for contriving to finish one of the edifices which I have just described; when we reflect on this assemblage of useful arts and of those which are merely agreeable, we are forced to acknowledge that these arts have not taken birth in the small island where they are cultivated: they come from a greater distance." (Pp. 401-402-403-404-405.)

"At some distance from these palaces were perceived several mausolea or tombs which bear much resemblance to the *morais* of the islands of the Great Ocean. These monuments are of two sorts; the first and more simple are composed only of a single post about ten feet in height, and a foot in diameter, on the summit of which are fixed planks forming a small platform; and in some this platform is supported by two posts. The body, deposited on this platform, is covered with moss and large stones. The chief, whom surgeon Roblet questioned respecting one of these tombs which was seen not far from his habitation, gave him to understand that it was the tomb of one of his children for whom he had long mourned. The mausolea of the second sort are more complex: four posts planted in the ground, and raised two feet only above it, bear a sarcophagus wrought with art and hermetically closed. It might be supposed that the latter contain the bodies of the chiefs of families or tribes." (Pp. 407-408.)

"It could not be doubted, from the sight of all the European utensils which this people possess, and the clothes of different sorts some of which were already worn out, that they had a communication for years past with English navigators, and had received from them frequent visits: the facility with which every individual pronounced the word Englishman, which they often repeated, was sufficient to prove this." (P. 413.)

A house described (p. 415).

"The habitations are, in general, painted and decorated in various ways; but what was particularly remarkable in that which the French visited was a picture somewhat like those which they had seen in the sort of redoubt erected in the small island of the Strait, which occupied the head of the apartment, as is seen suspended in the drawing-rooms in Spain, over the Estrado, the picture of the immaculate conception. Surgeon Roblet has described this production of the fine arts of the North West Coast of America. 'Among a great number of figures very much varied, and which at first appeared to me,' says he 'to resemble nothing, I distinguished in the middle a human figure which its extraordinary proportions, still more than its size, render monstrous. Its thighs extended horizontally, after the manner of tailors seated, are slim, long, out of all proportion, and form a carpenter's square with the legs which are equally ill-made; the arms extended in the form of a cross, and terminated by fingers, slender and bent. The face is twelve (French) inches, from the extremity of the chin to the top of the forehead, and eighteen inches from one ear to the other; it is surmounted by a sort of cap. Dark red,' adds he, 'apple green, and black, are here blended with the natural colour of the wood, and distributed in symmetrical spots, with sufficient intelligence to afford at a distance an agreeable object.'

From the description which Surgeon Roblet gives us of this picture, it might be imagined that it somewhat resembles those shapeless essays of an intelligent child, who undertakes, without principles, to draw the objects which present themselves to his sight: I remark, however, that the voyageurs who have frequented the different parts of the North West Coast of America, often saw there works of painting and sculpture in which the proportions were tolerably well observed, and the execution of which bespoke a taste and perfection which we do not expect to find in countries where the men seem still to have the appearance of savages. But what must astonish most, and I shall resume this observation in the sequel, is to see paintings everywhere, everywhere sculpture, among a nation of hunters.

I have already made known part of the moveables of the habitation that we are visiting; of these the cooking utensils appear to form a considerable portion: here are seen confounded with wooden vessels and spoons of horn or of whalebone, peculiar to the

country, iron pots and kettles, stewpans, frying-pans, boilers, tin basins, and the other household utensils with which the Europeans have furnished the Americans, and the use of which is become as familiar to them as to ourselves. There were also seen sheets of copper, large pieces of bar iron, hatchets, adzes, joiner's chisels, plane-irons, daggers, and lances, the whole of English manufacture, mingled and confounded with American lances; bones jagged or barbed for arming the point of the lances, fish-hooks of stone or bone . ." (Pp. 417, 418, 419.)

"It is not known what was, previous to their intercourse with Europeans, the primitive dress, the peculiar costume of these islanders; the English who had a communication with them before we knew them, have not thought fit to give us a description of it: we see only that these Americans have substituted to the fur cloaks, in which they at this day trade, and with which, no doubt, they formerly covered themselves, the jackets, great coats, trousers, and other garments in use in our countries; some even wear a hat, stockings, and shoes; and those who were clothed completely in the European fashion, would not appear in the midst of our cities, either as savages, or even foreigners. However, they do not lay aside the ornaments with which the people of the North West coast of America are accustomed to deck themselves; they wear ear pendants, and necklaces of glass-beads or of plaited brass wire, like those of the Tchinkitanayans; and the custom is common to both sexes. Those who have not yet adopted the European headdress, have a hat of plaited rushes, in the form of a truncated cone, widened and a little turned up at its base." (Pp. 439-440.)

"As they have a spirit of imitation, we may presume that it will not be long before they improve among them the art of rigging and working their little vessels.

He also presumes that these islanders must have been, or at least that they were formerly, acquainted with an instrument of another kind, similar to a harp; and he grounds his opinion on a carved figure, which he examined, having its hands placed on an instrument of this sort. We must be surprised, no doubt, to find the harp known on the North West coast of America. An instrument so complicated as that which is composed of an assemblage of sonorous boxes, to which are fixed, by movable pegs, several strings more or less stretched in order to form a scale of sounds graduated according to a harmonic progression, implies the union of various branches of knowledge which belong not to a half-savage people. If anything could authorize the supposition that this instrument may have passed from the Old Continent to the New, it would be its antiquity, which is lost in the darkness that envelops the early times of the History of Egypt, the mother of the arts . . . . but it must be admitted that, to pass from Egypt to Queen Charlotte's Islands, this instrument, which is not very portable, would have had a great many countries to traverse." (Pp. 444, 445, 446.)

"Although this bay, exhausted by the frequent visits of the English and of the Americans of the United States, had ill answered the hope that had been conceived of carrying on an abundant trade, yet Captain Marchand flattered himself that the more southern parts of the islands from Cloak Bay down as far as Rennell's Strait, would afford more resources." (P. 455.)

"At a little distance from its mouth, on the south shore, is a cove, where they stopped: there was situated the habitation which the thickness of the wood concealed from view. On the shouts given by the men belonging to the canoe, several Americans ran out; and the former jumped on shore, making signs that they would soon return. In fact, they did not keep their new friends waiting; but, what was the surprise of the French, when they saw all these Americans come back dressed in the English fashion! Cloth jacket, petticoat trousers, round hat; they might have been taken for Thames watermen: but as for furs, they had none; nor had they anything to offer but a few fishes." (P. 462.)

"But, on the North West coast of America, we have found houses with two stories, fifty feet in length, thirty-five feet in breadth, and twelve or fifteen feet in height, in which the assemblage of the framing and the strength of the wood ingeniously make up for the want of the more solid materials which, in order to be detached from the sides of the mountains or extracted from the bowels of the earth, require machines too complicated for the Americans to have been already able to have invented them: we see, in the small islands which would scarcely be thought habitable, each habitation with a portal that occupies the whole elevation of the fore-front, surmounted by wooden statues erect, and ornamented on its jambs with carved figures of birds, fishes, and other animals; we there see a sort of temples, monuments in honour of the dead; and what undoubtedly is no less astonishing, pictures painted on wood, nine feet long by five feet broad, on which all the parts of the human body, drawn separately, are represented in different colours; the features of which, partly effaced, attest the antiquity of the work, and remind us of those large

pictures, those emblematical paintings, those hieroglyphics which served the people of Mexico in lieu of written history: all the articles of furniture in use among the natives are covered with various ornaments of carved-work, intaglio, and in relief, and species of hieroglyphics; and these ornaments are not destitute of agreeableness and of a sort of perfection; dresses, studded and whimsical, but very complex and varied, are reserved for games, festivals, ceremonies, and battles: lastly among these people are found flutes or Pan's pipes, with eleven tubes; and the harp, that complicated instrument, was known there in ancient times, since they have the representation of it in some of their carvings. Thus architecture, sculpture, painting, and music, are found united, and in some measure naturalized, in a country whose inhabitants, in other respects, still appear in the state of savages . . . .

. . . . It may, therefore, be concluded that the people, at this day given up to hunting, among whom the taste of these arts is prevailing and their general employment, have not created them in the solitude of the woods; that they brought them thither from some other place; that they have borrowed them; and that it descends not originally from a people who have been nothing but hunters." (Pp. 500-503.)

(7) Voyage de la Perouse Autour du Monde (1785, 1786, 1787, et 1788), Redige par M. L.-A. Milet-Mureau. Tome Second. Paris, 1798.

A la Baie des Français (*Alaska*). "Pendant notre séjour forcé à l'entrée de la baie, nous avons sans cesse été entourés de pirogues de sauvages. Ils nous proposaient, en échange de notre fer, du poisson, des peaux de loutres ou d'autres animaux, ainsi que différents petits meubles de leur costume; ils avaient l'air, à notre grand étonnement, d'être très accoutumés au trafic, et ils faisaient aussi bien leur marché que les plus habiles acheteurs d'Europe. De tous les articles de commerce, ils ne désiraient ardemment que le fer: ils acceptèrent aussi quelques rassades; mais elles servaient plutôt à conclure un marché qu'à former la base de l'échange. Nous parvinmes dans la suite à leur faire recevoir des assiettes et des pots d'étain; mais ces articles n'eurent qu'un succès passager, et le fer prévalut sur tout. Ce métal, ne leur était pas inconnu; ils en avaient tous un poignard pendu au cou: la forme de cet instrument ressemblait à celle du cry des Indiens; mais il n'y avait aucun rapport dans le manche, qui n'était que le prolongement de la lame, arrondie et sans tranchant· cette arme était enfermée dans un fourreau de peau tannée, et elle paraissait être leur meuble le plus précieux. Comme nous examinions très-attentivement tous ces poignards, ils nous firent signe qu'ils n'en faisaient usage que contre les ours et les autres bêtes des forêts. Quelques-uns étaient aussi en cuivre rouge, et ils ne paraissaient pas les préférer aux autres. Ce dernier métal est assez commun parmi eux; ils l'emploient plus particulièrement en colliers, bracelets, et différents autres ornements; ils en arment aussi la pointe de leurs flèches.

C'était une grande question parmi nous, de savoir d'où provenaient ces deux métaux." (Pp. 172-173.)

". . . . ainsi tout nous portait à croire que les métaux que nous avions aperçus, provenaient des Russes, ou des employés de la compagnie d'Hudson, ou des négociants américains qui voyagent dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique, ou enfin des Espagnols; mais je ferai voir dans la suite qu'il est plus probable que ces métaux leur viennent des Russes." (P. 174.)

"L'or n'est pas plus désiré en Europe que le fer dans cette partie de l'Amérique; ce qui est une nouvelle preuve de la rareté de ce métal. Chaque insulaire en possède, à la vérité, une petite quantité; mais ils en sont si avides, qu'ils emploient toutes sortes de moyens pour s'en procurer." (P. 175.)

"Lorsqu'ils sont en grande cérémonie, leurs cheveux sont longs, poudrés et tressés avec le duvet des oiseaux de mer; c'est leur plus grand luxe, et il est peut-être réservé aux chefs de famille: une simple peau couvre leurs épaules, le reste du corps est absolument nu, à l'exception de la tête, qu'ils couvrent ordinairement avec un petit chapeau de paille très artistement tressé; mais quelquefois ils placent sur leur tête des bonnets à deux cornes, des plumes d'aigle, et enfin des têtes d'ours entières, dans lesquelles ils ont enchassé une calotte de bois. Ces différentes coiffures sont extrêmement variées;" (p. 223).

"Les Américains du Port des Français savent forger le fer, façonner le cuivre, filer le poil de différents animaux, et fabriquer à l'aiguille, avec cette laine, un tissu pareil à notre tapisserie; ils entremêlent dans ce tissu des lanières de peau de loutre, ce qui fait

ressembler leurs manteaux à la peluche de soie la plus fine. Nulle part on ne tresse avec plus d'art des chapeaux et des paniers de joncs; ils y figurent des dessins assez agréables; ils sculptent aussi très passablement toutes sortes de figures d'hommes, d'animaux, en bois ou en pierre; ils marquèrent, avec des opercules de coquilles, des coffres dont la forme est assez élégante; il taillent en bijoux la pierre serpentine, et lui donnent le poli du marbre." (P. 233.)

(8) Journal of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson, 1834-1837 (Manuscript). Bancroft Collection, Vol. 4

July 30. A party of Hudson Bay servants which had been sent to Tongass for spars was repulsed by the Russians.

November 6. The Simpseyan Indians arrived with potatoes for sale, from Queen Charlotte's Island.

1835

April 30. Port Essington established on Skeena river.

October 3. Bought 136 bushels potatoes of one party of Simseyans and 306 bushels of another.

October 17. An Indian boy got hold of some rum and became intoxicated and while in that condition was kicked by a Sandwich Islander, which vexed him so that he leaped over the stockade and tried to kill himself.

(9) Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841 and 1842, by Sir George Simpson, Vol. I

"The West Coast people carve steamers, animals, etc., very neatly in stone, wood, and ivory, imitating, in short, everything that they see, either in reality or in drawings; and I saw, in particular, a head for a small vessel that they were building, so well executed that I took it for the work of a white artificer. One man, known as the Arrowsmith of the northeast coast, had gone far beyond his compeers, having prepared very accurate charts of most parts of the adjacent shores." (P. 207.)

(10) Queen Charlotte Islands, a Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the North Pacific by Francis Poole, C.E., 1871-72

The Skidegates: "They showed me beautifully wrought articles of their own design and make, and amongst them some flutes manufactured from an unctuous blue slate. I bought one for five dollars. It was well worth the price. The two ends were inlaid with lead, giving the idea of a fine silver-mounting. Two of the keys perfectly represented frogs in a sitting posure, the eyes being picked out with burnished lead. A more admirable sample of native workmanship I never saw. It would have done credit to a European modeller." (P. 258.)

(11) The Haida Indians, by C. F. Newcombe, in the "Congres International des Americanistes, Quebec, 1906"

. . . . . The first solid ground we strike is in the year 1774, when Ensign Juan Perez, in the Corvette Santiago, from San Blas, in Mexico, accompanied by the Rev. Fathers Pena and Crespi, sighted the northwestern end of the Queen Charlotte group. Though the full accounts of this voyage have never yet been published, we know that, prevented by wind and fog from carrying out their attempt to round these islands, they turned southward without landing, but first entered into communication with the natives and noted some interesting facts. The Indians, who were friendly, came off in canoes singing and scattering feathers on the water. They were glad to barter for knives and articles made of iron, their own stock in trade consisting of dried fish, furs, wooden boxes, small images, and mats of wool or hair. It is important to note that they already had

a few articles of iron and copper, and in one of the diaries of this expedition it is mentioned that in the hands of the natives was seen an old bayonet, and pieces of other iron implements, which the pilot, Estevan Martinez, conjectured must have belonged to the boats' crews lost from Chirikoff's vessel somewhere in these latitudes in the year 1741. (P. 136.)

In 1779 a third voyage was made by the Spaniards under Quadra and Maurelle, and in the Kaigani country called Bucareli Bay they were visited by numerous Indians who sold them furs of all kinds, woven conical hats, wristlets of copper and iron, ear pendants of mother-of-pearl, copper holding a topaz coloured resin, and jet beads. The married women were noticed to wear labrets, while the girls had only a copper-needle in the lip. When fighting, the Indians wore a protection of boards and webbing, with helmets formed of the skulls of wild animals. (P. 136.)

Their arms were bows and arrows; lances with points of iron; knives longer than bayonets, and little axes of flint or green stone so hard as to cleave the hardest wood without injury to their edges. (P. 136.)

Well-carved dishes or bowls were noticed and they sold model canoes, painted in various colours, showing animal figures. They also had frogs made of wood, opening like tobacco boxes, in which to keep trinkets, and cubical boxes with figures of animals carved on the sides. (P. 136.)

In 1788 Captain Charles Duncan, of the ship "Princess Royal," several times visited the east coast of the island. (P. 137.)

Douglas states that the village stood on a very fine spot of ground around which was some appearance of cultivation. The first mention of carved poles among the Haida was made by Douglas, who speaks of them as great wooden images. (P. 137.)

In the year 1791 there were two visits to the northwest end of the Queen Charlotte group of which pretty full accounts have been kept. The first was by Captain Ingraham in "The Hope," who, after passing along the coast from the southward reached North Island in the early part of July. Here he met a Kaigani chief named Cow, whose descendant at present lives at Klinkwan, Prince of Wales Island. In Ingraham's unpublished log particular mention is made of two carved house-posts through which doorways were cut, and of the central excavation in one house. (P. 138.)

Here too were seen frames of a number of houses, and some broad boards painted in a curious manner. Near the village were graves with pillars about ten feet high. On another day he examined a curious isolated rock on the top of which were graves enclosing the remains of several chiefs, and in front of which were four wooden images resembling the human figure. (P. 137.)

In August of the same year the French Captain Marchand was also on the North West Coast in the Solide. (P. 137.)

It is stated definitely that only two totem-poles were seen, and these were at the village on North Island. (P. 137.)

A long interval occurred before any further account of the Indians was published. Captain Camille de Roquefeuil in the ship Bordelais had a great deal of trouble with the Kaigani Indians in this year not far from the present Tlingit village of Klowak at the head of Bucareli Sound, and lost a large number of his Aleutian hunters, who were massacred by Tlingits and Haidas. (P. 141.)

In Massett Inlet he found four villages, some on the east and some on the west side of the entrance, which were better constructed and better kept than those farther north. They were above all remarkable for the monstrous and colossal figures which decorated the houses of those of higher rank, and of which the gaping mouth served as a door. (P. 141.)

(12) The Pacific-Russian Scientific Investigations, Academy of Sciences. Publishing Office of the Academy, Leningrad—1926

(*a*) Russian Discoveries in the Pacific, by L. Berg

"*The Coasts of the Bering Strait.* Long before Cook (1778), Russians knew of the existence of land beyond cape Dezhnev, and there was even a special name for America—Bolshaya Zemlya (The Great Land). Of this land a detailed account was given in the year 1711 at the Anadyr Fort by a Yakutsk officer, Peter Popov. In 1726, Afanasi (Athanasius) Shestakov, a golova (headman) of the cossacks of Yakutsk, brought to St. Peters-

burg a chart on which, opposite the far northeast of Siberia, was drawn a coast under the name of "Bolshaya Zemlya." At St. Petersburg Shestakov was ordered to bring under subjection the rebellious Chukchee and to explore the land opposite the Chukotski Cape. In the spring of 1730 he perished in the region of Penzhina Bay, but his successor, captain Pavlutski, sent in the autumn of 1730 an expedition to the coast of the Bolshaya Zemlya under the command of navigator Ivan Fedorov, whose assistant was the geodesist Michael Gvozdev. In August 1732, they landed on the coast of the Bolshaya Zemlya, near the Prince of Wales Cape. They also surveyed the islands in the Bering Strait (the Islands of Diomede, or Gvozdev), and discovered an island now called King's Island, or Ukivok. A map drawn according to Gvozdev's journals was lost, but in the middle of the XVIIIth century the discoveries of Fedorov were very well known in St. Petersburg, and in a map drawn by Gerhardt Muller and published by the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1758 under the name, "Nouvelle carte des découvertes faites par des vaisseaux russiens aux côtes inconnues de l'Amérique Septentrionale avec les pais adiacents" we see in the strait between Asia and America, opposite to the Island of Diomede, a coast (part of North America) ending at latitude 66° N. in a cape with the inscription: "Côte découverte par le Géodesiste Gwozdew en 1730" (the coast was actually discovered in the year 1732)." (Pp. 8-9.)

"In accordance with Baranov's proposition in 1796 a Russian settlement Novorossiisk was founded on the bay of Yakutat. In 1798 the Russian-American Company was formed, the management of which was entrusted to Baranov. In 1799 a settlement was founded on Sitka, which several years later was plundered by the Tlinkits. In 1804 to replace this settlement, Novoarkhangelsk was founded on Sitka in latitude 57° 3′ N. At that time there were thirteen Russian settlements between Kodiak and Sitka. In 1812, in latitude 38° 33′ N. not far from San Francisco bay, a fort called Ross (i.e. Russian) was founded at the southernmost point of the Russian possessions in America." (P. 17.)

(*b*) Ethnography, by Leo Sternberg

"Thus we received our earliest information on the ethnography of Northern Asia from that band of intrepid men, who by their unrivalled courage and endurance, in the course of a hundred and fifty years, have enlarged Russia with an entire continent stretching from the Ural mountains to Kamchatka. These men were known under the name of "Cossacks." They were soon followed by another wave of adventurers, who were attracted to the newly discovered country by rumours of its enormous wealth in furs. These latter are the men who were known under the name of "promyshlenniki" (trappers, fur traders). Both these groups of pioneers were animated by two kinds of motives. Besides the passion for gain and conquest another unselfish aspiration was born, that of discovering new lands and new nations.

All these adventurers, who soon became servants of the Crown, began to submit regular reports of their discoveries to the local authorities. These reports, which were written in artless language and laconical style, still give to the student most valuable information on the original distribution, number and character of the peoples, that inhabit Siberia and the Pacific shore. This information is particularly important, as the ethnographical peculiarities of these tribes have since undergone enormous changes and would be lost to science but for those reports. To show how important these reports are, it should be remembered that the reports of the *cossack Dezhnev, who discovered Bering straits, a century before Bering, already contain a description of the American Eskimo.* Unfortunately, these valuable documents have for a long time lain buried in local archives, and it needed a special scientific expedition to unearth them." (P. 162.)

"The discoveries of the second Kamchatka expedition had two results. Among the traders they created a desire to establish factories in the newly discovered countries, while the Government hastened to incorporate the new territories with the Empire and to make their inhabitants Russian subjects. Between 1745-62 local fur traders discovered the Aleutian islands and collected the first information on their inhabitants . . . At the same time the territory of our fur-trading enterprises spread over the islands and the mainland of America, and the Russians came into contact not only with the Eskimo tribes, but also with the north-western Indians—the Tlingits and the Athapaskans. This extension of territory for the sake of our fur trade had two important consequences. First of all it induced the trading enterprises to unite into companies. The final result of this tendency was the organization of the Russian-American Company, which occurred in the beginning of the XIXth century. In order to establish its business on a rational

basis and to improve the supply of merchandise for the factories, this company started expeditions which, while carrying on hydrographic and other work, collected also ethnographical information." (P. 166.)

". . . All these expeditions to the peoples inhabiting the northern parts of the Pacific brought back much new ethnographic matter.

. . . . Lisianski gave a description of the Eskimo on Kadyak Island, among whom he spent a year, of the Kenais and also of the Aleuts on Unalaska Island. He also collected lexicographical material. Langsdorff described the Kadyaks and Tlingits, visited the Ainu on Yezo Island and the Californians, and has left a very valuable sketch on dog-breeding amongst the Kamchadals. Moreover, he was the first to give us comparative lexicographical material on the various Ainu dialects. The detailed description, which Khvostov and Davydov gave of the various sides of Konyag life, deserves special notice. These two men also collected considerable lexicographical material on the language of the Koonyags and Koloshes (Tlingits). Another skilled observer was Lutke. To him we owe a detailed description of the Tlingits, for which he used, besides his personal observations, the notes of Khlebnikov, an old resident among this tribe. Starting from the affinities of the Aleut language with that of the Eskimo and from the affinity of the languages of the so-called Namolls and Kadyaks with that of the Eskimo as a whole, he tried to solve the question which is at present agitating the Americanists, whether the inhabitants of the polar zone came from Asia into America or vice versa. (P. 167.)

"Two men must be mentioned here, who took no part in any of the expeditions, but to whom ethnography of the north Pacific owes much. They were lieutenant Zagoskin and the zoologist Voznesenski. Both visited these territories in the forties of the last century at about the same time. Zagoskin, who was chiefly occupied with topographical work, collected valuable material on the statistics and ethnography of the Norton Sound Eskimo, of the tribes living along the Yukon and Kuskokvim rivers, as well as of the Athapaskans. He also brought home a valuable collection of ethnographical objects. He differed from former travellers, who merely investigated the sea-coast, in that he penetrated into the interior of the country. He could thus give us a true notion, possessing much historical value, of the geographical distribution of the tribes he had visited. His observations are distinguished by great accuracy and love of detail. His description of the remarkable "potlatch" institution, which he was the first to give, deserves special mention. He indicates one exceedingly important detail which sheds light on the meaning of this custom and which has not yet found its proper place in science, viz., the exceptional importance attached to the namesake of the deceased, in whose honour the "potlatch" is celebrated.

Voznesenski was a true hero of science. In spite of the scanty means at his disposal and notwithstanding his being charged by the Academy with numerous commissions in practically all branches of natural science, he found time to collect ethnographical material among a vast number of tribes—Chukchee, Koryaks, Asiatic and American Eskimo, Aleuts, Athapaskans, Tlingits, and even Canadian and Californian Indians. The collections, which he brought home, exhibited in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, are now almost unique and of the greatest scientific value.

Even on the background of such a brilliant galaxy of investigators the figure of the missionary I. Veniaminov—afterwards Innocent, Metropolitan of Moscow—stands prominently forth both in view of his personality and his scientific merits. His methods of working were quite different from those of his predecessors and contemporaries, who came into contact with the natives but for a short time and talked with them through interpreters, so that the linguistic result of their visits usually amounted but to short lists of words. Veniaminov, on the other hand, residing for many years among the people whom he describes, and speaking their language perfectly, adopted the "stationary" method of investigation.

He spent altogether sixteen years among the natives of the North Pacific, ten among the Aleuts, and six among the Tlingits. His missionaries' duties gave him ample opportunity to become acquainted with all sides of their material and spiritual culture. Besides being a gifted and shrewd observer, he was also a man of great education and, what is especially important for an ethnographer, he knew how to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives. (Pp. 168-169.)

PLATE I

Kitwanga totem poles (from a pencil sketch by Langdon Kihn, 1924). (Page 150.)

PLATE I

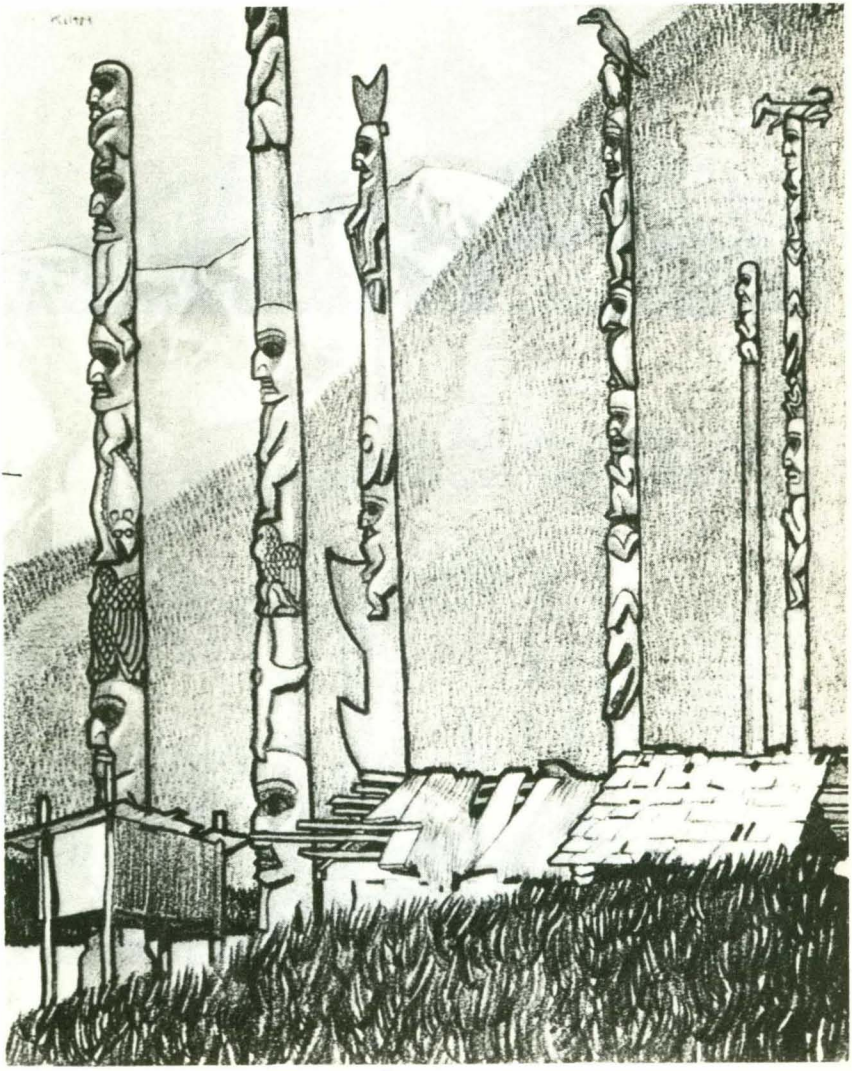

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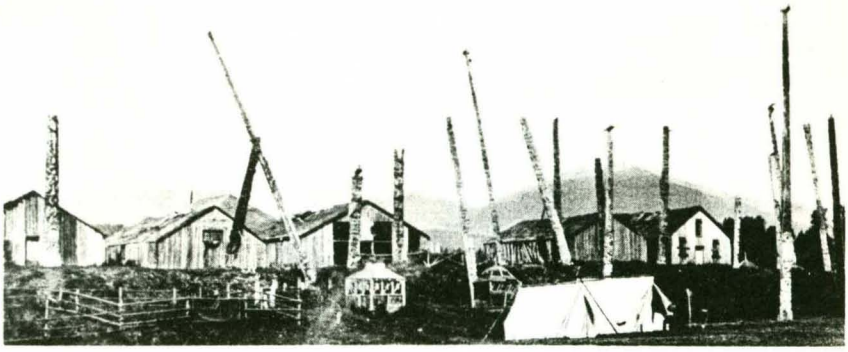
PLATE II

A. Gitwinlkul poles. (Page 150.)

B. Kispayaks poles (photograph by Morgensen). (Page 151.)

PLATE II



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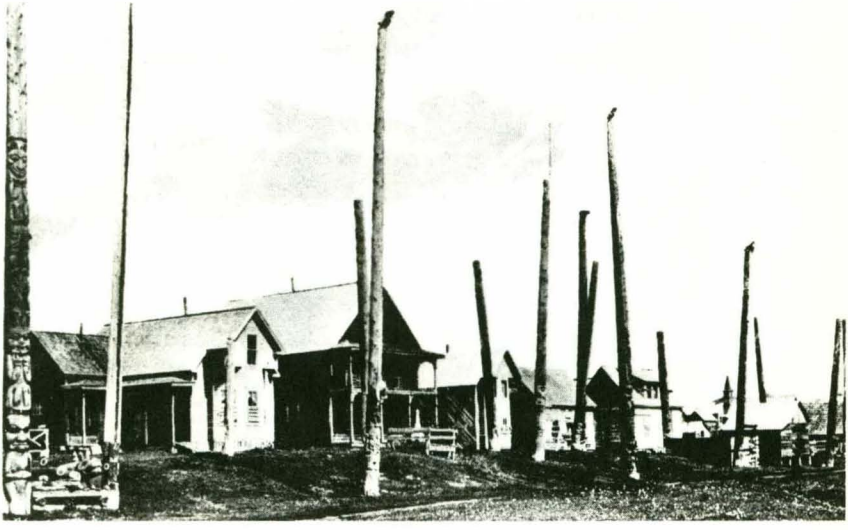

PLATE III

Figures 1-3: Poles of Kweenu, at Gitwinlkul. (Page 28.)

PLATE III

1 62331 2 62421 2 62330 3 62409 3 62410

PLATE IV

Figures 1-5: Poles of Kweenu, at Gitwinlkul. (Page 28.)

PLATE IV

PLATE V

Figures 1-4: Poles of Wistis or Rarhs-rabarhs, at Gitsegyukla; figure 5: pole of Nxqt, at Kispayaks. (Pages 35, 38.)

PLATE V

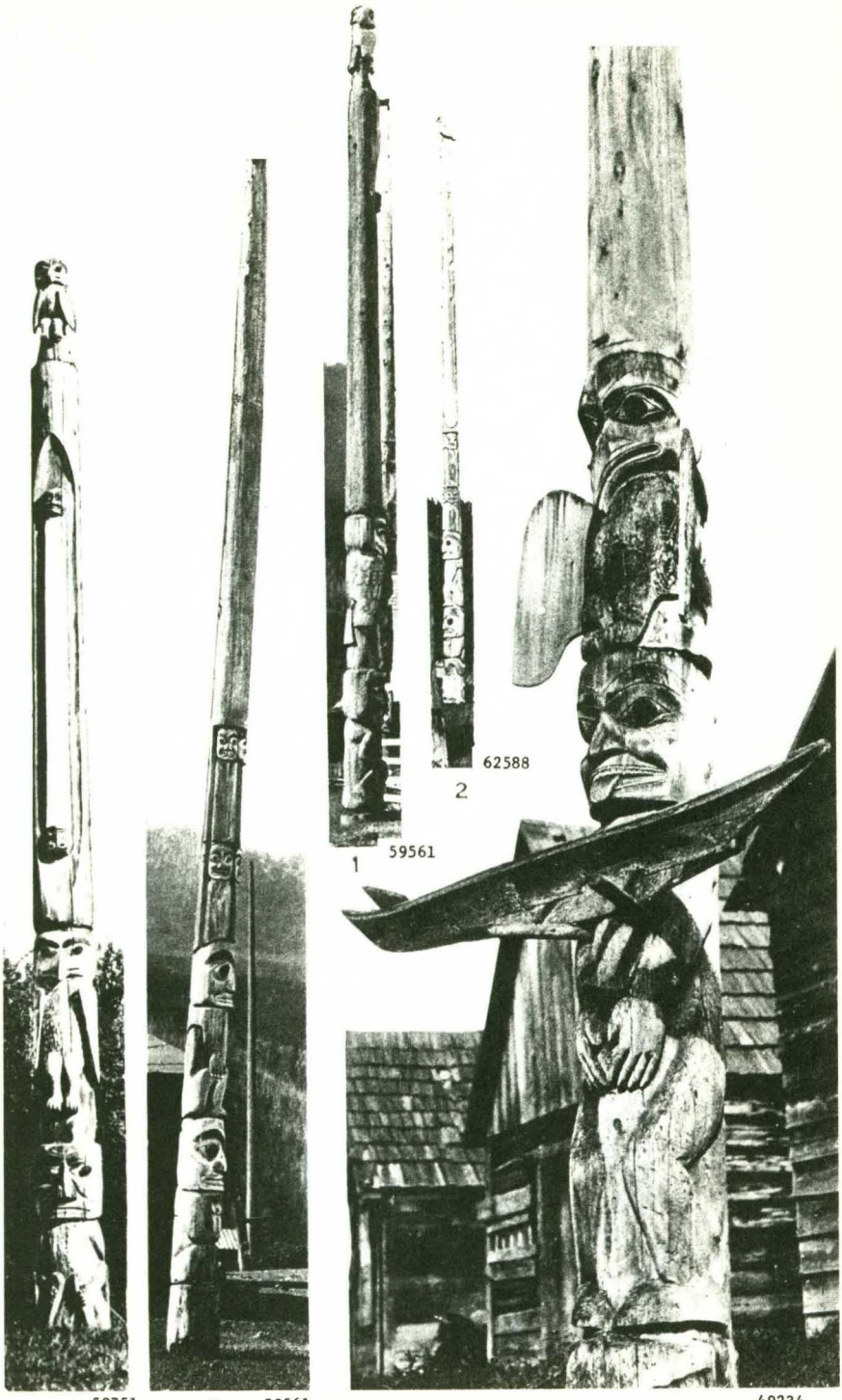

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PLATE VI

Figure 1: Pole of Næqt at Kispayaks; figure 2: pole of Tælramuk, at Kispayaks; figures 3 and 4: poles of Lælt, at Kitwanga. (Pages 38, 40, 41)
(Figure 1, from a pencil drawing by Langdon Kihn, 1924.)

Plate VI

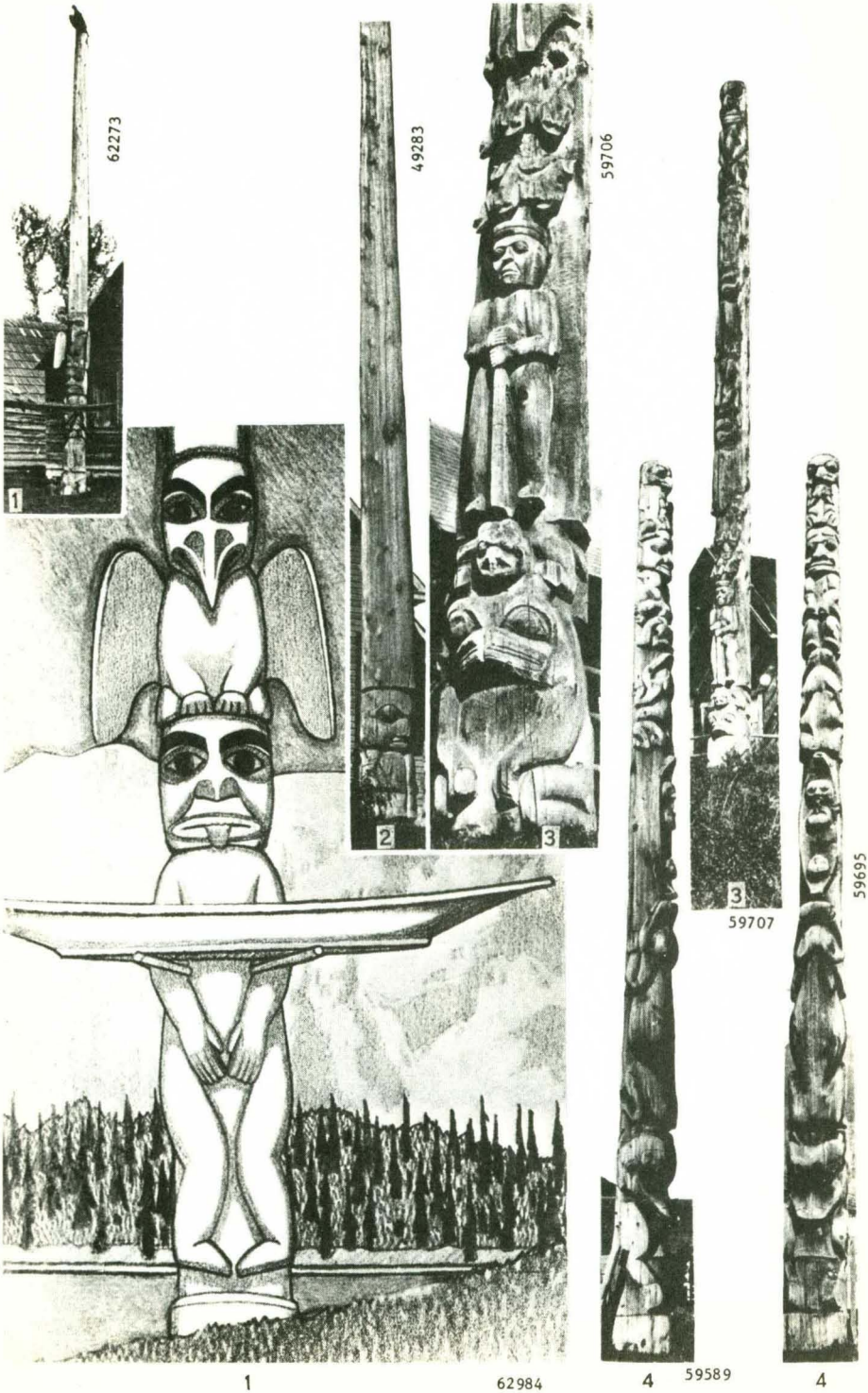

PLATE VII

Figures 1, 2, and 3: Poles of Ha'ku and T-haku, at Kitwanga; figures 4, 5, and 6: Poles of Hlengwah, at Kitwanga. (Pages 45, 48) (Figures 5, 6, from a pencil drawing by Langdon Kihn, 1924.)

PLATE VII

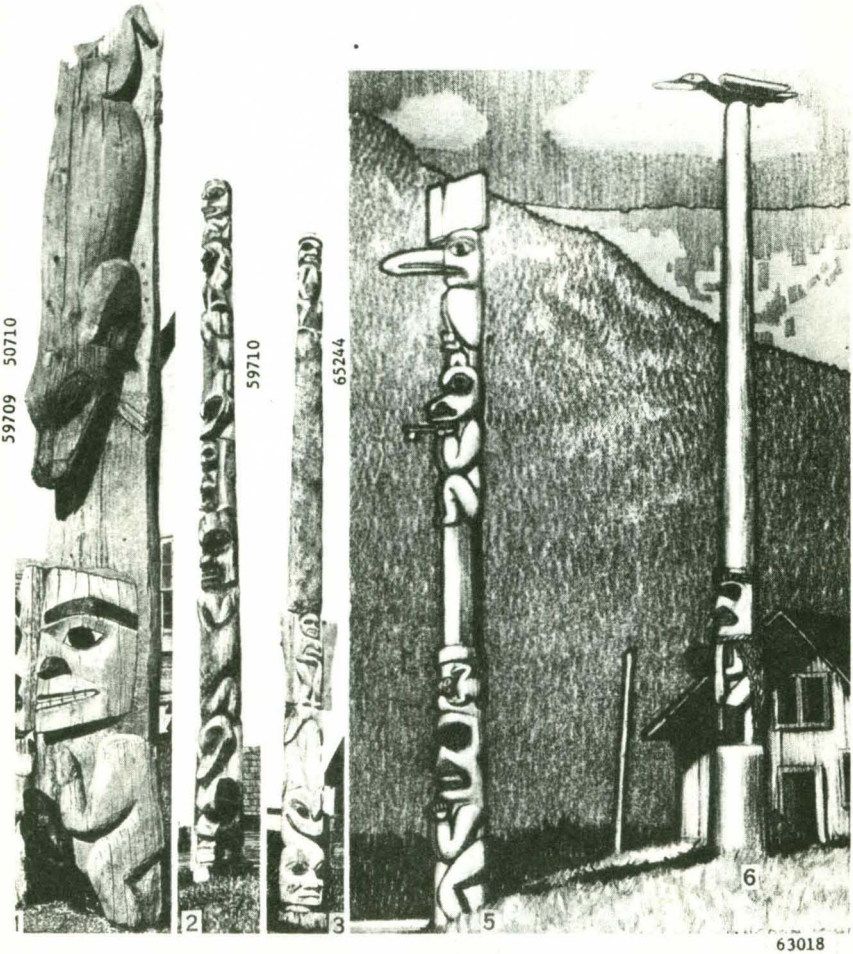

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PLATE VIII

Figures 1-7: Poles of Hlengwah, at Kitwanga. (Page 48)

PLATE VIII


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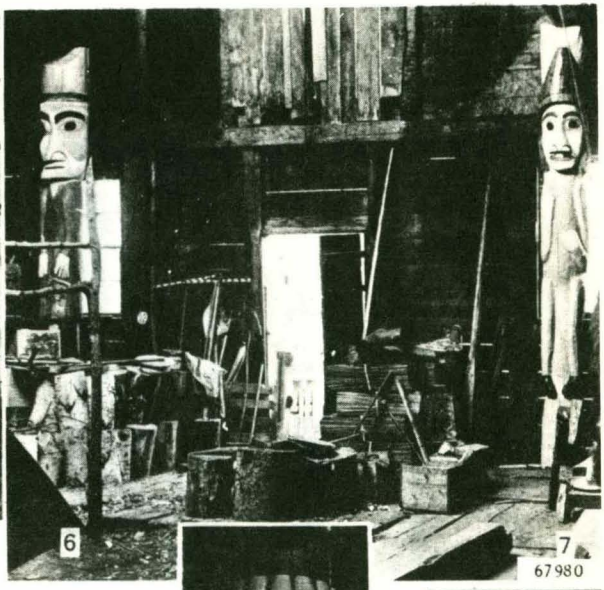
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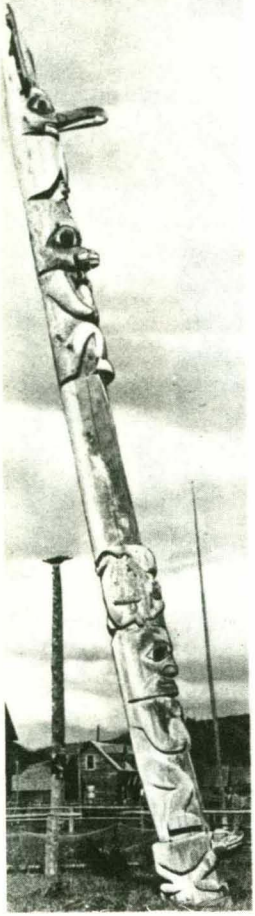
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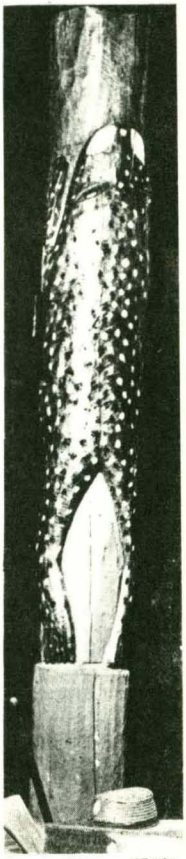
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PLATE IX

Figure 1: Pole of Halus, at Kitwanga; figures 2 and 3: Poles of Tseen and Lutkudzeeus, at Gitenmaks; figure 4: pole of Ma'us at Kispayaks; figure 5: Pole of Ramlarhyælk, at Gitwinlkul. (Pages 55, 56, 58, 59.)

PLATE IX

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PLATE X

Figures 1, 2, and 3: Poles of Ramlarhyælk, at Gitwinlkul; figures 4 and 5: Poles of Lurhawn, at Gitwinlkul. (Pages 59, 64.)

PLATE X

PLATE XI

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Lurhawn, at Gitwinlkul; figures 3, 4, and 5: Poles of Gitemraldo and Sanaws at Gitenmaks; figures 6 and 7: Poles of Wawralaw and Tu'pesu, at Gitsegyukla. (Pages 64, 66, 68) (Figures 1, 2, 7, from pencil drawings by Langdon Kihn, 1924.)

Plate XI


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PLATE XII

Figure 1: Pole of Mawlarhen, at Gitsegyukla; figure 2: Pole of Gyædem-Skanees, at Hagwelget; figure 3: Pole of Wutarhayæts and Yarhyaq, at Gitwinlkul. (Pages 70, 72, 74.)

Plate XII

1 59752 2 59526 2 59644 3 62335

PLATE XIII

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Wutarhayæts and Yarhyaq, at Gitwinlkul; figure 3: Pole of Harhu, at Kispayaks. (Pages 74, 77.)

PLATE XIII

1 62338 1 42412 2 62335 3 49248

PLATE XIV

Figure 1: Pole of Harhu, at Kispayaks; figures 2 and 3: Poles of Gurhsan, at Gitsegyukla; figure 4: Pole of Hanamuk at Gitsegyukla; figure 5: Pole of Gitludahl, at Kispayaks. (Pages 77, 79, 81, 84.)

PLATE XIV

PLATE XV

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Hanamuk, at Gitsegyukla; figure 3: Pole of Gitludahl, at Kispayaks. (Pages 81, 84.)

PLATE XV

1 59586 2 59584 3 3 62277 3 49281

PLATE XVI

Figure 1: Pole of Gitludahl, at Kispayaks; figures 2-4: Poles of Wawsemlarhæ, at Kispayaks; figure 5: Pole of Kweeyaihl, at Kispayaks. (Pages 84, 86, 87.)

Plate XVI

1 49280 2 49284 3 49286 4 49285 5 49255

PLATE XVII

Figures 1-3: Poles of Kweeyaihl, at Kispayaks; figures 4 and 5: Poles of Ksrarom-larhæ, at Gitsegyukla. (Pages 87, 91.) (Figure 5—the man with a hat—from a pencil drawing by Langdon Kihn, 1924.)

PLATE XVII

PLATE XVIII

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Ksrarom-larhæ, at Gitsegyukla; figures 3-5: Poles of Harhpeg-wawtu, at Gitsegyukla. (Pages 91, 94.)

Plate XVIII

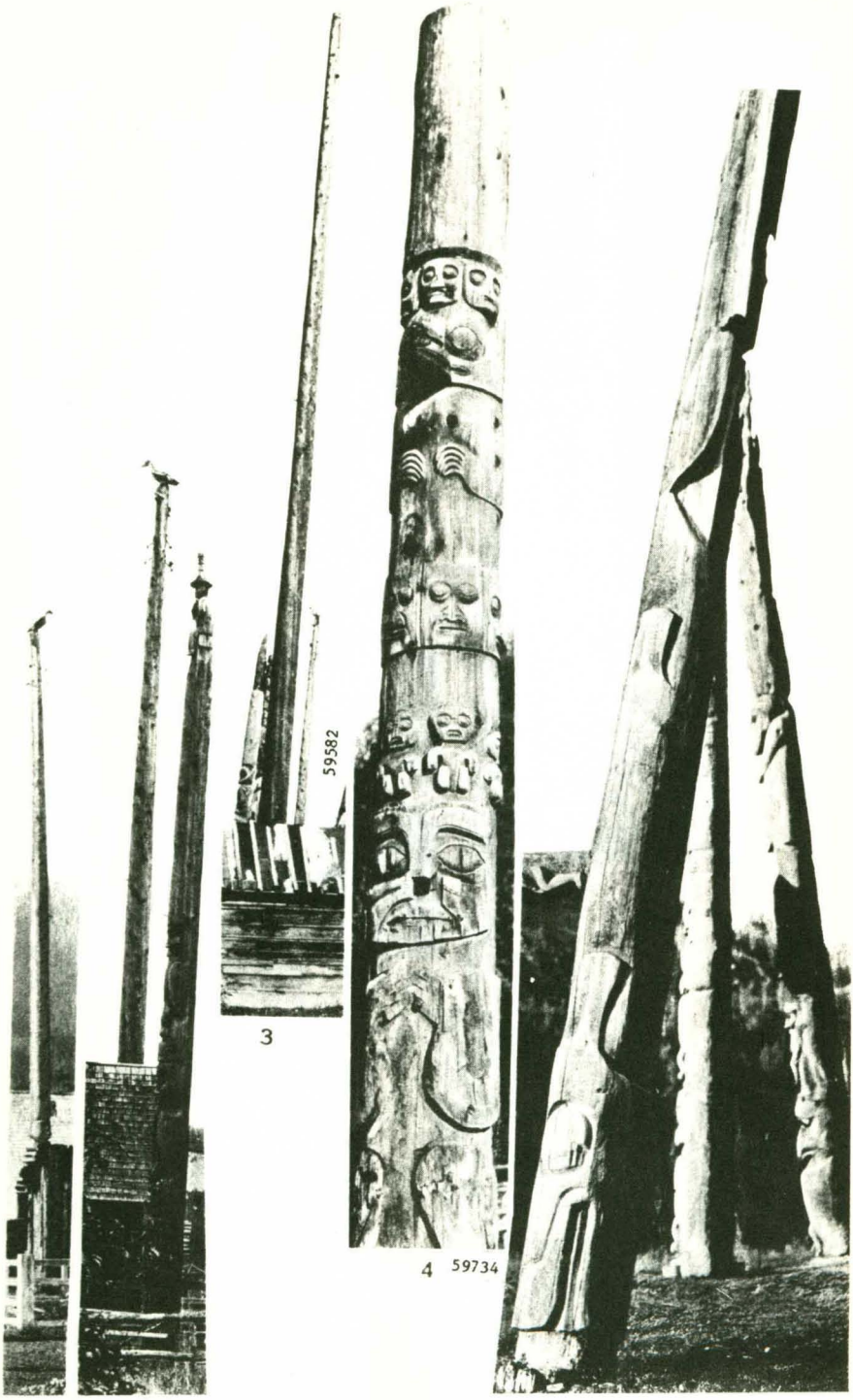

Plate XIX

Figure 1: Pole of Harhpegwawtu, at Gitsegyukla; figures 2-4: Poles of Qæl, at Kispayaks; figure 4a: marble tombstone of Leelebeks; figure 5: Pole of Hrkyadet, at Kispayaks; figure 6: Pole of Wa-iget, at Kisgagas. (Pages 94, 97, 98, 101, 102.)

PLATE XIX

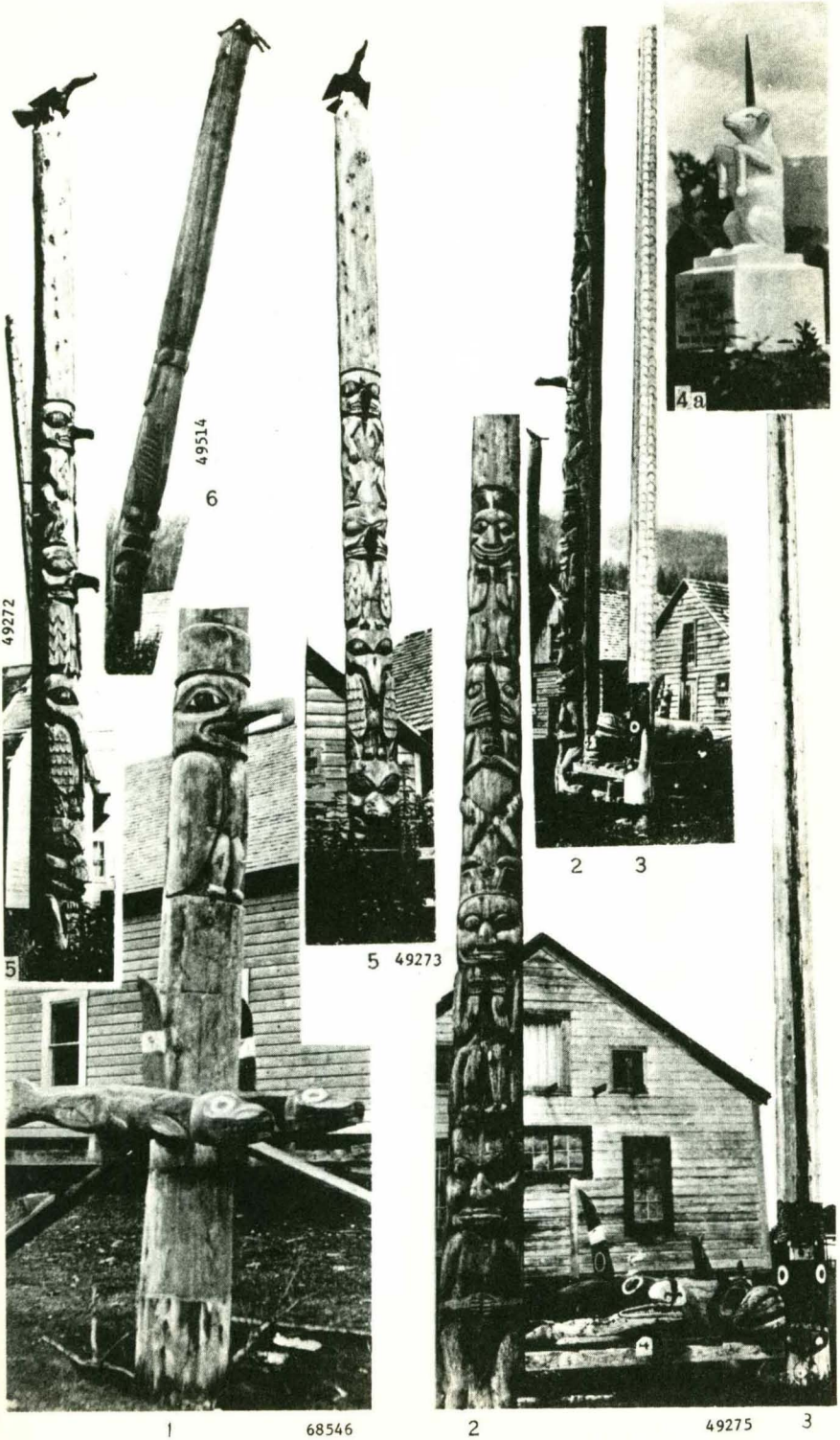

PLATE XX

Figure 1: Pole of Weegyet, at Gitsegyukla; figure 2: Pole of Malee, at Gitwinlkul. (Pages 104, 108.)

PLATE XX

1 62569 1 68755A 1 59566 2 62431

PLATE XXI

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Weegyet, at Gitsegyukla; figures 3 and 4: Poles of Gwarh-skyark and Sqabæ at Kispayaks; figure 5: Pole of Spawrh, at Gitenmaks. (Pages 101, 110, 112.)

PLATE XXI

PLATE XXII

Figure 1: Pole of Malee, at Gitwinlkul; figure 2: Pole of Kleem-larhæ, at Kispayaks; figure 3: Pole of Hrsarhgyaw, at Kispayaks; figures 4 and 5: Poles of Willits and Trawawq, at Gitwinlkul; figure 6: Pole of Haidzemerhs, at Gitwinlkul. (Pages 108, 114, 116, 121, 122.)


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PLATE XXIII

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Kleem-larhæ, at Kispayaks. (Page 114.)

PLATE XXIII

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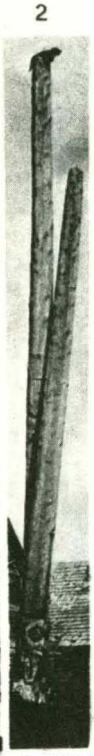

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PLATE XXIV

Figure 1: Pole of Malee, at Gitwinlkul; figures 2 and 3: Poles of Weerhæ, at Gitwinlkul.
(Pages 108, 117.)

PLATE XXIV

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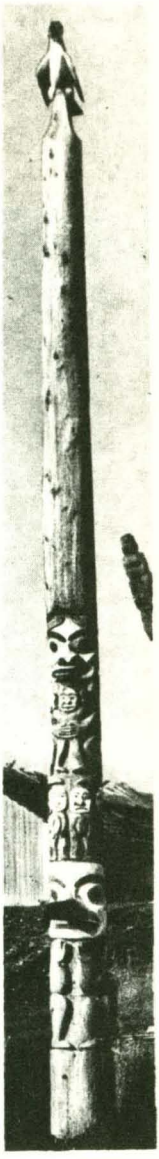

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PLATE XXV

Figures 1-3: Poles of Weerhæ, at Gitwinlkul. (Page 117.)

PLATE XXV

1 62429 2 1 62413 3 62428

PLATE XXVI

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Kwawhadaq, at Gitenmaks; figure 3: wooden model of pole of Kyawlugyet, at Qaldo; figure 4: Pole of Ksemqaqhl, at Kispayaks. (Pages 124, 126, 127.)

PLATE XXVI

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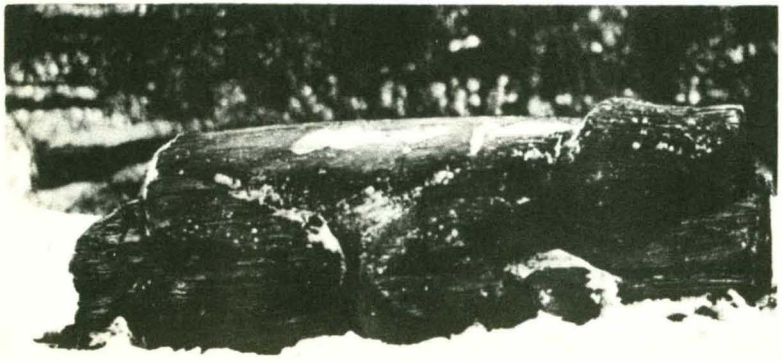

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Plate XXVII

Figures 1-4: Poles of Arhteeh, at Kitwanga; figure 5: Pole of Waws, at Hagwelget; figure 6: Pole at Qaldo. (Pages 129, 132, 146.) (Figure 3—above—from a pencil drawing by Langdon Kihn, 1924.)

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PLATE XXVIII

Figure 1: Pole of Waws, at Hagwelget; figures 2 and 3: Poles of Qawq, at Kitwanga; figure 4: Pole of Tewalasu, at Kitwanga. (Pages 132, 133, 138.)

PLATE XXVIII

PLATE XXIX

Figures 1 and 2: Poles of Tewalasu, at Kitwanga; figure 3: Pole of Sqayæn, at Kitwanga; figure 4: Pole of Beenee, at Hagwelget; figure 5: Pole of Anklawrh, at Hagwelget; figure 6: Pole at Kisgagas. (Pages 138, 140, 143, 145, 148.)

PLATE XXIX

1 34595 2 5 59526 6 49451 3 34600

PLATE XXX

Figure 1: A modern tombstone, representing a Mountain-fern crest of Wawsemlarhæ, at Kispayaks; figures 2 and 3: Nass River poles, at Angyedæ and Geetiks; figure 4: "Massive carved pillar" of the Maoris of New Zealand (from "*The Pa Maori*, New Zealand," by Elsdon Best, Wellington, 1927); figure 5: "Old entrance to the Pukerua Pa at Rotorua—a post-European product" (from "*The Pa Maori*, New Zealand," by Elsdon Best, Wellington, 1927). (Pages 26, 27, 87.)

PLATE XXX

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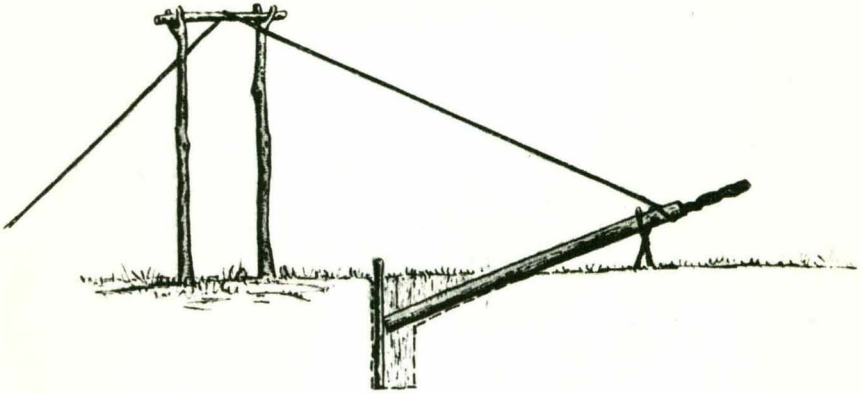
PLATE XXXI

Figure 1: Erection of a carved post among the Maoris of New Zealand (reproduced from a drawing by Ethel Richardson in "*The Pa Maori*, New Zealand," by Elsdon Best, Wellington, 1927); figure 2: Erection of a totem pole on Skeena river, British Columbia. (Page 27.)

PLATE XXXI



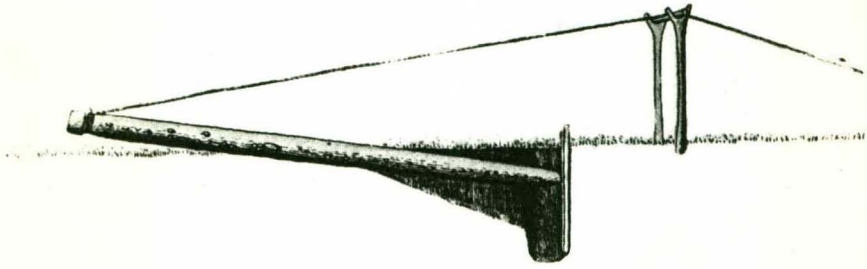


PLATE XXXII

An ancient memorial at Kitsalas (a standing stone, about 10 feet high above the ground).
(Page 14.)

PLATE XXXII

69728

Plate XXXIII

Figure 1: Entrance post at Kitwanga, Skeena river, British Columbia; figure 2: Pole of Kyawlugyet at Qaldo (photo by D. Jenness); figure 3: Entrance post from Bella Coola, British Columbia (now at the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa). (Page 12.)

PLATE XXXIII

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