

conquests.

"The Kitamat wife of nexq escaped, and he again began to wander about in search of new territories. He went to Kispix, where he founded the house of ha g. a' i, then went to the Pass and established more contacts, ^{founding} ~~establishing~~ the house of lutxiu'sk at git lax da' mks. He returned at last to Kitwanga and at times visited Kitsegukla where the house was being maintained by wist'is and g. axsqabax. To this day it is recognized that this house has the right to use the crests belonging to nexq.

"This narrative was told me by my uncle. I do not have to go to any court to determine my own rights. Why should we go to any Indian Agent to find out what I should do? (This was a direct thrust at te'ngwax, who had taken his protest to the Agent). You chiefs will know whether what I say is true and whether I am doing something I have no right to do. You are wise in these matters, and I will leave this to you. I have not stolen anything that belongs to somebody else. So today you have helped me to take my place among you, and I have now fulfilled my obligations and shown you the privileges belonging to my house.

Replies:

wise'ks (q'isqah'est, Kitsegukla) immediately rose to speak:-

"Yes chief g. axsqabax, what you have said is true. I myself attended a feast of your uncle when he narrated the story exactly as you have told it. You have done the proper thing, your fellow chiefs know that what you say is true.

I have been to the Nass River and to the salt-water, and those people have knowledge of what you say. I have heard the derg songs before. The totem pole you have erected in memory of your uncles may also be a monument for yourself when you are gone, as will the one I have erected in my own case.

Iutkudzius (g.anha'do, Hazelton) :- "What you have said and done, my brother, is just as you state it to be. There is much more, which you have left out. This is the fourth pole that has been erected by the house of g.axsqabax. The group at Kitwanga is almost extinct and their rights and property have been absorbed by other g.anha'do groups. They did not follow the ways of their forefathers. What they should have done was to come to Kitsegukla and take a member of your house and re-establish the nexq group at Kitwanga. This would have been done in olden times, but we are now in a new age. What you say is true. You have shown us what belongs to you.

There was no speaker from Kitwanga.

gwa'asta'm (Iaxkibu, Kitwancool) : "Yes, chief, what you have said is just what I myself know. I am an old man. To these children all this is strange and new. They profess to have the same status as white men, therefore they are not qualified to express an opinion. There are ~~really~~ only a few of us left who really know. You grew up in your uncle's house and were taught all your future responsibilities, and

this you have shown us today. You may now sleep and feel rested that you have taken your place among your fellow chiefs. Only thoughtless people ^{will} ~~may~~ say anything that you have left anything undone, and they do not know what they speak of. Careless speakers are like winds that spring up and cause damage, not knowing why they do so. They ~~cause~~ ^{do} damage rather than good.

mɔ'lxən (g. anhá'də, kítsegukla): "Chief g. axsqabax, I am glad that while I am still alive, you did what you did today. You have shown your fellow chiefs that which belongs to you. You have narrated ~~the~~ only the tradition which is your own inheritance. This I am able to affirm, as my uncle's house and your uncle's house stood side by side, and they shared each other's griefs and joys. My uncles and grandfathers always whispered into my ears that our two groups must stand by each other. So I am happy that you have done this while I am yet alive and able to confirm what you have said.

"You are not interfering with the rights of anybody else, nor are you taking anything that does not belong to you. It is easy in these days to make false traditions, as in this age many of our young people know nothing of themselves and have even neglected to assume their own names. I dread to think of what the future of these young people will be. So do not be afraid to take your proper seat in the councils of your fellow chiefs. You have much wisdom

and you will have the respect of your people.
 " To the people who have come to our village and are the guests of my brother (addressing the guests). You have honoured us by your presence, and even though you are undergoing many discomforts you have respected our wishes and have come to witness the important things we are doing in our humble village. We are not an important people; we are nothing compared to you; ~~but~~ ^{and} you have honoured us greatly, my friends. Your words have been kind and your cooperation wonderful. We thank you all.

Pollatch (sa'w'ix) of ma'ixan :

It was now 11:30 pm. ha'pəgwə'tk announced that Chief ma'ixan wanted to use the rest of the evening for a very important ceremony. He asked the local people ~~to~~ to get food for the guests who were staying with them, and there was an intermission while the food was consumed.

Contributions :

A chief of ma'ixan's paternal origin (father's phratry) called her in: "Come in. Why do you stay outside weeping. Why don't you come in and take your place where you belong among your fellow chiefs?" She entered singing a dirge and carrying a bag. Then began the series of contributions: -
 (a) ma'ixan emptied \$200.00 into a dishpan on the floor. Her nephew added \$150.00, and other close relatives added their contributions, and these were announced.

(b) mɔ'lxɔn danced wearing a raven headdress and blanket, and all the Ravens came forward with their hawa'1 gifts. These too were made public.

(c) Those whose fathers were Ravens contributed

(d) Those whose spouses belonged to mɔ'lxɔn's house, and then all those with Raven spouses, made their 'adomna'k's gifts, showing their regard for their mates. These too were announced.

Baynon heard the comment ^{about} of one man: "He doesn't think much of his wife; he gives so little when he is a wealthy man."

Counting and Apportionment:

A laxkibu' man from Hazelton was called upon to count the money. It totalled \$800.00.

The xqwi'ok gift was distributed to all. The rest of the money was then divided "by a select group presided over by the chief giving the feast", and the gifts were distributed in the usual order to all phratres except the g.anka'do.

Speech

In her speech, mɔ'lxɔn explained her purposes in calling this sa'ɔ'ix (proclamation) potlatch. Briefly, these were: to extinguish one crest belonging to her house (a robe which she would use as her burial robe), to revive two other crests, in the form of robes, for the use of her successor, and to clarify the succession of her territories.

Her speech, somewhat shortened, follows: -

"Chiefs, Chiefs, Princes, the wise headmen of the chiefs, the spokesmen of the chiefs. I am glad that I have been able to greet you ^{all} in my humble way.

We have caused you much discomfort in coming here, but we have inherited an obligation from our forefathers, and we must do as they would have done. The white men say we must change our ways and become educated, but they treat us like children, and always well. All they want from us is our treasures, our territories, and all that belongs to us. So we must protect our own rights in our own way, the way of our forefathers. That is why I have invited you.

I am getting old. This may be the last time I'll be able to greet you. What I have to tell you concerns certain privileges which belong to me. I have here a robe made for me showing four m^o'dzok's (sparrow hawks) on each side of a split raven, the prince of ravens. This crest belongs only to my house. I intend to use the robe as my burial robe, and the crest will now be extinguished. This will avoid any quarrelling over this crest in future. You are a witness to this.

This other robe, the one I am wearing, is ours too and is called the "Split Raven". This is the robe my successor shall wear and pass on in his turn. Now as to my successor, you yourselves see who sits in front of me. You will guide him in his coming duties.

Regarding my hunting territories, these will pass on to my successor. My berry grounds too will be used by him and those who are now privileged to go there. Chiefs never used such things for their own ends, but for the benefit of their people. I want you all to know these things, so that there