

Most ~~naxnax~~ activities seem not to be directly connected with the secret societies as such, although they probably derive from them.<sup>?</sup> They are simply dramatic performances of supernatural kind (different from display of clan crests). See account of ni-snawe's performances.

# The Use of masks by the Tsimshian

Boucher:  
1955 p. 74

"It is probable that Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian acquired their masks along with the Dancing Society performances which they adopted from the Kwakwaka'wakw, ..."

This is wrong

1970

→ 1. Dancing Societies as adopted by Tsimshian made no use of masks.

2. Tsimshians used masks as -  
- raxnogs  
- crest performances  
- fun and games

Anyway, most Northern Kwak use of masks was as raxnogs too (family owned dramatizations) although they were submerged as lower ranked orders and Dancing Societies

family owned mask using

but - didn't adopt similar name  
- less freedom of dramatization  
- were masked  
- wotwotwotwot

you see Kwak. made them into societies and put them in a ranked order, and so the top rank few became obscervely important - especially the Hamataw moneter birds.  
(Kootka - it was Wolves that were masked)

Tlingit shamans used masks.

On BC masks are assoc more with family-owned privileges than with Dancing Societies

Tsaneg didn't use any (Kootka) Tsimsh didn't use any

Kootka Thilkwan & Kwak crega need them to represent spirits

First - what are masks and what are crests?

Not masks: amalites : haddocse with carved bits  
: crest hats  
: helmets

These are all ways to display crests on the human person

Masks - are attempts to emersonate a supernatural being

Tsim Raxnogs - Tling Shamans - Kwak Cannibal spirits

ES Dewaxwe - Koot. Wolves -

## Sec Society

Stone figures at Old Town, Hartley Bay

Byron, Nov 30, 1950. letter to Barbeau

The stone figures which are at Hartley Bay in possession of Mr. Heber Clifton are male and female figures showing the genital organs of each.... Both Clifton and Robertson another old informant are convinced these belonged to the hal'ei't system. I suggested that the carvings may be coast symbols or dza'pk; to this they would not agree, but were sure it belonged to the hal'ei't, particularly the secret society part of the qit'g-a'ka'to.

Mrs Johnson  
Ginaxangik file

naxn>x names

In taking a naxn>x name, the owner assumed it as his regular name at the same time. Every naxnox name is used in everyday occasions outside of societies. The naxnox names must have been omitted in [previous?] lists, as every house has naxnox names. She says that 'alimlaε' does not use <sup>his</sup> this naxnox as name because it is his own crest, the mɔdik. The naxn>x of 'nissayane:t is the ba'was: evil spirit that deranges the mind. One of his many. In the royal families they don't adopt the naxn>x as a rule for their regular names, but the lekakiyet do. There are exceptions when lekakiyet don't adopt their naxn>x as regular name. The naxn>x name is adopted in a feast. If in a meeting (not a festival) one of the naxn>x names of forefather is called out, then the person whose naxnox it is has to get up and represent what that naxn>x did, and after call a feast and formally adopt it as name.

class differences?

Swanson, in g. lodzay file

In connection with  $naxnax$  names: even when taken as common personal names, they continue as  $naxnax$ . Whenever your  $naxnax$  name is called during a feast the one called has to perform some action common to the being represented by the  $naxnax$ . Mr Swanson's  $naxnax$  as  $wi n \ddot{e} n \epsilon$  + "to knock" represented in addressing self and taking a club and knocking whatever it wishes to possess. Not everybody has a  $naxnax$  only those connected with any of the 4 societies named above [?]. It takes wealth to get a  $naxnax$ ; anybody who has wealth may be a  $naxnax$ . More are inherited than invented. Songs connected. It is retained in the house of its original owner and cannot leave it. goes down in mother's line.

Comparison: In the bible the people used to make offerings to statues, of food. The statues were supposed to eat the food which was consumed by the priests.

The Iumshian  $naxnax$  are on the same principle capable of doing supernatural deeds of any description... were derived from the sky. The people would offer food to their  $naxnax$ , and the halait people eat it all.

David Swanson in gilodzag file.

[The confusion  
nax nox & noc noc  
1965]

Masks. Large mask with rim as that of the moon (gɛmk), used as a nax nox more or less by the gispwudwads. The crest of the gisp is the sun, the nax nox is the moon and may be used by any (?) crest. The nax nox are inherited as well as songs connected. A man may invent a nax nox, and may take any he wants without restriction, to his fancy. Those using the same nax nox are not for that reason more closely related or associated. But

nukam

1. those eating the dog use the same nax nox on general, the whistle termed no'tɛm (same of nax nox and group name)

Canibal

2. those that eat human flesh belong to another group named wɪt'ɛhɛ'hal'a'it (great halart) xkɛ't is the name of the nax nox, which was a whistle-like nax nox. xkɛ't means 'eating people'

mita

3. another group as mi'tɛ; these people only hold dances naked. mi'tɛ is their nax nox.

winaat

4. winɛ'ne't as another group of nax nox. These had the power of assing a club when entering houses and anything they wished by hitting they hit with this club. winɛ'ne't was their nax nox. originated from wutstɛ'. It is a club-like being. There are only these four groups.

gidzegukla

ᠠᠶᠠᠨᠨᠠᠶᠢᠨ names  
dramatized

Byron (date?) from G. Sampere

As a young man, Sampere was invited to a ᠠᠶᠠᠨᠨᠠᠶᠢᠨ feast at gidzegukla, at which it was intended to assume the name g.a.l.a'g.a.n.s "to split", and also dramatize the name tsa'o'ls "steal" (of another house)

The two men had arranged a dramatic performance to dramatize their names. When everyone came in they saw a log beside the fire, which g.a.l.a'g.a.n.s split with his axe. Then tsa'o'ls came in, in the role of invited guest, sat down, and loudly sang a song belonging to g.a.l.a'g.a.n.s (stole the song). Angered, g.a.l.a'g.a.n.s took his axe and struck tsa'o'ls on the head. The axe struck fast and blood ran down. The people were shocked and many ran out of the house.

The axe was made of paper, with pitch to make it stick to the bladder full of blood which tsa'o'ls had on his head.

Key to Tsimshian  
See Soc.

Secret Societies

Reviews Drucker's  
Dancing Societies

Beynon, letter to Barbeau Feb 25, 1955.

Beynon had been studying areas "Owkeno" and Drucker's  
"Kwakiutl Dancing Societies"

(Verbatim) "Whether Drucker has grasped the full import of the  
various groups, but comparing it to the tsəm siy e'n  
organizations of the various tribes, on page 202 #5  
p 23 which he labels as lower dances to my mind  
corresponds to the Tsimshian nax nɔ'x s or privileges  
which an Tsimshian dramatizes certain privileges,  
the various individuals have each privilege having its  
own song or breath as it is termed (k'səm e tk) and  
these privileges are usually dramatized at a ya'ok  
feast when each guest will show and dramatize  
his own special privilege. I do not remember whether  
you dealt with this to any great extent excepting  
where the nax nɔ'x was assumed as a name, such  
as, 'a lɔ'p = stone thrower : li' lɔks = thief :  
huk bi'k = bar : mɔ'mst = crazy person : etc.  
I have seen some of the dramas in action, some  
of which I think I wrote in my recordings of the  
Totem pole raisings at qidza q'u'kla some years ago."