

This ended the series of halaits. [Byron makes no mention of a chief's dance or speeches]. ~~g~~
 haxpəgwɔ'tk announced that tomorrow the first totem pole would be erected by wise'ks, and asked all the chiefs and their tribesmen to attend and assist.

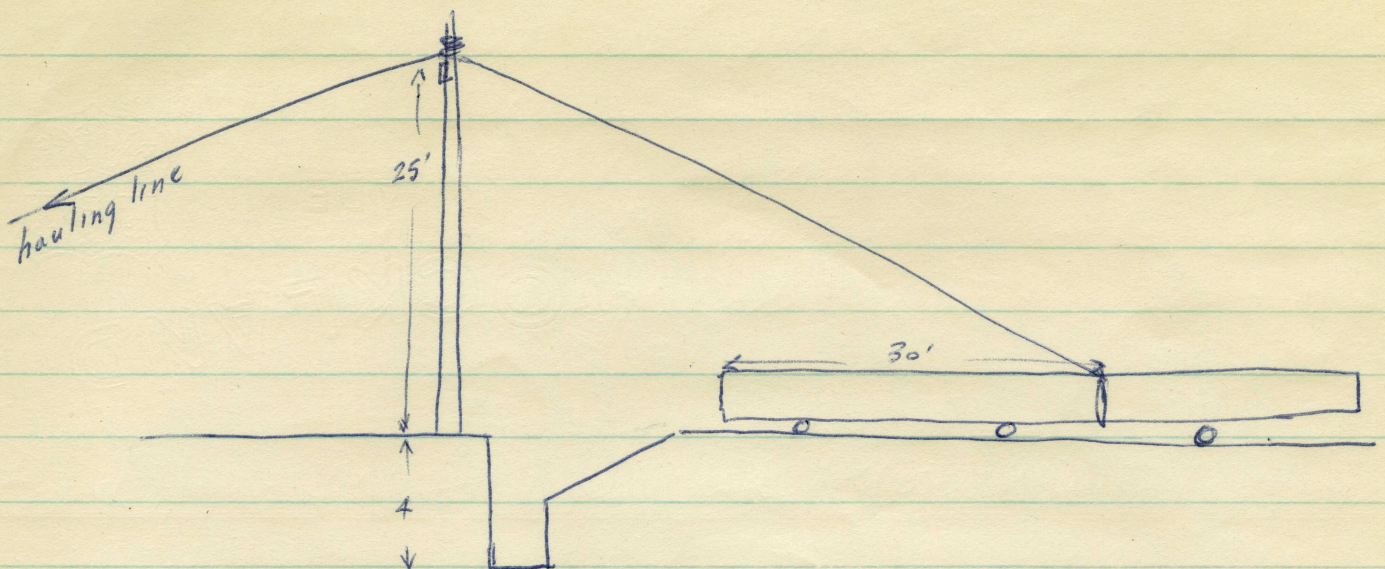
Fourth Day: Totem Pole Raising and Potlatch of wise'ks, gisg.ahést

The Totem Pole: wise'ks pole was a new one, carved by haxpəgwɔ'tk (Arthur McDames). It was named g.anəm k'tsəm'a'us 'pole of in sand' (pole of the sandbar). The log, a 50 foot pole of red cedar, had been found and hauled to the village by 'ax't'ye'x (laxk'ibu, Kitwanga).

The Erection Ceremony

Certain tasks ^{had been} assigned to the father's family. wise'ks paternal ^{relatives} ~~origin~~ were the laxk'ibu of Kitwanga. It has ^{as} already been mentioned, that the cedar log had been obtained by one of this group. The digging of the hole and the erection of the A-frame was also done by this group. wise'ks then called upon various other chiefs to carry from the house small parts of the carving and nail them on the pole (beaks, etc). Then wise'ks and haxpəgwɔ'tk sang the duge song associated with the pole.

The paternal relatives directed the work of raising the pole. The pole lay on rollers, its butt facing the hole, which was dug with a sloping side facing the pole. Rising from the opposite side of the hole was the A-frame, two poles



lashed together at the top with a crosspiece lashed on 25 feet above the ground over which the hauling rope was passed. The rope was attached to the totem pole, and the other end was grasped by all the people. As the pole slid into the hole, ~~and~~ the upper end was lifted by men with three sets of poles crossed and lashed in the form of an X. In a very few minutes the pole was erect.

The people stayed in groups throughout the ceremony, grouped by tribe and phratry. Kitwancool people who had moved into Kitwanga and resided there, for example, stayed with their Kitwancool kin. They all waited until the tamping of the earth around the pole and the lowering of the A-frame was complete. The hauling rope was cut into pieces of fathom length and a piece was given to ^{each person} everyone who had pulled. These were termed halter ropes, although the term used in earlier times was "pack ropes." Then ^{all} everyone dispersed to their billets.

The Potlatch

Invitation

[In other cases the first step was the singing of the dirge at daybreak, by which the chief signified that something important was going to happen in his house that day. Beynon does not mention it (in this instance).]

Towards evening the messenger came to the house, and with his staff touched the ground in front of each chief who was invited. It so happened that three of the guests where Beynon stayed were upstairs resting. The messenger simply poodded the ceiling three times. As he left he announced: "You will bring your cups with you when you hear the bugle blow." (In early times a box drum, rather than a bugle, called the guests to the feast).

box drum called guests to feast

potlatch

Seating

In contrast to the halait performance, the guests wore ordinary clothes and only the hosts, wise'ks and tsibase' wore their chiefs robes. Also, the chiefs no longer sat in the front row, but in the middle row with their successors in front of them and the next ^{probably successor} in line behind them. Great care was taken in assigning the guests their proper seats; men from each of the villages assisted in this. Some individuals had proclaimed the privilege of sitting in certain places; for example, gwa'asta'm of Kitwancool always sat at the left side ~~of~~ of the entrance, even though this separated him from the rest of his tribe. The rear of the hall was always used by the

host tribe (Kitsegukla), although only the non-host phratry (in this case g.a.n.ha'da) were seated. The Kitwanga always sat to the right (looking in) and the Kitwancool to the left. A survey was made to ensure that all of the invited guests were in their seats - each "seater" reporting when his assigned guests were in their places.

The "Feast":

As the guests were being seated, people began to carry in food, placing it on the floor in a pile. There were boxes of biscuits, soda crackers, loaves of bread, quarters of beef, boxes of apples and oranges. When all were seated, they were served with tea or coffee and bread. The rest of the food ^{not eaten but was} distributed as gifts.

Contributions (Financing the Potlatch)

[The complex procedure of assembling the contributions toward the potlatch, counting and apportioning the money, and distributing it was strictly patterned and was the same in all the potlatches given. As a guide to understanding the following accounts, this ~~following~~ outline of the procedure will be of use:

1. Contributions

- Host (Farwood) a. The host and his ~~family~~ ^{household} family
- Other persons b. Members of the host's phratry (hawe'll)
- Whose fathers were F. c. Those whose fathers belong to host's phratry (wə'ksiwitk)
- Whose spouses were f. d. Those whose spouses belong to host's phratry ('adom'na'ks)
- Wife's people e. Loans from phratry of host's wife (saqwas'atk)

2. Counting and apportionment ("breaking up the chief's copper")

3. Distributions

- b (a. Compensation for ^{change this order} duties performed
 a (b. The general distribution (gwis'k)
 c c. Distribution to guests by rank.]

(a) While the food was being cleared away, wise'ks left the house. Now he was heard outside, singing his dudge song. A Wolf chief, representing his paternal origin, stood up and called out: "Come in my child. Come ~~at~~ take your place among your fellow chiefs. You have been wandering about for a long time."

wise'ks then entered wearing his dancing hat and blanket, and carrying a bag in his hand. He emptied it into a money box on the floor, 400 dollars. His nephew tsibasa' followed and put 200 dollars in the box. Other members of the house, direct nephews and nieces of wise'ks, added amounts varying from 20 to 100 dollars. ^{Every contribution was} announced by the speaker.

(b) Other members of the g, isg. ahe' st phratry, ^{many} ~~those~~ from other villages, contributed. These gifts, called hawel, were not strictly speaking loans, but left the recipient under an obligation to contribute the same amount or more if the donor gave a potlatch, or on his death. The amounts were announced.

(c) Those whose fathers belonged to the g, isg. ahe' st phratry now made their contributions, called walksi'witk "where out of originated" as a gesture of regard for their paternal origin. Those who fail to make such donations are open

PUT
YOUR
MONEY
WHERE
YOUR
KIN
ARE

brothers &
nephews & nieces

Other Fathers

of previous fathers

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to the taunt "He does not know where he comes from."

(d) The next contributions were made by persons who had married members of wise's house and of the g'isq.ake'st phratry. These were called 'adomna'ks "marriage gifts", and were given in two ways.

First, wise's own wife and her own relatives came into the house dancing and singing Hagwilgate songs (she ^{was from} Hagwilgate). The leader of this procession carried a spear festooned with paper money; the others had money suspended from their headbands. The money was prominently displayed so that all could see the amount of the gift, which ^{totalled more than} was over 100 dollars. Following along were the spouses of other members of wise's house with their donations.

Then others whose spouses were g'isq.ake'st came forward and made their donations.

These gifts are considered part of the continuing exchange of gifts between the houses of ~~the~~ a husband and wife. The gifts a suitor gives to the parents and uncles of his bride are called hana'ks. Only those ~~the~~ men who had given ~~the~~ hana'ks gifts upon marriage would give 'adomna'ks gifts at a potlatch ~~gift~~ by his wife's relatives. The gift was a further confirmation of the marriage contract; failure to ~~make~~ recognize the spouse in this way cheapened her and put her in a low social category regardless of her rank, and left the husband open to the taunt: "You have never paid for your wife". In earlier times, if a husband failed to

make this type of contribution, the chief [which?] might take the woman ~~and~~ away and force her to do menial work in his house.

The gifts were made in full view of the audience, and the amount announced. They were not returnable (not loans).

loans from wife's phratry

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(c) The sa'gwəl'a'itk or sa'wa'sə contributions "to clothe or cover with a blanket", were not made at this time, but were loans to the host made before the potlatch and included in the host's own contribution (Wise's \$400 dollars). This was a loan (returnable) from his in-laws, the ~~ph~~ members of his wife's phratry. In recognition of her marriage to an important chief, the members of her phratry would give her this amount for her husband's use. At some time during the potlatch, usually during the counting of the donations, the amount of this assistance was announced, and Wise's or his successor ^{thus publicly} was obligated to repay it. [It is not clear whether loans of this type were made by persons other than wife's relatives].

2. Counting and Apportionment:

The donations had been put into two boxes on the floor. One was for the compensation of those who had worked on the totem pole, and the ~~other~~ ^{second} was for the other distributions. The total collection was referred to as the "copper".

A member of the host's father's phratry (Saxkibin) was asked to count the money. "Come, chief gu'sg.a'i'in (Beynon) and break up the copper shield".

Beynon counted the money in both funds, and the total amount, \$1157.00, was announced. The counting and apportionment took nearly two hours. During this time several minor activities took place (see below).

3. Distributions

(a). The first gifts to be distributed were called xqwi'uk ("x = partaking of, qwi'uk = groundhog). It was a gift of one dollar to every man, woman and child. The purpose of the xqwi'uk gift is to formally bring to the attention of each recipient some particular event; in this case the fact that a totem pole had been erected.

The same type of gift was used to announce other events. For example, when a chief died a group of messengers went out bearing groundhog skins (in former times) and gave one to each chief, announcing that their chief was dead.

(b) Then the payments were made to those who had performed duties connected with the carving and erection of the pole. In most cases these were ~~the~~ paternal relatives of the host. The amount paid depended on the rank of the recipient as well as the duty he had performed. In this case, the first to be compensated was haxpəgwə'tk (carver of the pole) - 150 dollars, 1 rifle, 1 large suitcase worth 35 dollars, and one tiyo'n (moose hide).

ʔaxtiye'x and his assistants, who had brought out the pole: 40 dollars.

The men who dug the hole: 15 dollars each.

The chiefs who had put the additional pieces on the pole : 5.00 each.

(Thus all who had worked on the pole itself were paid first)

The chief who had called wise'ks in when he was singing his dirge before the potlatch : 5.00.

Bynon, for counting the money : 5.00

(c) Distribution by rank

[Bynon noted down the recipients and amounts for all of the potlatches. The lists differ slightly one from the other, but essentially they are the same for all of the q, i s g. a h e' s t potlatches. This list from wise'ks potlatch will therefore serve as an example of them all.

The principles of the order are as follows.

First, no ~~q, i s g~~ member of the host's phratry (q, i s g. a h e' s t) from any tribe received a gift.

The order of the tribes is Kitwanga, Kitwancool, Hazelton, Hagwilgate, and Kitsegukla (host tribe, q. a n h a' d s only). [Within each tribe the order was, of individual rank, ~~the~~ at least for the top few chiefs. Rank was also expressed by the amount of the gift.

For each tribe, the order seems meant to be the order of individual rank within the tribe as a whole (excluding q, i s g. a h e' s t). For at least the first few chiefs this order seems to be more or less strictly adhered to, but there are several minor shifts in the different lists and several instances where high ranking chiefs (indicated partly by the amount of their gift) are far down on the list.]

The distribution was as follows :-

Kutwanga

1	ksg.ɔ'g.əmhiq.ɔx	E	10.00	14	txalaxε'tk	E	5.
2	lɛlt	F	10.	15	wisəmha'iyetsk		5.
3	t'a'wallask	E	10.	16	gɪl'awɔ'	E	10.
4	kengwax	F	1buckskin + 10.	17	'axg.ɔt	F	5.
5	'axt'iyε'.x	W	10.	18	g.alksədəpɔa'.t		5.
6	halus	F	5.	19	lu'ɔlx	F	7.
7	kwət'sag.a'ntk		5.	20	t'siyε'	W	10.
8	hazuk	F	10.	21	ni-sg.amala'		5.
9	xpɪlaxε	W	7.	22	səmadi'.ks	E	10.
10	t'axt'su		5.	23	k'saxgɔ'		10.
11	'alalɛst	F	5.	24	wisəmha'iyε'tsk		5.
12	sga'iyā'n	E	5.	25	xpɪsu'nt		5.
13	witɔ'ɔtsk	W	7.	26	baxhe'ldəsə'tk		5.

Kitwancool

1	wixε''	1buckskin + 10.00	15	gɪdza x tε't	5.
2	sindi'.t	10.	16	luɔg.əmksq.ɔ'x	5.
3	mal'i'	10.	17	wiskimsəm	10.
4	g.alsəmgiqε't	10.	18	naxnɔ'g.əmget	5.
5	gwa'astā'm	10.	19	gamnaxye'ltk	10.
6	gwan'əu	7.	20	wutaxharyε'tsk	7.
7	ha'idzəms	5.	21	g.amxmimu	10.
8	'iyax'iyax	5.	22	ni-staganu'is	10.
9	guqe'x	5.	23	gɪyɔpag.amxwe'n	5.
10	wili'tsku	5.	24	t'ɔx'ɛnsk	5.
11	t'si'u	5.	25	ha'idzəmsk	5.
12	t'saləmsbi'uks	5.	26	'axwəlg.agɪsk	5.
13	g.akt	5.	27	gɪmɪlaxε	5.
14	t'xa'wɔ'x	5.	28	'mε'la	5.

Contd.

E = laxskik F = g.anhə'ds W = laxkibu' (when known)

29. sqaŋisəmtʰəwi'nx	10.00	38 ʰayiyə'ax	F	3.00
30 ʰadzəks	5.	39 nisʰiya'lxʰ		3.
31 ʰwag.ale	5.	40 hadag.əmye'	W	3.
32 t'a'mi	F	5.	41 sag.apg.ag.a'x	5.
33 sqaʰadi'sk	5.	42 laʰwits		3.
34 tsiksʰalalgax	8.	43 tʰsagag.a'n		3.
35 luxhə'n	F	7.	44 ksəmtʰsaslə'tʰs	5.
36 g.as'wɛ'n	5.	45 hagwəlda'ix		5.
37 bitqɛ'tk	5.	46 gunwəla'iks		5.

Hazelton (gitʰanmɛ'ks)

1. gedəmgaldə'	F	10.00	11 ʰnə'ʰnə	5.
2. wudwiyə'		10.	12 bi'ntku	5.
3. spəx	W	10.	13 g.a'spə'yu	10.
4 t'e		10.	14 g.aldəkqet	F
5 ha'i'ətəx	W	7.	15 skame's	5.
6 ksə'wis		5.	16 nixʰat'e'n	10.
7 tʰsabax		5.	17 x't'a'x	10.
8 dəmdisk'e'msəm		5.	18 g.la'e'wə	5.
9 lutkudziws	F	10.	19 guxnixg.ə'sk	5.
10 haxku		10.	20 salaxli'lp.	5.

Hagwilgate

1. wə's	10.00
2. stəmgemk	5.
3. wutakwə'ts	10.

Ktzequbla (all g.anha'də, the other moiety here).

1	mə'lxən	moozihedi + 15.00	19	haxg.alg.an
2	g.axsqabax		20	ksəmdzi'ɔ'ilk
3	wag.alɔ'		21	t'sig.ɔsi'k
4	sano's		22	haiyε'tsk
5	wist'i's		23	wutat'səmsəsa'i
6	nist'ɔ'		24	wine'x
7	g.alə'ax		25	ka'bəksk
8	labag.aitne'xt		26	witpu'n
9	ha.g.a'sk		27	hauha'u
10	məlu'əlg.		28	'nt'ɔlksəmtə'xs
11	t'upəsk		29	lig.g.alwil
12	tin		30	wələmgi'ɔ
13	'aliskwəmgipa'ik		31	g.agiyɔ'
14	g.astɔ'ɔ		32	g.at'yánəmlu'i
15	wag.alsa'wəl		33	winəmɔ'lk
16	la'dax		34	wələmka'ax
17	'axtiwəlug.a'odi		35	'amagε't
18	lulaxε'tk			

Other Activities.

As mentioned above, the lull while the money was being counted and apportioned was utilized by the host and others for other business.

The host, wise'ks, announced the details of the assistance he had received in the form of sagwala'ntk loans (see above). This acknowledged that he or his successor ⁵⁰ ~~would~~ were obligated to repay them.

Halait repayments. The chiefs who had "fed the halait" when the messengers came around to the houses with invitations to the halait performances were now repaid with double the amount. Also those who had used their halait powers on the messenger were compensated.

Naming. The nieces and nephews who had participated in the halait ceremonies by paying each guest chief as he ~~was~~ took part, were now given names. The chief first announced the fact that ~~these~~ names were to be bestowed. Then he would call on ~~the~~ a paternal relative of the child to announce the name:

"Paternal aunt mɔ'lxɔn will announce sag.ait tɔɔ"

Then mɔ'lxɔn replied:

'The name sag.ait tɔɔ will be inherited by
[announcing the full name]

sag.ait tɔɔ't gax na g.a'inɔt g.ax

("together walk the ravens on the trail of the ravens")

Then gaxsqabax was ^{also} called upon to name another child of g.anha'do paternal origin "The ravens all walk together". ~~not~~ announce the girl's name, then still others (all g.anha'do, since the girl's paternal origin was g.anha'do). Each in turn was immediately compensated by the parents of the girl [~~maternal relatives?~~], and

gifts of crockery, dishes, and cloth were given out to all the guests by women, on behalf of the girl's parents.

In a similar way other children were named. Some ~~to~~ were of Wolf paternal origin and so *la x q i bu'* chiefs were called upon to announce the names, and were compensated by the parents of the children. Many families took this opportunity to name children. They did not ~~not~~ have to be in wise'k's immediate "house", but had to be *q i s q. a h e' s t* and had to have assisted wise'k's in his potlatch.

Debts. This time ~~would~~ ^{was} also ~~to~~ used to settle ~~former~~ debts. One of wise'k's relatives paid back to *q e d o m g. a l d o s* part of a loan the latter had made to him years before to assist in a ~~feast~~ potlatch.

[The meaning of the following is not completely clear to me]. "Another woman paid back some money that had been given her for death dues. That is, some time ago she got very ill and the paternal origin, who would be called upon to see to her burial in event of her death, gave her money to purchase things [?] for herself. This was called *s a y e' i*, to fatten. This was now being repaid."

Chiefs Speech: Recounting of Myth:

After the gifts had all been distributed, wise'k's spoke, relating the myth of the pole.
~~This~~

"Chiefs, Chiefs, Great Chiefs, you have seen what has taken place today. I will now relate (my tradition) to you so that you will

know it. The name of the pole of wise'ks is g.anam kt'sam'a'us, the pole of the sandbar, the great sandbar at the mouth of the Skeena River.

[Abstract of myth :-]

It was here that one of our ancestors while on a war raid saw this pole sticking up, with a human figure at its base: g.edam.nag.a'i (manlike woman). The pole and its dirge songs are exclusive to our house and those of wise'ks (Tsimshian & and gitxa'ka).

~~Other~~ crests on this pole originated at Tamlaham. (Relates story of local winter at Tamlaham and its abandonment) Most of us from Tamlaham came to Kitsegukla and brought many crests with us. The next

~~On the top of the pole is~~
on the pole is the blackfish that took gam'asnext to its sponaxnox on the seacoast, and that is also one of our myths.

"Now this is the tradition of the totem pole which you have seen erected."

Speeches in Reply

mo'lxon (g.anha'da, Kitsegukla) was the first to reply to wise'ks :-

"Chief wise'ks, Chief tsibasa', you have shown us today something that belongs to you alone. The traditions as you describe them are as I heard them in my father's house when I was a little girl, so I know them to be true. You are not making up a tradition nor are you telling a false tradition. You have shown us all your strength by

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showing us your nephews, and you are indeed a wealthy and powerful man. All the people of the Gitksan and Niska now know who you are.

You have ^{raised} ~~placed~~ your nephew ^{to} ~~in~~ a place where he can now hold his head up with his equals. Nobody can speak belittlingly of him as what he has touched is his own property. I was brought up among my old people and they taught me many things. I know what you say is the truth, and in all that you have said I'll bear you out."

gwa'asta'm, lax k'ibu, Kitwancool:

"Chief wise'ks, Chief tsibasa', princes. What we have seen and heard today is great, and the traditions you have told us are true. I am an old man and have a very thorough knowledge of your house, so I can vouch for what you have said. You can be proud of your achievement. Nobody here can deny anything you have said, rather you have much more to add that you have left out. You have not told us that really all of the coast branches are from the original house of wise'ks and tsibasa' of Temlaham. You will have an opportunity at some other time.

te'ngwax, g.anhads, Kitwanga:

"Now you and your people can rest, Chief wise'ks, Chief tsibasa'. You have done today what your forefathers did, and those hereditary possessions you have told us about are yours. You may now be proud of having secured your own possessions, your songs, your crests. It meets with favour. The people of Kitwanga