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# The Jesup North Pacific Expedition

## MEMOIR OF THE AMERICAN MUSEUM

OF

## NATURAL HISTORY

NEW YORK

## VOLUME II

PART VII

# THE SHUSWAP

BY

**JAMES TEIT**

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## VII. — THE SHUSWAP.

By JAMES TEIT.

Edited by FRANZ BOAS.

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## PREFACE.

THE following description of the Shuswap is the result of studies made by myself among the tribe, for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. At the request of Dr. Franz Boas, I made a journey with pack-train in 1900, and visited the western and northern bands of Fraser River, spending almost all the summer and fall among them. I was previously acquainted with this region, having made several hunting and exploring trips through it in 1887, 1888, and 1892, my journeyings extending far into the Carrier country. I also accompanied Dr. Boas on his visits to all the western Shuswap bands, and across the Chilcotin country to Bella Coola in 1897. During the season of 1900 I collected the bulk of my information from several old men in the vicinity of Canoe Creek and Dog Creek, and especially from a very intelligent old man called Sixwi'lexken, who was born near Big Bar, and in early days had travelled all over the country inhabited by the tribe. He was particularly well posted on the history, traditions, and customs of his people, and took great interest in relating everything he knew. I returned home *via* Bonaparte.

During the summer of 1903 I made an extended trip by pack-train across country to Canim Lake, and thence to North Thompson River, where I staid for some time among the Indians on the Red Trees Reserve, returning home *via* Kamloops. On this trip I gathered most of my information from George Sisiu'lâx, and other old men of the North Thompson band. In the summer of 1904, when returning from a trip among the Okanagon, I visited the Indians of Spallumcheen, and, passing along Shuswap Lake to Kamloops and Savona, went home by Mamet Lake and Nicola. Thus I visited all the bands of the Shuswap, excepting the isolated ones of Upper North Thompson River at Jasper House, the Kinbaskets on Columbia River, and the Arrow Lake band, and collected more or less information among them. It would have been interesting, and perhaps of value, to have visited these bands as well; but the time and money required for the undertaking would have about doubled the expenses of the Shuswap expedition.

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Spences Bridge, B. C.

March, 1905.



## I. — INTRODUCTION, HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL.

NAME OF THE TRIBE. — The Indians to be described in this paper are called "Shuswap" by the whites. The employees of the Northwest Company, who first visited them from the north, generally called them "Atnas," which is a word of Carrier derivation. They were also called "Atnah or Carrier Indians" by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1793,<sup>1</sup> and by Simon Fraser in 1808.<sup>2</sup> The former was probably the first white man to meet any of them, and the latter was the first white man to explore the northern and western parts of their country. This visit is remembered by a very old man, Setse'l by name, who was born in the village Peq on Riskie Creek, and was still living at Alkali Lake in 1900. He was a small boy when Simon Fraser's party came down Fraser River with canoes. Xlo'sem, the Soda Creek chief, accompanied the party as guide, and interpreted for them. Kolpapatci'nexen<sup>3</sup> was at that time chief of the Canoe Creek band, and Haxkwe'st was a noted war chief and a wealthy man. He had three wives, and was tall, and wore only a breech-clout, excepting in the winter-time. Some of the Soda Creek Indians were the only Shuswap who had seen white men prior to Fraser's party. In many places the people thought the strangers were transformers, mythological beings, or cannibals, and consequently were very distrustful of them. Fraser gave presents of tobacco, beads, and knives, to almost all the Indians he met. The tobacco was black twist, and much stronger than the native tobacco, and many men who smoked it became sick. The first whites who reached the country from the south named the tribe "Shuswap," "Shuswhap," or "Shouswhap." The last-named appellation soon superseded all others. This term is a corruption of Suḡwa'pmux, or Seḡwa'pmux, the name they apply to themselves, and by which they are known to all the neighboring tribes of the interior Salish stock, to which they belong. It is said that some of the Cree also call them by this name. The Kootenai call them Tlitqatewū'mtlat ("without shirts or trousers;"<sup>4</sup> or "no shirts," according to some), because the Shuswap bands who are neighbors of the Kootenai often wore robes without any shirts underneath. They were nicknamed "poor people" by the other Shuswap. By

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<sup>1</sup> See *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the Years 1789 and 1793* (London, 1801), p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal of a Voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast*, pp. 171 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> The palatal affricative, which in the preceding parts of this volume is expressed by the symbol x, is rendered in this paper by ḡ because the x is difficult to distinguish from the lower-case letter x.

<sup>4</sup> See Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada* (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, for 1889, p. 806.)



the Carrier they are called "Ætna," and by the Chilcotin "Ænnai," which in each case means "foreigner."<sup>1</sup>

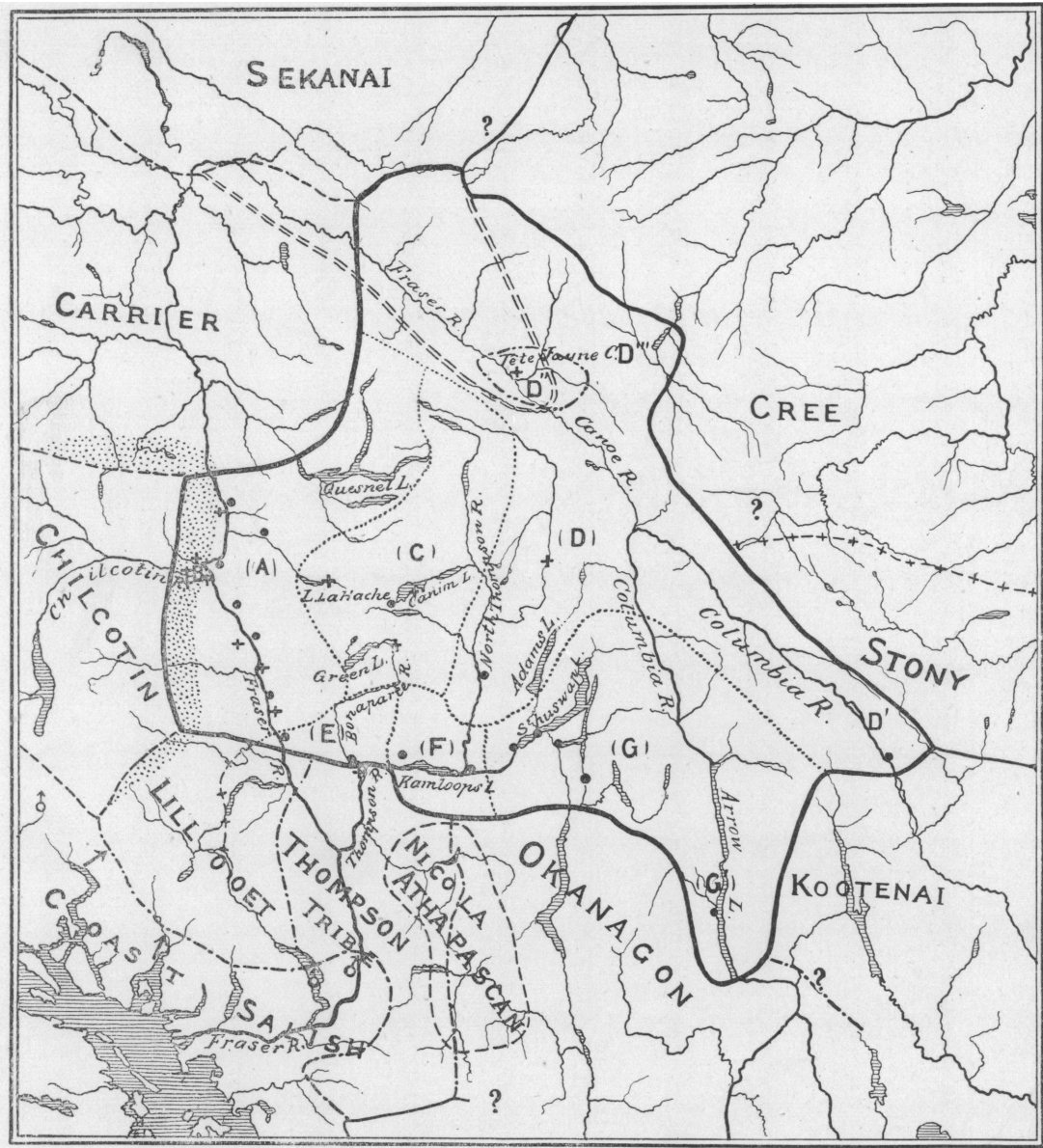


Fig. 199. Map showing the Shuswap Territory.

- |   |   |                           |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| A, Fraser River Division.   | D', Kinbasket.                              | F, Kamloops Division.     |
| B, Cañon Division, territory now largely occupied by the Chilcotin. | D'', Former territory of the Iroquois Band. | G, Shuswap Lake Division. |
| C, Lake Division.   | D''', Shuswap, Cree, and Iroquois mixed.    | G', Arrow Lake Band.      |
| D, North Thompson Division.   | E, Bonaparte Division.                      | ●, Villages.              |
|   |   | + , Former villages.      |

Dotted area, territory recently occupied by the Chilcotin. Area at head of Fraser River, enclosed by broken double lines, temporarily occupied by the Sekanai.

<sup>1</sup> See A. G. Morice, Who are the Atnas? (American Antiquarian).

**HABITAT.** — Their habitat (Fig. 199) is in the interior of British Columbia, generally speaking between latitudes  $50^{\circ} 30'$  and  $53^{\circ}$  north, and from Fraser River to the Rocky Mountains. Through this region flow three large rivers, — the Fraser, North Thompson, and South Thompson. In their valleys and in those of their tributaries most of the tribes have their homes. A detached band live on Upper Columbia River, in the East Kootenay district; and another smaller one, on Lower Arrow Lake, in the West Kootenay district. Yet another band, mixed with Cree, live practically east of the Rocky Mountains, in the neighborhood of Jasper House, and west to Tête-Jaune Cache.<sup>1</sup>

**NEIGHBORS.** — Their neighbors to the north are the Sekanai and Carrier, and on the west the Chilcotin, — all tribes of the Déné or Athapascan stock. To the southwest are the Lillooet; and on the south are the Couteau or Thompson Indians, and the Okanagon, — all closely related to them. To the southeast are the Kootenai. On the east are the Cree, who are of Algonquin stock; and a small tribe called the Stonies, who are of Athapascan lineage, and related to the Sarcee and Beaver Indians. Also within the north-eastern part of the Shuswap hunting-grounds lived until quite lately a small band of Iroquois, who seem now to have mostly merged into the mixed Cree and Shuswap band inhabiting the country in the neighborhood of Yellow Head Pass and east of there. Most, if not all, of the tribes known to the Thompson Indians, were also known to the Shuswap. Their names for the various peoples are —

Sekao'lamux or Skalauō'lexemux ("beaver people," or "people of the beaver country") . . . . .	Beavers.
Se'kani . . . . .	Sekanai.
Yu'nahena, or Yū'nehana . . . . .	Carrier in general.
Steka'lltxemux ("people above, or at the top;" i. e., living above the Shuswap on Fraser River) . . . . .	Carrier of Fraser River.
Stkema'ksemux ("people at the end or point;" i. e., of the Shuswap territory on Fraser River) . . . . .	Carrier of Alexandria.
Pesxé'xenem ("dentalia [people]," because the Shuswap got most of their dentalia from this tribe). . . . .	} Chilcotin.
Êl̄khotēn (a corruption of the Chilcotin name for themselves). . . . .	
sla'tlimux . . . . .	Lillooet in general.
Tcêe'lamux ("lake people," from the Lillooet language) . . . . .	Lillooet of the Lakes.
Tcutxwā'ut . . . . .	Lower Lillooet.
Lemsiū' (also used by the Okanagon). . . . .	} The Stalo, or Lower Fraser Indians (Coast Salish).
Sa'tcenkua or Sā'tcenko (also used by the Thompson). . . . .	
NLak'a'pamux . . . . .	Thompson Indians in general.
NLak'apamux <sup>8</sup> ō'ē ("real NLak'a'pamux") . . . . .	Thompson Indians of Thompson River, including Lytton.
Nkuō'tamux or Nko'atamux ("people of Kuo't," a long-deserted village of about 10 houses, about 2 miles below Spences Bridge, on the south side of the river) . . . . .	Thompson Indians, Spences Bridge division.

<sup>1</sup> See Moffice, *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* (Toronto, 1904), pp. 154 and 155.

LOLOWA'kamux ("people of LOLOWôq," a nearly deserted village about 8 or 9 miles above Spences Bridge) . . . . .	Thompson Indians, Nicola division.
SLaxa'iuḡ . . . . .	Thompson Indians of Fraser River, including the Uta'mqt.
Stsawa'namux . . . . .	Okanagon in general.
O'kaneka'in . . . . .	Okanagon of Okanagon Lake and River.
Skalspé'lmux ("people of Skalspélm") . . . . .	Okanagon next to the Kootenai.
Sahā'pten . . . . .	Sahaptin in general.
La'kamo or La'kemoḡ . . . . .	Yakima.
Skaisu'ḡkuamux or Kaistu'elkemoḡ ("people of Kaisu'ḡkua" [Kootenay River]) . . . . .	Kootenai in general.
Ste'lltex or Ste'lltxu . . . . .	Flatbows, or Kootenai of Kootenay Lake.
Npoa'nn . . . . .	Stonies.
Stekweixenemoḡ ("black-footed people") . . . . .	Blackfeet.
Seqā'umux (from Kootenai Zutsiau'm <sup>1</sup> ) . . . . .	Cree.
Ē'ramo (probably a corruption of Iroquois) . . . . .	Iroquois band at Yellow Head Pass.
Le'matcif or Le'matcip ("half-breed;" from the French métis, pronounced by the French often "metci'f") . . . . .	
Tenesi'na . . . . .	

I will here also give their names for the whites and other races: —

Sé'ma or Sa'ma . . . . .	Whites in general.
Suie'pmux (evidently from Sahaptin suya'p). . . . .	American whites.
Spetékł ("ancients, or mythological beings," because when first seen they were believed to be the "ancients" returned) . . .	First whites seen, the employees of the Northwest and Hudson Bay Companies.
Spetékłōē ("real ancients") . . . . .	
Skwotu'lōx ("other-side country;" i. e., believed to come from the other end of the world, or beyond the Rocky Mountains) . .	
Skwotu'lōxemoḡ ("people from the country on the other side") .	
Tcemie'melōx ("burned or blackened people," or "burnt country people;" so named because they were supposed to have come out from under the water in the country of the sun, where it was very hot, and where they were burned and blackened; or because thought to be the offspring of sun and water) . . .	Negroes.
Nē'gel (from French) . . . . .	
Kenkanahō' (said to be a word introduced by half-breeds of the fur companies) . . . . .	
Skomkeme'mps ("lump at back of head," on account of the cue tied up at the back of the head) . . . . .	Chinese.
Tce'namên (from English Chinamen) . . . . .	

DIVISIONS OF THE TRIBE. — The Shuswap, like the Thompson Indians, are divided into a number of tribal divisions, most of them well recognized. These are the following.

<sup>1</sup> See F. Boas, in Fifth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889, p. 806).



1. The Slemxu'lexamuḡ ("people of Slemxulâx"),<sup>1</sup> those inhabiting the valley of Fraser River from High Bar to Soda Creek (including the people of Clinton). All or nearly all their villages and reserves, with the exception of some near High Bar, are situated on the east side of Fraser River, generally a short distance up the valleys of small creeks. Belonging to this division was the band called Tceḡwe'pkêmuḡ, who formerly inhabited Empire Valley and the surrounding country west of Fraser River, but who are now nearly extinct, their remnants being settled with the Canoe Creek band. The Slemxu'lexamuḡ claim as hunting-grounds the country west of the Fraser for over thirty miles back, including some of the feeders of Bridge River, all of Big Creek and other creeks emptying into the Fraser, north to Churn Creek. This, of course, includes Empire Valley and the Ground-Hog Mountains. The country opposite Soda Creek and Williams Lake for some twenty miles back is claimed by the people there, and the territory of the Se'tlemuḡ was also used as hunting-grounds by the bands living opposite them. A little hill or mound with a lake or swamp near it, in a locality called Xwâlxa'scen ("plenty of roots"), on a tributary of Bridge River, is looked upon as a perpetual boundary-mark showing the junction of the hunting-grounds of the Slemxu'lexamuḡ, Lillooet, and Chilcotin. On the east side of the Fraser they claim the Green Timber Plateau back to the Bonaparte beyond Clinton, and extending north by Green Lake to Lac la Hache, and thence north to Quesnel Lake or somewhat beyond. Along this line, however, the division is not very well defined, the Slemxu'lexamuḡ, Stiê'tamuḡ, and Zaxtcî'nemuḡ often hunting over the same grounds. I shall call this division the Fraser River division. Some Indians consider them as forming two groups, — viz., an upper and a lower, — the people of each being more closely related within themselves. The lower group comprises the bands from High Bar to Dog Creek; and the upper group, those above Dog Creek.

2. The Se'tlemuḡ or Se'tlomuḡ ("people of Setl"). This seems to have been a name for the district around Chilcotin River, below the cañon. The Indian name of Lillooet is also Setl or Setl, and both places correspond in being situated close below a cañon through which a swift stream flows. This division lived west of the Fraser, from about Churn Creek to beyond Riskie Creek; their main villages being situated at the foot of the cañon of Chilcotin River. They claimed the country back to within a short distance of Hanceville, — some say to a place called Pesta't, near the junction of Deer Creek and Chilcotin River, — and on the north and south hunted over part of the same grounds used by the Fraser River division. At the crossing of the Hanceville trail over Deer or Big Creek is one of their boundary-marks, in the shape of two bowlders, called the "Coyote's Sweat-Houses," which

<sup>1</sup> -u'lâx, or -xu'lâx, means "country;" and sLem seems to have some connection with the names Slatlemuḡ, iemsin', Slaxai'uḡ, Setl, — all names along Fraser River.

defines the eastern limits of the Chilcotin hunting-grounds in those parts (Fig. 200). All that now remains of the Se'tlemux are one or two families who have a reservation near the mouth of Chilcotin River on the south side, and a very few old people and their descendants settled among their friends at Alkali Lake. I shall refer to them as the Cañon division.

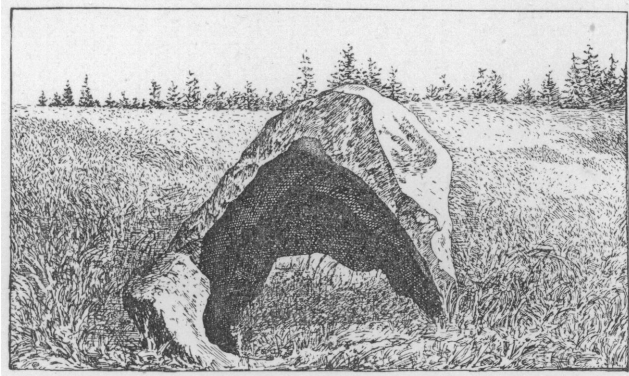


Fig. 200. Coyote's Sweat-House.

3. The Stie'tamux ("interior people"). This division inhabits the interior of the plateau between Fraser and North Thompson Rivers, with headquarters near Canoe or Canim Lake. Most Indians classed the Lac la Hache people in this division. They fished and hunted around the lakes of the plateau, and ranged very little south, east, or west, because of their proximity to the grounds of other

divisions. To the north, however, they hunted around the eastern parts of Horsefly and Quesnel Lakes, the Clearwater Lakes, and up into the Caribou Mountains opposite the Yellow Head Pass. I shall call this people the Lake division.

4. The Texqa'kallt or Texqé'kalltemux ("people of the upper reaches or top"). These are the people of the whole North Thompson region. Many Indians subdivide them into two bands, — (1) the Nsi'mpxemux ("people of North Thompson River" [nsimpx]), those who live on the lower part, with headquarters at the Red Trees Reserve, about fifty miles above the mouth of the river; and (2) the Texqa'kallt or Texqakalltō'ē ("people of upper reaches proper") or Xexka'llt ("those at the top"), those almost completely nomadic Indians who live nearly in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, around the head waters of North Thompson River, the Yellow Head Pass, and Jasper House. I shall name them the Upper North Thompson band; and the whole division, the North Thompson division. On the west their hunting-grounds are co-extensive with those of the Lake division, while east and north they extend along Adams Lake, include Canoe River, part of the Big Bend of the Columbia, part of the Rocky Mountain region (around the head of the Athabasca), and the Upper Fraser country north towards the head of Smoky River nearly to latitude 54°. At the present day most of the Upper North Thompson band are mixed a great deal with Iroquois and Cree. I have not visited them, although I met some individuals of them, and I cannot say to what extent the Shuswap language is spoken among them. Those I met spoke Shuswap, but were also proficient in Cree, and understood a good deal of

Canadian French. The most of these mixed people are now located in the vicinity of Jasper House, east of the Rocky Mountains; and although through long years of intermarriage (principally with Shuswap women) the Iroquois and Cree of that region must be largely Shuswap in blood, I cannot say definitely which language or which blood has the ascendancy. I am of the opinion that the largest element of their blood is Shuswap, but that Cree is probably the language most spoken. However, this is only an opinion, and I am not sure about it. I have assigned this piece of country on the map to the Shuswap: and from the present state of our knowledge regarding these people, they are probably as much entitled to it as either the Iroquois or Cree. This band are often called "Rocky Mountain Shuswap" by the whites; and possibly "Rocky Mountain band" might be a preferable title for them, instead of "Upper North Thompson band." Belonging originally to this division is the band of Shuswap located on Upper Columbia River near Lake Windermere. They are called from the name of a former chief "Kenpê'sqet's children" by the other Shuswap; to the whites they are known as the Kin-baskets, or Kootenai Shuswap. Their hunting-country extends on both sides of the Columbia, north to beyond Golden. I shall refer to them as the Kin-baskets. They have intermarried frequently with the Kootenai.

5. The Sxstê'llnemux ("people of Sxstê'lln"). These comprise the Indians on the Upper South Thompson, Shuswap Lake, and Spallumcheen River. They hunt south along Salmon River, north on Adams Lake to the Columbia above Revelstoke, and east around Mabel and Sugar Lakes to Upper Arrow Lake. Sometimes they hunted even beyond the latter in the mountains east of Lardeau and Nakusp. It seems the Arrow Lakes were more or less disputed ground, a band of Okanagon in Washington claiming them almost to as far north as Revelstoke. On the whole, however, they seem to have been more frequently occupied and utilized by the Shuswap. I shall call these people the Shuswap Lake division. Belonging originally to this division, or at least having greatest affinity to it, is the small band of Shuswap located on Lower Arrow Lake, where they have a reserve, and hunt the country as far north as Revelstoke, and as far south as the junction of Kootenay River with the Columbia. They may be called the Arrow Lake band.

6. The Stkamlu'lepsemux ("people of the confluence; namely, of North and South Thompson Rivers); also sometimes called Sexwapmux'ô'ê ("Shuswap proper"). There seems to be some rivalry for this name, as some Indians claim it for the Shuswap Lake band, and some members of the lower group of the Fraser River division say it is most applicable to them. These are the people of Kamloops and of Savona. They hunt in the country south to Stump Lake, in all the territory around Kamloops Lake, and along part of the South and main Thompson Rivers. Northwards they claim all Deadman's Creek, some of the head waters of the Bonaparte, and the country on each



side of the North Thompson for some fifteen miles or more (some say to near Louis Creek). I shall call them the Kamloops division.

7. Zaxtci'nemux ("people of the low valley, or shore," because their valleys are lower than those occupied by the other Shuswap). This division claims the valley of the Bonaparte River to near Ashcroft on the main Thompson, Cache Creek, Loon Lake, the lower part of Hat Creek, through Marble Cañon to Pavilion, and both sides of Fraser River near there. I shall name them the Bonaparte division. To them belong the band formerly inhabiting Thompson River between Savona and Ashcroft.

DIALECTS. — The differences in dialect between the several divisions of the Shuswap are very slight, especially in so far as grammatical structure and vocabulary are concerned. The chief differences are those of accent, intonation, and pronunciation. The main body of the tribe, consisting of the Kamloops, Bonaparte, and Fraser River divisions, speak practically the same dialect. The Lake and North Thompson divisions speak almost alike, and differ slightly from the main group. The Shuswap Lake division differs the most, these people having a "heavy," labored mode of utterance, and their speech sounds jerky and guttural in comparison with that of other Shuswap. The Thompson is considered the nearest related language.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY. — Wood, water, and grass are abundant in almost every part of the Shuswap country. As the Kamloops and Bonaparte divisions live within the "bunch-grass country" or the "dry belt" of British Columbia, their habitat partakes of the semi-arid features of that region, and in aspect and climate is practically the same as the country of the Upper Thompson. These characteristics also extend up the valley of Fraser River to a little beyond the mouth of Chilcotin River. The mountains west of Fraser River are very high near the confines of the Lillooet country, where they seem to form spurs of the Coast Range; but farther north they gradually assume a lower and more open aspect, until near the Chilcotin valley they die away into rolling hills and more or less open plains. Beyond there the country assumes more the nature of a forested plateau. The country on the opposite side of Fraser River, east to North Thompson River, consists mostly of a great rolling plateau, more or less densely wooded, and containing many lakes, swamps, and grassy openings. On the east side of North Thompson River the country is generally rough and mountainous, and these characteristics increase northwards, and eastwards towards the Rocky Mountain Range. Around the upper part of Shuswap Lake, Lower Spallumcheen, Canoe River, and the Big Bend of the Columbia, the timber is usually quite dense, and the climate wet. From the Bonaparte and Kamloops districts, both in a northerly and an easterly direction, the snowfall gradually increases, grass becomes scarcer, and the winters are much colder and longer. The larger valleys are at elevations of from 270 to 750 metres above sea-level, and the

plateaus average from 1000 to 1300 metres. The timber-line is generally at an altitude of from 1800 to 2100 metres, and the mountains range from 2100 to 4500 metres in height. The timber consists principally of yellow pine (in the low, arid valleys), Douglas fir (scarce towards the north), Engelmann spruce (chiefly on the higher plateaus), black pine (mostly on the lower plateaus). Hemlock, cedar, yew, balsam, and white pine are found only in the eastern part of the country, particularly in the Shuswap Lake region. Tamarack is confined to the southeast, and white-barked pine (*P. albicaulis*) chiefly to the higher hills in the west. Birch, alder, maple, aspen, poplar, and willow are found along the banks of nearly all the streams, lakes, and springs.

**BANDS AND VILLAGES.** — The people of all the tribal divisions are further divided into a number of bands wintering in certain definite localities, with headquarters at a principal village. These bands, although in olden times somewhat better defined than those of the Thompson Indians, were not so well marked fifty years ago as now. This was owing to the far greater number of small villages existing at that time. The inhabitants of those situated at equal distances from two central villages or headquarters of different bands sometimes affiliated with one band, sometimes with the other. Besides, the small wintering-places were frequently changed, and even the main locality or village of a band would have more families one winter, and less another. Some families were more nomadic than others, and each band would have people from neighboring villages living with them every winter. Yet, on the whole, each band was composed of a group of families closely related among themselves, who generally wintered within a definite locality, at or within a few miles of a larger village or centre. At the present day the several bands and their reserves are well defined by arbitrary boundaries, recognized by the Indians themselves and also by the Indian Department.

The bands of the Shuswap, and their principal villages (past and present), are enumerated here. The list comprises all the recognized bands that existed from fifty-five to sixty years ago. The numbered ones continue to exist.

## FRASER RIVER DIVISION.

<i>Band.</i>	<i>Principal Village or Headquarters.</i>
1. Soda Creek band, or "people of Hatsu'ł" . . . . .	Hatsu'ł or Ha'tsu'ł. <sup>1</sup>
Buckskin Creek band, or "people of Tcuxkeḡwa'nk", or "people of Axqomăit" (Buckskin Creek) . . . . .	Tcuxkeḡwa'nk. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hatsu'ł, on the east side of Fraser River, a little below the town of Soda Creek, and about 165 miles north of Ashcroft, *via* the Caribou wagon-road. They have reserves and a few houses on Deep Creek and at Mud Lake. This is the most northerly band of the Shuswap on Fraser River. The next band, 18 miles above, at Alexandria, are Carrier mixed with Shuswap and Chilcotin. This was a numerous band. Formerly their winter houses extended in groups along the east side of the river, north more than halfway to Alexandria. Some of them also wintered along Deep Creek and on the west side of Fraser River.

<sup>2</sup> On Buckskin Creek, west side of Fraser River, a few miles south of Soda Creek. This band was exterminated by small-pox. A very few descendants are among the Soda Creek people.

*Principal Village or  
Headquarters.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 2. Williams Lake or Sugar-Cane band, or "people of Skolā'ten" (Williams Lake), or "people of Łka'kaike" (place near Williams Lake). . . . .  | Pełtcoktcotci'tcen. <sup>1</sup>                      |
| 3. Alkali Lake band . . . . .  | Ska <sup>st</sup> or Sqa <sup>st</sup> . <sup>2</sup> |
| 4. Dog Creek band, or "people of the deep hollow" . . . .  | Rā'tltēm or Rātlt ("deep") <sup>3</sup>               |
| 5. Canoe Creek band . . . . .  | Teawa'x ("creek"). <sup>4</sup>                       |
| Empire Valley band (Tceḡwe'pkamuḡ, "people of the pillar hollow") . . . . .  | Tceḡwe'ptēm or Tcexitū'ptēm. <sup>5</sup>             |
| Big Bar band, or "people of Steka'uz," or "people of the little hanging bridge" (from stoxala'losem, meaning "little bridge," or possibly "hanging down trail") . . . . .  | Steka'uz. <sup>6</sup>                                |
| 6. High Bar band (Łenłena'itmuḡ, "people of Łenłena'iten," the name of their present village; also called "people of the place where the trail goes down" (from Stlepta'uzten, "place where trail goes down," the name of the creek just north of Kelly Creek) . . . . . | Łenłena'iten. <sup>7</sup>                            |
| 7. Clinton band, or "people of the white earth place," or "people of the lake" (from Pa'zulkua, the name of Kelly Lake) . . . . .  | Pełtēqet. <sup>8</sup>                                |

<sup>1</sup> In the Williams Lake valley, east of Fraser River, a short distance below the 150-mile post (from Lillooet), and about 140 miles north of Ashcroft. This was a large band. Formerly they lived in seven villages, and had, besides, other winter camps. They lived principally around Williams Lake, but some wintered along Fraser River down to near Chimney Creek, and others up the San José valley to Lac la Hache.

<sup>2</sup> A little north of Alkali Lake, east of Fraser River, about 116 miles from Ashcroft. Some of the band used to winter along Fraser River as far north as Chimney Creek, and others lived west of the Fraser, at the mouth of Chilcotin River. Some Indians class the latter with the Cañon division (see Cañon division).

<sup>3</sup> The name of the lower part of Dog Creek valley, where most of them formerly had their homes. Their headquarters is still here, on a reserve a little above Dog Creek Post-Office, about three miles from the mouth of the creek (on the east side of Fraser River), and about a hundred miles from Ashcroft. This was once a considerable band, some of them wintering in the Fraser valley. They were almost exterminated by small-pox in 1862 or 1863.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Canoe Creek, along which most of them wintered in a number of small groups. Some of them also wintered along Fraser River from opposite Churn Creek down to Crow's Bar, and in a small valley leading from Fraser River to Canoe Creek. At the present day their main village is on Canoe Creek, 3 miles or so from the mouth, and about 80 miles from Ashcroft.

<sup>5</sup> This name is said to mean "hollow or dale with something stuck up in it," — a pillar or peak, — the name applied to the lower part of Lone Cabin Creek, on the west side of Fraser River, a few miles below the mouth of Canoe Creek, where some of this band used to winter. Other portions of the band wintered in Empire Valley and along the west side of Fraser River, north to Churn Creek, and south about halfway to Big Bar. A number of this band did not use underground houses, but wintered in tents. They were greatly reduced in numbers by a war-party of Lillooet who, about 1825, massacred a large camp of them wintering at the Red Butte, near Empire Valley, and again by small-pox in 1862. The remnants of them settled with the Canoe Creek band. This band was closely related to the Canoe Creek people.

<sup>6</sup> This name may possibly mean "closed-in trail." The place was the headquarters of this band, near the mouth of Big Bar Creek. They lived principally in the valley of the creek, and along both sides of Fraser River for some miles below. On the west side of the Fraser they extended up several miles, many of them living around the mouth of Big Creek or Watson Bar Creek. They were at one time very numerous. A few of their descendants are now among the Canoe Creek and High Bar bands. A couple of families still make their homes on Big Bar Creek, but they are now classed with the High Bar band.

<sup>7</sup> They live on the east side of Fraser River, about twenty-five miles or more northwest of Clinton. They have houses and reserves on both sides of Fraser River. This band was very numerous in former times, and occupied both sides of Fraser River from the confines of the Big Bar band down to near the mouth of Kelly Creek. A large number of them formerly wintered on the creek north of Kelly Creek. This band was closely related to the Big Bar band.

<sup>8</sup> This name means "white earth place," and is just west of the town of Clinton, at the junction of the Lillooet and Caribou wagon-roads, about 33 miles north of Ashcroft. This band lives in a modern location, hardly



## THE CAÑON DIVISION.

<i>Band.</i>	<i>Principal Village or Headquarters.</i>
Riskie Creek band, or "people of the white," or "people of Axmuté'm," or "people of Sesmutté'm" (the Shuswap name of Riskie Creek) . . . . .	Peq ("white"). <sup>1</sup>
North Cañon band, or "people of the cañon," or "people of Setl" (probably "below or at the entrance of a cañon"), or "people of Kwo'mesken," or "people of Snaka'in," — the names of their principal chiefs . . . . .	S'nhaxalā'us ("bridge"). <sup>2</sup>
South Cañon band, or "people of the cañon," or "people of Setl," or "people of Cuxaléllp" (the name of their principal chief) . . . . .	S'nhaxelā'us ("bridge"). <sup>3</sup>
Chilcotin Mouth band, or "people of Texhoilu'ps" . . . . .	Texhoilu'ps. <sup>4</sup>

## THE LAKE DIVISION.

<i>Band.</i>	
Lac la Hache band, or "people of Hatli'nten or Halli'nten" (the name of Lac la Hache) . . . . .	Hatli'nten <sup>5</sup> or Halli'nten.

any of them wintering here before 1865. They are the remnants of a very numerous band formerly living from Kelly Lake to Fraser River, with headquarters on Kelly Creek nearly 2 miles below Pear Lake. Here are the remains of fully fifty underground houses in one group, and over a hundred caches or cellars. Some of these houses have not been inhabited for a long time, as there are fir-trees from 70 cm. to 100 cm. in diameter growing in the middle of some of them. There must be some large graveyards near here, but I saw no traces of them. The people of this band were very closely related to the High Bar band, and some Indians class them as one.

The people of Big Bar, High Bar, and Clinton bands were very closely related among themselves, and were looked upon practically as one people. Another group closely related among themselves, although not in the same degree as the first named, were the Empire Valley, Canoe Creek, and Dog Creek bands, who collectively are said to have been more closely related to the first-named or southern group than to the bands farther north. These six bands formed the lower group of the Fraser River people. The Alkali Lake band was very closely related to the whole Cañon division, forming with them a group by themselves. Collectively they were much more closely related to the northern bands than to the southern, and therefore, with the Williams Lake, Buckskin Creek, and Soda Creek bands, may be classed as forming the upper group of Fraser River. The last three bands were related within themselves, although perhaps not to the same extent as the bands forming some of the other groups.

<sup>1</sup> This band lived on Riskie Creek, a small stream a few miles north of the mouth of Chilcotin River, and was practically exterminated by small-pox in 1862, the few survivors settling among the Alkali Lake people. Some time after the Shuswap ceased to reside here, a band of Chilcotin commenced to resort there, and obtained from the Government the grant of a reserve, upon which they now reside.

<sup>2</sup> On the north side of Chilcotin River, near the foot of the cañon, and said to be about 10 miles from the mouth of the river. A large bridge spanned the river here, and the village was situated close to the north end of it. The people were almost exterminated by small-pox in 1862. Some of the survivors removed to Alkali Lake; and others, who had close relatives among the Chilcotin, settled with the Anahem band of that tribe. Their village was often called "Kwo'mesken's Village."

<sup>3</sup> On the south side of Chilcotin River, near the south end of the bridge, and just opposite the north village. This village was often called "Cuxaléllp's Village," from the name of their head chief. The people here shared the fate of the North Cañon band, the few survivors of the small-pox epidemic settling with the Alkali band.

<sup>4</sup> This name has some connection with "confluence," meaning perhaps "straight confluence." The village was near the mouth of Chilcotin River. Here most of the people lived, but some of them also wintered along the west side of Fraser River for several miles, principally south of Chilcotin River. One or two families still live around here, where they have a reserve, but are now classed with the Alkali Lake band. Joe Kala'llst is their chief man. The people of this band were also nearly all killed off by an epidemic of small-pox. Many Indians class this band with the Alkali Lake people, so that it may not be correct to assign them to the Cañon division. Some Indians, however, aver that they were the same as the South Cañon band.

<sup>5</sup> These people wintered in little groups of two or three families each, along the shores of Lac la Hache and on some creeks, principally south of it. One or two families still live part of the year around here; but they

*Principal Village or  
Headquarters.*

8. Canim Lake band, or "people of Tsqa'sxen" (which seems to mean "to strike one stone on another"), or "people of the little swan" (from pespakemi'mex, "little swan," the name of a place about 6 miles down Canim Lake, on the south side). . . . . Tsqa'sxen.<sup>1</sup>
- Green Timber band, or "people of Pelstsokomu's" (from the name of a fish) . . . . . Pelstsokomu's.<sup>2</sup>

## NORTH THOMPSON DIVISION.

*Band.*

9. Upper Thompson band, or "people of the upper reaches," or "those at the top" . . . . . Pesskala'lten ("salmon place").<sup>3</sup>
10. Lower North Thompson band, or "people of the red trees," or "people of Nsimpx" (the name of North Thompson River) . . . . . Tcoqtceqwa'llk ("red trees").<sup>4</sup>
11. The Kinbaskets,<sup>5</sup> or "children or people of Kenpé'sket" (the name of their original chief). . . . . —

are now classed, it seems, with the Williams Lake people. Some of this band never used underground houses. In recent times this band has been designated by the southern Shuswap as "people of the axe," a name probably derived from the modern name of the lake.

<sup>1</sup> They lived a little east of Canim or Canoe Lake, and about 20 miles east of Bridge Creek, on the Caribou Road, about 64 miles north of Clinton. A number of this band wintered in small groups around Canim Lake, the valley of Bridge Creek, Horse Lake, and other spots. Several families of this band always wintered in lodges. The whole band now live in a village about 4 miles above the head of Canim Lake, at Tsqa'sxen. Formerly the band had three principal villages, the chief of which was Pespakemi'mex; the second was at or near the site of their present village; and the third was about 8 miles west of it, on the trail to Bridge Creek, at a place called Pelta'laxen. A few of the Canim Lake band used to winter on Mahood Lake. At the present day they keep canoes on both lakes for the purposes of travelling and fishing. The native name of Canim Lake is Kolr'la. Members of the Canim Lake band sometimes went as far north as Quesnel Lake, where they hunted, trapped, and fished. To the east they frequented Clearwater River from near its mouth right north to its source beyond Clearwater Lake. Their hunting-country was formerly very prolific in caribou and bear. Rabbits and lynx were also very abundant. Deer summered in large numbers within the territory of the Canim Lake people, but migrated every fall, only a very few wintering in low places along the shores of Mahood Lake and the Lower Clearwater. The Lac la Hache and Canim Lake bands were more migratory than the bands belonging to Fraser River. The Canim Lake band intermarried more with the North Thompson people than with the Fraser River people.

<sup>2</sup> This is a lake near the head of Bonaparte River, where most of this band wintered. Five or more kinds of fish were very abundant here. The band is now extinct; a very few descendants are among the Canim Lake people. Most of the band wintered in lodges, and underground houses were seldom made.

<sup>3</sup> This band was numerous at one time, but had, it seems, no main village, the people wintering in groups of a few families along Upper North Thompson River, north from above Little Fort, but with a centre at Pesskala'lten. They were very nomadic, and a number of families lived most of the time beyond North Thompson River, at the head of Fraser River, and east through the Rocky Mountains to Jasper House. Of late years there seems to have been a concentration of the people around the latter place. A good many of this band wintered in lodges. This band is not within any agency, and appears to have no reserves. They are mixed a great deal with Cree and Iroquois; and the number of real Shuswap, or those habitually speaking the Shuswap language, is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> About 50 miles from Kamloops, on the east bank of North Thompson River. Formerly this band wintered in small groups of from one to four underground houses on both sides of North Thompson River (but principally on the east bank) from Little Fort down to about 20 miles above Kamloops. They have now all been gathered on one reserve at Tcoqtceqwa'llk.

<sup>5</sup> This band live on reserves nearly opposite the mouth of Toby Creek, on the right bank of Columbia River, not far from the outlet of Lower Columbia or Salmon Lake. They lived for many years in a more or less nomadic state, wintering and ranging in the Columbia valley, chiefly between Golden and Windermere. The ancestors of these people belonged mostly to the Upper North Thompson band. It seems, however, that some of them belonged to the Lower North Thompson band, and a few to the Adams Lake and Shuswap Lake bands.

## THE BONAPARTE DIVISION.

<i>Band.</i>	<i>Principal Village or Headquarters.</i>
12. Pavilion band, or "people of the brown or burnt-like ground"	Skwa'ilâx (probably "burned ground" or "brown ground"). <sup>1</sup>
13. Bonaparte River band, or "people of Sloxtā'us" (the Indian name of Bonaparte River and valley). It may mean "clear or shallow way or river". . . . .	Nhoxiē'ilten. <sup>2</sup>
Main Thompson band <sup>3</sup> (Snkoā'tkuamux, "people of the one river;" from Snkoā'tkwa, "the one river," the Shuswap name of the main Thompson River). . . . .	—

## THE KAMLOOPS DIVISION.

<i>Band.</i>	
14. The Savona, or Deadman's Creek band, or "people of the head waters or sources" (from sqemqai'n, "head, top, or source," the Indian name of Savona, because the main Thompson leaves the lake here) . . . . .	Sketski'tcesten or Stskitcesten. <sup>4</sup>
15. Kamloops band, or "people of the confluence" . . . . .	Stkamlu'leps or Kamlu'ps ("confluence"). <sup>5</sup>

## SHUSWAP LAKE DIVISION.

<i>Band.</i>	
16. South Thompson band, or "people of Halā'ut" . . . . .	Halā'ut. <sup>6</sup>
17. Adams Lake band, <sup>7</sup> or "people of Sxsté'lln," which seems to be the name for Adams Lake or some place at or near it . . . . .	—

<sup>1</sup> On the north side of Pavilion Creek, east of Fraser River, about 23 miles northeast of Lillooet. Some of their reserves are located on the west side of Fraser River, and a few families live south of Pavilion in the Marble Cañon. Formerly some of this band wintered along the east side of Fraser River to within a short distance of La Fontaine. This band is nearest to the Lillooet, a village of the latter being at La Fontaine, 14 miles away.

<sup>2</sup> On the west side of Bonaparte River, about 10 miles from its mouth. Some of this band live on reserves on Lower Hat Creek, and they also have reserves at Loon Lake and on Thompson River.

<sup>3</sup> These people lived along both sides of the main Thompson River, principally on the north side, from above Pennies to below Cornwalls. They are now extinct, the remnants of them having settled with the Bonaparte band, and a few with the Savona people. They lived in small groups, like the North Thompson people, and their centre seems to have been a little above Ashcroft. Their extinction was largely caused by epidemics.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly this means "arriving-place." It is on Deadman's Creek, a few miles back from Savona, on the north side of Thompson River. Formerly some of these people wintered along both sides of Kamloops Lake, more than halfway up, and some others on the river below the outlet of the lake down to a little above Pennies.

<sup>5</sup> At the confluence, between the mouths of the North and South Thompson Rivers, opposite the town of Kamloops. Formerly many of this band wintered along both sides of North and South Thompson Rivers for several miles up, and down Kamloops Lake a short distance.

<sup>6</sup> On the north side of South Thompson River, about 3 or 4 miles below the outlet of Little Shuswap Lake, about 31 miles east of Kamloops. Formerly these people wintered from near the lower end of the lake, along both sides of South Thompson River, as far west as Ducks. Their main grounds seem to have been, however, on South Thompson River from 3 to 6 or more miles below the foot of Little Shuswap Lake.

<sup>7</sup> Most of this band formerly wintered at the outlet and around the lower part of Adams Lake. Some of them passed part of the year, and occasionally wintered, on Great and Little Shuswap Lakes. At the present day most of them live at the foot of Little Shuswap Lake, about 35 miles east of Kamloops, where they have reserves. They also have reserves on Adams Lake.

*Principal Village or  
Headquarters.*

18. Shuswap Lake band, or "people of Sxotcamé'lp" (the name of a place on Salmon Arm, where they have a village) . Kwā'ut.<sup>1</sup>
19. Spallumcheen band, or "people of the flat-banked or prairie-banked river" . . . . . Spé'lemtcin ("flat or prairie shore").<sup>2</sup>
20. Arrow Lake band<sup>3</sup> . . . . . —

TRIBAL BOUNDARIES. — So far as tradition goes, the tribal boundaries have been nearly the same as at the present day. About 1860, or later, a number of families wintered on Fraser River several miles north of the present northernmost village of Soda Creek; but as these places were within the present recognized hunting-grounds, and have not been occupied by any alien people, the extinction or withdrawal of the people from these places does not mark any contraction of the tribal territory. A large part of the old hunting-grounds in Caribou and north of the head of Fraser River are hardly ever used now, owing to the decrease in the numbers of the tribe and to the change in manner of living. Neither did the settlement of the Kinbaskets on the Upper Columbia really mark any change or extension of the tribal boundaries, as that region was hunted over more or less by Shuswap parties as far back as tradition goes. Since the extinction of the Cañon division, and other bands formerly inhabiting the west side of Fraser River, and since the introduction of white man's laws which prevent any retaliation, the Chilcotin have gradually encroached on these grounds, and a band of them have settled permanently on Riskie Creek, where the Government has given them a reserve. Nevertheless the Shuswap still claim and use their old hunting-grounds in this region.

South of Chilcotin River, the Chilcotin continue to encroach on the territory of the Shuswap, although they do not claim to own it, and now often hunt in sight of Fraser River. The Shuswap harbor considerable ill-feeling against these Chilcotin hunting-parties, who are looked upon as poachers, who, after destroying most of the game in their own country, now seek to ruin the Shuswap hunting-grounds as well. Within the last ten years the Stone Chilcotin, who have killed off most of the deer in their own country, have

<sup>1</sup> At the head of Little Shuswap Lake, about 42 miles east of Kamloops. This band formerly lived along Great Shuswap Lake from the head of Little Shuswap Lake, and farther to the east, wintering in a number of places. At the present day they live mostly at the head of the Little Lake and at Salmon Arm, about 63 miles east of Kamloops, where they have reserves. The last-named three bands were very closely related to one another.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a name for the more or less open part of the Spallumcheen valley near Enderby. The present village of the band is situated about a mile and a half south of Enderby, on the west side of the river. They have reserves here and on Salmon River. Their chief wintering-point in early days seems to have been near their present headquarters. This band is related rather closely to the Shuswap Lake band.

<sup>3</sup> Since 1902 this band has had a reserve on the west side of Lower Arrow Lake, where they make their headquarters. Formerly; they roamed along Columbia River between Revelstoke and the American boundary-line, hunting and fishing; and they do even now in some measure. These people are mixed with Kootenai to some extent. Formerly, it seems, they were closely related to the Spallumcheen band.

been spending the greater part of the summer and fall on the Shuswap hunting-grounds, gradually extending their range farther south, until now they often appear at Big Bar.

The only real change in the tribal boundaries seems to have been along Fraser and Thompson Rivers. On the former river, according to tradition, the Shuswap, at one time long ago, extended along the east side, nearly or quite as far down as opposite the present town of Lillooet. This branch of the tribe have gradually been absorbed by the Lillooet, their descendants forming fully one-half of the present Fountain band of that tribe. In this direction, therefore, the tribal boundaries have shrunk at least fifteen miles. On the main Thompson River a band of the Bonaparte division extended chiefly on the north side as far west as eight or more miles below Ashcroft. These people have partly been absorbed by the Thompson River Indians, who now occupy the country up to Ashcroft, and beyond it to Pennies on the south side of the river.

POPULATION. — The population of the tribe is somewhat more than that of the Thompson Indians, but is now probably less than one-third of what it was fifty years ago. Small-pox epidemics have been the prime cause of this decrease. This disease has visited portions of the tribe twice; and in 1862 and 1863 it was especially severe, wiping out whole villages. At that time the Cañon division, and other bands living on the west side of Fraser River, contracted the disease from the Chilcotin, and were practically exterminated. Spreading east across Fraser River, it ran through most of the other Shuswap bands, making great havoc. The Shuswap transmitted it to the Thompson, and probably also to the Lillooet, and the latter especially succumbed in great numbers. It also spread north and decimated the Lower Carrier. Of one of their bands which inhabited Bear Lake in the Caribou Mountains, only one or two persons survived. The Chilcotin, who themselves suffered severely, seem to have contracted the disease from the Bella Coola Indians of the coast.<sup>1</sup> Small-pox has not devastated the Shuswap territory since; but other causes have had a similar effect, although slower in their operation. The settlement of the country by the whites, and the consequent change in the manner of living of the Indians, with the attendant introduction of new laws, of whiskey, of venereal and other diseases, seem to have helped to weaken the race, and to have hastened their decrease. Epidemics, such as measles, scarlatina, whooping-cough, and influenza, have sometimes been very severe, and every few years have killed off very many children. As with the Thompson, births have been frequent; but the mortality among children has been so great, that in most bands very few have lived to be adults. Tuberculosis has carried off a good many of the

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<sup>1</sup> See Morice, *History of Northern British Columbia*, pp. 300, 301.

younger adults of late years, but this disease does not seem to be quite so frequent now. Those bands living closest to the principal settlements of the whites have decreased the most. Of late some bands have almost held their own. The birth-rate seems to have risen, or the infant mortality has decreased. It may be of interest here to compare the population of the present bands of the tribe, taken from the Reports of the Indian Department of Canada for 1903 and 1906, with an estimate of the population of all the bands about 1850, as furnished by an intelligent old Indian, who is particularly well posted on all matters concerning his people, and who had travelled extensively among almost all the bands of the tribe.

BAND.	ESTIMATED POPULATION ABOUT 1850.	RETURNS OF INDIAN DEPT.	
		1903.	1906.
<i>Fraser River Division.</i>			
1. Soda Creek band . . . . .	300	81	81
Buckskin Creek band . . . . .	50 <sup>1</sup>	—	—
2. Williams Lake band . . . . .	350	153	155
3. Alkali Lake band . . . . .	175	159 <sup>2</sup>	172
4. Dog Creek band . . . . .	200	17 <sup>3</sup>	20
5. Canoe Creek band. . . . .	250	161 <sup>4</sup>	163
Empire Valley band . . . . .	100 <sup>4</sup>	—	—
Big Bar band . . . . .	625	— <sup>5</sup>	—
6. High Bar band . . . . .		52	55
7. Clinton (or Kellys Creek) band . .		46	50
Total . . . . .	2050	669	696
<i>Cañon Division.<sup>6</sup></i>			
Riskie Creek band. . . . .	100	—	—
North Cañon band. . . . .	200	—	—
South Cañon band. . . . .	300	—	—
Chilcotin Mouth band . . . . .	100	—	—
Total . . . . .	700	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Remnants settled at Soda Creek.

<sup>2</sup> Augmented after 1863 by the survivors of the Cañon division.

<sup>3</sup> Number probably too low.

<sup>4</sup> The Empire Valley band has been on the decline since the massacre by the Lillooet. About 1810 or 1820 they may have numbered from 250 to 300. After 1863 the remnants settled at Canoe Creek.

<sup>5</sup> Remnants settled at High Bar, a few at Canoe Creek.

<sup>6</sup> See Footnote 2. A few people of the North Cañon band settled among the Chilcotin.



BAND.	ESTIMATED POPULATION ABOUT 1850.	RETURNS OF INDIAN DEPT.	
		1903.	1906.
<i>Lake Division.</i>			
Lac la Hache band . . . . .	100	—	—
8. Canim Lake band . . . . .	350	83	77
Green Timber band . . . . .	100 <sup>1</sup>	—	—
Total . . . . .	550	83	77
<i>North Thompson Division.</i>			
9. Upper North Thompson band . .	250	Estimated 70 or less <sup>2</sup>	70
10. Lower North Thompson band . .	500	130	130
11. Kinbaskets . . . . .	150	56	62
Total . . . . .	900	256	262
<i>Bonaparte Division.</i>			
12. Pavilion band . . . . .	150	68	68
13. Bonaparte band . . . . .	400	158	160
Main Thompson band . . . . .	150 <sup>3</sup>	—	—
Total . . . . .	700	226	228
<i>Kamloops Division.</i>			
14. Deadman's Creek . . . . .	350	116	122
15. Kamloops band . . . . .	550	243 <sup>4</sup>	242
Total . . . . .	900	359	364

<sup>1</sup> The relative number of these three bands is not quite certain. A few people of Lac la Hache settled at Williams Lake.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated by myself as not included in the returns of the Indian Department.

<sup>3</sup> This band had suffered a considerable decrease prior to the year 1850. They probably numbered fully 300 somewhere about 1820 or 1825. The remnant settled with the Bonaparte band, a few with the Deadman's Creek band.

<sup>4</sup> Including accessions from the Lower North Thompson band and also from the South Thompson band since 1860.

BAND.	ESTIMATED POPULATION ABOUT 1850.	RETURNS OF INDIAN DEPT.	
		1903.	1906.
<i>Shuswap Lake Division.</i>			
16. South Thompson band . . . . .	400	154	152
17. Adams Lake band . . . . .	400	189	194
18. Shuswap Lake band . . . . .	200	83	88
19. Spallumcheen band . . . . .	300	140	150
20. Arrow Lake band . . . . .	100	26	25
Total . . . . .	1400	592	609
Grand totals . . . . .	7200	2185	2236

Comparing the returns of the Indian Department for 1906 with those of 1903, it appears that during the three years, 12 of the 19 bands reported on showed an increase, 4 showed a decrease, and 3 were stationary. By divisions the results are as follows: —

<i>Division.</i>	<i>Increase.</i>	<i>Decrease.</i>
Fraser River division . . . . .	27	—
Lake division . . . . .	—	6
North Thompson division . . . . .	6	—
Bonaparte division . . . . .	2	—
Kamloops division . . . . .	5	—
Shuswap Lake division . . . . .	17	—
	57	6
Net increase in 1906 . . . . .	51	

MIGRATIONS AND INTERCOURSE. — Some whites believe that the Shuswap never had any permanent settlements west of Fraser River, while others think that they at one time occupied nearly all the Chilcotin country extending in a continuous line to the Bella Coola, but that they have gradually been driven out of that country.

Both of these beliefs are altogether wrong. There is an abundance of evidence to disprove the former opinion, and there is no evidence whatever in support of the latter. Not even the traditions of the tribes lend support to these theories. The Shuswap claim that they never occupied the country farther west than they did in 1858, when the white miners arrived. No doubt, the Chilcotin would have liked to dispossess the Shuswap of the valuable fishing-sites at the Cañon of Chilcotin River and along Fraser River; but, being a weak tribe in comparison with the Shuswap, they were no

doubt unable to do so. It is very likely that they envied the Shuswap their possession of Fraser River, for they began to occupy it as soon as it was safe to do so, after the extinction of the Shuswap inhabitants of that region and the introduction of white men's laws, which recognized no tribal boundaries, and precluded the possibility of war and retaliation.

It seems, there is only one tradition of an historical migration known to the tribe, — that of Kenpê'sket, a well-known North Thompson chief, who, with fifty or sixty friends, mostly members of the same division, migrated to the head of Columbia River, on the confines of the Kootenai tribe. Kempê'sket and some of his followers had often been in that region on hunting-trips, and knew the country well. They made the trips mostly with canoes by way of Canoe River; and on arriving at their destination, they made an alliance with the Stony Indians of the Rocky Mountains, some of whom were in the habit of going to Columbia River in the fall to fish for salmon. The Shuswap depended on them for aid in case the Kootenai should try to drive them out; and the Stonies were protected by the Shuswap against the Kootenai in maintaining their rights to fish salmon and to pick berries in that region. This migration took place about sixty-five years ago. Every two or three years Kenpê'sket, or some of his people, would visit their old home; and upon their return to their own village others frequently accompanied them, to remain in the new settlement for a time or permanently. Gradually, as a new generation sprang up in both places, the friendship relaxed, and of late years there has been very little intercourse between the Kinbaskets and their kindred. At present some of the Shuswap Lake Indians use the railroad when visiting the Kinbaskets.

Although in the Shuswap country intercourse was easy between almost all parts, yet, as might be expected, owing to the great extent of territory, the people of the extreme north, south, east, and west, very seldom met one another. The Kamloops people had the most intercourse with the other divisions, particularly after the founding of a trading-post about 1812, for the members of most bands repaired there with their furs. The Bonaparte Indians had much intercourse with the Kamloops division, and a good deal with the lower bands of the Fraser River and Lake divisions. There was intimate intercourse between all the bands living on both sides of Fraser River, although those living in the extreme south did not have much direct dealings with those of the extreme north. The Fraser division had rather frequent intercourse with the Lake people, and these in turn with the North Thompson people, the lower portion of whom often met the Kamloops band. The Shuswap Lake people also visited Kamloops often. On the whole, it seems that the Upper North Thompson people, and the Spallumcheen and Arrow Lake bands, were most isolated, and had least opportunity of meeting with other divisions. Intercourse became more general after the introduction

of horses; but, as the Upper North Thompson and Shuswap Lake people lived in the most forested part of the country, least favorable for the maintenance of horses, this factor had little influence on them.

The Pavilion and High Bar bands had most intercourse with the Lillooet; the main Thompson and the Bonaparte bands, with the Thompson Indians. The Fraser River bands from Big Bar south, and the Kamloops division, met the Thompson Indians much more rarely. The Kamloops, Spallumcheen, and Arrow Lake bands visited the Okanagon; the Kinbaskets and Arrow Lake bands, the Kootenai. The Upper North Thompson bands came into contact with the small band of Iroquois and with the Cree; the Soda Creek band, with the Carrier; and the Cañon division, with the Chilcotin.

The Iroquois band must have settled in this region in the early part of last century, perhaps as early as 1816 or thereabouts. They followed the Canadian fur-traders as servants, free trappers, and hunters. They probably entered the region from the northwest by way of Fraser River, as, according to Father Morice, the Yellow Head Pass was not discovered until shortly prior to 1827.<sup>1</sup>

These Iroquois were sometimes visited by the North Thompson division, and were also met on hunting-trips. Formerly, for many years they had a stationary village at Tête Jaune Cache, which is said to be named from a yellow-haired Iroquois trapper. Many of them tried to avoid Shuswap parties if they thought they belonged to the western bands. Some of them were half Shuswap long ago, as in former days they occasionally abducted and married girls from the Lake and Northern Fraser River people. Once many years ago they captured a girl from the Soda Creek band who happened to be picking berries alone. A party of men followed them to the head waters of the Fraser River, where at last they came to their camp while the fire was still smoking. The Iroquois had escaped, and left the girl tied to a tree and choked to death with a handkerchief. Her basket was hanging from a limb of the same tree. The Iroquois were generally tall, large men, some of them very light in complexion, and others very dark. Their language was not understood. Nearly all of them also spoke French, and some of them spoke Shuswap and Cree. Occasionally a few of them came down to Kamloops to sell furs.

Wherever there was much intercourse, there was frequent intermarriage, and therefore all the above-mentioned people had more or less foreign blood. The bands of the Lake division had practically no intercourse with strange people, and some other bands had very little. It would seem that there is a good deal of Athapascan blood in some parts of the Shuswap tribe. It is said that the Soda Creek band at one time, through frequent intermarriage,

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<sup>1</sup> See Morice, *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, p. 153.

was nearly half Carrier in blood, especially their village of Kalaxu'sten, nearest to Alexandria. The Cañon division, about fifty years ago, were strongly mixed with Chilcotin, so much so that the people of the North Cañon band spoke chiefly Chilcotin in many houses; and the other bands had also a considerable amount of Chilcotin admixture. Before these people were practically exterminated by small-pox, they used to intermarry frequently with all the neighboring bands of Fraser River. At present the Alkali Lake band has the greatest amount of Chilcotin blood; but there is a little at Dog Creek, Canoe Creek, and nearly all along Fraser River. Intermarriage with the Lillooet was chiefly through the Fountain band of the Lillooet; but, as these people were originally half Shuswap, there probably was not very much real Lillooet blood introduced. The Pavilion band at present is much mixed with Lillooet, chiefly of Fountain.

Intermarriage with the Thompson Indians and Okanagon does not seem to have been so extensive as with the Athapascan tribes. The extinct main Thompson band frequently intermarried with the Thompson Indians; and the Bonaparte, High Bar, and Kamloops people did the same, though to a less extent. The Kamloops and Spallumcheen bands did not commonly intermarry with the Okanagon. The Arrow Lake band intermarried a great deal with the Kootenai, and formerly sometimes with the Okanagon of the Columbia. At the present day they are said to be nearly half Kootenai in blood. The Kinbaskets have also mixed to some extent with the Kootenai, and no doubt also with the Stonies, who themselves are mixed with Cree. As already mentioned, the Upper North Thompson people intermarried often with the Cree, and to a less extent with the Iroquois band of the Rocky Mountains.

Some extraneous blood has been introduced by slaves. Most of the latter were sold back to their respective tribes (excepting the Sekanai); but some women were retained, and bore many children to their masters. In this way a number of North Thompson people are descended from Sekanai women, and several individuals along Fraser River are pointed out as being of Lillooet and Slaxai'ux descent. At the present day the percentage of mixture with whites is not any greater than among the Thompson Indians, and I did not hear of any mixture with either negroes or Chinese. There is now hardly any intermarriage between the Shuswap and Athapascan tribes.

MENTAL TRAITS. — The Shuswap seem to be less conservative than the Thompson Indians, and have been quicker to accept the teachings of the missionaries, and to discard their old ways of life. This is evidenced in many ways. Shamans still practise among the Thompson Indians; and dancing, feasting, and potlatching of different kinds are not infrequent. Basket, bag, and mat making are still important industries. Parts of the old style of dress, and a few men with long and braided hair, may still be seen; and

stone pipes are still commonly used. Among the Shuswap all these have disappeared entirely, or almost entirely.

The Shuswap are affectionate and indulgent to their children, courteous to strangers, and kind to their friends, although in these points probably not much more than are other neighboring tribes. They are more reserved than the Thompson Indians, have a more serious mien, and on the whole are perhaps slightly less affable, and not so inclined to be helpful to strangers, except when asked. However, in general deportment, in honesty, and in manner of speech, they resemble the Thompson tribe. The latter consider the Shuswap to be a people possessed of much courage, stability of character, and tenacity of purpose, not whimsical, and not very jocular, but inclined to be conceited, and easily offended. In 1793 the Carrier Indians described the Shuswap to Sir Alexander Mackenzie as "a very malignant race, who lived in large subterranean recesses."<sup>1</sup> Simon Fraser, who traversed their country in 1808, and probably saw many members of all the Fraser River bands, said of them. "The Atnah wish to be friendly to strangers. The men are tall and slender, of a serious disposition, and inclined to industry. . . . They are great travellers, and have been at war beyond the Rocky Mountains. . . . I must say that during the whole time we were there, and although many things were let loose and scattered about in such a manner as to afford all opportunity to the natives, nothing went astray. The Atnahs therefore seem more honest than any other tribe on this side of the mountains."<sup>2</sup> The people of the various divisions of the Shuswap varied a good deal in disposition.

Suicide was formerly rather common, the causes sometimes being very trivial, such as apparent slight or neglect by a relative, or shame. Imbecility and insanity are rare.

It may be worth while stating here the opinions held by the tribe regarding the qualities and average characteristics of their neighbors and also of the several divisions of their own people in former days. To begin with the Shuswap themselves, the people of the Fraser River, Bonaparte, and Kamloops divisions, were considered the most typical Shuswap, good horsemen, manly, bold but without rashness, warlike, proud, inclined to be cruel, aggressive, independent, fond of sport, and often vain.

The Empire Valley band of the Fraser River division was considered inferior in every way. They were said to be less energetic, poorer, and more timid, than the other bands.

The Cañon division were expert salmon-fishers, influential, impulsive, bold, crafty, proud, cunning as traders, loquacious, liberal in gifts, wealthy, leaders in feasting, dancing, and potlatching, and leaders of fashion among

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<sup>1</sup> See Mackenzie, l. c., p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> See Fraser's Journal, pp. 166 and 167.



the western Shuswap, expert gamblers, opposed to war and feuds, sometimes lazy. They seldom did any travelling, hunting, or trapping.

The Lake division were the most expert fishermen and trappers, good hunters, independent, peaceable, non-aggressive, quiet, mild-dispositioned, unwarlike, rather poor,\* and not stylish in dress or showy in manners.

The North Thompson division were probably the best hunters and greatest travellers. They were mild, quiet, steady, rather serious, hospitable, rather poor.

The Shuswap Lake division resembled the North Thompson people in almost all their characteristics. They also travelled considerably, and were good fishermen, canoe-men, and trappers, but rather poor.

The Kinbaskets and Arrow Lake band may be classed with the last two.

The Bonaparte division were considered to be the poorest canoe-men.

The Shuswap of the southern bands were thought to be the tallest, and those of the eastern bands to have long faces and long heads.

The Carrier were considered to be of medium height, light-skinned, good-looking, good trappers, gentle, sociable, good-natured, careless, jocular, loquacious, fond of singing, of great shamanistic powers.

The Chilcotin were shorter than the Carrier and Shuswap, not so good-looking, good hunters and trappers, bold, rough, proud, boastful, cunning, somewhat treacherous, careless in dress, more warlike and quarrelsome than the Carrier and some other tribes, somewhat given to thieving, and of great shamanistic power.

The Lillooet were noted for shortness of stature, roundness of face or head, tendency to obesity among the women; they were good canoe-men and salmon-fishers, poor horsemen, good basket-makers, sharp traders, a people with many taboos and restrictions, unwarlike, mild, generous, hospitable, rather quiet, sociable, mostly good-natured; their women less chaste than those of most of the tribes. Their weapons were inferior. These characteristics were more marked among the Lower Lillooet.

The tribes of the Fraser delta and the coast were not much known, but they were noted for shortness of stature, stoutness of build, large or broad heads, ugliness of their women, also largeness of their canoes. They were supposed to be good canoe-men and poor travellers and hunters.

The *slaxa'iuḡ* and other Thompson Indians of Fraser River were thought to resemble the Lillooet in disposition and general character.

The people of Lytton and other Upper Thompson bands — called by the Shuswap "the real Thompson" — were considered to be of medium height, good fishermen and hunters, good-looking (especially the women), fairly wealthy, warlike, brave, many good-natured, some treacherous, careful, tasty, showy but not vain, great orators, resourceful, tactful, very successful lehal-players, obliging, hospitable, skilful and neat in weapons, clothes, utensils,

fond of painting designs on everything, having many restrictions and observances, rather fond of sport, and good horsemen.

The Okanagon were thought to resemble the "real Thompson" in nearly all essentials. They were rather tall, good-looking, most expert horsemen, wealthy (particularly the southern ones), fond of fine clothing and of painting their clothes and utensils, warlike and independent, stubborn, but not very aggressive or revengeful. They had fine songs, and were fond of singing and playing, also of oratory.

The people of Similkameen were unwarlike, milder and poorer than the Okanagon, also more careless and less skilful, not fond of fine dress or much ornamentation; they were hospitable.

The Kootenai were tall, and similar in most ways to the Okanagon, but rather milder and more simple and hospitable.

The Stonies were similar to the Kootenai, but more talkative and rather fond of display.

The Blackfeet were not well known, but noted as a tall people, very numerous, warlike, and buffalo-hunters. Otherwise they were supposed to resemble the southern Okanagon.

The Cree were considered the tallest people, had very long hair, good-looking women; they were proud, dignified, rather reserved, warlike but not very revengeful, hospitable, good travellers, fond of good dress; some of their weapons were inferior.

The Iroquois band were tall; according to some, light-skinned; according to others, very dark-skinned; good trappers, hunters, and canoe-men; quiet, not aggressive or revengeful; inclined to be cruel; inclined to thieving, especially to stealing girls.

The Beavers were not much known, but said to be a taller people than the Sekanai, richer, better dressed, and good hunters.

The Sekanai were a thin, wiry people, good travellers, expert trappers and hunters, unwarlike, their weapons inferior.

At the present day the characteristics of the tribes are described more from the white man's point of view. Thus, on the whole, the Shuswap are considered religious, because they pay attention to the observances of the Christian religion; progressive, because they copy the example of the whites very closely in all essentials; industrious, because they work extensively on their own reserves, and labor for the whites.

The people of those bands formerly noted for warfare are now the most industrious; generally the wealthiest, having most money, utensils, stock, etc.; usually the most addicted to liquor, and on account of this the greatest offenders against the law. On the other hand, those people formerly noted as of a mild temperament are less industrious; live somewhat more in the old way; are poorer, or have at least fewer white man's goods and food; do not care much for liquor; and live up to their religious professions better.

## II. — MANUFACTURES.

IMPLEMENTS. — The implements and utensils of the Shuswap were practically the same as those of the Thompson Indians, and the remarks on the latter<sup>1</sup> are also applicable to the Shuswap. Arrow-points, spear-points, and knives were chipped and flaked. They were made of glassy basalt, but other stones were sometimes used; viz., chert, obsidian, jasper, chalcedony, agate, quartz, and a smooth, brittle green stone, which generally flakes well, and is found in volcanic parts of the mountains. Tomahawk-heads were sometimes made of the same material and in the same way as arrow-heads.

Arrow-flakers were of various sizes, and preferably of buck-antler. Many were double-ended. Celts used for a variety of purposes, such as clubs, axe-heads, chisels, adzes, and skin-scrapers, were made of jade and serpentine. They were cut and worked by rubbing with gritty sandstone, and sometimes with stone crystals and beaver-teeth. Knives and daggers were also sometimes made of jade. A large rubbed stone point is shown in Fig. 201. In the collections made by Mr. Harlan I. Smith at Kamloops, rubbed points of such size do not occur, the majority of stone points being made by chipping. Skin-scrapers were usually made from chips of boulders which split well, but occasionally were flaked from basalt, in the same manner as the arrow-points.

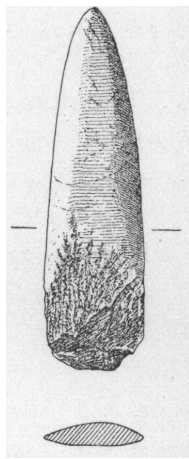


Fig. 201 ( $\frac{1}{8}$  in.).  
Rubbed Stone Point.  
Length, 13 cm.

Pestles and hand-hammers were made of many kinds of stone; those least liable to split, and at the same time not too hard, being chosen. They were worked into shape by pecking with a jade pestle made for the purpose. The hammers were used for driving chisels, wedges, and stakes. They are short, the body is conical without separate striking-head, and the tip is slightly thickened and forms a rounded knob.<sup>2</sup> Out of six hand-hammers, three have this form, while the others are elongated pebbles with one end battered flat.<sup>3</sup> The style of hammer with flat heads<sup>4</sup> was not known. Heavier stakes for weirs were driven with

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 182 and 183.

<sup>2</sup> See Harlan I. Smith, *The Archaeology of the Thompson River Region*, Vol. I of this series, Fig. 341 *b*, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> See Harlan I. Smith, *Archæology of Lytton, B. C.*, Vol. I of this series, Figs. 28 and 30, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> See Harlan I. Smith, *Stone Hammers or Pestles of the Northwest Coast of America* (*American Anthropologist*, N.S., Vol. I, Fig. 11 *b*, p. 365).

large flat boulders held in both hands, or with mallet-shaped stone hammers, the handles of which were formed by a twisted withe which was bent over the stone and twisted together, so that the stone was held firmly in the loop of the withe. The latter was sometimes stiffened with a rod. Light stakes and pegs were driven with small flat stones, wooden mallets, generally a piece of pole flattened a little at the butt-end, and ordinary hand-hammers. Sandstone arrow-smoothers with grooves were made with beaver-tooth knives. Steatite was also cut with those knives. Pipes were made of this material; they were bored with flaked basalt points<sup>1</sup> and with other drills rotated between the hands. Paint-dishes<sup>2</sup> hollowed out slightly on one or both sides, and round in shape, were also made of steatite.

Whetstones and files were made of sandstone or gritstone of various degrees of coarseness. Flat boulders were provided with a shallow depression on one side, and used for pounding tobacco, etc., on. Mortars<sup>3</sup> were also occasionally made and used for similar purposes. Anvils consisted of flat, tough, and smooth boulders.

Large chisels for cutting trees were made of elk, caribou, and buck antler. The last-named material was considered best. Small chisels were of antler and bone. Wedges were of antler and hard wood, and occasionally of stone. Adzes, knives, and daggers were also made of antler and bone.<sup>4</sup> All these tools differed in no way from those used by the Thompson Indians. Adze-handles like those of the Coast Indians<sup>5</sup> were unknown. Tools were hafted with antler and wood in the same manner as among the Thompson people. Awls and needles were made of bone. Carving or incising on wood and stone was done with beaver-tooth knives. Antler and bone were cut and carved with knives of basalt having crooked points.<sup>6</sup> Two other implements used for incising on antler, wood, and bone, were made of iron, but in early days may have been made of bone. They were often made of the handles of kettles procured from the Hudson Bay Company. One was a kind of bit used for making circles. Some of them had two points, thus making double circles. The handle was rotated between the hands in the manner of a fire-drill. The other instrument was used for making grooves, straight lines, and zigzag patterns. It was like a chisel, and some had more than one point for making parallel lines when necessary. Those used for making grooves in arrow-shafts had the edge rounded to fit the shaft, and the point on one side (occasionally in the centre) to make the groove. Antler and bone were generally soaked in water or boiled to make them easy to

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol I of this series, Fig. 352, *c—g*, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> These were probably the same as or similar to Fig. 343 *b*, Vol. I of this series, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 342, p. 413.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 123, p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 124, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Figs. 125 and 126, p. 184.

work, and it is said that even stone and wood were also in some cases softened in this way.

Iron seems to have been first introduced early in the middle of the eighteenth century, but continued to be very scarce until 1810 or later. Gradually, however, iron superseded all other materials in the making of most kinds of implements. As long as stone implements were made, arrow-flakers made of antler were considered superior to iron ones, as they took a better grip and did not slip. Some awls and needles of bone are used at the present day.

I did not hear of the use of bows for drilling, such as are applied by the Carrier.<sup>1</sup> Pottery was not made. Tools for digging paints, copper, etc., consisted of spikes or picks, and pinch-bars of wood and antler. Frequently short root-diggers and bark-peelers, and sometimes chisels made of antler and driven with stone hammers, and scrapers, were used for this purpose. The scrapers were made of wood, bone, and antler, but generally consisted of crooked sticks, somewhat spoon-shaped, like the sticks used for removing the brains out of the skulls of animals. They were used for scraping from seams decomposed rock which served as paint. Chisels and pinch-bars were inserted in cracks, and fragments of rocks were split off by their means. In a few places at which paint has been gathered for long periods, deep holes and small tunnels were formed, which were worked along the seams of paint-rock or in those directions where the rock showed least resistance. In other places the material was obtained more easily, being found in the talus slope of cliffs. Snow-shovels were used by all the northern Shuswap bands. Some of these were made of a single piece of wood, in the shape of an oar-blade or a spade. They had a handle of nearly the same length as an ordinary paddle.<sup>2</sup> In some places the blade was cut off slanting. Probably, however, most of the snow-shovels were made of birch-bark. One kind was made somewhat like a grain-shovel, with handle and stays of wood; and a smaller kind was somewhat like a dustpan in shape, with a short handle. Baskets and bark trays were also used for removing snow.

PAINTING. — The Shuswap claim that they did not decorate objects as elaborately as the Thompson tribe. However, they made use of a variety of paints and dyes. A dull red ochre, obtained in various parts of the country, was used extensively. Micaceous hematite, giving a reddish sparkling color, was used for decorating bows and arrows and as facial paint. The root of *Lithospermum angustifolium* dipped in hot grease, giving a blood-red color, which with age changed to a purplish shade, was used principally for painting gambling-sticks. Wolf-moss (*Evernia vulpina*) was

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés (Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Session 1892-93, Fig. 131, p. 143).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 104, p. 115.

dipped in water and used for painting the face and large surfaces, skins, etc. It gives a light-yellowish or pale-green color. Charcoal and soot were employed as black paints. White (obtained from a white clay or chalk) and blue (made from a blue earth or clay) were chiefly used as face and body paints. A yellow ochre, found in some parts of the country, was also used. A very light, bright-red ochre was obtained from a spot in the Rocky Mountains called Tcextcā'tcks, or Tsketca'tcks, where it was gathered in bags made of skins of marmots shot there for the purpose. It was prepared by kneading with water in a bark vessel, and then spreading it on flat stones before the fire to dry. When thoroughly dry and brittle, it was put in a mortar or in a skin bag and pounded up fine with a pestle of stone. Another light-red ochre was obtained from the east side of Adams Lake. Graphite, found on the Thompson River, was used as facial paint. Some kinds of ochre and hematite were prepared by roasting in the fire.

By far the most common dyes used were alder-bark and wolf-moss; the former imparting a reddish, and the latter a yellowish color. The former especially was much used for dyeing gambling-sticks, quills, hair, feathers, straw, etc., and also for imparting a red tinge to dressed skins and buckskin clothes. These were immersed for some time in a decoction of alder-bark, then taken out and wrung, and again soaked until the desired shade was obtained. Another dye, also much used, was obtained from an unidentified plant, the dead leaves of which, when boiled, gave a reddish juice. It was employed for the same purpose as alder-bark, and it is said to have been also extensively used by the Chilcotin and Thompson tribes. Some other dyes, used principally by the more southern bands, were the seeding head of *Chenopodium capitatum*, giving a red or pinkish color; and the stems and roots of an unidentified plant, probably a fern, which gave a black color. Cherry-bark, used for birch-bark baskets and for basket-weaving, is sometimes dyed by being buried in black mud.

Some other dyes mentioned by Dr. Dawson<sup>1</sup> may have been used in the southeastern part of the country. Berry-juices were very seldom used either as dyes or paints. The Shuswap claim that the Thompson Indians used a greater variety of dyes than they did.

Paint-brushes were made of elk-hair, or paints were applied with a pointed stick or the finger-tip. Nowadays hardly any painting or dyeing is done by the tribe.

PREPARATION OF SKINS. — All the methods of tanning and dressing skins found among the Thompson tribe<sup>2</sup> were also employed by the Shuswap. Among the latter, the stick used for scraping the skin on was invariably pointed, and placed in a slanting position, with the butt-end planted in the

<sup>1</sup> The Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 184–186.



ground, so that the skin was held in place by the point of the stick; while among the Thompson tribe several kinds were used. The knives and scrapers of both tribes were the same. The people of the Fraser River division treated skins, both with hair and without, nearly always with salmon-oil; but most of the bands used brains of large game for this purpose. Only buckskin dressed without oil was smoked. At the present day, owing to scarcity of oil and brains, skins are mostly prepared with soap.<sup>1</sup> Skins were generally cleaned and the hair removed at the hunting-camp, while they were still fresh. They were then dried and folded up until winter, which was the time for skin-dressing. They were then soaked in water, wrung, and hung up for several days to freeze. The Shuswap declare that skins are rendered much easier to dress by freezing.

Needles, awls, and pins were like those of the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup> Thread and twine were made of bark of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and of elæagnus (*Elæagnus argentea*); common nettles; sinew from the back of the deer, elk, and caribou; and dressed and undressed skin (babiche) cut into thin strings. Skins were wrung in the manner described before,<sup>2</sup> and also in the way described by Dr. Boas.<sup>3</sup>

BASKETRY. — Basketry was once an important industry in the tribe, although probably never developed to the same extent as among the Lillooet and Thompson tribes. Birch-bark baskets of various shapes and excellent workmanship were made by all parts of the tribe, and were put to many different uses. The Shuswap were noted for the great quantity and good quality of their birch-bark manufactures. Their work was similar to the best class of baskets made by the Upper Thompson Indians, and the shapes were the same. From description it seems that all the shapes known among the Chilcotin and Carrier<sup>4</sup> were also made by the Shuswap.

A noticeable feature of Shuswap and Carrier bark baskets is their tendency to have corners, or, in other words, squareness. It may be seen among the Chilcotin and Lillooet bark baskets as well. This tendency is clearly seen among the latter in their woven carrying-baskets. On the other hand, among the Thompson and Okanagan the tendency is toward roundness, at least in their older work; and this is one of the distinguishing features between Thompson and Lillooet woven carrying-baskets.<sup>5</sup>

These baskets were sewed with split spruce-roots, and the rims were

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, p. 636).

<sup>4</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés (Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Session 1892—93, pp. 120—124).

<sup>5</sup> The Thompson Indians state that in former times the angles of their burden-baskets were more rounded than they are made nowadays. The change in style is considered to be due to the influence of the Lillooet, whose basketry is considered of particular excellence. The older burden-baskets of the Thompson tribe had also straighter, less flaring sides than those of the Lillooet.

covered with stitching of the same material. Dyed and undyed goose and swan quills split and scraped thin, dyed horsehair, and the glossy bark of the bird-cherry (*Prunus* sp.), were also worked in on the rims for ornamentation. Some of the baskets had also pictographic and geometric designs incised on the sides. Basketry is still made, but the workmanship is not as good as formerly. The Alkali Lake band is reputed for making the best quality of birch-bark basketry.

A few baskets are shown in Figs. 202-205. The cut of the birch-bark is the same as that used by the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> The flaps are

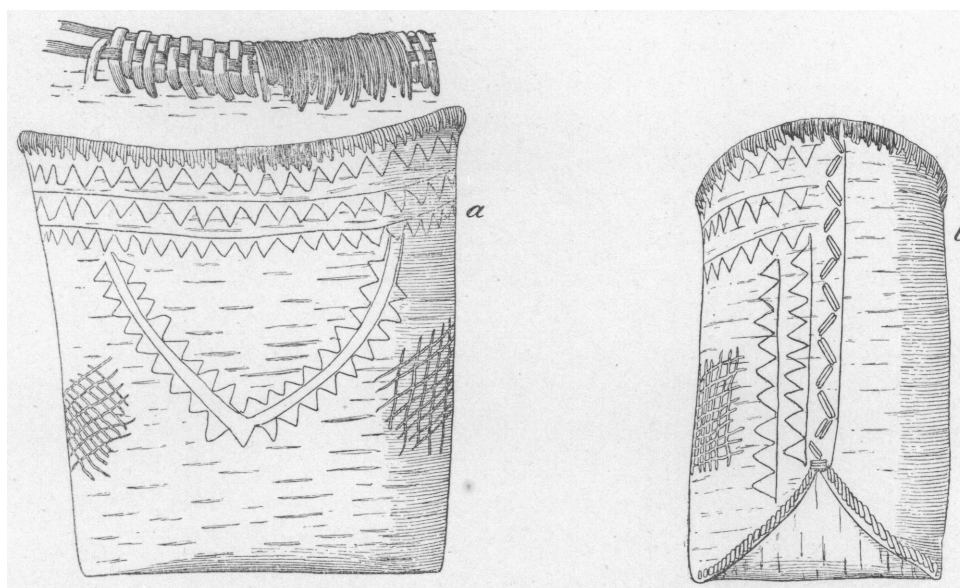


Fig. 202 ( $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$ ). Birch-bark Basket. *a*, Front and rim; *b*, Short side. Height, 30 cm.

turned up so that the grain of the bark runs parallel to the rim. The sides of all these baskets are sewed up with single (Fig. 203, *b*), double (Fig. 202, *b*), or triple (Fig. 205) zigzag stitches; while the lower flap is sewed to the sides either by close vertical stitches (Fig. 202, *b*), or by looser stitches (Fig. 203, *b*), which sometimes form an angle with the edges of the flap (Fig. 205). The upper rim of the basket is finished off with a close sewing of spruce-root, by means of which a rod, which is generally placed on the inside, is sewed to the birch-bark. In all the specimens this sewing is more or less ornamental. Since the stitches which pass through the bark always tear out in the direction of the grain, a close sewing would invariably tear the bark. In order to avoid this, stitches at certain definite intervals are carried farther down from the rim. Thus we find in some baskets one single long stitch alternating with three or more stitches which pass directly over and under

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 130, p. 187.

the rod (Fig. 203). In another basket there are two such long stitches alternating with from six to ten short stitches (Fig. 204). In the best baskets the stitches have regularly alternating lengths (Figs. 202, 205); the stitch passing directly under the rod being followed by a slightly longer one, which

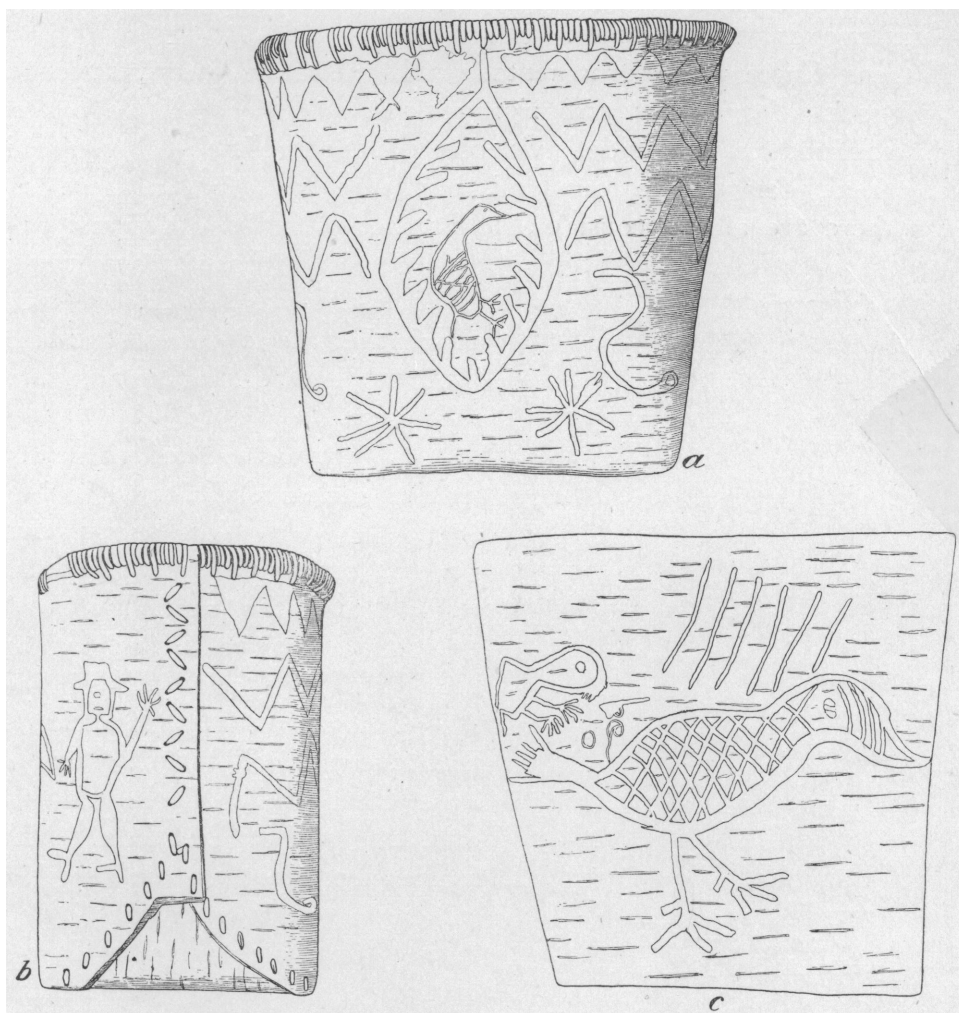


Fig. 203 ( $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$ ). Birch-bark Basket. *a*, Front; *b*, Short side; *c*, Design on back. Height, 26 cm.

in turn is followed by a still longer one. Thus a triangular form of ornamentation along the rim of the basket is produced. In the two best baskets here illustrated (Figs. 202, 205), the rim, at the middle of the long sides and short ends, is decorated with bunches of dyed horsehair instead of spruce-root. In the former specimen the horsehair is dyed black and red, the red being in the middle, and being followed on each side by black; in the latter specimen the horsehair on the long sides is dyed blue, while that on the short sides is dyed yellow.

The rim is further ornamented in the former specimen by passing two

strips of cherry-bark dyed red under and over the stitches (Fig. 202, *a*). In this way a checker-design is produced. In another specimen (Fig. 204) a similar ornamentation is made by passing a ribbon consisting of a number of threads over and under the stitches. The arrangement is somewhat irregular. On the whole, the ribbon is covered by three or four stitches, and then passes over two or three stitches.

All these baskets are ornamented with incised patterns, which consist largely of rows of triangles and zigzag lines. On two of the baskets the design is confined to one side, evidently the front of the basket; while on the two others, designs are found all round the baskets. In these last two specimens there are also a considerable number of realistic designs.

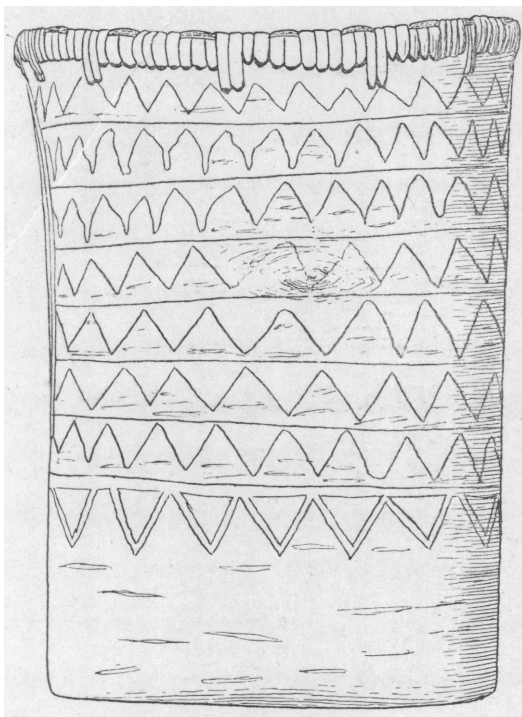


Fig. 204 ( $\frac{16}{8888}$ ). Birch-bark Basket. Height, 17 cm.

Breaks in baskets are mended by an over-and-over stitch, by means of which the two edges of the break are brought together. The whole is calked with gum.

A comparison of these baskets with a series of Chilcotin baskets collected by Mr. Teit shows that the general technique among both tribes is practically the same. In both cases the bark is turned in such a way that the grain runs parallel with the rim. An examination of the stitches shows that every stitch tends to tear out at least twice its width in the direction of the grain of the bark. For this reason the alternation in length of the stitches is quite necessary. In those baskets in which there is close stitching, with a few long stitches at long intervals, many places of the close

stitching are torn out. In the Chilcotin baskets the curved outline of the upper rim is not so pronounced as in the Shuswap baskets. The style of decoration of the rim described before, by inserting a sewing of dyed material at a few places, occurs in only two of the Chilcotin baskets. In one of these horsehair is inserted, not at the short ends and in the middle of the wide sides, as in the Shuswap baskets, but, instead of that, at the points on the rim midway between the long and the short diameter. Another one, which has a rectangular rim, has analogous ornamentation of broad quills in the middle of each side, the ornamental strip consisting of white quill-work bordered by black. In this specimen the flaps are on the wide sides. Two of

the Chilcotin baskets have the 3-step stitching on the rim. Another one, which is sewed with very thick spruce-root, has alternate stitching, with every eighth or tenth stitch considerably longer than the rest. One is sewed very unevenly with flattened quill. A flat dish from the Chilcotin is shown in Fig. 206. It has a strong rod outside, and even stitches, which, however, are so far apart, that there is no danger of their tearing out. On account of the great width of the dish, the two shorter ends have the grain of the bark running at right angles to the rim. Still wider stitching is applied in one roughly-made small birch-bark basket which has the rod of the rim inside.



Fig. 205 ( $\frac{16}{8880}$ ). Birch-bark Basket. Height, 21.5 cm.

A comparison of these baskets with a series collected on the Lower Yukon shows clearly that the types used by the Shuswap and those used by the northwestern Athapascans are identical in form. The Alaskan buckets are of the same description as those described by Mr. Teit, of which, however, no specimen is available. They are all folded in such a way that the bark runs parallel or nearly parallel with the rim. All of these have a strip of bark, which serves for strengthening the rim, placed around the outside, the grain of this strip of bark running at right angles to the rim (Fig. 207). In four of these the device of alternation of long and short stitches is used,

while one specimen — the one illustrated here — has a series of short stitches alternating with two long stitches.

In stitching in the flap, we find the chain-stitch used, which is also applied in baskets from eastern North America (see Fig. 214, *b*), or the cat-stitch (Fig. 207, *b*).

The handles of these baskets consist of a leather band which is wound spirally with spruce-root, interrupted at regular intervals by winding with dyed quill. The wrapping is held in place by a medial sewing with spruce-root, made like the shoemaker's stitch (Fig. 207, *a*).

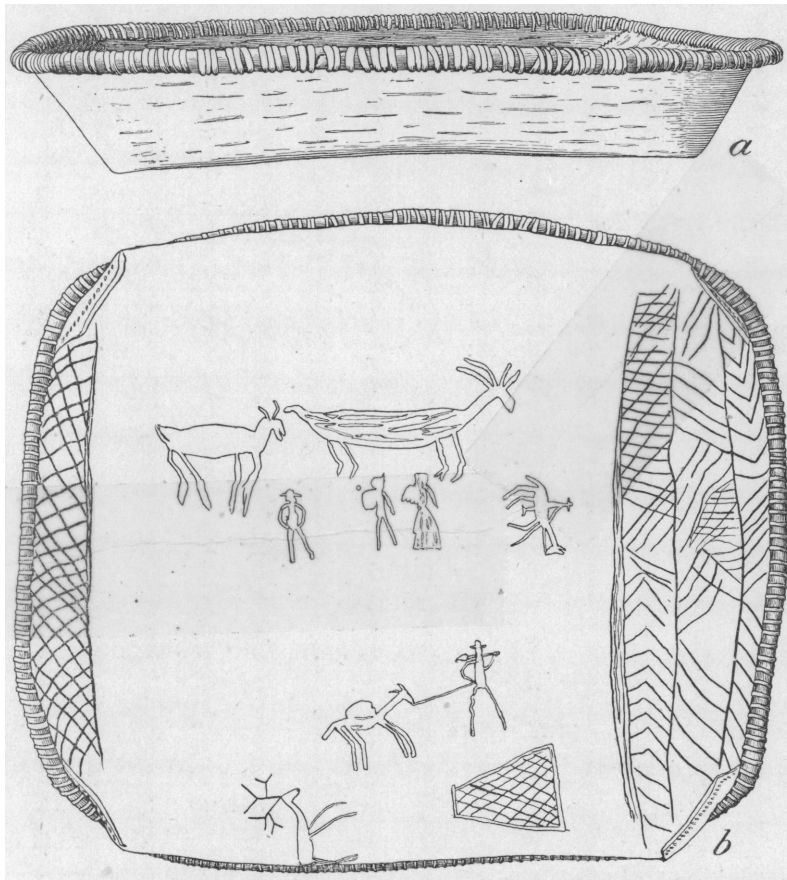


Fig. 206 ( $\frac{11}{8} \frac{10}{40}$ ). Bark Dish. *a*, Side; *b*, Bottom. Length, 41.3 cm.

as shown in Figs. 209, 210, and 212. There is a considerable diversity of devices by which the strengthening of the rim is used to obtain ornamental effects. In one specimen an ornamental effect and increased strength are attained by the hitched stitch at the folded ends of the basket illustrated in Fig. 211.

A few baskets from the same region show the same kind of rim-decoration that was discussed before; a dyed ribbon being caught under the stitches, and being exposed for one or more stitches. In several baskets

The same method of strengthening the rim is also used in bark dishes from the Yukon (Fig. 208). In some cases these are still further strengthened by sewing on a flat rod. The greater number of Alaskan basketry trays are folded, not cut out, and are protected in the manner illustrated in Fig. 209. In most of these the sewing around the rim, which is often provided with two rods, — one inside, and one outside, — is rather open, or arranged in ornamental groups,



these ribbons are woven in, as described before (see Fig. 202), and sometimes form quite complicated patterns (Fig. 212). The rim of two small well-made baskets of this type, in which the looped stitch is also used to obtain a decorative effect on the inside, are shown in Fig. 212, *b*.

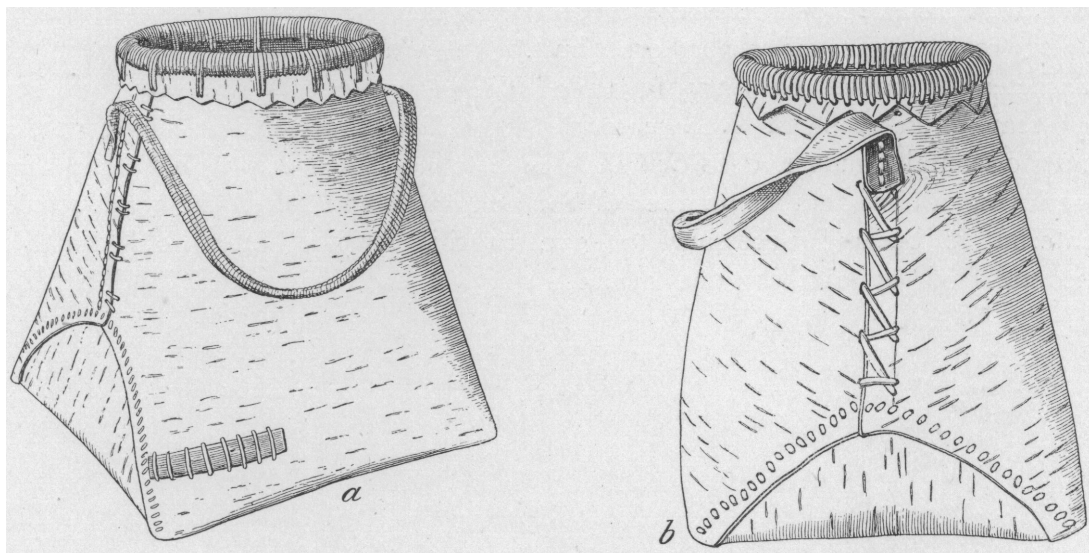


Fig. 207, *a* ( $\frac{50}{8888}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{50}{3888}$ ). Bark Buckets. Alaska. Height, 24 cm., 17.5 cm.

I am inclined to believe that this style of decoration is more primitive than the imbricated treatment of coiling which is so characteristic of the Lillooet, Thompson River, Klickitat, and some other tribes of the same district. In the discussion of the Lillooet coiled basketry (Fig. 69, *b*, p. 206

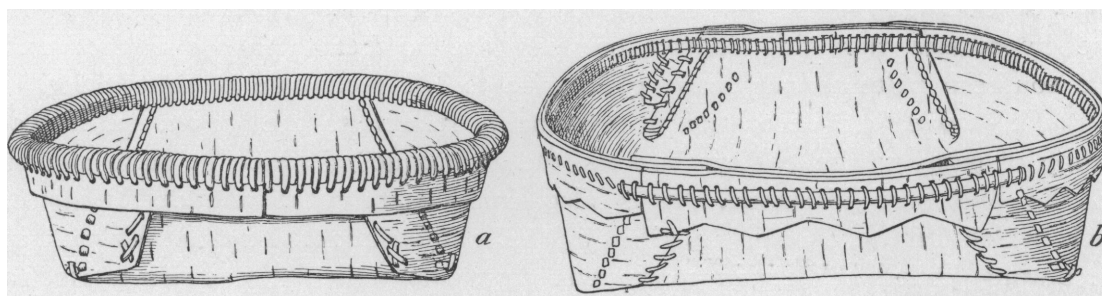


Fig. 208, *a* ( $\frac{50}{8888}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{50}{3888}$ ). Bark Dishes with Strengthened Rims. Alaska. Length, 22.5 cm., 41 cm.

of this volume), attention was called to the occurrence of decoration produced by weaving in double or triple strips of dyed grass under the coiling. This method is identical with the one described here. It is also worth calling attention to the fact that a similar basket has been collected among the Clallam, which, however, is presumably of Lillooet provenience. In this specimen the overlaying is similar to those rims of baskets in which a single strip of colored material covers a considerable number of stitches, and is held

down here and there by one stitch.<sup>1</sup> The frequent occurrence of the checker-pattern, the so-called "fly" pattern<sup>2</sup> of the Lillooet, or the bead, spot, or snake-skin pattern of the Thompson Indians, is quite analogous to the rim patterns here described. In the area in which imbricated basketry occurs, the patterns which are characteristic of California and Oregon, and related pattern types, reach their most northern limit. In adapting these baskets to the characteristic coiled basketry in which decorative effects are brought about by weaving in strips of dyed material, the difficulty arose that single vertical and horizontal bands had to be made in colors. Since this would necessitate overlaying a considerable number of consecutive stitches with the weak-colored material, it became necessary to give to this strip a better hold, which is accomplished by catching the overlaid strip in each new stitch, and bending

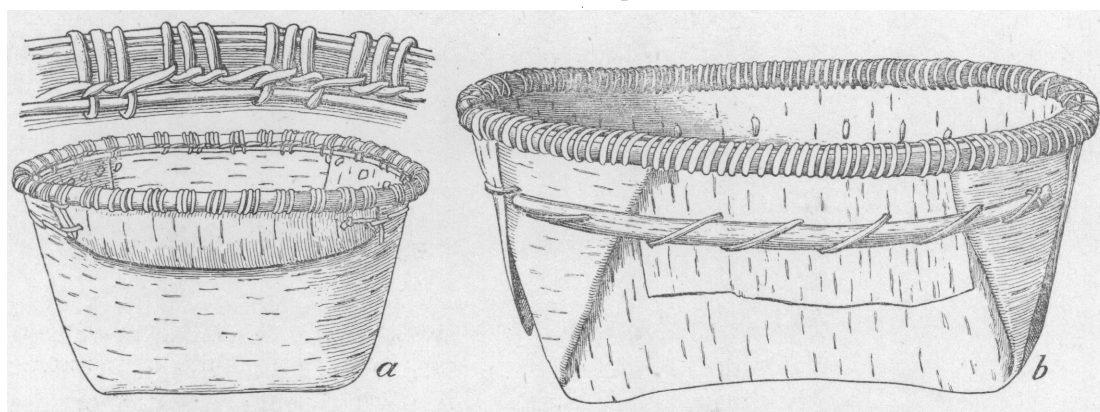


Fig. 209, *a* ( $\frac{88000}{50000}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{88000}{11880}$ ). Alaskan Baskets. Diameter of *a*, 19 cm.; length of *b*, 31 cm.

it back over the stitch, — the method of imbrication. I venture to suggest the hypothesis that this contact between the northern weaving method and the southern patterns may have given rise to the technique of imbrication.

The woven rim-decoration is presumably related to the woven quill-decoration of many of the Eastern baskets, the technique of which is quite similar to the one here discussed. It is also worth stating that the overlaying of coils which has here been described is the method adopted by the Koryak in decorating coiled baskets in continuous dark lines; the dark, overlaid ribbon being held by grass stitches (Fig. 213). The same method is also applied in decorating the rims of Amur River baskets (see Fig. 216). It would seem, therefore, that this technique of decoration occurs over a large continuous area, extending from northeastern Siberia over northwestern America southward to the Lillooet region and the South Thompson River.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to note that a number of birch-bark baskets collected

<sup>1</sup> O. T. Mason, *Aboriginal American Basketry* (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1902, pp. 434, 435).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 208 of this volume. The name "fly-pattern" is sometimes also used by the Lower Thompson.

<sup>3</sup> The same method of decoration occurs also in Japanese basketry, and it is used on the coiled baskets of the Somali. It is obvious, therefore, that not all baskets showing this decoration are derived from the same source.

in eastern North America all have the bark cut in such a way that it runs at right angles to the rim. The modern bark baskets of the Chippewa and Ojibwa are cut in this manner; and a number of old baskets from the eastern parts of North America found in the collections in the United States National Museum at Washington, in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Mass., and one owned by Mr. George G. Heye of New York City, all show this characteristic cut. For this reason the danger of the bark tearing out is not great, and the stitches along the rim are quite even and close together. The stitches used for sewing up the sides differ from the Alaskan type. One of the well-made specimens (Fig. 214, *a*) has seams overlaid with a strip of spruce-root, which is sewed on by means of the couching-stitch, and which recalls the overlaying of seams found in northeastern Siberia and in Alaska. Another specimen (Fig. 214, *b*) has the chain-stitch. A similar basket is in the collection of the United States National Museum (Fig. 214, *c*), which is folded and sewed in nearly the same way as the one illustrated in Fig. 214, *a*. The specimen was among the effects of George Catlin, and was transferred

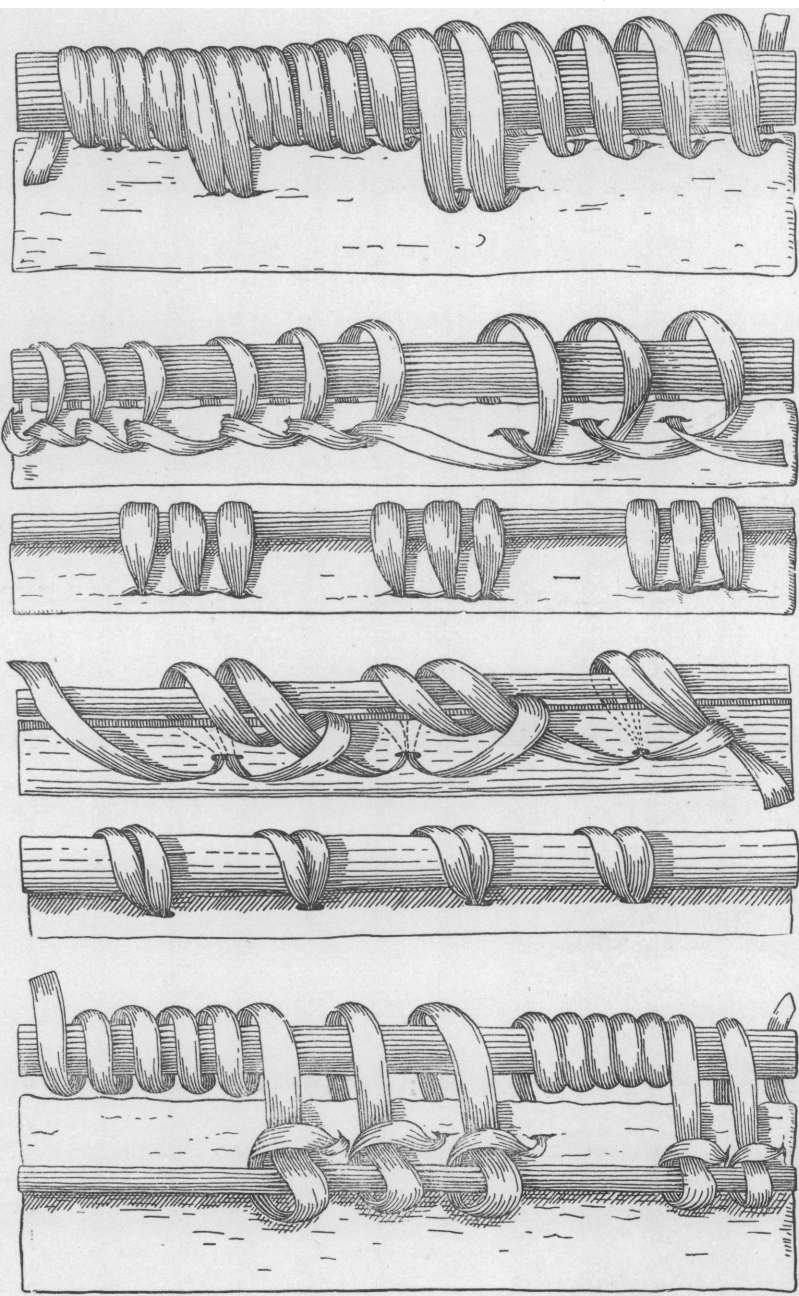


Fig. 210, *a-d*. Ornamental Spruce Root Sewing from Rims of Birch-bark Baskets (after Mason). Central Alaska.

Fig. 214, *c*), which is folded and sewed in nearly the same way as the one illustrated in Fig. 214, *a*. The specimen was among the effects of George Catlin, and was transferred

with the Catlin portraits to the Smithsonian Institution. There is no information regarding its provenience. While the Shuswap specimens before described are generally cut in such a way that the upper edge of the rim is concave on the long sides, that of the present specimen is convex. The rim of the basket is sewed with quills in red, dark-green, and natural color, also with strips of spruce-root. A small tray of similar kind, also from the

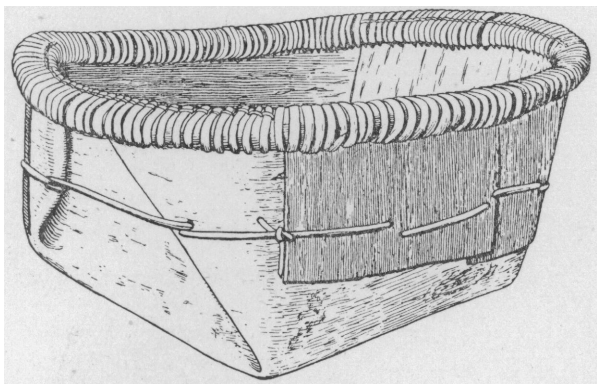


Fig. 211 ( $\frac{80}{1789}$ ). Decorated Basket strengthened at Ends by Hitched Stitch. Alaska. Length, 21.5 cm.

Catlin collection and without special data, is shown in Fig. 214, *d*. The bark in this specimen all round is also sewed with even stitches, probably because in by far the greater part of the tray the grain runs at right angles to the rim. On the bottom of the tray is a pattern representing a turtle and water-birds in light color on a dark background, but apparently not formed by scraping.

A similar tray from Massachusetts is in the collection of Mr. George G. Heye in New York, and still another one is in the collection of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Mass.

Sewing with even stitches is also found on models of bark canoes, in which the grain of the bark runs at right angles to the gunwale.

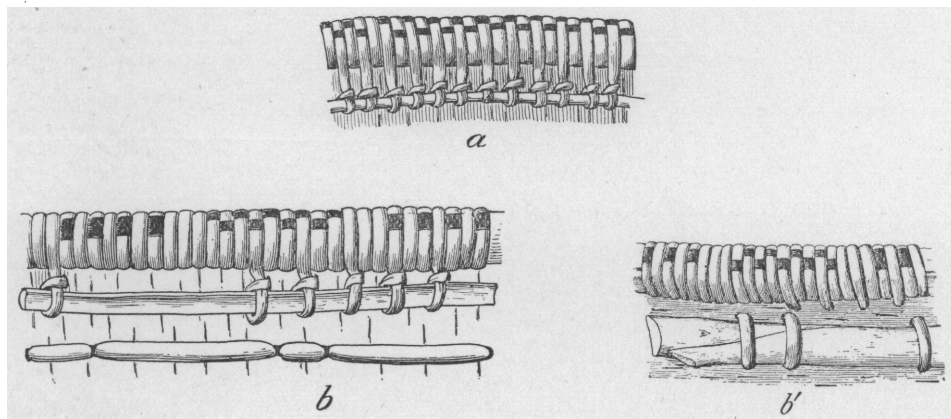


Fig. 212, *a* ( $\frac{80}{4910}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{80}{4921}$ ). Decoration from Rims of Baskets. Alaska. *a*, *b*, About nat. size; *b'*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size.

It is interesting to note that in parts of arctic Siberia the methods of strengthening the rims of bark dishes are identical with the methods found in Alaska and British Columbia. Yukaghir bark dishes are folded and strengthened in the same way as those previously described; but the strips of bark are generally long, and the grain runs parallel with the rim of the basket

(Fig. 215). In the Amur River basketry the same device in stitching is employed as is found in northwestern America; and the method of strengthening the rim with a piece of birch the grain of which runs at right angles to the rim, is also found (Fig. 216). The elaborate decoration of the strengthening-piece, and the addition of a dyed strip which is caught under the longer stitches, are characteristic of this area. In a number of specimens from the Amur River the rim is strengthened by sewing the sides of the birch-bark basket to a wooden hoop. A bucket made in the same style from the Mackenzie River is in the United States National Museum. — EDITOR.]

Coiled basketry was formerly made by all or nearly all the Shuswap bands, and was of the same kind as that made by the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, it may have been less fine than the best class of work done by the last-named tribe; but this may have been occasioned by the inferiority of the material used. Cedar-roots were employed where a good quality could be obtained; and this material was used quite frequently by the Lake division, who gathered it in the mountains some distance northeast of Canim Lake. As cedar was scarce in most parts of the country, the great majority of baskets were woven of spruce-root. The Fraser River bands, especially the southern ones, and the Lake people, were probably the greatest basket-makers; while the Kamloops and Bonaparte divisions made the fewest. The shapes of these baskets are said to have been the same as those of the Lillooet and Thompson baskets.

In many Shuswap baskets there was a straight rod sewed across the bottom to prevent wear, but stiffening-rings made of rods were hardly ever attached inside the basket halfway up, or along the outside of the rim, as seen in Chilcotin baskets.

[Two baskets collected by Mr. Teit are oval in form, and do not have the tendency to angularity to which Mr. Teit refers (p. 477), and which is also found, although not quite so markedly, among the Chilcotin. Farther to the south, on Columbia River, the forms are throughout round. I am inclined to ascribe the angular forms, which are so little adapted to basketry, to an influence of the earlier use of boxes made of bent wood among the tribes of the Lower Fraser Cañon and of the Lower Lillooet Valley, where this art seems to have been most highly developed, and possibly to an early

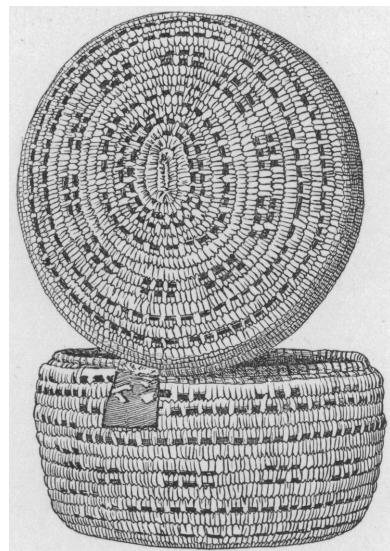


Fig. 213 ( $\frac{70}{2145}$ ). Koryak Basket.  
Diameter, 15 cm.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 187, 188.

use of bent-bark boxes, such as are used by the Bella Coola and northern Kwakiutl tribes, although this type may itself originate from the sharp-edged bent-wood boxes. The coiled basketry of the interior resembles the Athapaskan coiled basketry. It is worth remarking that in one of the two baskets collected by Mr. Teit (Fig. 217) a very regular and pretty effect is obtained by splitting each stitch from the outside when sewing on the next

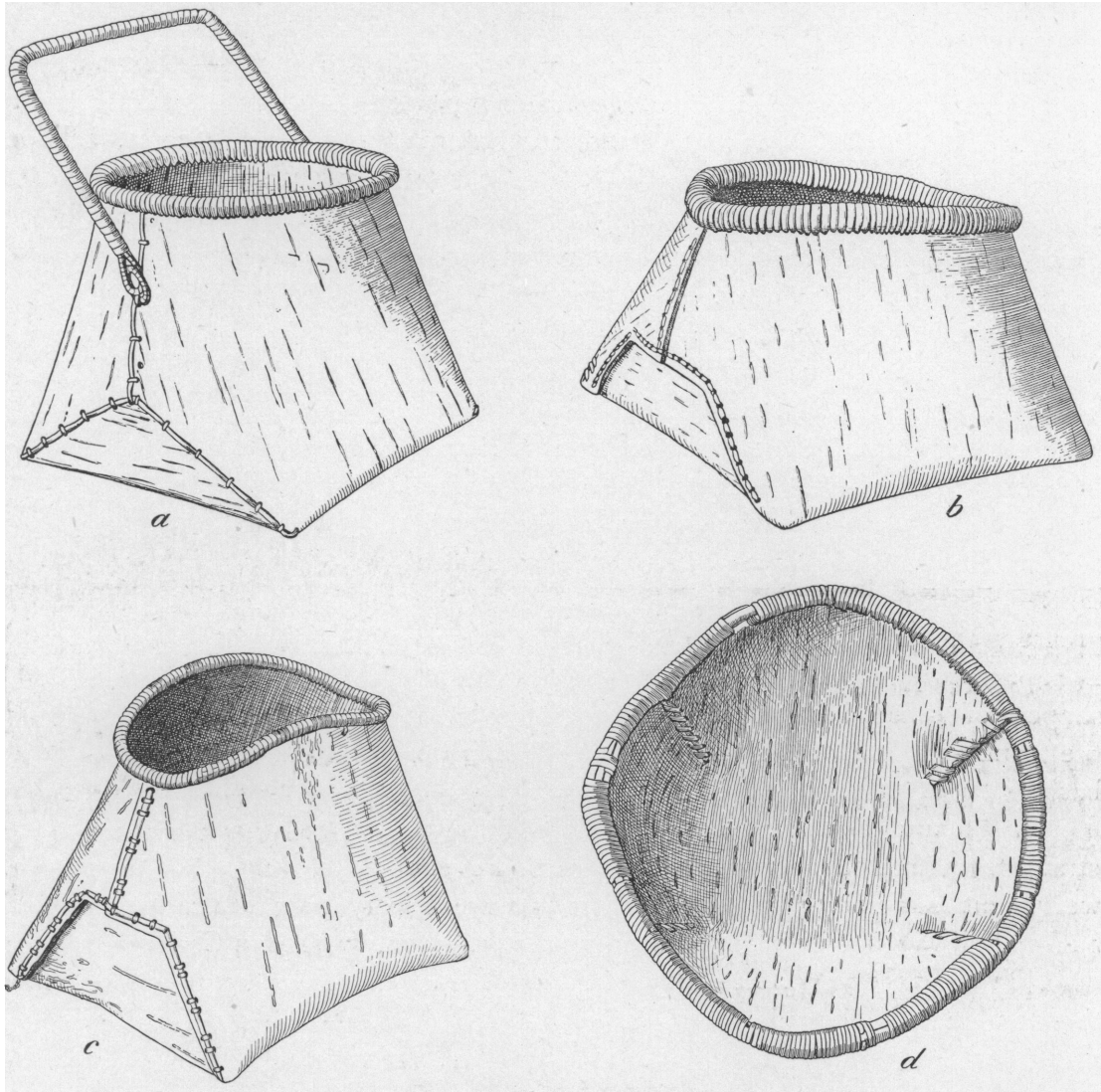


Fig. 214, *a* ( $\frac{19}{12}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{59}{48 \times 21}$ ), *c*, *d*. Eastern Birch-Bark Vessels. (*c*, *d*, from U. S. National Museum, Cat. Nos. 247165 and 73153.) Height of *a*, *b*, *c*, 14 cm., 16 cm., 15.5 cm; diameter of *d*, 23.5 cm.

following row. On the inside the effect is quite different, because none of the stitches, while the work is done evenly, is split. The same method is found in Athapaskan baskets. The possibility of the relation of the fly-patterns to the Athapaskan patterns has been discussed before. — EDITOR.]



Basketry made with coils consisting of strips of sap was not manufactured. A few baskets were plain, without any ornamentation, probably owing to the difficulty of obtaining good straw and good bird-cherry bark for imbrication in some parts of the country. Straw for ornamentation was occasionally dyed red and yellow. The designs are said to have been the same as those found in Lillooet and Thompson baskets. The greater number were geometric, but realistic animal motives also occurred.

About 1860, after the settlement of the country by the whites began, the Shuswap gradually gave up the making of woven baskets, until now it is a lost art in most bands. Some women of the Fraser River and Lake divisions still manufacture a few baskets. The majority of the people use birch-bark baskets entirely, or buy woven ones from the Lillooet, Thompson Indians, and Chilcotin. The Sekanai Indians, who occupy

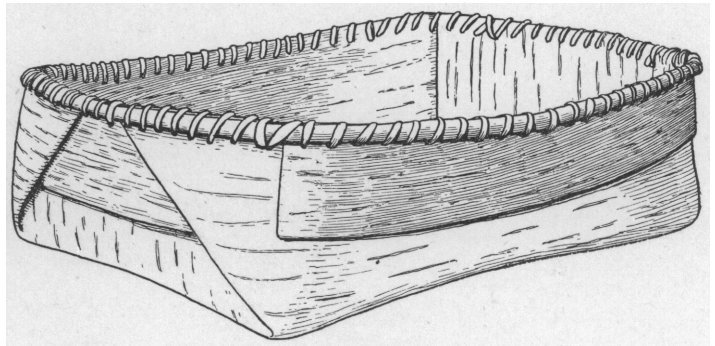


Fig. 215 ( $\frac{70}{8810}$ ). Yukaghir Tray. Length, 23 cm.



Fig. 216, *a* ( $\frac{70}{870}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{70}{663}$ ). Amur Basketry. Height, 20 cm., 13 cm.

the country just north of the Shuswap, are said to make woven spruce-root baskets, but I cannot say whether they are of the coiled type or not.

Some large temporary baskets made of balsam, poplar, and spruce bark, were frequently used by the Shuswap for cooking berries, soaking skins, etc. They were barrel or funnel shaped, and roughly stitched with spruce-root. The smooth side of the bark was turned in. Open-work baskets like those

used by some coast tribes were not made. Needles and awls used in basketry and mat making were kept in cases made of elk-antler.

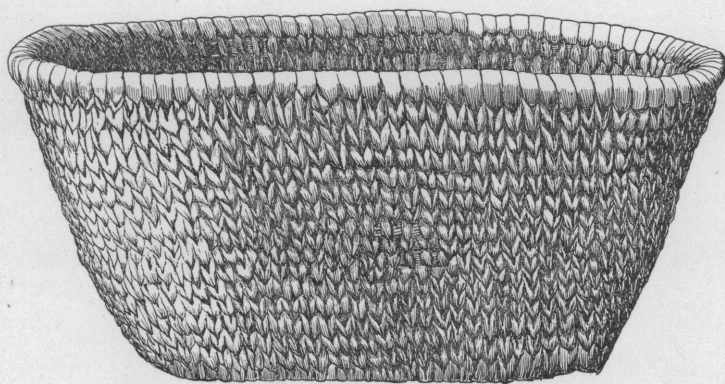


Fig. 217 ( $\frac{16}{9280}$ ). Coiled Basket. Length, 16 cm.

WEAVING. — Mats were not made as extensively as among the Thompson tribe. Skins, and to some extent bark, took their place. Nevertheless almost every band made all the different kinds of rush, tule, and grass mats made by the Upper Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> The southern Shuswap made and used mats

more extensively than the northern bands, and this was particularly true of the Bonaparte and Kamloops divisions. Stems of the squaw-grass, which is also used in basketry, alkali-grass, and other tall coarse grasses, were woven into small mats for drying berries on. Willow and other slender twigs were also sometimes woven into small mats for the same purpose. Woven bark mats, like those of the coast tribes,<sup>2</sup> were not made.

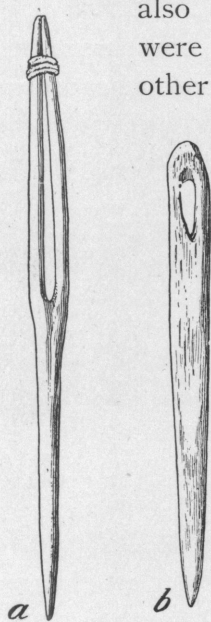


Fig. 218 ( $\frac{16}{9299}$  b, a.) Netting-Needles. Length, 16 cm., 12.2 cm.

Bags and wallets were much in use. Some kinds were woven of bark twine, particularly among the southern bands, while those woven of thongs were more common in the north. Some were of exactly the same make as those made by the Thompson Indians. A very common form of bag was the carrying-bag<sup>3</sup> made of babiche from the hides of deer, caribou, and beaver. Bags of this kind are said to have been woven in the same way as nets, some having large and others small meshes. They varied considerably in size. Their use is now confined principally to the North Thompson division. It seems, no wallets of the Sahaptin type<sup>4</sup> were made by the Shuswap. The various kinds of bags will be more fully described on p. 496-498.

Threads were spun on the naked thigh. The fibres were twisted into threads in one direction, and these were combined into

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 188-190.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 133, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> As I did not happen to see any of these, I cannot say whether they are of the same kind as the carrying and game bags made by the northern Athapascans, and woven in the manner of coiled basketry without foundation-coil. As these were formerly used by the Carrier, it seems probable that the Shuswap, especially the northern bands, would have them also.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 132, p. 190.



three-stranded threads by twisting in the opposite direction. Some individuals were in the habit of doing it one way, and others the opposite way. Twine made of Indian-hemp bark was considered best for making nets and fish-lines. Netting-sticks for measuring the mesh, and netting-needles (Fig. 218) of wood, were used, at least in recent days. Net twine obtained from the whites is now chiefly used. Formerly large numbers of blankets were woven of rabbit, lynx, and other skins, in the manner of those of the Chilcotin and Thompson Indians.

No blankets of goat's-hair were made, as far as I could ascertain. Blankets and clothes woven of bark or of rushes were not often made. A few of the old-fashioned bags are still made by the Lake and North Thompson people, and the Bonaparte and Kamloops people still make a few mats. Black moss (*Alectoria*) was not woven into blankets or clothes.

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### III. — HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD.

HABITATIONS. — The description of the habitations of the Upper Thompson Indians<sup>1</sup> applies equally to the Shuswap, and I will confine myself chiefly to the notice of such differences as I have discovered. All the bands except the Lake division and the Empire Valley band used underground houses in the winter-time.<sup>2</sup> The four "rooms" were sometimes named according to the four quarters, but other names were more generally applied. The upper, top, or head room was the name for the space next to the high land or mountain. It was generally the east, but sometimes the west room. The opposite room, next to the water or river, was called the "lower room," "kitchen," or "storeroom;" and another, probably the most common, name for it, may be translated by the term "passing-place," because people passed it on the way to the water. The space underneath the ladder was sometimes called the "under room;" but the most general name for it is compounded with the suffix -akst, meaning "hand," and no doubt has reference to the person's hand being visible as he went up or down, holding the groove at the back of the ladder. This room was the north room in most houses. The remaining space opposite the foot of the ladder was called the "bottom room." Houses among most of the bands were built so as to have a definite position in relation to the rivers, the beams being so adjusted and the ladder so placed that one of the side-room spaces was next to the water. In the valleys this made the opposite room directly towards the rising ground, or mountains. The ladder was placed, if possible, in the northeast or northwest corner of the square entrance, leaning toward the north. In the main valleys, which nearly all run north and south, this was almost invariably the case. In the smaller valleys, which generally run at right angles to the larger ones, the ladder was nearly always made to lean east ward.

The tops of many ladders were carved into a round knob or head, and the lower bands of the Fraser River division carved some of them into rude representations of bear and other animal heads. The Cañon division carved all their ladder-tops most elaborately to represent the heads of bears, eagles, ravens, and many other quadrupeds and birds. They also painted them very gaudily. This was not done altogether for ornamentation, but was supposed in some way to represent the inmates of the house, who claimed they be-

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 192—199.

<sup>2</sup> Both Alexander Mackenzie and Simon Fraser describe underground houses which they saw (see Simon Fraser's Journal, p. 166; see also p. 460, Footnote I, of the present volume). In later times, winter houses were occasionally used also by the Lake division.

longed to these animals, or perhaps had them for their guardian spirits.<sup>1</sup> No doubt the carvings here had something to do with the crests of Chilcotin clans or societies. Along parts of Fraser River where wood was scarce, the upright braces of the underground house were frequently made of drift-trees, with the root part adjusted to fit the rafters.<sup>2</sup> Cellars were sometimes dug in the room next the water.

The summer lodges were quite similar to those used by the Thompson Indians, and were covered with mats or bark. Circular lodges were the most common kind, especially in the valleys, and were almost invariably covered with mats. They were the common lodges of the southern portion of the tribe; while the bark lodges were more common to the north and east, where the country was more thickly timbered. The bark lodges were square or oblong in shape, because the strips of bark were hard to fit properly on a conical lodge. The bark of black pine, spruce, balsam, or cedar, was used, — whichever was handiest or best in the neighborhood. It was put on in strips running up and down, with the sap side out, the strips slightly overlapping each other, and reaching up on each side to a little above the cross-poles.<sup>3</sup> The poles at the ends of the lodge were generally filled in with brush and waste pieces of bark, although sometimes they were properly covered with sheets of bark, as on the sides. A pole was often placed along the base of the lodge at the side, and one or several lighter poles parallel to it above, to hold the bark in position, and keep the edges from curling up. Sometimes heavier poles placed up and down, and bearing on the seams, were used instead. In places where very long strips of bark could be obtained, they were laid up one side, across the top, and then down the opposite side, of the lodge. At the top they generally rested on a ridge-pole, which was placed there for the purpose. About the centre of the lodge, on each side, short strips of bark were used, thus leaving a smoke-hole right above the fireplace.

At fishing-resorts near the lakes or rivers, where large numbers of people congregated for a short time, and to accommodate people at feasts and pot-latches, long double lodges were built.<sup>4</sup> All square lodges were of the types illustrated in Figs. 137, 138, and 142, in Vol. I of this series. Mats used for covering lodges were generally the tule tent-mat,<sup>5</sup> but other mats of rushes or grass were also used. Some families wintered in conical mat lodges, banking them up with earth, and covering them with double layers of mats. The smoke-hole of these mat lodges was closed either by two flaps made of

<sup>1</sup> My informant, an old man, whose parents belonged to the Big Bar and Canoe Creek bands, gave me this information. He was only acquainted with the personal manitou, and knew nothing about clan-totems, crests, etc., which he could hardly comprehend.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 135, *a* and *b*, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Fig. 137, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Fig. 142, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Fig. 131, *c*, p. 189.

mats, which were attached near the top of the lodge, the free end being tied to a long pole, by means of which the flap could be turned back, in the same way as the flaps of the tepee of the Plains Indians; or, more commonly, by a single long mat, to each end of which a long pole was attached. This mat was placed around the smoke-hole on the wind side. If the full length of the mat was not required, the ends could be rolled around the poles. The framework of large circular lodges was generally constructed by first erecting four moderately heavy poles with forked ends, which were interlocked above the centre of the cleared lodge space, their butt-ends being extended to the edge of the cleared circle and placed at equal distances apart. To fill up the spaces between these, and to support the mats, about a score of lighter poles were placed around the edge of the circle with their small ends leaning against the interlocked tops of the main poles.<sup>1</sup>

Lodges were not covered with skins, which were too valuable; while bark and mats were of little value, and could be obtained plentifully almost anywhere. Besides, they answered the purpose quite as well, or better in some respects. A few of the Kamloops people occasionally used skin tents, which they procured in trade from the Okanagon. They would live in them for a month or so to show them off, and then cut them up and use the skins for other purposes. The Canim Lake band used oblong lodges and lean-tos made of bark almost exclusively. Very few mat lodges were used, and skin lodges and underground houses were not made at all.<sup>2</sup> This may have been true of the whole Lake division.

For hunting-lodges, especially on the lower grounds, round or square lodges, covered with mats, bark, poles, or brush, were used. Trapping-lodges, generally built near deer-fences, were exactly like the Thompson hunting-lodge,<sup>3</sup> and were sometimes covered with earth to a height of about a metre. A few were of more pretentious type, like some of those used by the Lillooet.<sup>4</sup> In places where the party was liable to attack by an enemy, these lodges were made of horizontal logs interlocked like the logs of a log-cabin.<sup>5</sup> They were chinked with moss, or were earth-covered up to a height of four or five feet, the rest being thinly covered with brush. Some small spaces were left open between the logs at a height of nearly two metres from the ground, and these were concealed by overhanging brush. They had only one entrance, which was guarded by a narrow zigzag approach built of logs or of stout poles set into the ground close together.

In places where small black pine was plentiful, hunting and trapping

<sup>1</sup> For other styles of making these lodges, see Vol. I of this series, p. 196; also Fig. 140, p. 197; and Plate XVI, Figs. 1 and 2. Smaller lodges were oftener made like Fig. 141, p. 197, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> See also p. 460, Footnote 1, and p. 492.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 215 of this volume.

<sup>5</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 266, 267.

lodges were made in the style of a shelter or half-lodge, and of the oblong lodge,<sup>1</sup> and covered with poles running up and down. Occasionally they were made of the conical type, and sometimes had a double layer of poles running up and down all around.

Girls' lodges were always conical, and generally made of fir-brush, although bark and mats formed the covering of some. Women's lodges, during the fair weather, consisted merely of a shelter of mats, or of a small tent open on one side. They were just large enough to accommodate one person sleeping. If several women were to occupy them, they were made larger.

In winter, tiny but permanent underground houses were used by the women for the purpose, and these corresponded in construction in every way to the large ones used. All the sweat-houses used by the tribe were exactly like those of the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup> Those near villages were generally earth-covered. In places where suitable wands could not be obtained, they were made of short rods tied together at the tops like a tent.<sup>3</sup>

The most common cache, especially among the southern bands, was the circular cellar, as among the Thompson<sup>4</sup> tribe. Probably they were most used in the south because of the dryness of the climate and the sandy nature of the soil. Fish and other food kept fresher in them than in any other kind of cache. The box-cache was also used extensively, and especially by bands inhabiting the more timbered parts of the country. It was the only cache which is said to have been proof against the attacks of the wolverene. Some of them were built on trees, but most were placed on a platform supported by four posts. They were made of poles, were roofed with bark, and access to them was by means of an Indian ladder or notched log.<sup>5</sup> They were the same in every way as those obtaining among the Lillooet and Thompson Indians.<sup>6</sup>

Scaffolds like those of the Thompson Indians<sup>7</sup> were used at all the regular camps. Utensils, skins, ropes, saddles, etc., were placed on them to be out of the way of the dogs.

Hunting-lodges are still used to some extent; and mat lodges may still be seen, principally among the North Thompson and southern divisions. Scaffolds, caches, and sweat-houses are in evidence almost everywhere. Tents of cotton drilling have nearly supplanted the summer lodges. The log-cabin

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 137 and 142, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Plate xvii.

<sup>3</sup> See Ethnographical Album of the North Pacific Coasts of America and Asia, Plate xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 198, 199.

<sup>5</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés (Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Session 1892-93, Fig. 182, p. 196). This representation of the Carrier cache is quite applicable to the Shuswap. Nearly every man, even in olden times, made his cache slightly different in minor details.

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Plate xiv, Fig. 2, for a common present-day type.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Plate xiv, Fig. 1; and Plate xvi, Fig. 1.

commenced to take the place of the underground house long prior to 1858, for the tribe copied the houses of the Hudson Bay Company. Half the Shuswap tribe were living in cabins before the Thompson thought of erecting the first one. Nevertheless the houses in the Shuswap villages at the present time are not as good, on an average, as those of the Thompson Indians, nor are they usually kept as clean and tidy. The Shuswap villages, however, have the largest and finest churches of all the tribes in the interior.

HOUSE-FURNISHINGS. — The household utensils and furnishings of the Shuswap were almost the same as those of the Thompson Indians. Hammocks were not used, except occasionally for very young children. Pillows generally consisted of a small heap of fine brush or grass placed under the end of the bed-blankets. Bed or floor mats like those of the Thompson Indians were used. Skins of deer, sheep, goats, and bears, were much used for lying on. Blankets were often made of softened bear-skins. Robes of fur, worn during the day, were also used for sleeping in. Table-mats like those of the Thompson tribe were used. Menstruating women sometimes ate out of birch-bark trays<sup>1</sup> of the kind used in the house as receptacles for berries, etc.

Woven baskets were of all the shapes common among the Thompson tribe,<sup>2</sup> and were used in the same manner. I did not hear of any flat-backed baskets being made or used. Round woven baskets, like those of the Lillooet<sup>3</sup> and Thompson Indians, were used for boiling food in. Birch-bark baskets were used for steaming food in, the top being covered with a bark lid, sometimes held down with a small stone. These baskets were round, with somewhat flaring sides, similar in shape to Fig. 209, *a*, but higher. Small quantities of certain roots were cooked in this fashion. Baskets so employed were almost round, and narrow-bottomed. Spruce and poplar bark baskets, and also some of birch-bark, made rather high, sometimes oblong, and with rather flat sides, were used near the fire for melting snow in, and keeping water warm, holding dye, skins, etc. Vessels for carrying and holding water were invariably of birch-bark. They were made very strong, of the thickest bark, and some were of large size. They were of two shapes. One kind was rather round, deep, and straight-sided, and chiefly used for carrying water. The other sort had a wide square bottom, which gradually narrowed to a very small round mouth (see Fig. 207). They were much used as water-receptacles in the house. Very similar to this kind, but having a wider mouth, was the water-basket nearly always used by adolescent youths and hunters. The last three kinds often had handles consisting of a single wooden rod placed across the centre of the mouth, and lashed to the rim, the upper part of the basket having an extra thickness of bark sewed to it all around for strength.

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<sup>1</sup> See Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, Fig. 114, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 143–145, pp. 200, 201.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate XXII, Figs. 2 and 5.

Occasionally the rod was inserted through the basket just below the rim; and in this case two large extra pieces of bark, one on the outside and one inside, were sewed to the basket on each side, the ends of the rods passing through them. Sometimes a thick twisted piece of buckskin was used instead of a rod, and this was generally the kind of handle attached to the narrow-mouthed water-basket.

Still another kind of birch-bark basket was invariably of small size, and used chiefly in berrying. Baskets of this kind varied somewhat in shape and in manner of stitching. Some were more round, and others more square. Some had the rims of equal height all round; but the most common kind had the rims lower on the sides, and higher, coming into a rounded peak,

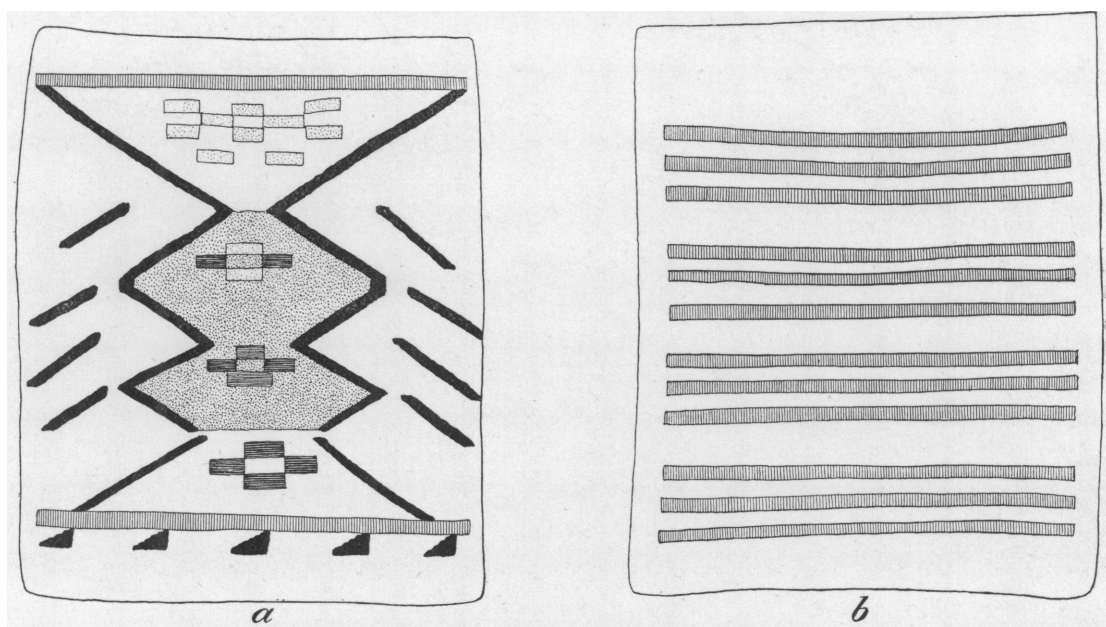


Fig. 219 ( $\frac{16}{32 \frac{3}{4}}$ ). Woven Grass Bag. *a*, Front; *b*, Back. Depth, 29.7 cm.

on the ends (see Fig. 202).<sup>1</sup> Hoops around the mouths of baskets were generally put on the inside, but sometimes on the outside, and occasionally on both sides. Large baskets were sometimes strengthened by having thongs or ropes tied around them, forming a wide netting. Some baskets had handles consisting of two lugs or loops of hide, so that when full they could be lifted with both hands. Small baskets also had two loops, but merely for the attachment of the ends of the carrying-strap; the latter being just long enough to allow the basket to be carried on the elbow, although in some cases it was made of sufficient length to go around the shoulder. Many of the medium-sized baskets had three loops (like the woven baskets) for the

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 110, p. 120.

attachment of the tump-line, the ends of which went right around the carrying-basket.

Very many bags and wallets of various kinds were used for many purposes, but the great majority of them were made of skins dressed with or without the hair. Bags woven of bark thread, elæagnus-bark, and grass, were used chiefly by the more southern bands. The common kinds were like those much in vogue among the Thompson tribe.<sup>1</sup> They were often made of a piece of matting, which was turned over and sewed up at the sides. Woven bark-string wallets of the Nez Percés or Sahaptin type (Fig. 219),

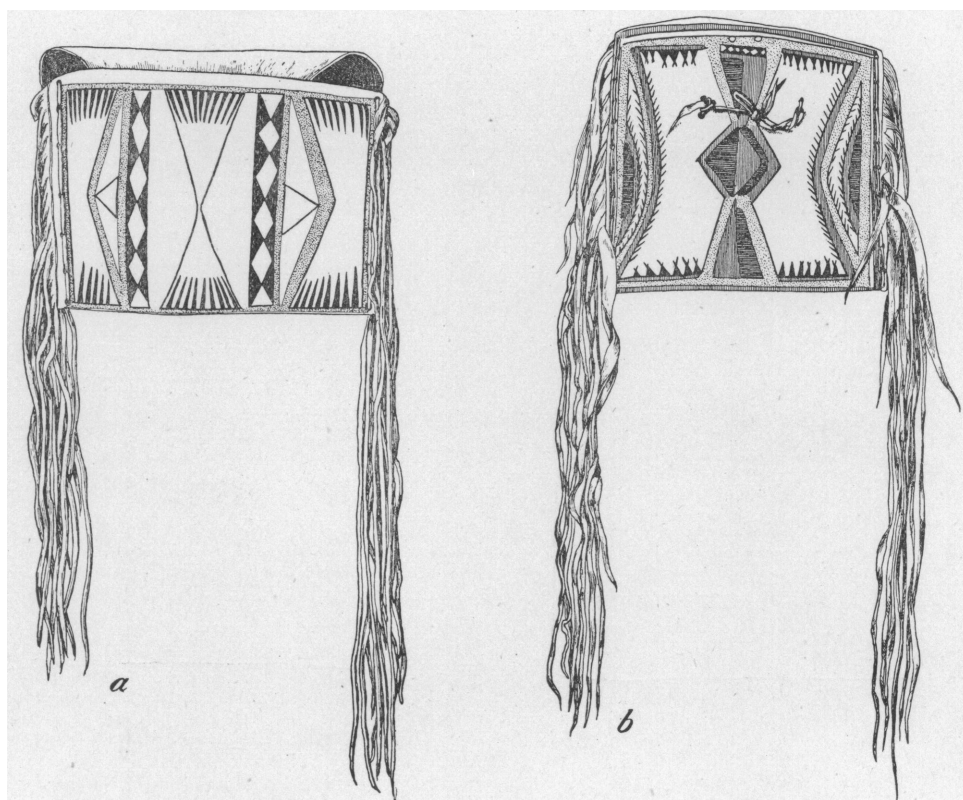


Fig. 220, *a* ( $\frac{16}{32 \times 2}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{16}{32 \times 3}$ ). Rawhide Bags. Depth, 25 cm., 23 cm.

and rawhide or buffalo skin bags (Fig. 220),<sup>2</sup> were used almost altogether by the Kamloops and other southern bands, who procured them from the Okanagan. A very common bag used for holding awls, needles, and sewing-material, was made of a piece of dressed skin about 30 cm. long and 15 cm. wide, to which on one side were sewed cross-pieces forming pockets, one under the other.<sup>3</sup> A kind of large bag used commonly by the Lake and North Thompson divisions was made of skins of caribou-legs, which

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 149, 150, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> See also Vol. I of this series, Fig. 151, p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 138, p. 149.



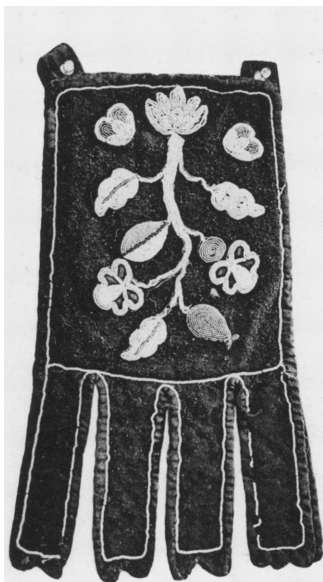


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

TOBACCO-POUCHES.

The Shuswap.



were sewed together lengthwise and bound at the ends with a transverse strip of bear-skin (Fig. 221). They were provided with a lacing, and were much used for transportation as well as for receptacles for clothes, etc., in the house. Another bag used for storing meat and fat was made of goat-skin. Other large bags used for this purpose were made principally of bear-skin and horse-skin. Smaller hide bags (Fig. 222) were much used for holding food and sundries in the house.

A very common form of bag, which to a great extent took the place of the baskets and *parflèches* used by the Thompson Indians, was the

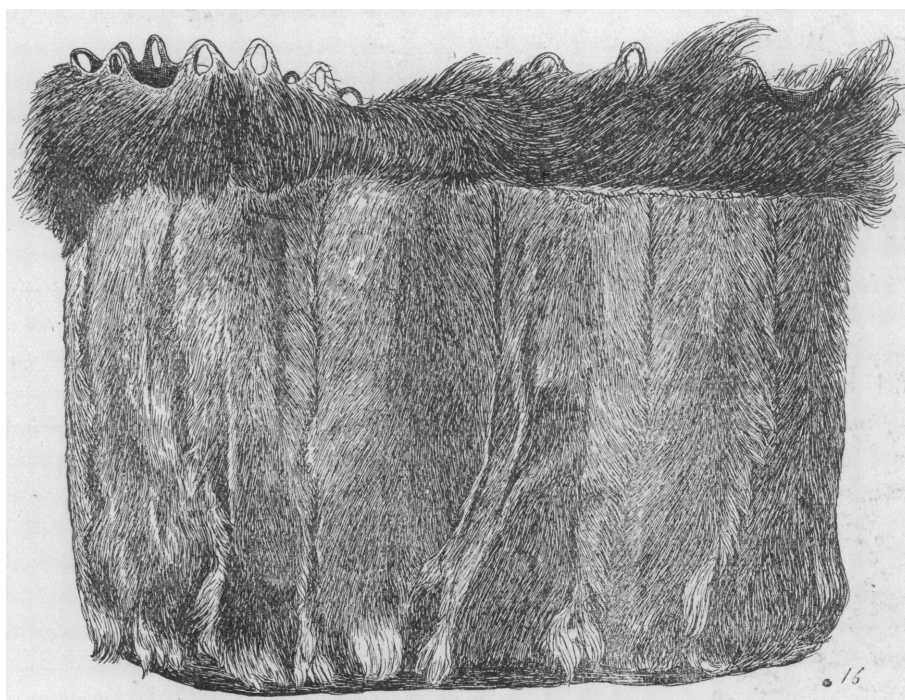


Fig. 221 ( $\frac{16}{3323}$ ). Bag made of Deer-Legs. Depth, 60 cm.

carrying-bag already mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Some were very large, and used for storing articles in the house or as panniers for packing on the sides of horses. They were made of deer, caribou, or beaver skins, which were soaked in water until the hair came out, stretched, and cut into strips and dried. The strips in the small bags were very fine, and sometimes slightly twisted.

Another bag of great importance was the tobacco-pouch (Plate XIII<sup>2</sup>), which was generally made of dressed skin, or, in more recent days, of cloth. Those of the Fraser River bands were somewhat square in shape, embroidered on one or both sides, and almost invariably had four single or double embroidered flaps hanging from the bottom. The style of tobacco-pouch most in vogue among the North Thompson band was of the Cree type

<sup>1</sup> See p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 1, Cat. No.  $\frac{16}{3337}$ ; Fig. 2,  $\frac{16}{3312}$ ; Fig. 3,  $\frac{16}{3311}$ ; Fig. 4,  $\frac{16}{3313}$ .

(Plate XIII, Fig. 2), while the southern bands used the various styles in use among the Thompson tribe and the Okanagon. They were the only bags among the Shuswap which were highly ornamented. Tobacco-pouches were also made of the scrotum of the big-horn sheep, the border being set with buckskin fringe.

The use of stone mortars for grinding tobacco and paint has been mentioned. It seems that they were seldom used for other purposes, and were confined mostly to the Kamloops and Bonaparte divisions. I found only one old Indian who was positive that stone mortars, not the flat grinding-slabs, were made by the tribe. All the other Indians declared that they were made by Coyote in mythological times, and were occasionally found by



Fig. 222 ( $\frac{16}{9281}$ ). Carrying-Bag. Depth, 43 cm.

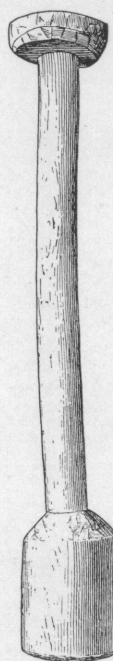


Fig. 223 ( $\frac{16}{8681}$ ). Pestle. Length, 52 cm.

the Indians in various parts of the Shuswap territory. It seems from this that they have not been generally made or used for a long time past. The pestle used with them for grinding tobacco was smaller than the ordinary pestle. Wooden

mortars were also made occasionally. They were worked out of large knots of trees, and were also used for pounding tobacco. Other mortars hollowed out of smaller knots were used for paint-pots or for mixing ointment, and some of them were made quite thin and used as cups.

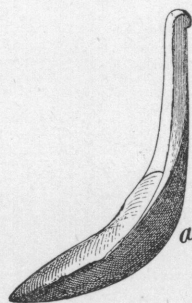


Fig. 224, *a* ( $\frac{16}{9309}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{16}{9310}$ ). Spoons. Length, 18 cm., 24.2 cm.

Trays for holding fish, etc.,<sup>1</sup> were made of birch-bark; others, made of spruce and black-

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 116, p. 123.

pine bark, were used before the fire for catching fat-drippings. No wooden trays, buckets, or boxes were made or used. Pestles or mashers for berries were made generally of birch-wood, and were bottle-shaped (Fig. 223).

Spoons were made chiefly of mountain-sheep horn, but a few small ones were made of mountain-goat horn. Wooden spoons (Fig. 224) were seldom made, except by the Lake and North Thompson divisions. The lower bands on the Fraser River and the Bonaparte used some of Lillooet manufacture.

Cups were made of birch-bark. Stirrers were made of wood, but many were of caribou-antler, the wide palmeated part forming the stirring-end. Tongs, torches, slow-matches, and fire-drills were the same as those commonly used by the Thompson tribe. Dry grass, sage-bark, and teased Indian-hemp bark, etc., were employed as tinder. Dry sand was often used in the holes of the fire-drill. The latter went out of use soon after the introduction of steel and flint. Fire was sometimes started by putting bark tinder and a little gunpowder near the trigger of a flint-lock musket. When the trigger was pulled, the sparks from the flint ignited the powder and the tinder, which were fanned into a blaze by blowing.

Some of the spoons, bags, and baskets described above are still in daily use. Household utensils were hardly ever carved, painted, or decorated in any way.

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#### IV. — CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS.

CLOTHING. — Simon Fraser, in 1808, says of the Shuswap dress, "They dress in skins prepared in the hair" (see his Journal, p. 160). Again referring more particularly to those farther down Fraser River, he says, "They besmear their bodies with oil and red ochre, and paint their faces in different colors; their dress is leather" (p. 166).

The dress of the Shuswap was similar to that of the Upper Thompson people. The former, however (especially the more northern bands), used more fur clothing. Many persons of the northern bands wore habitually fur robes without shirts, while among the Bonaparte and Kamloops divisions this was rare. Bark clothing was used to a very slight extent only, and among many bands not at all.

Some styles of clothing of the Thompson Indians, and some of their methods of ornamentation, were but little used among the Shuswap. Trousers, and combine dtrousers and breech-cloths, long leggings, and short leggings, were generally of buckskin, and made in the same manner as among the Thompson Indians. As a rule, they were devoid of decoration, excepting cut fringes, which often ran transversally across as well as up and down (Plate xiv,<sup>1</sup> Fig. 1). In rare cases they were embroidered with quill-work along the seams. In later days the women's short leggings were generally made of cloth, and were beaded (Plate xiv, Figs. 2, 3). Buckskin jumpers and coats worn by the men were like those of the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup> Shirts were made of dressed buckskin, elk-skin, caribou-skin, and moose-skin. They were made to be fastened with thongs on the shoulders or at the throat. Some had half-length and others full-length sleeves. Those of the men were short, and highly decorated with pendant feathers, dyed-hair tassels, and fringes of buckskin, human hair, and horsehair. Besides this, many were richly embroidered with quill-work. Women's shirts were longer and looser than those of the men, and were generally fastened with a belt around the waist. Most of them were of styles similar to those of the Thompson Indians, and were highly decorated with quills, shells, and elk-teeth. Some women's shirts had wide sleeves, and two flaps turned down from the neck, which reached to the middle of the chest and back respectively. These flaps were cut in various shapes, but most commonly they were square. They were

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<sup>1</sup> Fig. 1, Cat. No. 3318; Fig. 2, 3319; Fig. 3, 3317; Fig. 4, 3320.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 164, 165, p. 208.





LEGGINGS AND GARTER.

The Shuswap.





fringed along the bottom, and ornamented with quills, beads, and shells. While the Shuswap decorated their shirts elaborately, other parts of their clothing were rather plain.

Some men wore small dressed-skin ponchos and capes over their shirts, especially with those shirts which were fastened on the shoulders. Ordinary ponchos were made almost entirely of deer-skins, and worn hair side out. Coyote-skin ponchos were used principally by warriors, while those of wolf-skin were worn only by shamans. Small fur ponchos or strips of fur, some-

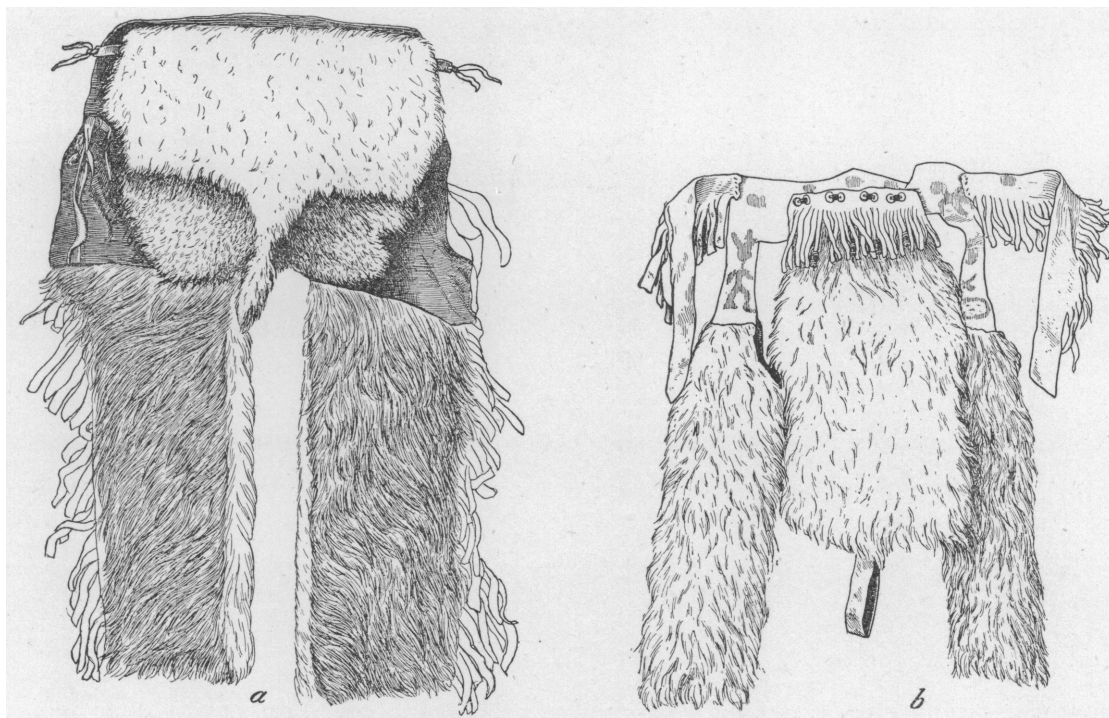


Fig. 225, *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Combination-Suits.

times woven, were used in the winter-time by some as neck-wraps; and in rainy weather a few people wore capes or ponchos of closely woven sage or elæagnus bark.

Combination-suits were worn like those of the Thompson Indians. One of the latter (Fig. 225, *a*) consists of two leggings, made of bear-skin in front and of deer-skin behind. They are set with a fringe of deer-skin with the hair on, the fringe being on the outside of the leggings. The leggings are sewed in front to a narrow piece of marmot-skin, which reaches up to a belt extending around the front of the body. Behind, the leggings are sewed to a piece of deer-skin, which extends around the back of the body, and at its upper corners is tied with buckskin-thong to the belt in front. Between the legs the deer-skin is sewed for a distance of about three inches to the

marmot-skin in front, so that the leggings remain somewhat apart. A marmot-skin is sewed to the upper part of the belt with the hair side in. The head part of this skin is cut off, and the tail is left on at the upper end. Thus it forms a soft flap, which, when the combination-suit is worn, falls down like an apron over the front of the garment. At the sides of the deer-skin, near the upper corners, a broad strip of buckskin is sewed on each side, which can be tied together in front, holding the suit firmly over the hips.

The boy's combination-suit (Fig. 225, *b*) is of similar cut. It consists of two leggings which are attached to strips of buckskin. These are cut out of one piece with a broad buckskin band which extends across the front of the body. To the ends of this, two pieces of soft fringed deer-skin are attached, by means of which the suit can be tied behind. To the middle of the band an apron made of marmot-skin is attached. Its lower part has a loop, which is evidently drawn up behind and fastened through the belt.

The former of these specimens has red dots painted on the inside of the marmot-skin flap, while the other has designs in red painted on the parts made of buckskin.

By far the most common robes were those of marmot-skins sewed together, and those of woven strips of rabbit-skins.<sup>1</sup> One of these marmot-skin robes ( $\frac{16}{9322}$ ) has two rows of skins sewed together crosswise at the neck-piece. The upper row consists of three skins; the lower, of four skins. The outer skins of both rows are placed with the tail-end outside, the tails being left on for ornament. The lower part of the robe consists of two rows of seven skins each, sewed together and to the two upper rows with tails downward. The tails of the lower row are left on. Most of the skins are sewed together so that the dark neck-piece is rounded off and fits in between the lighter hind-legs. Robes woven of strips of lynx-skin and of strips of musquash-skins were also quite common. Another common robe consisted of two large deer-skins sewed together.<sup>2</sup> Those of fawn-skins sewed together, and of beaver-skins, were fairly common. One specimen ( $\frac{16}{8004}$ ) consists of a number of skins of very young fawns placed transversely along the neck-piece; while the whole rest of the blanket consists of two rows, each of five or six fawn-skins running down vertically.

Robes of dressed buckskin and elk-skin dyed red were used by a few people. Pictures and designs were scarcely ever painted on robes; but most robes were dyed red, including those dressed in the hair and woven of rabbit-skins. Buffalo robes with the hair on were common, especially among the southern bands, who obtained them principally from the Okanagon and Thompson Indians. A few people of the Fraser River bands wore woven goat's-wool blankets, which were obtained from the Lillooet and Chilcotin.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 131, *g*, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Plate xvii.

Old men often wore fur caps with the animals' tails attached to the back for ornament. One specimen is made of the skin of a deer's head with ears, and four tail-feathers of the hawk are placed fan-shape standing up from the occiput, while behind each ear there is a tuft of fine breast-feathers. Caps made of lynx, marmot, squirrel, and fox skins were the most common. Those made of the head-skins of deer<sup>1</sup> were much used in hunting. The majority

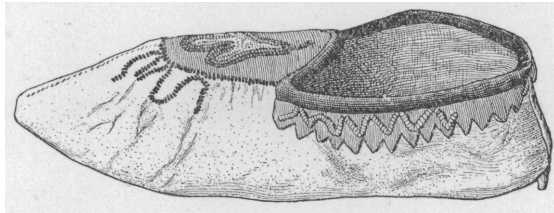


Fig. 226 ( $\frac{18}{88}$ ). Moccasin.

of men wore head-bands, generally made of mink, marten, otter, or beaver skin. Many of these were set with feathers, and ornamented with strings of hair and dentalia. Warriors' head-bands had two long strings of hair or feathers hanging down, one on each side. Instead

of two, sometimes a single one was worn hanging down the back or attached to one side. The manner of attaching the feathers was the same as among the Thompson tribe. Eagle-feathers were highly prized.

Mittens of fur were used in the winter-time, and were suspended by strings from the shoulders. Socks consisted generally of pieces of skin worn fur side in. Sometimes they were sewed up at the toe, and the heel left open, like those of the Thompson Indians. Others were woven of sage-bark or elæagnus-bark in the form of a slipper.<sup>2</sup> Many people used instead a loose padding of caribou-hair or of dry grass inside their moccasins. Moccasins were made of dressed skins of deer, caribou, elk, and moose. Most of them, especially those of the women, were made plain; but sometimes they were more or less embroidered with quills and dyed horsehair. They were of four types. Probably the most common kind were those with cross-cut toe (Fig. 226), like the common

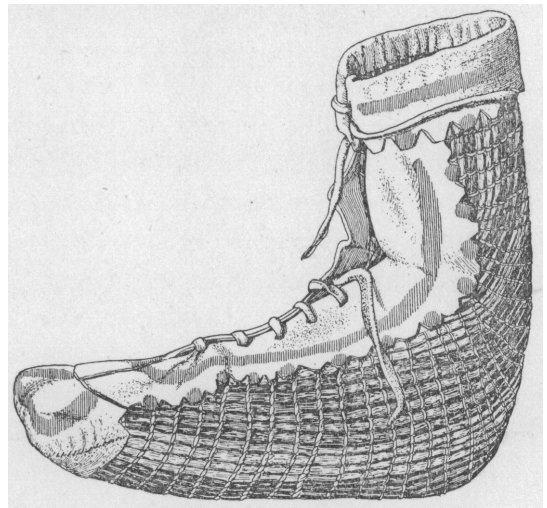


Fig. 227 ( $\frac{18}{88}$ ). Sedge-bark Shoe.

kind in use at the present day. Nearly as common were those with round toe.<sup>3</sup> Somewhat less common were those with pointed toe sewed down the instep to the toes along the middle of the foot.<sup>4</sup> Fairly common were those with sole sewed to the upper all round the foot. The upper consists of

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 178, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Fig. 170, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 174, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Fig. 172, p. 211.

a single piece, with a rather long tongue on the instep. The sides of the upper are sewed up in a vertical seam on the heel. To the upper is attached a leg-piece like those of the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> In some bands this was a very common style, while other bands seldom used them. A few people of the southern bands wore moccasins sewed on one side, like the most common kind used by the Thompson tribe.<sup>2</sup> All or almost all moccasins had trailers of four main types, like the second, fourth, sixth, and seventh in the series of sketches of Thompson trailers.<sup>3</sup> Hunters in cold snowy weather used long boots or combined moccasins and leggings of sheep or deer skin. They were worn hair side out, over the ordinary shoes and leggings. On such occasions very poor people wore high shoes woven of sage-bark or of rushes (Fig. 227).

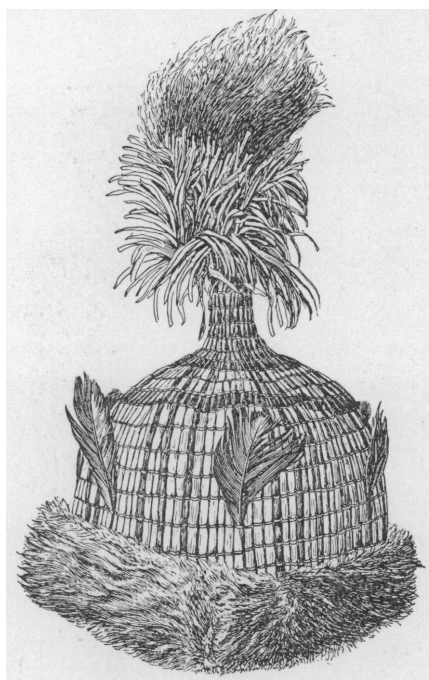


Fig. 228 (811 $\frac{1}{2}$ ). Woven Cap.

Belts, hair-ribbons, and garters (see Plate XIV, Fig. 4) were used, and were of many different styles. Some of these were embroidered and ornamented with tassels, teeth, feathers, etc.

Breech-cloths were of soft dressed skin, made in styles similar to those in vogue among the Thompson Indians. Probably the most common kind used by men consisted of a strip of buckskin about 30 cm. wide and 1.5 metres long, the ends of which were drawn under the belt and allowed to hang down like an apron before and behind. The lower end in front was often decorated with holes, and the bottom edge was cut in points.<sup>4</sup> Young women wore head-bands of dressed skin, which were generally sewed behind,<sup>5</sup>

and the ends cut into a fringe which was sometimes long enough to reach down the back. These head-bands were embroidered with dentalia. Older women used buckskin caps which were frequently beaded or worked with quills along the seams,<sup>6</sup> and sometimes had a bunch of fringe at the top.<sup>7</sup> Children, as a rule, wore capes instead of robes. The capes often had buckskin fringe all around neck, front, and bottom, and were open in front. They were generally of marmot, ground-squirrel, or of squirrel skins. Aprons worn by old men and women were made of skins of all kinds, and

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 170, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 169, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Fig. 173, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> See decoration on buckskin shirt, Ibid., Fig. 163, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 193, p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Fig. 190, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Fig. 191, p. 217.

some were of woven material like the robes. Those of the men were cut in three different shapes, — almost square, rectangular and about twice as long as wide, and tapering towards the lower end. Women's bodices or kilts were of dressed skin with a long fringe at the bottom. Some were high-bodied like a sleeveless shirt, and fastened over the shoulders; while others were low, and fastened around the waist.<sup>1</sup> The latter were the most common. Short sleeves fastened above the elbow were worn with the wide-sleeved shirt by a few women. The poorest people wore robes, capes, and aprons of dog-skin, and leggings, kilts,<sup>2</sup> ponchos,<sup>3</sup> and caps<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 228) of woven sage-bark among the more southern bands, and of woven rushes among the other bands. A pair of sedge-bark leggings ( $\frac{16}{1964}$ ) of this kind are made in twined weaving like the socks of the same material worn by the Thompson Indians.<sup>5</sup> The top is trimmed with a strip of soft rabbit-fur, which is turned over the edge. The lower part is loose, like the heel of the Thompson sock. Near the lower part, straw braid is attached to the front, by means of which the legging can be tied up below the knees. Willow and cedar bark were very rarely used materials. Along Fraser River, and possibly in a few other parts, poor people wore sandals and moccasins of sturgeon-skin. The latter were painted with red ochre. The sandals consist of a flat piece of skin wider at the heel than at the toe. Near the edge on each side there was one slit in the middle of the long side of the sandal, and through these slits a string made of hemp-thread is pulled, passing along the bottom of the sandal. Another pair of holes is made halfway between the pair just described and the farthest point back, and through these holes a similar string is passed. Presumably the sandal was attached by tying these strings crosswise. The sandals were made thicker and more durable by applications of glue mixed with small feathers and sand. As articles of clothing were sometimes bartered from tribe to tribe, or won in games when members of one tribe gambled with those of another, skin garments of Thompson, Okanagon, and Kootenai manufacture were occasionally found among the Shuswap. In this way Cree

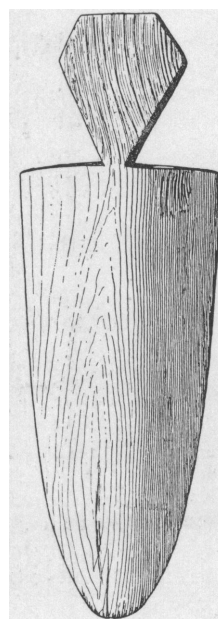


Fig. 229 ( $\frac{16}{1964}$ ). Moccasin Last. Length, 50.8 cm.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 185, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 186, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Fig. 194, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> In the Thompson specimens collected by Mr. Teit is one cap made of double-twisted Indian hemp-thread ( $\frac{16}{1964}$ ). The cap looks very much like a round basket, the single threads being coiled and sewed together with cotton thread. Outside it is painted with rows of standing triangles. The whole specimen looks very much as though it were an imitation of a basket-cap similar to those of the Oregon and California tribes. The irregular and rough sewing-together of the threads in the form of coils seems to be simply a device to hold together the material, the knowledge of the older type having disappeared. I do not know of any similar technique in old specimens from this region. This style of cap is said to have been fairly common. — EDITOR.

<sup>5</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 174, p. 212.

clothing was not uncommon on the North Thompson River, and women could be seen wearing the old-fashioned Cree shirt with separate sleeves.

I may here mention the lasts or boards (Fig. 229) used for shaping and stretching moccasins. The moccasins were dampened with water; and smooth stones, like large flakes of jasper with rounded surfaces, were used for pressing the skin into proper shape along the edges of the boards. Special knives were used for cutting skin (Fig. 230). Awls for sewing clothes were of various kinds, but the favorite kind was made of the penis-bone of the black bear. Those made of the leg-bone of the deer were also commonly in use.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly all the different articles of clothing referred to have gone out of use. Moccasins, fur and buckskin gloves, and mittens, are still common. Fringed buckskin trousers, chaperos, coats and jackets, and fur caps, may

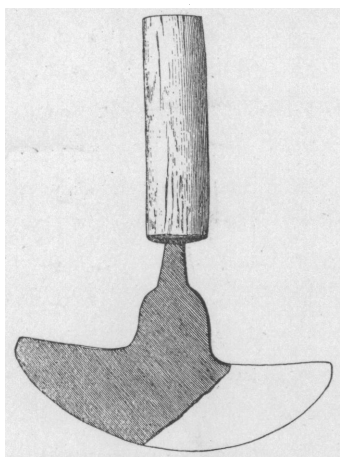


Fig. 230 ( $\frac{11}{8}$ ). Knife for cutting Skin. Length, 11.7 cm.

still be seen occasionally. Among the North Thompson division, embroidered leggings and fur cloaks are sometimes used. Marmot-skin robes are still fairly common among the Lake and North Thompson people. After trading commenced with the fur companies, leggings of blue and red cloth began to take the place of those of skin. White and red woollen blankets largely took the place of the robes. Blankets were cut up and made into shirts, coats, mittens, and sock-pieces. Colored woollen sashes took the place of belts. After the coming of the miners and the opening of trading-stores in various places, these garments in turn gradually disappeared as completely as those they had superseded; and their place has been taken by woollen and cotton socks, blue jean overalls, cotton shirts, cloth coats, vests, and cowboy hats, among the men, and by calico dresses, woollen shawls, and silk handkerchiefs for the head, among the women.

DECORATION OF CLOTHING. — Ornamentation of buckskin clothing was with fringes, pinking, and perforations, as among the Thompson tribe.<sup>2</sup> Painting of clothes in any manner was rare; but the dyeing of dressed skins to be made into clothing, and of robes, etc., was very common. The common color was red, but yellow was also used. Originally all embroidery was wrought with porcupine and bird quills, in red, white, yellow, and black colors. Bird-quills to be used for embroidery were split, flattened, and scraped, and then split into strips of the desired width. Dentalium-shells and elk-teeth were very much used for decorating clothing. Elk-teeth were

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 35, p. 171 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 221, 222.

often sewed along seams. Sometimes they were scattered all over the garment in the same way as painted spots on robes. Feathers were also much in vogue for attachment to head-bands, shirts, robes, etc.

Tail-feathers of eagles were very valuable for decorative purposes. Adult eagles of dark plumage, with white tail-feathers tipped with black, were most valuable, four of their tail-feathers being worth a large dressed beaver-skin. On this account they were much sought after. Tassels of human hair and of elk-hair dyed were also used. Copper, bone, and quill tubes were not uncommon, and were strung like dentalia. Wampum or flat disk-shaped beads of shell and bone were not used as much as among the Thompson Indians. After the introduction of horses, horsehair in four colors came largely into use. Soon after trading commenced with the fur companies, in the early part of the last century, colored glass beads of various sizes gradually but eventually completely superseded quills in embroidery. They also, on most garments, supplanted dentalia, wampum, and elk-teeth. Later, colored yarn, ribbon, and braid superseded decoration with hair and feathers. About this time colored yarn tassels in the shape of round balls (see Plate XIV, Fig. 4) came into vogue. These, at the present day, are common in the decoration of the Carrier, and are to be seen on nearly all their tobacco-pouches. However, this kind of tassel was never much in vogue among most Shuswap bands. It seems to have been introduced by the Cree. After white settlement commenced in the country (about 1860), colored silk thread gradually displaced beads in embroidery, and the latter are now seldom seen.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT. — In the adornment of their persons, the Shuswap differed in very few details from the Thompson people. Ear-ornaments were made of dentalia, beads, copper, teeth, and bone. They were worn by both sexes, and were in all respects like those of the Thompson Indians. The most common kind were made of dentalia and beads.<sup>1</sup> Stout bird-quills were often used in place of dentalia. They were scraped a little to make them transparent, and stuffed with dyed material, — white, black, red, yellow, green, or blue. Bird-down, shredded bark, wool, and hair were used for this purpose. Sometimes the quills themselves were dyed. The quills were strung on thread, like dentalia. Necklaces of various lengths were also worn by both sexes. They were made of dentalia, bird quills and feathers (dyed and undyed), animal teeth and claws, bone tubes and beads, copper tubes, wampum beads, and in later days glass beads. Elæagnus-seeds were also sometimes used. Only shamans wore necklaces of grisly-bear claws. Some necklaces were worn tight around the throat,<sup>2</sup> and were made of buckskin padded with deer-hair. They were embroidered with beads or quills on one side only. Bone and copper pendants, round, square, oblong, crescent-shaped,

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 195, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 200, p. 223.

and triangular,<sup>1</sup> were worn on the chest, generally attached to necklaces. Some of the largest ones were worn separately. A few of the bone ones had incised designs filled in with red paint. They were flat, and generally polished. Abalone or haliotis shells were not used. The Fraser River bands sometimes obtained abalone-shells from the Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Carrier, but these were generally kept as curiosities.

Nose-ornaments were worn by almost all women and by a very few men. They were made almost always of dentalium-shells,<sup>2</sup> and had pieces of the scalp of the red-headed woodpecker attached to each end. Polished and incised bone rods of equal thickness at both ends were used occasionally as nose-ornaments. At each end a depression was made, into which a red-headed woodpecker's scalp was glued. Some of them were made smaller at one end,<sup>3</sup> where they were perforated, and could then be used as ear-pendants if desired. Quills were occasionally used as nose-ornaments, principally by children. Some dentalium-shells used as ear-pendants had incised designs.<sup>4</sup> Nose-rings of horn or metal, labrets, and rings for the ankles, were not used. After the advent of the fur-traders, bracelets and finger-rings of brass and copper came into common use. Some head and breast ornaments were made of dentalia strung on buckskin thongs and combined into a single piece (some close-fitting necklaces and bracelets were made in this way). Others were made of a stiff piece of buckskin which was thickly covered with dentalia sewed in rows. The breast-pieces varied in size from about 12 cm. or 15 cm. square to large ones reaching almost from the throat to the belt.<sup>5</sup> They were worn mostly by men. All these ornaments have long been out of use.

Formerly much attention was paid to the hair, and there were at least four ways of dressing it. The most common method for both sexes was to part the hair down the middle, and gather it into a single braid on each side. If the hair was very abundant, it was made into two braids on each side. Women fastened the ends of their braids together at the back, while the men allowed theirs to hang down at the sides. Some men parted their hair nearly on one side of the head, instead of in the middle; and a very few divided theirs on both sides, the remaining hair on the top of the head being tied up in a knot or made into a small queue, the end of which protruded over the brow. A common style was to cut the front hair all around the brow a little above the eyebrows, the rest of the hair being done up in queues, tied up loosely, or gathered in a knot at the back of the neck. In this method there were two partings of the hair in the shape of a T, or only one across the head, instead of down the middle. Warriors and

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 363-367, pp. 424-426.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Fig. 198, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 197, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Fig. 379, p. 431.



pubescent lads tied their hair in a knot behind the head, while maidens fixed theirs in a knot behind each ear. Some warriors did up their hair in stiff "horns," like the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> Combs and scratchers were often worn stuck into the knots of the hair. The hair was washed occasionally in tepid water with birch-leaves or urine, and was always dressed once a day, except by men on hunting-trips. Hair was oiled with tallow from the deer's back, sheep's fat, and sometimes with bear-grease and salmon-oil. The partings of the hair were always painted red, and sometimes the eyebrows as well. The Thompson Indians are said to have had more styles<sup>1</sup> of dressing the hair than the Shuswap. Buckskin flaps (Fig. 231) of various kinds, richly embroidered with quills or shells, and often provided with numerous pendants, were worn by both sexes, attached to the hair on each side of the head. The beard was eradicated with the finger-nails, friends pulling out each others' beards. Tweezers were not common until the advent of iron, although copper ones were made occasionally. Young men and young women plucked their eyebrows to make them narrow, and also plucked the hair-line to make it high and eradicate all stray hairs. The face, and sometimes the body also, was painted every day. Women generally painted the face red or yellow. Men usually painted theirs red or brown, but sometimes also blue, yellow, and white. Micaceous hematite was much used. Black was used only by warriors and shamans. Paint was put on dry, or more generally was mixed with grease. The materials from which paints were made have already been mentioned. The men and a few women painted their faces in many curious designs representing their dreams (see Figs. 253-257).



Fig. 231 ( $\frac{11}{8}$ ). Hair-Ornament.  
Height, 25.5 cm.

Tattooing was not very common. Although tattoo-marks were put on at about the age of puberty, it is claimed that they had no connection with the ceremonies at that time performed, and were made solely for ornamentation. Tattooing was done mostly on the backs of the wrists of both sexes, and was produced by pricking or cutting over the painted parts, and by drawing a needle with stained thread underneath the skin. Some people of both sexes tattooed the face also. Women had perpendicular lines on the

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 226.

chin and brow: for instance, one vertical line running down the chin from each corner of the mouth, and one down the middle of the chin; or double lines in the same position; or, in addition to these, a double line running vertically between the eyebrows. Men also had lines on the chin. I could not obtain any meaning for these. Men also tattooed a number of radiating lines on the cheeks or chin, which were called the "eagle's tail."

For instance, five lines running down the chin — the two outer ones diverging downward from the corners of the mouth, the three inner ones placed at equal distances between these — represented the eagle's tail. The same design was executed by seven diverging lines, beginning at the middle part of the lower lip, and extending downward and outward along the chin. The same design was placed on the cheeks, the lines beginning at the cheek-bone and diverging outward towards the ears. Another pattern used by men consisted of a half-circle on each cheek, extending from near the bridge of the nose to the chin (Fig. 232). I did not obtain any name for this mark among the Shuswap, but the Thompson Indians call it the

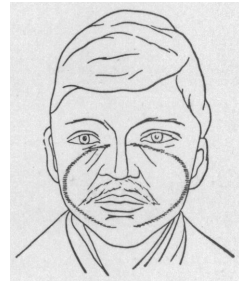


Fig. 232. Tattooing.

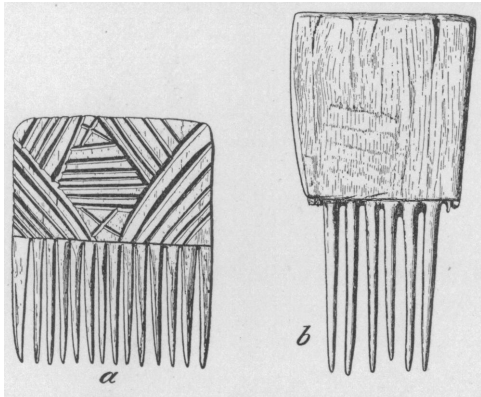


Fig. 233, *a* ( $\frac{18}{88\frac{1}{2}}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{18}{88\frac{1}{8}}$ ). Combs. Length, 9.3 cm., 13.2 cm.

"rainbow." The eagle-tail design was confined principally to the Kamloops people. Face-tattooing has been out of fashion for a long time, but the wrists are still tattooed occasionally. Tattooing was very common among the Carrier.

Combs<sup>1</sup> were exactly like those of the Thompson tribe. They were made of wild-gooseberry wood, but the wood of *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh (wa'xaselp) was preferred when it could be obtained.

Sometimes this wood was procured from the Lillooet. The Fraser River bands occasionally made combs from single thin pieces of birch and juniper wood (Fig. 233), like those in vogue among the Chilcotin and Carrier. Birch-leaves, children's urine, and a kind of clay or washing-soda obtained from certain lakes, were used in water as soap.

The ideas of personal beauty were the same as among the Thompson Indians,<sup>2</sup> the only difference being that short women were considered prettiest. In fact, the taller a woman was, the uglier she was considered.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 201--203, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

## V. — SUBSISTENCE.

VARIETIES AND PREPARATION OF FOOD. — The Shuswap may be classed as a hunting and fishing tribe; the former occupation, on the whole, predominating. The Fraser River and Cañon bands were the most sedentary, the latter almost entirely so; while the North Thompson bands were the most nomadic. Salmon was of greatest importance to the Fraser River and Cañon people, trout and small fish to the Lake people, and game to the rest of the tribe. Fishing, however, was of great importance to every band. In comparison with the Thompson tribe, the people as a whole depended less on salmon, and more on small fish and game.

The meat on which they lived was of importance in the following order: deer, elk, caribou, marmot, sheep, hare, beaver, grouse, bear, moose, duck, goose, crane, squirrel, porcupine. Goat-meat was not eaten by most bands, except when other meat could not be obtained. Turtle was eaten by the North Thompson people. Moose were found only in the extreme northeast hunting-grounds. Buffalo and antelope did not inhabit the tribal territory, but they were known, and a few Shuswap had hunted them east of the Rocky Mountains. Elk became practically extinct about fifty years ago, and were scarce seventy years ago. At one time they formed the chief object of the chase with many bands, as they were easy to hunt, and their flesh and skins were most highly esteemed. The general introduction of fire-arms among the Indians led to their gradual extinction. Caribou have also disappeared from the southern parts of the Shuswap country, and are now found only in the north and east.

The fish-supply consisted of salmon of four or five varieties, sturgeon, and trout and white-fish of several varieties; but almost every kind of fish was eaten. Fresh-water clams and other shell-fish, which are found in some lakes, were never eaten, except perhaps in cases of famine.

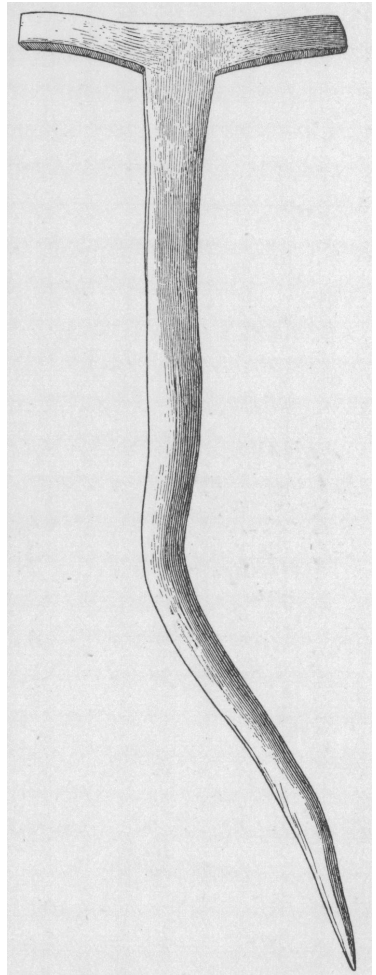


Fig. 234 (1887). Root-Digger made of Caribou-Antler. Chilcotin. Length, 97 cm.

Roots and berries formed an important part of the food-supply, and the latter were gathered in great quantities. Roots were not so important as among the Thompson Indians. The most common kind of root-digger was made of service-berry wood, and had a handle of birch-wood.<sup>1</sup> A few handles were made of antler and of goat-horn; but those of the style called bow-handles,<sup>2</sup> made of mountain-ram's horn, and common among the Thompson and Lillooet tribes, were not used. Some root-diggers, generally shorter than the wooden ones, were made of caribou, deer, or elk antler, in a single piece, and were similar to those used by the Chilcotin (Fig. 234).

Most of the roots found in the Thompson country also grew abundantly in the southern parts of the Shuswap country, but in the more northern parts many kinds common in the south did not grow. Thus in the grounds of some bands not over five or six kinds of edible roots were found, while in those of others as many as fifteen kinds might be obtained. The roots of the following plants were those most commonly used: —

1. *Lilium Columbianum*. The largest roots of these were obtained in the Horsefly District.
2. *Claytonia* sp. (probably *Claytonia sessilifolia*).
3. *Allium* sp. (probably *Allium cernuum*).
4. *Potentilla* sp. (probably *Potentilla anserina*).
5. *Ferula dissoluta*. The roots of this plant are of three varieties, each having a different name.
6. *Erythronium grandiflorum*, var. *minor*.
7. Atsama'ts (probably a kind of wild parsnip).
8. *Calechortus macrocarpus*.
9. *Peucedanum macrocarpum*.
10. xanexai'n.
11. Kalspō', a variety of thistle (the name of the plant is kalspō'; that of the root, npa'pokxen).
12. *Balsamorhiza sagittata*. Confined to the southern parts of the country.
13. Tsêrâ'i, a root said to resemble No. 8. Confined to the southern parts of the country, chiefly Kamloops and Lower Thompson River.
14. *Hydrophyllum occidentale*. Confined to the southern parts of the country, chiefly Kamloops and Lower Thompson River.
15. *Lewisia rediviva*. Confined to the southern parts of the country, chiefly Kamloops and Lower Thompson River.
16. Sxala'uxia. Confined to the lower parts of the country, chiefly Kamloops and Lower Thompson River.
17. *Camassia esculenta*. Confined to the southern parts of the country, Columbia River Valley.
18. *Fritillaria lanceolata*.

It is said that fern-roots were not eaten, although abundant in some parts of the country.

The following kinds of wild fruits were used: —

1. Service-berry (*Amelanchier alnifolia*). This was the most important fruit, and at least four varieties of it were recognized.
2. Soapberry (*Shepherdia canadensis*), probably next in importance to the preceding.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 212, a, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 212, b, p. 231.

3. Blueberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*, var. *microphyllum*), two or more varieties.
4. Blueberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
5. Choke-cherry (*Prunus* sp.). Two varieties were recognized.
6. Raspberry (*Rubus* sp.).
7. Thimble-berry (*Rubus* sp.).
8. Blackberry (*Rubus* sp.).
9. Gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.), two kinds.
10. Currant (*Ribes cereum* or *Ribes Hudsonianum* Rich.). Confined to the extreme southern part of the country.
11. Strawberry (*Fragaria Californica*).
12. Elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis*), of local occurrence.
13. Hawberry (*Crataegus rivularis* Nutt.), of local occurrence, and not much used.
14. Bitter-berry (*Cornus* sp.).
15. Bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
16. Cranberry (*Viburnum* sp.), two varieties. Confined to the cool, moist parts of the country.
17. Oregon grape (*Berberis* sp.). Not much used.
18. Roseberry (*Rosa gymnocarpa* Nutt.). These were only used in times of great scarcity of other kinds of food.

Berries were gathered in the same way as among the Thompson people, a large and a small basket being used. Wooden combs were made use of for gathering the small blueberries. Bark trays (see Fig. 206, p. 482) were often utilized for collecting cranberries and soap-berries, especially late in the fall, when the berries were very ripe and at their sweetest, and the leaves had partly fallen from the bushes. The branches were simply shaken above the trays.

A good deal of black moss (*Alectoria jubata*) was eaten, and mushrooms of at least one kind. Cactus (*Opuntia* sp.) was much used by the southern bands wherever it grew. Wild celery was confined to the extreme south, and therefore not much used. Stems of *Balsamorhiza* were not eaten except by some people of the southern bands, and the seeds were not used except perhaps by a few of the Kamloops people. Stems of fireweed (*Epilobium angustifolium*) were rarely eaten, but the stems of the wild rhubarb (*Heracleum lanatum*) were very much used.

The cambium layer of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*, Doug.) was in great demand; but that of the alder, balsam-poplar, birch, fir, and spruce, was not used. The cambium of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) was used by the Bonaparte and Kamloops people, and that of the aspen (*Populus tremuloides*) and the "nut" pine (*Pinus albicaulis*) were occasionally used.

Hazel-nuts were used principally by the North Thompson people, who sold them to other bands. Nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis* were gathered, and those of *Pinus ponderosa* were also used by the Bonaparte and Kamloops people.

Tea made from the leaves and stems of "the Hudson Bay plant" was used as a drink. Bark was stripped off trees with bark-peelers made of antler (Fig. 235, *a*, *b*). A few of these were made of wood and horn. Sap-scrapers (Fig. 235, *c*) were generally made of caribou-antler or of the

shoulder-blade of the black bear. A few were made of other bones, notably the ulna of the deer. They were similar in form to those used by the Thompson Indians, Cree, Chilcotin, and Carrier. Many of them were double-ended. Those used for the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped, and made from rib-bones of various animals.

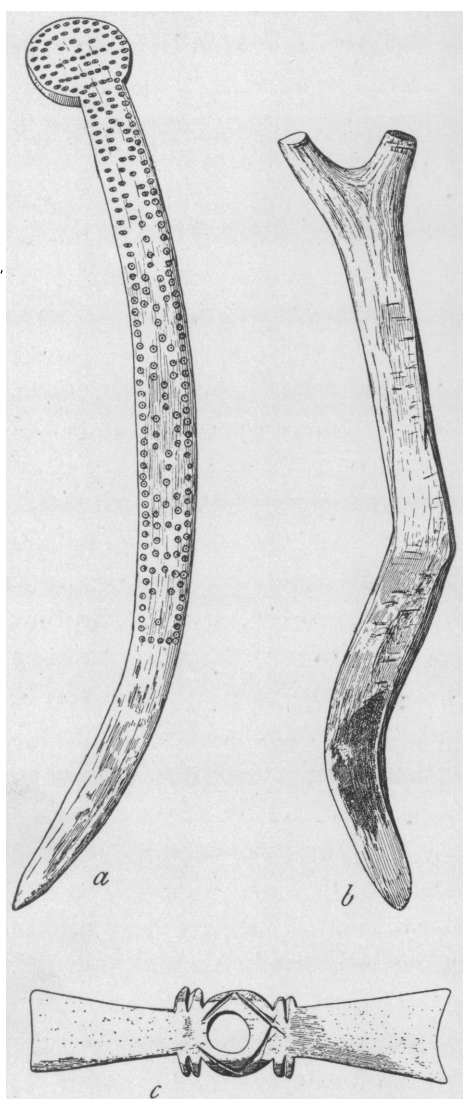


Fig. 235, *a* ( $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$ ), Bark-Peelers; *c* ( $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$ ), Sap-Scraper. Length, 49 cm., 44 cm., 21 cm.

The methods of preparing and preserving the different kinds of roots and berries were the same as those practised by the Thompson tribe. Mats of all kinds, but especially tent-mats, were used for drying berries on. About half the harvest of service-berries and soapberries was boiled and made into cakes,<sup>1</sup> and some of the raspberries and blackberries were treated in like manner. Instead of large woven baskets, temporary baskets were often used for boiling. These were made of spruce-bark, and were cylindrical in shape. Bark trays were sometimes used in conjunction with them.<sup>2</sup> The cakes of berries were spread on layers of leaves, dry pine-needles, or dry grass, supported on sticks; but more generally they were laid on mats woven of willow-twigs or of grass, made for the purpose. Frames woven of slats of wood<sup>3</sup> were used by a few people.

Nearly all roots were tied in strings or threaded on strings before cooking in the earth ovens. Roots of the wild potato (*Claytonia*) and the lavender lily (*Calechortus macrocarpus*) were not generally cooked in these ovens, but threaded on strings and hung up to dry, or were spread loosely on mats to dry. Afterwards they were put in sacks or baskets, and cooked in small quantities, as required, by boiling in the manner of potatoes. It was considered preferable, however, to steam them, as then they did not get so

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Probably in the manner shown in Fig. 119 of Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 215, p. 235.

watery. Round birch-bark baskets with flaring sides were used as kettles. The basket was filled nearly half full of boiling water. About halfway down the basket, a little above the surface of the water, a framework of twigs or small sticks, fastened together in the manner of spokes in a wheel, was placed, with the ends resting on the sides of the basket. On this was spread a thin layer of grass, upon which the roots were heaped and covered with a close-fitting lid or sheet of bark. The basket was then set near the fire. Small hot stones were dropped into the water if necessary. As these roots were small, they did not take long to cook. At the present day a lard-tin is used instead of a bark kettle, and placed on the stove; so that the water continues to boil and the volume of steam is kept up.

The above remarks in regard to the steaming of these roots are also applicable to the Thompson Indians. Salmon and other fish were prepared and cured in the same manner as among the Thompson tribe.

Salmon-roe was wrapped in bark and buried; and salmon-oil was stored in bottles made of fish-skins, which were sealed with twine and glue. Meat was also prepared and cured in the same way as among the Thompson Indians. Marrow was stored in bladders of the deer and caribou. Caribou and deer tongues were split and dried. Beaver-tails were also thus treated occasionally.

Five methods of drying meat and fish were in use, — by the sun's rays; by wind, in the shade; by smoke, in the lodges; by heat from the fire; by hot air, in the sweat-house or in houses constructed like a sweat-house, but larger. The last method was used when meat had to be dried quickly. Horse-meat was at one time much used, but has now fallen quite into disuse. Dogs were eaten only in times of great want. Limited quantities of these varieties of food are still used; but in most bands they are only supplementary to potatoes, flour, rice, beans, etc., which now compose the staple articles of diet. Salmon, however, is still of some importance along Fraser River. Many families of the Lake division still subsist largely on trout, and some of the Upper North Thompson people still live mostly on game.

SEASONS. — The Shuswap recognize five seasons, corresponding exactly to those of the Thompson Indians. The months have two classes of names. They are called "first month," "second month," "third month," and so on; or they are called by recognized names derived from some characteristic. The names of the moons among the Fraser River division, and their special characteristics, are as follows: —

*First Moon*, or Pełxalu'lxten ("going-in time"). — People commence to enter their winter houses. The deer rut.

*Second Moon*, or Pestitê'qem. — First real cold.

*Third Moon*, or Pelkutlami'n. — Sun turns.



*Fourth Moon*, or Peska'pts ("spring [winds] month"). — Frequent Chinook winds. The snow begins to disappear.

*Fifth Moon*, or Pesx'ü'xem ("[little] summer [month]"). — Snow disappears completely from the lower grounds. A few spring roots are dug, and many people leave their winter houses at the end of the month.

*Sixth Moon*, or Pełteke'tiaiten. — Snow disappears from the higher grounds. The grass grows fast. People dig roots.

*Seventh Moon*, or Pełtepa'ntsk ("midsummer [month]"). — People fish trout at the lakes.

*Eighth Moon*, or Pełka'kaldemex ("getting-ripe month"). — Service-berries ripen.

*Ninth Moon*, or Pełtemeli'k ("autumn month"). — Salmon arrive.

*Tenth Moon*, or Pełtæle'lx'ten. — People fish salmon all month.

*Eleventh Moon*, or Pełæetci'kenten. — People cache their fish, and leave the rivers to hunt.

*Balance of the Year*, Pełwê'llsten ("fall time"). — People hunt and trap game in the mountains.

Most of the Shuswap entered their winter houses about a month earlier than the Thompson tribe, but both tribes commenced the count of the year with the same moon.

HUNTING. — Hunting and snaring of game was a very important occupation, and with some bands took precedence over all others. Trapping became of great importance after the advent of the fur companies; and some parties used to spend all fall, winter, and spring, hunting and trapping on distant grounds. On these expeditions they sometimes encountered members of the Kootenai, Stony, Beaver, and Sekanai tribes similarly engaged. The Carrier band who formerly inhabited Bear Lake, in the Caribou district, were sometimes visited, and members of the Iroquois band and the Cree were met with. The chief animals trapped were marten, mink, fisher, beaver, fox, and lynx.

Bows and arrows were the principal weapons used in the chase and in war. Sinew-backed bows covered with snake-skin were those generally used. Other bows were only used occasionally for practice, or by boys. The common style of ornamentation on Shuswap bows was as follows. The inside of the bow was all stained red. The hand-grip was covered with sinew or a wrapping of bird-cherry bark. Each side of the hand-grip was ornamented with a braid of quill-work passing around the bow; or the quills were put on flat, and not braided. From these protruded two entire tails of the red-shafted flicker, one on each side. Sometimes, instead of snake-skin, the whole back of the bow was covered with dyed quills (Fig. 236). Sinew was glued on the back to a thickness of nearly half an inch, in the same manner as on the Thompson bows. Yew-wood was used for bows by

some of the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson Indians, and also by a few others who obtained this wood from the Lillooet. The rest of the tribe made their bows of juniper-wood. Bow-strings were always of sinew, carefully twisted, and at least sometimes stretched with weights. Almost all strings were rubbed with glue, which was generally made from salmon or sturgeon skins. Bow-points like those of the Carrier and Sekanai were not used. Probably the most common shape of bow was the flat bow,<sup>1</sup> made from two and a half to four fingers in width, and 120-150 cm. long. The other common style of bow<sup>2</sup> had an excentric string, and was held vertically. It was never over 120 cm. long, and was used by men of all the different bands. It is said no hand-guards were used.

Arrows were of about the same length as those of the Thompson Indians, and were made of rosewood and service-berry wood. They were polished with stone arrow-smoothers. Many hunting-arrows had grooves,<sup>3</sup> generally two, running nearly the full length of the shaft, for the purpose of allowing the blood to escape more freely, and thus facilitating the tracking of wounded game. Other arrows had detachable foreshafts.<sup>4</sup> Practice-arrows had no heads; while bird-arrows had a thick blunt point,<sup>5</sup> like those of the

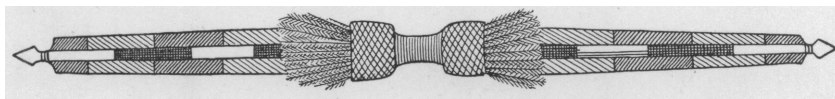


Fig. 236. Bow. (From a sketch made by an Indian.)

Chilcotin and Sekanai. Rabbit-arrows were not much used. They were like those of the Chilcotin. Feathers were attached to the shafts with a wrapping of fine sinew smeared with glue. Instead of glue, gum from buds or tips of the balsam-poplar was often used.

Arrow-heads were almost invariably of stone, and in later days of iron. Beaver-teeth, bone, and horn were occasionally used. The stone points were of two common types, — leaf-shaped and notched.<sup>6</sup> Arrowstone was obtained in many parts of the country, notably in the Arrow-stone Range, near Bonaparte River. Large roughly chipped arrow-stones were found scattered over the surface in many places. These were called "thunder arrow-heads," because supposed to have been fired by the Thunder. They were broken up and formed into small arrow-heads. Iron arrow-points were nearly all of two types.<sup>7</sup>

Arrow-shafts were painted with several designs, mostly with spirals,

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 216 and 217, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 218, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Figs. 25 and 26, pp. 55, 56.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 222, *b*, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 29, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 222, *a*, p. 242.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Fig. 222, *d* and *e*, p. 242.

which were said to represent lightning or "the shooting" of the thunder-bird. A few designs represented snakes. The winged ends of almost all arrows were painted red half the length down the feathers, and this became noted as a distinguishing feature of Shuswap arrows. Micaceous hematite of a reddish tinge was often used for the purpose. The bows and arrows of each Indian tribe could generally be distinguished with certainty by different peculiarities of make, ornamentation, feathering, or painting, etc. The Shuswap considered their own bows and arrows and those of the Thompson and Okanagon to be neater and more powerful<sup>1</sup> than those of other tribes.

The methods of arrow-release seem to have been primary with the bow held horizontally, and tertiary with bow held vertically.

Quivers were made almost altogether of wolverene and fisher skins, the brush being left on for ornament. Dog-skins were used by some poor people, and several men of the Kamloops band used buffalo-hide. Quivers of woven bark were not used. In later days the Hudson Bay Company sold skins of pinto or spotted calves to the Indians, who used them for quivers.

With the advent of guns, powder-horns came into use, and were made by the Indians themselves of buffalo-horn, cow-horn, and occasionally of goat-horn or of wood. They were ornamented with feathers and strings of beads. Shot-pouches also came into use. They were made of buckskin richly beaded, or of various kinds of skins with the hair on. Pieces of thick leather, wood, or bone, were cut into shape,<sup>2</sup> a number of little protuberances being left along the edges, on which the gun-caps were fitted. They were tied to the string of the powder-horn or the shot-pouch.

Dogs of the old Indian breed, the same as those of the Carrier and Thompson Indians, were very much used for hunting-purposes. Those of the Shuswap were known at times to breed with both the timber wolf and the coyote. They were led with halters having toggles.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes hunting-dogs were sweat-bathed, and frequently luke-warm drinks prepared from "Hudson Bay plant" were given to them. The decoction was also run through their nostrils to cleanse them. For this reason the plant is called "dog-plant" by the Shuswap.

A number of different calls were used for game. Does were called with a leaf held between the lips, an imitation of a fawn's cry being made. Bull-elk and some kinds of birds, such as geese, were called with a long bone tube resembling a whistle without holes. Elk and moose were often called with the hollow stem of *Heracleum lanatum*. Rams of the mountain-

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<sup>1</sup> In 1793 Mackenzie and his party, who were accustomed to bows of Eastern tribes, were astonished at the power of a bow which they obtained on Fraser River, a blunt arrow penetrating a hard dry log to the depth of an inch. His men remarked on the danger of being in the power of a people possessed of such means of destruction (see *Voyages from Montreal, etc.*, p. 257).

<sup>2</sup> See Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, Fig. 72, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 227 p. 245.

sheep were called by striking on each other two very dry hollow sounding-sticks, which made a noise like rams fighting. Males of various kinds of game were called by making a noise with two sticks in imitation of that made by the animals when rubbing their horns against trees. Buck-deer and bull-caribou were often called by imitating their cries without the aid of any instrument. All these calls were used in thick timber or other places where the game was difficult to see. Calls made of bone and wood were carried in the quiver, which was sometimes fitted with a bag for this purpose. The fire-drill was carried in the same way.

All the methods of hunting employed by the Thompson Indians<sup>1</sup> were also in vogue among the Shuswap, but nets for deer were not used. On mountains culminating in small, round, open tops, bands of deer and sheep were encircled by a numerous band of hunters from below, and were gradually driven up to the top, where the surrounding hunters closed in and shot them. Deer-fences provided with snares were very common. In wooded districts, where trails followed by the deer in their fall migration crossed small creeks, spears called *tcela'ks* were used.

These had very long sharp stone points. These spears were placed at the spot where the deer jumped across the creek, and were most effective at night-time. One spear was placed so that it pierced the deer's breast when it jumped; and two others were placed one on each side, about level with the ribs.

When the deer jumped aside after being pierced by the first spear, one of the others entered its side; and when it jumped away from it, the third one stabbed it. The spears had stout handles, the butt-ends of which were embedded in the ground, and they were sometimes further supported by branches. Often deer were so badly wounded that they died on the spot. Sometimes they got away, even dragging one or more of the spears with them, but were never able to go far before they died through loss of blood. Occasionally caribou were also killed in this way.

The Lake division used corrals very extensively for catching deer. These were built at small lakes, where the deer were in the habit of swimming during their fall migrations. At the places where deer generally took the water, rough fences (Fig. 237) were erected in the form of wings, which directed the animals to one point at the water's edge. From this

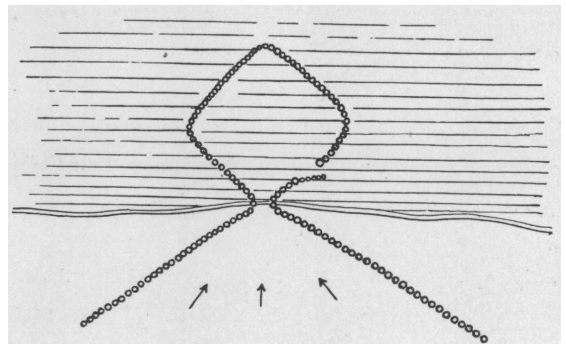


Fig. 237. Corral for catching Deer.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 244-249.

point a large, somewhat round corral was built out in the water by driving stakes so close together that no deer could pass between. The ends of the stakes were sometimes fastened together with withes to prevent them from giving way to pressure. A gate was left in the corral just large enough to allow the passage of a bark canoe, which was used for catching the deer inside. This was generally done by securing the neck or antlers with a hooked stick, and drawing the head under water until the deer was drowned. When the canoe retired, the gate was blocked with a net, in which the deer sometimes became entangled. As a rule, however, it swam around the corral, and was hardly ever able to get out.

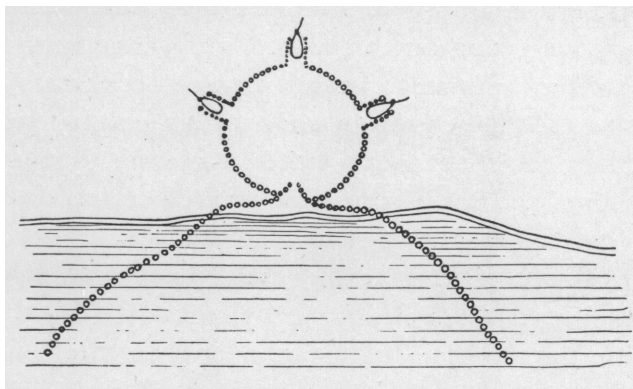


Fig. 238. Corral for catching Deer.

Other corrals (Fig. 238) were intended for the capture of deer when they left the water. Two long wings of stakes were placed along the shores of the lake, and extended out some distance at favorite spots for deer landing. These wings directed the animals to a kind of chute leading into a high corral. Here the deer was killed by a person on watch, who entered from behind, or it was caught in rope nooses placed in the openings of the corral. A few small corrals built in the water also had long narrow chutes, into which the

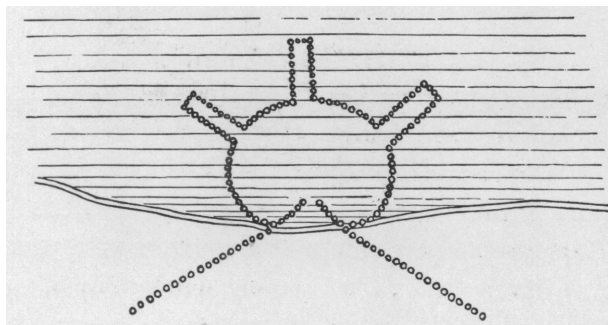


Fig. 239. Corral for catching Deer.

deer sometimes swam. Being unable to turn, they were thus caught. These were not generally watched by a canoe-man, the ends of the chutes being blocked with bag-like nets, in which the deer often became entangled. Sometimes men in a canoe on watch clubbed them when coming out of the ends of the chutes (Fig. 239).

Bears were caught in spring-traps similar to those in which deer were caught.<sup>1</sup> The poles used were about six metres long. The noose was attached to the small end of the pole, and placed across the opening in the fence in such a manner that the bear would push his head through it.

A noose for lynx was placed in thick brushes, either between saplings

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 228, p. 247.

or in a frame built for the purpose. The noose was kept open by very thin strings, which would tear easily, and the bait was placed so that the lynx had to reach it by putting its head through the noose. By its efforts the thin strings which kept the noose open were torn, and in its efforts to get loose the animal strangled itself. Eagles were caught in baited pits. A trench about the length and depth of a man's body was made on some exposed ridge where eagles often passed. One man lay down in the trench, and his comrade covered body and head with brush and grass. Two horizontal branches were rigged up about 75 cm. above and back from his face, resting on two pairs of supports driven into the ground on each side of the trench. To the cross-branches was tied a small salmon as bait. When the eagle alighted on the upper cross-piece, the man seized its legs and dragged it in between the two cross-bars, where it was helpless. If the man could hold both its legs with one hand, then he pulled out the tail-feathers with the other. If he could not do this, then he held it with both hands until his companion came up and pulled out the feathers, afterwards letting it go. Sometimes they killed the eagle and skinned it.

Marmots were generally snared, but sometimes they were chased. Rabbits and grouse were snared as well as chased. Foxes, lynx, coyotes, and wolves were snared or trapped. Bears were chased and also caught in dead-falls. Goats, although numerous in many places, were not much hunted. Moose, caribou, elk, deer, and sheep were hunted with bows and arrows, and some were also snared.

Before the introduction of steel traps, beavers were hunted with spears having detachable bone points fastened with a thong to the shaft. The beaver-spear of the Lake division was made of antler or bone (Fig. 240), and had three or four large barbs. The butt-end was fitted into a foreshaft of birch or poplar wood, which consisted of two half-cylinders lashed together. The point of the shaft was inserted in a hollow of the foreshaft made by the ends of the groove in which the spear-head was enclosed. Beavers were also caught in wide-meshed nets, but I do not know whether the methods of netting them were the same as those of the Carrier or not.<sup>1</sup> One kind of beaver-net used was in the style of a bag-net, and was set at holes in the ice, to which the beaver swam when its house was disturbed. Muskrats were also sometimes caught in a similar fashion.

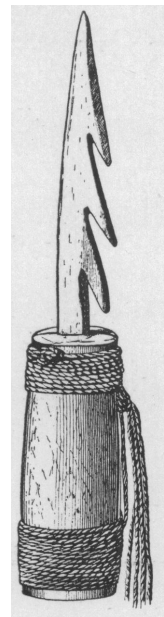


Fig. 240. Beaver-Spear.  
(From collection of Mr. George  
G. Heye, New York.) Total  
length, 24 cm.

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés.

I did not succeed in obtaining very minute information regarding the primitive methods of snaring and trapping. The deer-snare set in fences,<sup>1</sup> and a rabbit-snare,<sup>2</sup> were like those described before. Another rabbit-snare was like that of the Carrier.<sup>3</sup> A trap for marten also seems to have been identical with one used by the Carrier.<sup>4</sup> A simple noose or snare sometimes set for deer and caribou on their trails in timbered parts of the country appears to have been the same as that used by the Sekanai.<sup>5</sup> Hunters, when in pursuit of game, especially in the winter-time, often wore coats of deer-skin with the tail attached, and caps of deer's-head skins with the ears on.

Caribou and elk, as well as deer, were run with dogs. Dead-falls were used chiefly for grisly bears, and were set at places where they came to eat salmon. Black bears were often snared with nooses set on their trails, as is done by the Carrier.<sup>6</sup>

FISHING. — All the methods of fishing employed by the Thompson Indians were also practised by the Shuswap.<sup>7</sup> On Fraser, Chilcotin, and Thompson Rivers, salmon were caught in bag-nets. On the Upper North Thompson, and on some of the small streams, weirs for salmon were used. The Fraser River and Cañon bands owned the best salmon-fisheries; but all the bands had salmon streams in their country, excepting the Lake division, who did not fish salmon, with the exception of a few individuals who went to the North Thompson or Fraser River, and fished with friends. The Bonaparte division repaired to Fraser River during the salmon-run, where they claimed all the east bank of the river between the High Bar band and the Fountain Lillooet. They did most of their fishing between Pavilion and The Fountain. Small parties of Stonies were wont to repair to Columbia River, where they fished with the Kinbasket; while on the Upper North Thompson a number of Cree came to fish salmon with their Shuswap friends. It seems, there was also a small salmon-fishery near the head waters of Fraser River, which was utilized to a slight extent by Iroquois, Cree, and Shuswap. The fish there were very poor. A considerable band of Sekanai appeared in that region and took possession of the fishery about four generations ago, probably about 1785 or earlier.<sup>8</sup> They held the place for several years, apparently meeting little opposition, until driven out by a large war-party of Shuswap, who killed a great many of them. Some say the

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 228, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 229, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 95, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Fig. 80, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Fig. 89, p. 101.

<sup>6</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 86 (p. 99) and Fig. 89 (p. 101).

<sup>7</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 250-254.

<sup>8</sup> In 1793 Sir Alexander Mackenzie saw near the northern boundary of the Shuswap, on Fraser River, a Sekanai slave-woman, then married to a Shuswap. She told him her people had been attacked by Cree, who had enslaved her, and taken her the greater part of the way to their country, when she effected her escape, and journeyed towards the head of Fraser River, where her people had a fishery. When she arrived there, she was captured by a war-party of Shuswap who had just driven her tribe away from the fishery. This is no doubt the same affair of which the Shuswap have traditions. Through Mackenzie's account the date of the driving-out of the Sekanai can be ascertained almost exactly (see *Voyages from Montreal, etc.*, pp. 240 and 241).

Sekanai were attacked by a party of Cree shortly before this event; but the Cree did not follow up their attack nor try to drive out the Sekanai. Since they were attacked by the Shuswap, they have never returned. According to common tradition, a band of Fraser River Shuswap at one time took possession of the part of the Lillooet country between Anderson Lake and Pemberton, holding it for several years, chiefly for salmon-fishing.<sup>1</sup> The rapids of Chilcotin River at the mouth of the Cañon were probably the most important salmon-fishery in the whole Shuswap country.

The dip-nets, fish-spears, and hooks and lines, were like those of the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup> Single-pronged spears like those of the Kootenai were also used. Hooks were made of splinters from all kinds of animal bone. On the stiller reaches of the Thompson River and on Kamloops Lake and some other lakes, fish, especially large trout, were speared by torchlight from canoes and rafts; but on Fraser River the water was too muddy for this method of fishing. Eye-shades similar to those of the Thompson Indians were used, made of stiff hide or bark. Short lines having ten or more baited hooks were set between stakes along the edges of rivers and lakes, and short nets were set in the same way. Among the Lake division, who were celebrated for expertness in fishing, these short lines were joined until they formed a "long line" of half a mile or so in extent, and were set in the larger lakes. They were provided with sinkers and floats, the latter being attached at the junctions of the short lines. At the two ends of the "long line" much larger floats were attached. The small lines, to which the hooks were fastened, were of the same thickness as lines used for rod-fishing, while the main line from which they hung was much thicker. It seems that ordinary floats or buoys — at least, among the Lake division — always consisted of dry willow wands, with a stone lashed to one end, just sufficient in weight to make the wand assume an upright position in the water. The larger buoys were of the same kind; only much thicker sticks were used, with brush attached to the upper end, so that they could be more easily seen. Sinkers consisted of smooth stones of various sizes enclosed in little sacks of netting, provided with strings for handy attachment to nets or lines. Trolling-lines, which were dragged behind canoes or gathered up in the hand and thrown out from shore, to be drawn in again rapidly, were provided with small smooth stones, attached by simply taking two or three half-hitches around their middle with the line. Floats for rod-fishing were made of dry reeds, and attached in the same manner as the sinkers on hand-lines. These were wound on reels.<sup>3</sup> Fish lines and hooks were kept in an envelope made of bark. A strip of bark was gathered together at one end and tied around.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 237 et seq. of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 249 et seq.; also Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, p. 73, where Fig. 60 shows a good representation of the Shuswap hook.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 234, *a*, p. 253.



Then the other, free end was folded over in the middle. The fish-lines were kept between these two layers of bark.

In the spring-time, in calm weather, when fish were moving in shoals, or at any time when gathered just before the upstream run, very large nets were used by the Lake division. These were upwards of fifty metres in length, about seven metres in width across the mouth, and about the same in depth, contracting from two sides in the form of a bag (Fig. 241). They were dragged on the side. The mouth was attached to thick cords, from the lower one of which hung at regular intervals stone sinkers in little net bags. Fastened to the corners, and sometimes also to the middle of the upper cord, were drag-lines for pulling the net through the water. By slacking these lines or by increasing the number of sinkers, the net could be lowered to intercept fish at various depths. The net was kept stretched by men in two canoes, while two other canoes proceeded along the opposite

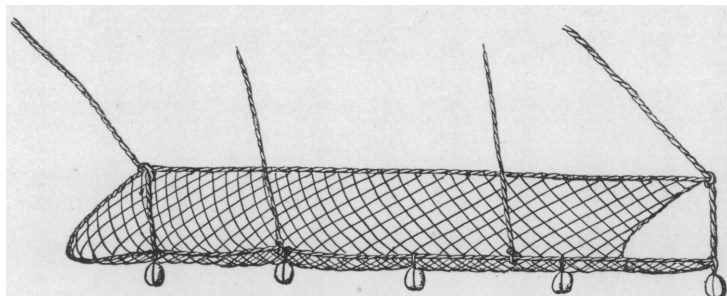


Fig. 241. Net. (From a sketch.)

side of the shoal, and threw stones behind the fish to drive them into the net. Sometimes four canoes dragged the net, the men in each canoe paddling in a slightly different direction, so as to keep the net well stretched. In this manner

the net was dragged through the shoal. When the net seemed full, light ropes attached to the lower rim of the net were hauled in, and thus the mouth was turned up. It was buoyed with paddles and dragged ashore, or the contents were scooped out into the canoes with dip-nets. Each canoe was manned by two men.

When small fish rose to the surface in shoals, as they will do on warm days at certain seasons, men and women in canoes went among them and scooped them out into the canoes with bag-nets. Gill-nets of various sizes were rigged with buoys and sinkers, and set over night in lakes. Drag-nets were also used in lakes near the mouths of creeks, where the bottom was not too rough. They were dragged ashore in the form of a half-circle by canoes, which were attached one at each end.

At suitable places, near points projecting out into lakes, a wing of stakes was made in a line converging with the shore-line towards the point, where a few stakes extended towards it from the shore (Fig. 242). The opening between these converging lines was closed with a very large bag-net, having a long handle, and fastened to a log or pole which projected from the shore at some height above the opening. On this log, or on a little

platform erected for the purpose, a man stood, holding the string which kept the mouth of the net open. Then a canoe entered the wide part between the wing and the shore, and by throwing stones the fish were scared to the narrow upper end. As soon as all the fish had entered the net, the man in charge let go the string, allowing the net to close, and thus capturing the fish. The net was of the ordinary type, attached to horn rings which ran on a hoop. This device was used for large trout.

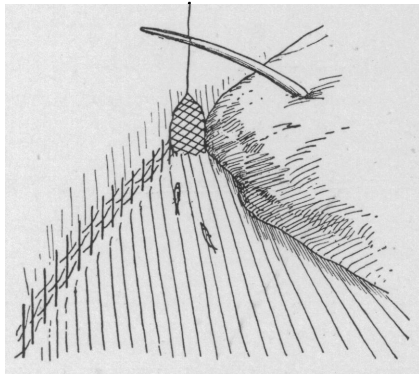


Fig. 242. Fish-Weir.

Another method of using nets for trapping fish in small swift streams was to place them behind openings in weirs (Fig. 243). Some ordinary round-mouthed nets without rings were used, while the mouths of others were oblong, the upper rim of the mouth being held only about 15 cm. above the surface of the water. Nets were also sometimes used, fastened to stakes to form corrals behind weirs, funnel-shaped baskets leading into them.

The Shuswap used a great variety of basket fish-traps, especially in the smaller streams and near the outlets of lakes. A very common kind had the shape of a long cylinder, provided inside with a conical entrance leading from the mouth, and tapering near the centre of the basket to an aperture just large enough to allow a fish to pass through. The smallness of the hole, and the force of the current pouring out, stopped the fish from getting back.

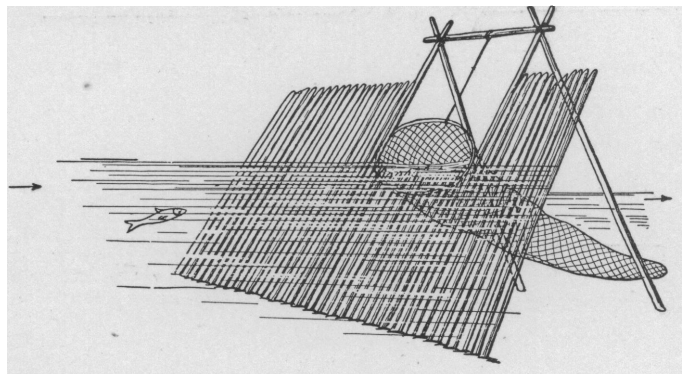


Fig. 243. Fish-Weir.

Others were of similar construction, but the outer basket tapered towards the end. Still another one consisted simply of long willow wands, which were held together by hoops, and which were tied up at the pointed end, so that the fish could be removed by opening the end of the trap. All these basket-traps were made of long willow wands or light rods, which run from the hoop that forms the entrance towards the opposite end, and which are held together by a simple method of weaving. These traps were set in weirs in small creeks; but when used in wide, rapid streams, they were set at the head of small wing-dams made of stones and stakes (see Fig. 242), where they were securely fastened, and sometimes further secured with a

rope to the shore. They varied considerably in size; and it is said some of the large ones, set in still or very sluggish water, had entrances at both ends, so that fish could enter from up or down stream. The most common

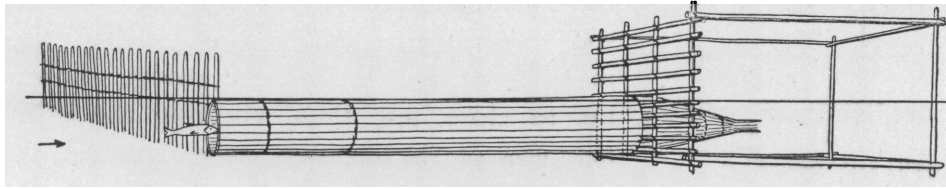


Fig. 244. Fish-Weir.

kind of conical basket-trap was about two and a half or three metres long, the tips of the wands being tied together to form the small end. The tips of those forming the inner or entrance basket were not tied, but made to converge so as almost to touch, giving just room for the fish to enter.

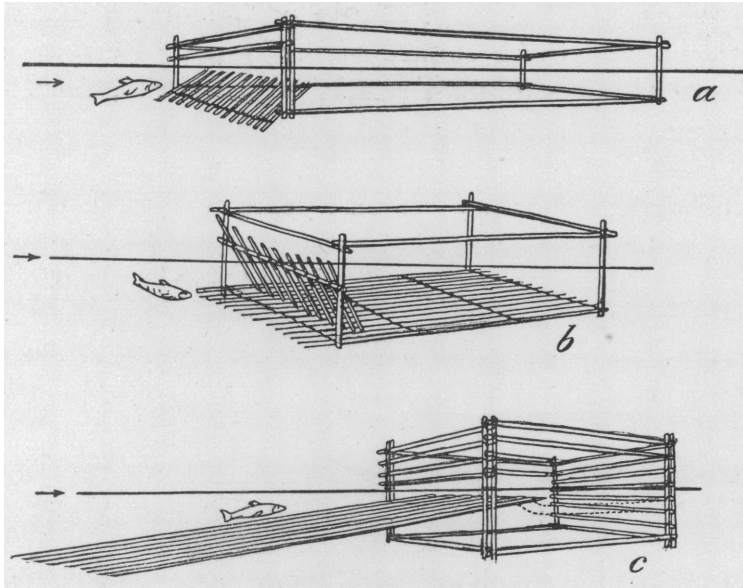


Fig. 245. Fish-Traps.

Another kind of basket, made long, and of funnel shape, had no conical entrance, but the tips of the wands at the end of the basket were made to converge (Fig. 244). They were placed with the converging end leading into a box made of rods, or into various kinds of corrals made of stakes, brush, stones, or netting.

Another kind of trap (Fig. 245, *a*) consisted of a flat box or corral

made of rods, all along the up-stream side of which a row of short twigs were so fastened that the slightest pressure on the top of any of them bent them down, allowing the fish to enter; and immediately they sprang up again, precluding escape. A similar kind (Fig. 245, *b*), with the twigs so fastened that they were raised by light pressure, was also used. Some of these had the twigs placed very flat.

Sometimes poles were placed across stream, and twigs adjusted to them (in the manner of the last-described traps) the whole width of the stream. The fish passing through found themselves in corrals of stakes and brush. These traps were generally used in sluggish, shallow streams.

Another style of trap (Fig. 245, *c*) consisted of a corral with high sides,

made in the form of a box; or was round, made of stakes and brush. Leading through a weir into the corral were a number of long poles laid close together, with ends reaching inside the box and projecting slightly above the surface of the water. The fish swam along these, and, dropping over the ends, were seldom able to escape. Sometimes poles resting on logs were placed across the entire width of the stream. The water poured over their ends, making a fall, and the fish dropped into a corral formed by a weir placed across the stream a metre or more below. To prevent the fish from jumping back up-stream, a fence of brush was run across the stream a little back from the ends of the poles, and raised a few inches above the surface of the water.

Another trap,<sup>1</sup> similar in principle to the above, was made of willow wands in the form of two large troughs or half-baskets, much deeper in the middle than at the sides. The one intended to be up-stream was made of equal width throughout; but the mouth-part set in the weir was deep, while the opposite end, which projected into the mouth of the lower basket, was shallow, the ends slightly projecting above the water. The sticks of the lower trough converged at the down-stream end, where they were tied. When no person was watching the trap to remove the fish, the lower trough was covered with brush or bark to prevent the fish from jumping out. This was a very common trap among the Shuswap of all parts.

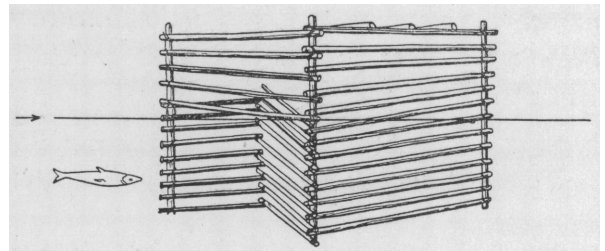


Fig. 246. Fish-Trap.

Still another kind of trap (Fig. 246) was made with rods, or thin slats of wood, in the form of a square box, two rows of flexible slats or twigs converging towards the middle. If intended to be set in a sluggish stream near the outlet of a lake, they were provided with converging slats at the opposite end also, so that fish could enter either way.

All box-shaped traps, if the sides were not very high, were covered with poles, brush, or bark, to stop the fish from leaping out. Light traps were removed, and the contents dumped out on shore, but heavier ones were generally emptied by scooping out the fish with small dip-nets. The bottoms of some basket-traps could be removed, while others were simply untied. All these traps were generally designed for the capture of trout and other small fish. Large fish were caught with some, however, particularly those shown in Fig. 245.

Regular weirs were erected to intercept large or small fish when running,

<sup>1</sup> See George M. Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, 1891, Fig. 8, p. 17).

generally when going up-stream. They were constructed in the same way as those of the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> The fish, stopped in their progress, congregated in numbers at the weir, and were scooped out with dip-nets, lifted out with spears, or hooked out with gaffs. The last-named consisted of a bone hook fastened to a wooden handle or shank in the manner of some fish-hooks. They were not much used before the advent of iron. Sometimes narrow scaffolds or platforms were made across the weirs at some

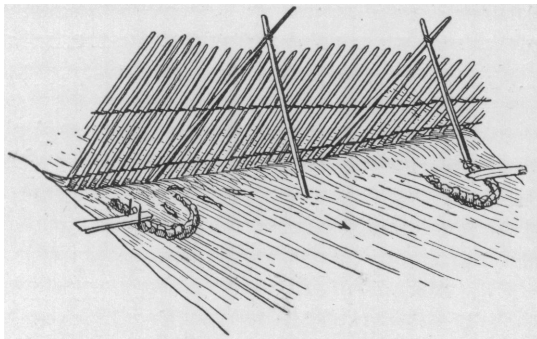


Fig. 247. Fish-Weir.

little height above the water, for the convenience of people crossing, spearing, bag-netting, etc. People catching fish from the middle of the weir put them into net bags suspended there for the purpose. Those catching them from the shore threw them into round stone or brush corrals made for the purpose. To facilitate bag-netting, when fish were not plentiful, deep, semicircular basins of stones were made below the

ends of the weir (Fig. 247). Fish coming up found progress barred at the weir, which they followed along to the end, and, entering the basin, were scooped out. Platforms like those used on the large rivers were erected above the basins.

Weirs were also made double, forming a corral to hold the fish.<sup>2</sup> Openings were left in one, generally the lower one, which were guarded with devices like those shown in Figs. 245, *a* and *b*, or provided with funnel-shaped baskets.

On lakes and some rivers, fishing with bait was carried on in the winter-time through holes in the ice. Sometimes bone imitations of fry were used,<sup>3</sup> and moved up and down in the water by means of a string fastened to a small cross-piece of bone or wood held in one hand. Sometimes the string passed through a small hole in the handle. Upon the fish biting the decoy, it was at once speared with a three-pronged spear held in the other hand.

Ice-breakers were used which consisted of long chisel-pointed pieces of antler; and scoops, for lifting loose ice out of the hole, seem to have been the same as those used by the Carrier,<sup>4</sup> but probably several different forms were in use. Most of the above-described fishing-devices are still more or less in use.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> See Dawson, Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia, Fig. 7, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 58, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Fig. 146, p. 155.

## VI. — TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION; TRADE.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION. — Canoes were used more extensively than among the Thompson tribe, as opportunities for their use were much more frequent. The Shuswap had a much greater extent of easily navigated water-ways in their country, and there were many large lakes. Nearly all the Shuswap canoes were of bark. Only a very few wooden canoes were used, and these mostly on Fraser River; but even there most canoes were made of bark.

Dug-outs were made of cottonwood logs in a rather rough manner, and were similar in shape to the river-canoes<sup>1</sup> used by the tribes lower down Fraser River. Almost all the canoes of the bands of the Lake division were made of bark; but after the introduction of iron tools, dug-outs were more frequently made, and at the present day are in universal use. A very few bark canoes with bow and stern curving upwards, similar to those of the Carrier, were made; but the great majority of bark canoes all over the country were made of the "sturgeon-nose" type, so called by the employees of the fur companies because of their pointed ends at the water-line. Mackenzie in 1793, and Fraser in 1808, both mention seeing these canoes on the Fraser River. This was also the common style of bark canoe among the Upper Thompson Indians, Okanagon, and Kootenai. They were also used by the Upper Lillooet. Those of the Shuswap,<sup>2</sup> however, were turned up more at the ends than the canoes of other tribes. They were made of spruce-bark or white-pine bark turned inside out, and taken off a large tree in one piece. The finer sewing was done with split root of spruce or pine; but most of the sewing and fastening were done with split-willow wands and tops of hemp (*Apocynum*) bushes. Inside were placed, a few inches apart, pliable slats or rods, — one set running longitudinally, and another set transversely. The bottom was covered with loose strips of bark of the birch, cedar, and spruce, or with brush or long light poles. The flooring was covered with fir-twigs or dried swamp-grass, which were used as seats. Three or more cross-bars, like "canoe-seats" or thwarts, between the gunwales, kept the canoe stiff and well stretched. The gunwales were strengthened with slats sewed on the full length of the canoe, both outside and inside, —

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 237, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> See Otis T. Mason, Pointed Bark Canoes of the Kutenai and the Amur (Report of the United States National Museum, 1899, pp. 223 et seq.).

as in some birch-bark baskets, — and each end was provided with two slats in the same way. The ends were caulked with moss and pitch. Knot-holes were caulked by slitting their edges and inserting thin shavings of wood to fit the hole. The whole was then covered with a liberal coat of gum. When a bark canoe sprang a small leak, it was mended in the same way as the knot-holes were filled. Large leaks were patched with strong pieces of bark, which were cut larger than the hole and sewed on, generally with cat-stitching. The edges of the patch were caulked. The wood used was preferably that of a high bush called *yuaté'tip*, which grows in some parts of the mountains, and is said to resemble alder. These canoes were very light, and when loaded were very steady.

Occasionally very small canoes were made of birch-bark; but large birch-trees were scarce in the Shuswap country, while large spruce and pine were plentiful, and considered quite as good.

Canoes had no ornamentation, and were not painted, excepting the wooden ones, which were sometimes blackened on the outside with pitch-smoke.

Common types of paddles are shown in Fig. 248. Of these, *a* is called by the Thompson Indians "the Shuswap paddle." They were hollowed out a little at the end of the handle to provide a better grip for the fingers. Paddles were seldom painted. Bailers for canoes were in the forms of dishes and small baskets. They were roughly sewed of various kinds of bark.

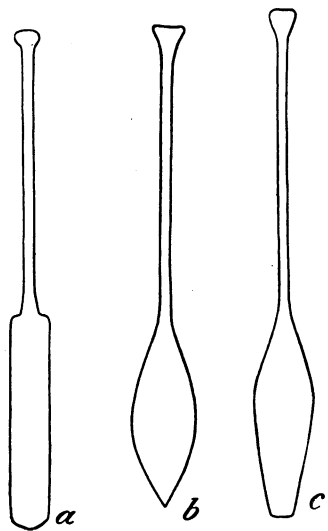


Fig. 248. Types of Paddles.

The Shuswap make very few canoes nowadays.

Some dug-outs are used on the rivers, and a few bark canoes may still be seen on certain lakes and in the eastern part of the country. Canoes made of tule or rushes were not used, so far as I can learn, but rafts of tule were occasionally used.

Prior to the introduction of horses, goods were transported in canoes on rivers and lakes; but where no easy water-ways existed, everything was transported on the backs of men, women, children, and dogs. Woven carrying-bags of babiche, and large bags of caribou-leg skins (see Fig. 221, p. 499), were used for transporting baggage, provisions, etc. They were attached to wide tump-lines of stout buckskin passed over the head of the person carrying them.

Several methods of carrying game to camp were practised. Large fish were rolled up in fir-brush or a piece of bark, and tied with the ends of the tump-line. Small fish were carried in rush bags, or strung on willow switches

having a crotched or hooked end. Grouse and other birds, rabbits, and squirrels were carried in netted game-bags, or tied on a cord with a hitch around one wing and the head of each.

Meat of deer and other large game was transported in several ways. In the winter-time, with suitable snow on the ground, and where the country was not too brushy, it was put inside the skin and sewed up lengthwise with a detached end of the tump-line passed through slits made near the edges of the skin. The rest of the tump-line was attached to the head-part of the skin, and the whole dragged over the snow like a toboggan or sled. If a horse were at hand, the line was attached to the saddle.

If the meat had to be carried, the several pieces were attached firmly together by passing thongs through slits in the flesh, or by pushing wooden skewers through all the pieces. Pieces of fir-branches were stuck in all over the side of the pack intended to be next the person's back. Sometimes the pack was made up by lashing the pieces of meat between two snowshoes which were carried tail down.

A very common method was to make the skin of the deer serve as a bag for carrying the meat in. The meat was placed in the middle of the skin; and a rod sharpened at both ends, and narrower than the skin, was placed across at the shoulders. The skin of the fore-legs was folded in, and then the neck-skin turned down over them. The hind-legs were joined near the feet by means of a short pin passing through three or four slits in the skin. The part of the skin having the long rod inside was then passed through the loop formed by the hind-legs, the latter being used on the head as a tump-line. All these methods of carrying game are also used by the Thompson Indians.

As far as I can learn, dogs were never used for hauling sleds as among the neighboring Athapascan tribes. Horses seem to have been introduced about 1780 or earlier, and appear to have been fairly plentiful among the more southern bands in 1808, when Simon Fraser descended Fraser River. He mentions seeing horses and their signs several times. The Shuswap obtained them from the Okanagon and Thompson, both of which tribes seem to have had numbers of horses in 1808.<sup>1</sup> The Shuswap say that horses were not plentiful until about 1840, when several families had considerable bands. In severe winters, about 1847 or 1849, a great many of the horses died. About this time the use of horses for food was given up, and they soon multiplied and became quite plentiful early in the fifties. With the advent of these animals, travelling became easier. Pack-saddles made of cottonwood came into use, and burdens were carried on the sides of horses in panniers made like the carrying-bags, and provided with loops to go over

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<sup>1</sup> See Simon Fraser, *Journal of a Voyage from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast*, 1808, p. 178.



the horns of the saddle, the whole being lashed on with a long rope made of rawhide or horsehair. Goat-skins, the skins of deer killed in the spring, and mats woven of rushes, were used as saddle-blankets; cinches were woven of horsehair; cruppers were made of buckskin padded with deer-hair; while rings, hooks, and other required attachments were made of wood and antler. Before long the Shuswap copied after the Thompson Indians and the Okanagon, and used parflèches of caribou, deer, and horse-skin with the hair on. In recent days cow-skins are more commonly used. None of these had any painting or ornamentation.

Riding-saddles with horns of antler, and others without horns, padded with deer-hair, came into use. They had stirrups of wood or of sheep's-horn, and beaded cruppers, and collars were often attached to them. Halters, bridles, and hobbles were made of horsehair; "stake" ropes and "las" ropes, of horsehair and rawhide.

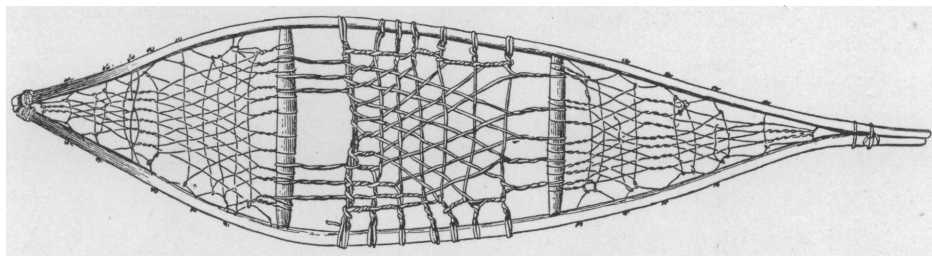


Fig. 249 ( $\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{8}$ ). Snowshoe. Length, 120 cm.

Snowshoes were much used when travelling in the winter-time. The Shuswap made much longer, finer snowshoes than the Thompson Indians. By far the most common snowshoe among all the divisions of the tribe was made with two "ground-sticks" joined together at the heel and toe, the toe-part being turned up considerably, and the shoe provided with two cross-sticks (Fig. 249). This kind of snowshoe was of two shapes. One sort had the back cross-stick almost or quite as wide as the front one, while the other variety had the front stick very much wider than the back one. Besides these, a very few snowshoes of what was called the "bear-foot" type were used by women and children in some parts of the country. These were made somewhat round, the "ground-stick" consisting of a single piece joined at the "tail." They had one cross-stick, and the netting was of coarse material with wide mesh.<sup>1</sup> Almost as rare as the latter were those made like the snowshoes of the Thompson tribe.<sup>2</sup> They, too, were used only by women and children. The frames or ground-sticks of snowshoes were made of mountain maple-wood or of sapling fir. Cross-sticks were generally of

<sup>1</sup> See Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada (Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, for 1890, p. 636); also Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 143, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 239-242, pp. 256 and 257.

birch-wood. The finer filling in snowshoes was made of caribou or deer skin; and the coarser netting, of skin from the neck-part of buck, horse, or elk. Recently cow-skin has been chiefly used. Some men decorated their snowshoes with small tassels of dyed hair.

Walking-sticks having a circular frame filled with netting, like those of the Carrier, were used in deep snow.<sup>1</sup> For use on slippery hillsides, cross-pieces of skin were sewed on the soles of moccasins, as among the Thompson tribe.<sup>2</sup>

TRADE. — Considerable trading was done by some Shuswap bands. The Cañon division were the greatest traders, and acted as middlemen between the other Shuswap bands and the Chilcotin, whom they would not allow to trade directly with one another. They bought the products of both, and exchanged them at a profit. They controlled part of the Chilcotin salmon-supply, and the Chilcotin traded extensively with them. Because of their frequent trading and profit-making, the Cañon Indians were a wealthy people, and gave frequent potlatches. They gave all their energies to salmon-fishing, the preparation of oil, and trading, and did very little travelling or hunting. They were almost completely sedentary, most of them living summer and winter in the same locality. Some families lived within a radius of half a mile for years. From the Chilcotin they received large quantities of dentalium-shells, some woven goat's-hair blankets and belts, bales of dressed marmot-skins, a few rabbit-skin robes, a few snowshoes of the best type, and in fact anything of value they had to give. In exchange they gave chiefly dried salmon and salmon-oil, some woven baskets of the best type, paint, and in later days horses. Indian hemp was hardly ever sold to the Chilcotin, because it was scarce; and horses were not sold until they had become plentiful among the Shuswap.

Very little trading was done with the Carrier; but the Soda Creek band sold them deer-skins, some dried salmon and salmon-oil, receiving moose-skins and a few other things in exchange. In 1806, after the Northwest Company established trading-posts in the Carrier country, the northern Shuswap sold furs to the Carrier, and in return received white men's articles. Upon the establishment of a post at Alexandria in 1821,<sup>3</sup> the northern Shuswap repaired there, and sold their furs directly to the whites. The tribe had no trade-relations with the Sekanai and Beaver, but the North Thompson people exchanged with the Cree dried salmon, salmon-oil, and dentalium-shells for moose-skins and Cree-made clothes.<sup>4</sup> They also sold to the Cree some marmot robes and other robes. After the establishment of a trading-post at Kamloops, they sometimes bought furs and moose-skins from

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 144, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 171, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> See Morice, History of Northern British Columbia, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Simon Fraser (in 1808) mentions seeing a silver brooch, "such as the Saulteaux wear," and "clothing such as the Cree women wear," among the Thompson, near Lytton (see his Journal, pp. 178 and 181).

the Iroquois band, which they sold with their own furs when they repaired to the post. With the Stonies and Kootenai very little trading was done; but dentalium-shells were occasionally sold to them, and clothes, buffalo-skins, and other common things, received in return. Trade with the Kootenai seems to have been principally between the Flatbow band of Kootenai Lake, and the Shuswap frequenting the Arrow Lakes.

The Kamloops and Shuswap Lake divisions received from the Okanagon roots of certain kinds, Indian-hemp bark, horses, occasionally saddles, buffalo-robcs, bags of woven bark thread, painted hide bags, parflèches, and wampum beads, giving in exchange dentalium-shells, a little copper, marmot-skin robes, and occasionally snowshoes. In later days they received glass beads and iron. From the Thompson the Bonaparte and Kamloops divisions received roots of certain kinds, dried salmon, salmon-oil, Indian-hemp bark and thread, horses, woven bags and baskets, parflèches, and wampum beads, for which they gave dentalium-shells, marmot and rabbit skin robes, occasionally snowshoes, dressed moose and caribou skins, and a little paint.

The Bonaparte and Lower Fraser River bands obtained from the Lillooet, salmon, oil, woven baskets, goat-hair robes, skins of small Columbian deer, and a little wa'xasêlp (*Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh.) and yew-wood, giving in exchange dentalium-shells, skin robes, dressed buckskin, a little paint, and in later days horses. Frequently some of the Kamloops people went over to The Fountain and traded with the Lillooet directly. This was a great trading-place in early days. There were no restrictions, members from any part of the tribe trading where they liked, except at the Chilcotin Cañon.

Articles from the Pacific coast reached the Shuswap by two routes, *via* Chilcotin and Lillooet. Slaves were sometimes exchanged at The Fountain, and numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends at this place for good prices. Even the Thompson Indians sometimes brought slaves here to sell back to their Lillooet friends. Sometimes members of the Fraser River division went direct to the Upper Thompson tribe, and traded for salmon in the neighborhood of Spences Bridge. Occasionally some Carrier Indians accompanied them. After the establishment of a trading-post at Kamloops, the band there sold many articles of European manufacture to the other Shuswap bands and to the Thompson tribe, receiving furs in return; but this did not last long, as the various bands found it more advantageous to deal directly with the post, and the Thompson Indians commenced to repair there also.

Exchange also took place at Green Lake, where great numbers from all divisions of the tribe congregated once a year to have sports and to trap trout, etc. This gathering-place was to the Shuswap what Botani<sup>1</sup> was to the

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 294.

Thompson tribe. Here the Lake Division sold some dried trout, nets, carrying-bags, some cedar-root, very dark marmot-skins, and a few baskets, principally to the Fraser River bands, for dried salmon, salmon oil, and shells. The North Thompson band brought hazel-nuts to sell.

In early days the Indians sold to the Hudson Bay Company large quantities of furs of all kinds, dressed skins, moccasins, dried roots and berries, dried meat, fat, dried salmon, dogs and horses, receiving in exchange principally woollen blankets, cloth, glass beads, steel traps, flintlock muskets, powder, ball and shot, axes, tomahawks, steels and flints, knives, tobacco, iron, copper kettles, brass finger-rings, bracelets, etc.

I may here mention feathers, which were often an article of trade. Quills, principally those of the goose and swan, were fairly plentiful, and therefore cheap; and the same may be said of the tail-feathers of the red-shafted flicker and of the hawks, which were also much used for decorative purposes; but tail-feathers of the golden eagle, and woodpecker-scalps, owing to the demand for them and their comparative scarcity, were of considerable value. Four tail-feathers of the adult golden eagle were equal in value to one large dressed beaver-skin. After the advent of the Hudson Bay Company, feathers were not so much used, and therefore decreased in value; while beaver-skins were in demand, and rose greatly in price. An entire scalp of the red-headed woodpecker is said at one time to have been equal in value to one whole tail of the golden eagle, which meant that it was worth several, probably three, beaver-skins.

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## VII. — WARFARE.

WEAPONS OF OFFENCE AND DEFENCE. — Probably all the kinds of weapons used by the Thompson Indians were also found among the Shuswap. Bows and arrows have been described. Spears, knives, and clubs were like those of the Thompson tribe.<sup>1</sup> Clubs with wooden handle, and round grooved stone head attached to the handle by a rawhide thong which passed over the groove, were in use. Clubs like Fig. 251, p. 265, were made of stone, wood, and antler. Often a suitable elk-antler was split in two, and the half made into a club, the edges of which were worked sharp enough to cut. Some clubs of wood had spikes consisting of prongs of antler, or of stone and iron spear-heads, sunk into the club-head. Tomahawks were also in use.<sup>2</sup> Some were double-ended, having a stout stone or iron knife placed across the head.

Cuirasses made of slats were rare; but those of rods were common, and made of rosewood.<sup>3</sup> Sleeveless tunics of double and treble elk-skins were worn. Shields were much used. Simon Fraser<sup>4</sup> describes a shield which he saw near Lillooet. He says, "At this place I saw a shield different from any I had hitherto seen. It was large enough to cover the whole body, composed of splinters of wood like the ribs of stays, and neatly enclosed with twine made of hemp." Probably the most common kind were of medium size, made of wooden slats or rosewood rods, woven together with bark thread or thong. They were covered with the skin of bear or other animals, with the hair on, and sometimes with dressed elk-skin dyed red. Shields were hardly ever painted, but were frequently decorated with feathers and tufts of slaves' hair. Wooden shields were usually oval in shape, but some were oblong. Rather small circular shields were also used, made of two or three thicknesses of stiff elk-hide glued together, and sewed around the edges. On the outside two or three coats of glue and sand were sometimes applied, and then a coat of red ochre. Long shields of double elk-hide were fastened with a thong around the neck. Sometimes they were glued and rubbed with sand to make them stiffer and arrow-proof.

This is undoubtedly the kind of shield noticed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 among the Carrier of Fraser River, close to the Shuswap boundary.<sup>5</sup> He says, "They appeared in their garments, which were fastened

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 245--248, 250, and 251, pp. 263--265.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid., Fig. 347, p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Figs. 252 and 299, pp. 265 and 379.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Figs. 253 and 254, p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> See his Journal, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 255, p. 266.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal, etc.*, p. 239.

round the neck, but left the right arm free for action. A cord fastened a blanket or leather covering under the right armpit, so it hung upon the left shoulder, and might be occasionally employed as a target that would turn an arrow which was nearly spent."

As far as I can ascertain, the Shuswap — at least, the northern ones and the Fraser River bands — did not poison their arrows, perhaps because the flower used as a poison, and the rattlesnake, were rarely found in the Shuswap territory. Two methods were in use, however, which were supposed to make their arrows more deadly. Arrows were placed in a bag for four nights with wood taken from trees which had been struck and killed by lightning. The "mystery" of the lightning was supposed to infect the arrow, and make it deadly like itself. Another method less in vogue was to rub rotten flesh on arrows. This was supposed to infect them with death and render them more deadly. Evidently this was rather a charm than an actual process of poisoning the arrow, since it was considered sufficient to place the arrow near a dead body. The war-arrows considered most effective had the shaft made out of "lightning" wood, the head chipped from a piece of "thunder arrow-head," and the feathers taken from the tail of the red-shafted flicker, chicken-hawks' feathers being considered next best.

Fortresses were used in time of war by those bands who thought themselves subject to attack. They were made of various sizes, of logs closely laid together, one above another, with ends squared, in the manner of log-cabins. Any spaces between the logs were filled up with stout poles placed on the inside. The walls were raised to a height of from two to three metres, and loop-holes were left all around at the height of a man shooting with bow or gun. These holes were cut slanting to the right and left. In later days very heavy logs were used for the walls, so that bullets could not pierce them. A deep trench was dug all around the base of the building, the earth from which was used for banking up the walls to a height of about a metre or over. Inside, pits or underground rooms were dug for children and non-combatants during attack. These were roofed with poles, and were situated at about the centre of the building. Along the walls inside, shades or screens, consisting of mats resting on poles, gave shelter to the inmates, for these buildings had no roofs. A supply of food, water, and fire-wood, was kept on hand inside. The entrance consisted of a hole in the bottom of one of the walls, just large enough to let a person crawl in. This was blocked with a heavy piece of log. A very few had low zigzag entrances, which were blocked at night in each turning, and loop-holes in the main building covered the approach to the door. A very few also had underground passages leading out to some hidden place, such as behind a boulder or a large tree, by which people could escape if necessary, or send a youth to spread the alarm and get aid from neighboring bands. Sometimes

men crawled out through these passages, and, gathering under the shelter of a boulder, attacked the besiegers from behind, surprising and routing them. These fortresses were square or oblong in shape, — at least, all of those used in later days, — and the walls were straight. The people living within a certain radius of them retired to them at night. Simon Fraser mentions seeing several fortifications along Fraser River in 1808. There were two fortifications among the North Thompson band about 1850.

Fire-arms did not become general in all parts of the tribe until about 1840 or later, but as early as 1815 muskets were used in war. War-clubs of American or European manufacture sold by the fur companies also came into use, but never entirely supplanted the clubs of their own manufacture. The common varieties obtained were pipe-tomahawks, spike-ball clubs, and machetes.

ACCOUNTS OF WAR EXPEDITIONS. — The Shuswap were formerly noted as a warlike people; but this only held true of the Fraser River, Bonaparte, and Kamloops divisions. The others seldom engaged in war, and acted only on the defensive.

The Shuswap carried on wars until about 1860 or 1862. The Bonaparte division did not fight with the Thompson or with the Upper Lillooet Indians, but frequently attacked the Lillooet of the Lakes and of Lillooet River. Some of their warriors often joined the Kamloops division on war-expeditions against the Okanagon. The Kamloops division made war with the Okanagon, chiefly with the Similkameen people. They also attacked sometimes the people of Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake, and the Nicola, Lytton, and Upper Fraser bands of the Thompson tribe. They also fought with the Upper and Lower Lillooet; and their warriors helped the Fraser River bands in wars with the Cree, and assisted the North Thompson people against the Sekanai. The Fraser River bands, especially those from Dog Creek to High Bar, warred much with the Upper and Lower Lillooet.

At a time preceding the great war between the Thompson and Lillooet Indians, the Fraser River Shuswap carried on an extensive war with the latter tribe, and held possession of the central part of the Lillooet country for a number of years. This probably happened about the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> At this time also they sent one or two expeditions against the Coast Indians. Another war sprang up between seventy-five and eighty-five years ago, when a war-party of Lillooet massacred a large number of the Empire Valley band who were wintering at the Red Butte, near the present Empire Valley wagon-road. The Fraser River bands took revenge by sending large war-parties in three or four consecutive years, who harried the Lillooet country and inflicted great slaughter. From some accounts, it

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 237 of this volume.

seems that the Fraser River bands were almost constantly hostile to some bands of the Lillooet, and raided them at short intervals from times long past until 1855 or 1856.

A very long time ago, long before the appearance of the first whites, the northern Fraser River bands carried on two short but sharp wars with the Lower Carrier. Eventually peace was made; and since then the Carrier have always been friends of the Shuswap, who have often helped them fight the Chilcotin. Although the Fraser River bands did not engage in any wars with the Chilcotin, nevertheless a continual suspicion and bad feeling existed between these tribes, and on Upper Bridge River their hunting-parties often attacked each other. At a place called Xwālxa'stken in this region, looked upon as a boundary-point between the grounds of the Lillooet, Chilcotin, and Shuswap, members of these tribes murdered one another every time they had a chance. The Chilcotin were formerly very nomadic, and most of the year were scattered in small bands over a large extent of country. For this reason they were difficult to find or to punish, and war-parties seeking them had much more difficulty than those attacking the Lillooet or other more sedentary tribes. However, the Fraser River bands claim that they avenged all murders perpetrated on them by the Chilcotin, and that the last fight was in 1861 or 1862, when they killed, in revenge for murders, and in spite of the Cañon Indians, some Chilcotin who had come to the Cañon to trade. Some say that at a much later date they killed two Chilcotin near the same place. It seems that had it not been for the Cañon Indians, who acted as peace-makers, there would have been an almost constant state of warfare between the Fraser River bands and the Chilcotin.

The Fraser River bands also carried on wars with the Cree and the Thompson Indians of Lytton and of the Upper Fraser River; and on one occasion, at least, they combined with the North Thompson people in a war against the Sekanai. The Cañon division did not engage in any wars, but some of them helped the Fraser River bands against the Cree and Thompson Indians, who were dangerous because they invaded the adjacent country. This division acted as peacemakers between the Chilcotin and Fraser River bands, because peace between them was requisite for their valuable trading-interests. On the whole, however, they seem to have favored the Fraser River people, war-parties of whom, on payment of certain fees, were sometimes allowed to cross their bridge over the Chilcotin River in order to attack the Chilcotin; but this privilege was not granted to war-parties of the latter tribe on any consideration. If a Chilcotin party appeared, bent on revenge, Cuxalé'llp, the chief of the south-side village at the cañon, would meet them at the north end of the bridge, and talk them out of their project; or, failing in this, he would offer them presents or blood-money for their slain relatives. Upon their acceptance of these, Kwó'mesken, the chief of the north-side



village, feasted them, and thereafter they would return. Two young men were told off as scouts every night to watch the bridge, this duty being taken by the young men of the place. About 1858 or thereabouts a small war-party of Chilcotin crossed the bridge without consent; and this made the Cañon chiefs so angry that they destroyed it, saying that the Chilcotin should never again have a chance to cross at this place. It seems, however, that another, smaller bridge was erected in its place, which was destroyed after the practical extermination of the Cañon people by small-pox in 1862.

It appears that the Lake division and the Shuswap Lake division did not engage in any wars, although the Fraser River bands and the Thompson Indians sometimes murdered and plundered the former. In fact, many of the Lake people would let Fraser River Shuswap turn them out of their lodges and steal their property, without offering resistance.

The North Thompson carried on one war with the Sekanai (probably about 1780-90), and another war about seventy-five years ago against the Fraser River Shuswap, in which they were sometimes assisted by Cree. This is the only war on record which ever took place among the Shuswap themselves, although blood feuds — as among the Thompson tribe — were common enough in some bands.

It seems, there were no wars with the Beaver Indians, Iroquois, Stonies, and Kootenai. The Stonies are said to have been allies of the Kinbasket, and the Kootenai were always friendly. The only tribes known of, who ever raided the Shuswap, were the Thompson, who several times appeared in various parts of the country, but who never attacked the Bonaparte division, and rarely the Kamloops division; the Okanagon, of Okanagon River and south, who occasionally attacked the Shuswap Lake and North Thompson people; the Lillooet, who twice attacked Fraser River bands; the Sekanai, who attacked the North Thompson people, and tried to take possession of some of their hunting and fishing grounds; and the Cree, who were friends with the North Thompson people, but who attacked the Fraser River and Lake divisions a number of times, chiefly in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They also helped the North Thompson people against the Fraser River bands, probably about 1835. The Shuswap never made war with the whites, but murdered some of them along Fraser River in 1859-64.

War-parties consisted of from two or three to one hundred or even two hundred men. Commonly, however, they numbered from about twenty to seventy braves. They had war chiefs and scouts, as among the Thompson Indians; and every large or important party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his

shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans; and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey. The war chief or the shaman, generally the latter, distributed food, prayed over it, and prayed for the party's success. The warriors were formed in a circle, and food was passed around in the direction opposite to the sun's course. The party fasted more or less rigidly, sweat-bathed, and prayed for about four days before starting. Then the war-dance was performed, the warriors moving in a circle against the sun's course, and singing, as among the Thompson tribe. Each man painted himself, and put up his hair in a knot at the back of the head. Some had all the hair thus tied in one knot; while others did the front hair up in another knot on the top of the head or over the brow. Some made their front hair into "horns," plastered with mud to make them stiff, and painted them red or blue. The warriors tried to make themselves look as fierce as possible, and for this purpose many kinds of curious head-dresses were worn. Every warrior decorated himself with eagle-feathers stuck in or fastened to the hair, or attached to the war-caps which many wore. Eagle-feathers were also attached to the elbows, wrists, legs, clothes, spears, clubs, and even sometimes to the trailers of moccasins. The Shuswap seldom or never beheaded enemies, and very rarely took scalps. The hair of slaves taken in war was cut off short, and used as fringes for decorating clothes.

The war chief generally divided the booty and the slaves. There were many noted war chiefs in the tribe. All the members of a war-party generally painted in the same way. One Fraser River band painted red and white in alternate vertical stripes, and another red and blue.

As an example of a record of a war-expedition, the following account of a war against the Chilcotin, which probably took place between 1860 and 1868, may be given: —

Some years after the white miners came to the country, a Shuswap called Tahu'tthutxen and his two younger brothers went hunting within the Shuswap hunting-grounds west of Fraser River. They saw some signs of a Chilcotin hunting-party in the neighborhood; and one day, happening to separate in their hunt, the youngest brother was murdered by the Chilcotin. Upon their return home, the surviving brothers wished to organize a war-party against the Chilcotin; but as white men's laws were at that time beginning to establish themselves, and as tribal warfare had practically ceased, they found it very hard to get many men to join them. The other Indians pointed out to them that it would require a strong party to be sure of punishing the Chilcotin; and the Shuswap who had war experience were now few in number, and most of them too old to take the war-path. Tahu'tthutxen,

who was a tall, powerful young man, was not disposed to let his brother's death go unavenged; and after trying several times to organize a strong party, at last, in the spring of the third year, he made up his mind, if needs be, to go alone. The snow had only half disappeared from the mountains when he and his brother and their nearest relative, called Ka'kxa ("little dog"), started out, expecting to find the Chilcotin still in their winter quarters. They did not know which band of Chilcotin had murdered their friend, nor would they have known exactly where to find them if they had known; for most of the Chilcotin were nomadic, and often spent successive winters in widely different localities. They knew, however, certain places where people frequently wintered; and they intended to search in these localities, and to kill the first Chilcotin they could find. Ka'kxa, who had joined the brothers, was an elderly man, of short stature, and a warrior of repute, having in his younger days been on war-expeditions against the Lillooet, Thompson, and Chilcotin Indians. Each man was armed with a gun, a large war-knife, and besides carried bow and arrows. At that time most of the Shuswap had ceased using bows and arrows, but a few men still remained who were expert in their use. The Chilcotin still used them extensively. After travelling three days, they came to some winter houses of the Chilcotin, near the Chilcotin River, but found that they had been deserted for nearly a month. They camped there for the night, and Ka'kxa and Tahu'thutxen's brother each dreamed, — the former that they would not have success, and the other that they would. The next morning they were divided in opinion as to whether they should proceed or turn back; but Tahu'thutxen was bent on revenge, and at last they determined to go on. Large patches of the winter snow still remained; and the Shuswap followed the trail of the party, which seemed to number thirty-five or forty souls. On the morning of the second day they came on fresh signs, and about noon, going very cautiously, they came to many fresh tracks of men and dogs. Here they waited until night-fall, and then followed a beaten snowshoe-track which led them before long to within sight of the Chilcotin camp-fire. They found the enemy camped in a large oblong lodge made of logs, and covered with brush, earth, and snow, and having an entrance covered with mats at each end. They now arranged as to the manner of attack. Ka'kxa was to take one door, and Tahu'thutxen the other; while the second brother was to stay a little distance from the lodge to cover their retreat, and prevent any one who might be outside from surprising them. On arriving near the lodge, the dogs became aware of them, for they had approached down-wind, and began to howl. The men retreated hurriedly, and not too soon, for a party of men emerged from the lodge and scoured the timber in their direction. Not finding anything, they returned, and the dogs soon became quiet. Now, the Shuswap made a

détour, and, waiting until nearly midnight, approached from the opposite direction, travelling up-wind. Ka'kxe being somewhat nervous, Tahu'thutxen took the lead. They moved very stealthily, and all three took up their positions without disturbing the dogs. Both door-covers being somewhat torn, the two Shuswap could take aim with their guns without moving the covers. A large fire was burning brightly, and very few of the people had as yet retired. Singling out a man apiece, they fired with deadly results. Now they tore away the door-covers, and Ka'kxa commenced to shoot arrows through one entrance; while Tahu'thutxen, who had a double-barrelled gun, discharged it again, killing another man. The men inside rushed for their weapons, while the women threw water and earth on the fire to put it out. It was some time, however, before the house was completely dark. The Chilcotin were afraid to escape by the doors; but some got out over the roofs, while the majority kept up a heavy fire of ball and arrows against both doors. The brother on guard at the back of the lodge shot one of the escaping Chilcotin, and, reloading, shot another on the roof. The Shuswap now retreated, leaving Ka'kxa about fifty yards away from the door he had occupied. He was apparently dead, so the brothers took his gun and made off as fast as they could. Ka'kxa was covered with blood, and lay unconscious for a considerable time. He was badly wounded, a ball having entered his right side and come out close to the nipple. He had also received a charge of small shot in the breast, and the flesh of his left side had been torn by an arrow. When he regained consciousness and found that he had been deserted, he travelled as best he could all night, but many times he lay down and became unconscious. Meanwhile the brothers travelled almost constantly night and day, as they expected to be pursued when the Chilcotin should learn how small was the party that had attacked them. Arriving at their homes, they told their story, and there was lamentation at the supposed death of Ka'kxa. His two wives cut their hair and went into mourning. His favorite horse was shot, and his two dogs were hanged. A couple of days afterwards a man was seen approaching the camp slowly. While still a considerable distance away, he stopped under a tree and lay down. A young man was sent out to see who it was, and soon returned with the news that it was Ka'kxa in a very weak condition. The brothers and others went out and carried him in. He was much exhausted, and his body was covered with dried clots of blood. His buckskin shirt was stiff with the blood which had dried on it. For a long time he hovered between life and death, but at last gained strength, and his wounds healed. He told how he had struggled along, with frequent rests and faints, expecting the Chilcotin to overtake and kill him at any time. He thought he should meet death at their hands, or die of weakness and hunger, before he reached home. He had no food, and no weapon excepting a knife, but he drank often at

the streams. It was afterwards learned that the Chilcotin men had looked around next day, and, finding the pool of blood where the Shuswap had lain, had followed the trail for some distance; but not overtaking him, and being doubtful of the real numbers of the attacking party, they were afraid they might fall into an ambush if they followed too far. Thus ended the last war-expedition made by the Shuswap against the Chilcotin; and although from six to eight Chilcotin were killed, and several more wounded, they never paid back the score. Next summer Ka'kxa was one of the attractions at the annual Shuswap gathering at Green Lake, when, wearing the same shirt in which he had been wounded, he recounted his adventures over many a pipeful of tobacco. All the participants in this affair have long been dead.

Following are a few other accounts of war-stories. An old man of the North Thompson division gave this account of their wars with the Sekanai: —

In our grandfathers' time the North Thompson people had many wars with the Sekanai, who came down from the north, a very large band of them occupying the country around the head waters of the Fraser River from its source to the "Big Bend," where they hunted and fished. They made this place their headquarters for several years, and the Shuswap made no great efforts to drive them out, for the fisheries there were of little value, and were never used, because the people had much better ones on the North Thompson River, where the fish were fatter and more plentiful. The country of the Upper Fraser River was part of the Shuswap hunting-grounds, and abounded in game and fur-bearing animals. The Sekanai had not been there long, before they murdered a party of three or four men who were hunting near their main settlement. Soon after that, they appeared on the Upper North Thompson River, and for several years annoyed the Shuswap by stealing from them and murdering several people. They would also send active young men far down the river as spies, and also to steal berries and gather arrowstone, which does not occur on the upper Fraser River. On one occasion some of these youths came as far down as a point about twenty-five miles above Kamloops, where they were discovered; but they were so fleet of foot that they made good their escape. Another time some men were discovered about thirty-five miles above Kamloops. They were pursued, and a very fleet Shuswap killed one of them.

About this time a Cree war-party found a camp of Sekanai near the head of Fraser River, and killed a number of people. Later the Shuswap, while fishing and hunting near the head of North Thompson River, were repeatedly attacked by large parties, who killed a number of people and drove the others down the river, taking possession of their fisheries.

Then the North Thompson people sent a war-party against them, killed several of them, and drove them across the divide to the head of Fraser River, but were afraid to follow them farther.

The following year a considerable number of Shuswap were fishing, as usual, at their famous salmon-fishery called Peskala'llen (Salmon-Place), on the Upper North Thompson River. Here they were attacked by a large party of Sekanai, who killed many of them and took some women away as slaves.

Now, the North Thompson people were thoroughly aroused, and asked the warlike people of the Fraser River division and of Kamloops to come to their aid. Many warriors came from these places, including one noted war-chief from Kamloops and three from Fraser River. One of the latter was elected war-chief of the whole party, which included some men from every band of Fraser River, even five or six from Soda Creek. The warriors found the Sekanai at a spot near the head of Fraser River. They surrounded them, and attacked them at night, and killed all except one man. They recovered the Shuswap women who had been made slaves. They cut two gashes down each cheek of their prisoner, stripped him naked, and gave him a fire-drill. Then they said to him, "We have branded you with the Shuswap mark on your face. Go now and tell your people what we have done to your friends. Let them know that if they ever show themselves again, we will do the same to them, for we are a powerful people and have many warriors."

There was snow on the ground, and the weather was very cold; but the Sekanai, who was a man in his prime, reached his people. He travelled fast, and at night slept on brush between two fires. The Sekanai thought that the Shuswap had turned back, but they had followed the man's tracks, and thus were led to a large Sekanai camp some distance down Fraser River, probably near the Big Bend. Here were encamped nearly half of the whole Sekanai tribe. The rest were living away north, where the tribe lives at the present day. The Shuswap surrounded them, and at daybreak attacked them suddenly from four sides, killing nearly all of them. Five or six men escaped, and about twenty or thirty young women and a few young men were made prisoners. The Shuswap put their mark on one of the latter, and sent him off, in the same way they had the first one. Among those who escaped was the man whom they had branded on the previous occasion. After taking everything of value, they destroyed the lodges and all the property that they did not want. They tied the bodies of the children together in pairs and hung them over branches; others they impaled on the ends of Sekanai spears, which they stuck up in the snow. Then they started for home, making the slaves carry loads of provisions, robes, and other booty. They did not take any of the enemy's weapons, for these were considered inferior to their own, especially the bows and arrows, which were not nearly as well made, nor as powerful, as those of the Shuswap. The arrow-heads were large, and their arrows could generally be seen flying through the air.

In this expedition the Shuswap had only three men wounded. The slaves had to carry one of these, a middle aged man. He was badly wounded; and when they reached the head of the North Thompson River, they thought he would die. He asked to be burned, as was the custom of warriors who could not recover. Therefore they collected a large pile of dry wood, and, placing him on the top, they set fire to it. He sang a war-song and brandished his spear until he was choked by the smoke and flame. They took the remains of his bones home to be buried there. When they arrived near Tcektcekwá'llk, on the east bank of the North Thompson River, about fifty miles above Kamloops, they were feasted by the people amid much acclamation and dancing. The slaves were divided, and the whole party scattered. Some men of the northern Fraser River bands took their slaves along with them; but the warriors from the southern Fraser River and from Kamloops gave their slaves to the North Thompson people, who had suffered so much from the Sekanai. These slave women were made the wives of men on the North Thompson River; and, as they nearly all had many children, there is some Sekanai blood there now, and the men of Sekanai descent are still known as such. The Sekanai never came into the Shuswap country again, and never took revenge for the heavy blow they had received, for since that time they have always been a small and insignificant tribe.

This whole war may have lasted about ten years. The final attack, in which the Shuswap war-party almost completely exterminated the Sekanai, who had taken up their abode on Shuswap grounds, took place probably about 1790. Sir Alexander Mackenzie mentions seeing, in 1793, a Sekanai woman and man, evidently slaves, among the Soda Creek Shuswap at that time.

About the same period the following incident may have happened: —

At a time when horses were still scarce in the Shuswap country, a party of Fraser River Shuswap were fishing somewhere near the head of Bridge Creek. Not far from this spot was a fine piece of root-digging ground, close to a place where members of the Lake division generally had a fishing-camp. An elderly woman, the wife of a chief, went there one day on horseback to gather roots, intending to camp at night with the Lake people. Upon repairing there at evening, however, she found them gone, and she had to camp alone. She slept under a tree, and staked her horse close by, behind some bushes.

During the night a small party of Sekanai (or Iroquois) approached with the intention of stealing dried trout. They thought the Shuswap were there fishing. Each time they tried to approach, the horse snorted and scared them back. They discovered that there were no people except the woman, whom they tried to capture. Again they attempted to approach the

woman, and crawled noiselessly through the grass; but the horse became aware of them, and snorted louder than before. They became afraid, because they did not know what it was, and left.

Afterwards they related the story to some North Thompson Indians, stating how the Shuswap woman had a strange powerful mystery, which snorted and pawed the earth whenever they approached, making them so afraid that they had run away.

When daylight came, the woman saddled her horse, rode home, and told her people what had happened. Some men hastened to the place and followed the Sekanai, but, being unable to overtake them, they returned to the fishing-camp on the third day.

The Fraser River Shuswap tell the following about their wars with the Carrier: —

A very long time ago there were one or two short wars between the Shuswap of Soda Creek and Williams Lake and the Carrier of Alexandria and Quesnel. Later on the Carrier and Shuswap were always friendly and occasionally allies. The Carrier of Fraser River and the Chilcotin were often at war, and frequently murdered each other's hunting-parties. Sometimes a few Shuswap would help the Carrier in expeditions against their enemies. Once a large war-party of Chilcotin killed a number of Carrier near Alexandria. The Hudson Bay Company gave the Alexandria people axes, so that they might build a large stockade for their protection. They also supplied them with a number of muskets and plenty of ammunition. The Alexandria people then made up a large war-party to raid the Chilcotin; and five noted Shuswap warriors from Williams Lake and Soda Creek joined them. The whole party were in the stockade ready to start in the morning, when suddenly at night a large party of Chilcotin attacked the house, and tried to tear down the logs. They were surprised, however, to find so many men there, and many of them with guns, and soon beat a retreat, pursued by the Carrier and Shuswap. The Chilcotin travelled very quickly, and at last split up into a number of small parties. The Carrier followed for a long distance, but, not being able to find any of them, they turned back. In this engagement a number of Chilcotin were killed and badly wounded, while on the other side two Carrier and one Shuswap were slightly wounded. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin, when attacked, always retired to the woods, and were very hard to find.

The Shuswap living on Fraser River have also accounts of their wars with the Cree: —

Once a party of Cree, about ten in number, were attacked by a war-party of Shuswap while in camp. All of them were killed, with the exception of one lad, who hid in the bushes, and finally escaped in the dark. The Shuswap followed him for four days, but could not overtake him. When



he reached home, he told his story, and shortly after he had finished, he dropped down dead.

For a number of years, about four or five generations ago, many war-parties of Cree invaded the Shuswap country. In a southeast direction they almost reached Kamloops, and farther west they went as far south as the lakes at the head of the Bonaparte River and Bridge Creek. They also reached the Fraser River at a number of points between Canoe Creek and Soda Creek. After this succession of invasions, their war-parties only appeared occasionally. They were very warlike, and numbered more tall men among them than the Shuswap. The latter, however, considered themselves more active, faster travellers, and equally as good warriors. The Cree were noted for their long hair, their woodcraft, and their proficiency in the sign language. Their war-parties seldom carried food with them, and depended almost entirely on what game they could shoot or snare. Their clothes, snowshoes, and weapons were similar to those used by the Shuswap. The Cree bow was considered equal to that of the Shuswap. It was of the style of the Okanagan bow, which was also used by many Thompson and some Shuswap Indians, but was longer, and had spear-points inserted at the ends, and could be used for stabbing. The Cree arrows had large, long feathers, and were considered clumsier and much inferior to those of the Shuswap.

In these wars the Cree at different times killed many people of the Lake and North Thompson divisions, and also a good many of the Fraser River Shuswap. On the whole, however, they had the worst of it, and at last ceased coming, for the Shuswap annihilated several large parties of them.

Once a war-party of Cree came down the North Thompson valley to a place about fifteen miles from Kamloops. Here they were noticed; and a famous warrior called Selpa'xen, who lived there, hurriedly gathered up a party to fight them. The Cree began to run when they saw the Shuswap coming, and the latter pursued them.

One of the Cree made the sign of a woman's privates to the Shuswap, who were leading. After a long and hard run, the fleetest of the latter drew near to the slowest of the Cree, and the two parties commenced to shoot arrows at one another as they ran. One of the Shuswap hit a Cree in the foot with an iron-tipped arrow, which disabled him so much that he was soon left behind by his party. When the Shuswap came up with him, they clubbed and killed him.

He was a very tall man, and had extraordinarily long hair. They stretched his body full length on the ground, and drove in two pegs, — one at the soles of his feet, and one at the crown of his head. They also stretched his hair out full length from his head, and drove in another peg where the tips of his hair reached. After scalping him, they buried him at this spot, close to the trail. Many people afterwards visited this place to see

the length of the body and hair of the Cree warrior that had been killed. His scalp was kept for many years and exhibited, to show the wonderful length of the hair. From this event the place was named Sēqamuḡtētus ("Cree little trail").

Another time a war-party of twenty or more Cree came down to one of the lakes at the head of Bonaparte River, and killed some people who were fishing there. They then went to Alkali Lake, arriving at a time when nearly all the men were absent at a potlatch near the mouth of Chilcotin River, given by the Cañon people. Two girls happened to see the Cree, and reported to the others.

As soon as it became dusk, they sent two young women to cross Fraser River and inform the men; while the rest of the women beat drums, sang, and danced a war-dance in imitation of men. They kept this up all night; while a few of them dug holes, and busied themselves burying some of their food and valuables. Just before daybreak the women took their children, and all ran away. Thinking that many men were there, the Cree were afraid to attack, and waited until daybreak, when they found that the camp was deserted, and took possession.

Meanwhile the men who were at the potlatch, with their friends the Cañon people, had crossed the Fraser River in the night-time, to the number of fully a hundred, and had taken positions around the camp to cut off the Cree. When day broke in the morning, they saw the latter feasting in the camp on the dried fish and salmon-oil that they had found. Some of them were engaged doing up parcels of dried salmon to take with them; while others were gathering wood and bark, and piling them around the houses preparatory to setting them on fire. Now, the Shuswap made the attack upon them from four directions, and, taking the Cree by surprise, they killed them all, with the exception of one lad, whom they told to go home and tell his people how the party ended, and warn them never to attack the Shuswap again. Some say that another boy was spared, and kept as a slave.

The first war-party of Cree that came to Alkali Lake took the people by surprise in the early morning, and killed nearly forty of them. At the same time they took away a number of women as slaves. A few years afterwards a party of them, numbering nearly seventy, emboldened by this success, and led by a noted Cree warrior, appeared again. After killing a family on the North Thompson River and a number of Shuswap of the Lake division, they suddenly swooped down on Alkali Lake, and surprised some of the people there, killing ten or more, and taking two young women as slaves. Most of the people escaped, however, and runners were sent to the south and west to tell what had happened, and to ask warriors to come up. Ni'ti,<sup>1</sup> a noted war chief of the people from High Bar to Canoe Creek,

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 555.

who had lately led a number of successful expeditions against the Lillooet, came up with four of his best warriors, and organized a war-party of over sixty men.

It was in the middle of winter, and the Cree had a long start: therefore the Shuswap knew they would have to follow many days, and travel very far, before they could overtake them. Accordingly they carried a number of light packs of dried salmon for food. The Cree were travelling very fast, and the Shuswap did not seem to gain on them much. The food they had taken with them soon gave out, and now they had to live on what game they happened to get, and on the beaver-meat which their enemies left behind them.

The Shuswap persevered, however, as the pace of the Cree slackened, owing to their having to hunt beaver for food, and to their sense of security as they neared their own country. They were evidently successful in their beaver-hunting, and carried little or nothing with them, for at each of their camps they left a great deal of beaver-meat behind. This helped their pursuers, as it gave them almost sufficient to supply their wants, and made it unnecessary for them to spend time searching for food. They were now in the Rocky Mountains, near the Cree country, when at last the Shuswap caught up with them.

An old man and his grandson had been unable to keep up with the main party, and were travelling one day behind. They had drawn aside off the trail to camp the night before, and now in the morning were preparing to go ahead again. Just then a wounded caribou ran past with two Shuswap arrows in its body; and the boy said to his grandfather, "A wounded caribou runs past with two arrows having very small feathers." The old man, who was half blind, said, "They must be Shuswap arrows. Undoubtedly we are being pursued." Soon afterwards they heard the noise of snowshoes following along on the Cree trail, and they lay flat down. There was a large fallen log across the trail near by, and the old man counted the noise made by the snowshoes as each warrior jumped over the log, in all about sixty. The old man now sent the boy in great haste to warn the party, while he himself followed up behind the Shuswap.

When the boy related everything, the Cree chief laughed, and said, "I cannot believe that. Your eyes must be bad. The Shuswap would never follow us so far." The girls who had been made slaves noticed the people talking, and, hearing them speak about Shuswap, they thought their friends might be following them. They always walked behind the Cree party, carrying small packs of food. On the next day, as they travelled along, they tore off pieces of cedar-bark, and left them as signs on the trail. About dusk the Shuswap overtook the women, and, walking in the timber alongside of them, they questioned them in undertones. The women answered,

"The Cree are a large party of nearly seventy. The fastest of them are camping by this time, while the slowest ones are just a little ahead of us. Every night they make us sit up a long time drying all their snowshoes for them "

The Shuswap told them to hold the snowshoes that night at the fire, so as to burn the netting, and afterwards to mix up the shoes of different sizes. (The Cree used a permanent shoe attached to their snowshoes, made to fit the foot.)

The women did this, and at dawn the Shuswap attacked the Cree, who were quite unprepared, many of them still sleeping. Now there was great confusion in the camp as the men tried to snatch up their weapons and snowshoes. Some put on one snowshoe, but could not find the other; others ran without any; while those who managed to get on a pair found them useless, for the netting, being burned, fell out or tore. The Shuswap attacked them with bows and arrows, and followed this up by charging the camp. The Cree were unable to make any defence; and those who were not killed fled in all directions, pursued by the Shuswap.

Some were wounded and crawled into the timber or among bushes, but all were tracked and tomahawked. Some climbed up into trees, where they died or were shot. A number of the most stalwart, who were unhurt or slightly wounded, tried hard to escape; but the Shuswap overtook them as they were crossing a large patch of smooth ice without snow. Here they would slip and fall; and the Shuswap killed them all with their arrows, excepting three, who managed to get across, one of whom at least was wounded.<sup>1</sup>

The Shuswap returned to the Cree camp, where they feasted on beaver-meat, and then started home, taking the women with them. They also took some robes and a few of the best bows of the Cree; but the arrows they considered worthless. They spared the life of the old man, but they killed his grandson.

None of the Shuswap were killed, and only one man, called Talexa'n, was wounded, who received an arrow in the arm; and another had cut the sinew at the back of his foot. The latter wound incapacitated him from walking, and the people carried him by turns. He had his relatives partly at Kamloops and partly on Fraser River.

On the return journey the Shuswap had stormy weather, and were often without food. Talexa'n, who had been carried many days, asked his friends to kill him, as he was a drag on the party; but at first they would not hear of this. One day he said again, "You are getting weak. Your progress is

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<sup>1</sup> This fight is said to have taken place somewhere in the eastern flanks of the Rockies, not far from the Yellow Head Pass.

slow, and you have no food." (They were then in a piece of country where there was no game.) "I am a drag on you, and I know I shall never get well again. Perhaps some of you may die if you do not hurry. My heart will be glad if you kill me, for thus I shall save you. I shall die proudly, for many of our enemies, the Cree, have been killed as an offering at my grave. Surely no warrior ever had so many killed on account of his death."

Then his friends gathered wood and made a large pyre, on the top of which they placed Talexan. When they set fire to it, he commenced to sing his war-song, and continued to sing until the flames reached him, when he wrapped his robe around his head, and died. They gathered up what remained of his bones, and took the ashes with them to be buried. The party reached home without further mishap, although many of them were rather thin.

The following is an account of a war with the Chilcotin: —

The country between the head of Bridge River, Fraser River, Chilcotin River, and Chilco Lake, was very dangerous ground formerly. Here Shuswap, Lillooet, and Chilcotin hunting-parties were liable to meet, and often attacked one another. One time, before guns were plentiful, two men from Canoe Creek went there into the high mountains to trap marmots, in the season just before the salmon-run. One was an old man who had a bad reputation for stealing; the other was a young man, and a very good fellow. They were armed with bows and arrows only. They found the marmot-traps of a party of Chilcotin, and the old man robbed their traps. Then he joined the young man, and they departed for home. The Chilcotin pursued them, and overtook them at a place where there are many rocky buttes. Here they killed them, and buried their bodies at the foot of a rock-slide. As the two hunters did not return, their friends sent a party to look for them, but they searched in vain. One of their relatives was a man belonging to Canoe Creek, — now a very old man. Thinking that the Chilcotin had probably murdered the two hunters, he set out the following year with one companion, and penetrated into the mountains. Reaching the real hunting-ground of the Chilcotin, near Chilco Lake, they happened to see two men of that tribe walking along the hillside below them, carrying small packs. One of them was a large man, who was carrying a gun. Telling his companion to shoot if he should miss, the Shuswap waited until the two men were in line, when he fired, and killed them both with one ball. Leaving the bodies lying there, they took the gun and returned home. Some time afterward it was learned, through the people of the Cañon division, how two Canoe-Creek Indians had been killed: so a war-party of Shuswap went out to have revenge. They came down on several parts of the Upper Chilcotin River and Chilco Lake without finding any people; but on their way home, at a place called Xwalxa'stcin, they came on a small

party of Chilcotin digging roots, and killed them all, — men, women, and children.

Wars with the Lillooet continued for quite a number of years.

Once a small party of Lillooet were killed by Chilcotin on the upper part of Bridge River. A Shuswap party happened to be near there at the time, and friends of the Lillooet blamed them for the murder. They sent out a war-party, and killed a number of Empire Valley people who were camped near the Red Bluffs, or "Breasts," between Empire Valley and Churn Creek mouth. It was winter-time, and the Lillooet had come up through the Shuswap country on the east side of the Fraser River, keeping back in the timbered plateau. They found no small camps, and were afraid to attack the large camps. When they reached a little below Canoe Creek, they noticed smoke ascending from the camp at the Red Bluffs, and made up their minds to reconnoitre there. At night they passed around the large camp of people at Canoe Creek, and crossed the Fraser River on the ice between there and Dog Creek. It was very cold, calm weather at the time. Finding about twenty people in the camp at the "Breasts," they lay in wait to attack it at night. Just before daybreak, when the people were all asleep, they burst into the lodges, and killed them all, excepting one old woman, who got out with a little child and hid under a log, and a young man who happened to be away training that night. After this, the Shuswap war chief, Ni'ti, led four or five large war-expeditions against the Lillooet, and killed very many of them. He raided the whole of the Lillooet country, and on one expedition went as far as Douglas, killing many people, burning houses and caches, and bringing back a number of slaves. After this the Lillooet never killed any more northern Shuswap, or sent any war-parties into their country. Once, not very long ago, the great Shuswap warrior Ka'xa, with one comrade, came upon a party of about twenty-five Lillooet camped at a lake near Xwalxa'scin, where they occupied one long lodge. In the night-time, Ka'xa entered by one door, and his companion by the other, and killed more than half the people before they awoke. They slaughtered all men, women, and children, until only a baby was left, which Ka'xa told his companion to kill. The young man pitied it so much, however, that he did not have the heart to kill it. Then Ka'xa, saying it would die anyway, took a root-digger, and, sharpening the point, stuck it through the babe's stomach, pinning it to the ground. This warrior was very cruel, and also fearless, and delighted in killing Lillooet and Chilcotin. Many people thought him too reckless and bloodthirsty, therefore he never had much of a following. Human bones were lying around for many years where he had slaughtered the Lillooet at Xwalxa'scin. Another Shuswap war chief who raided the Lillooet was Nkeki'tsa. He did this because his uncle had been killed by Lillooet when he himself was a boy. When he grew to be a man, about

fifteen or twenty years after his uncle's death, he took the war-path against the Lillooet, and he and his warriors must have killed fifty of them in revenge for the one man's death. It may not have been this altogether, however; for the Lillooet were considered poor warriors and easy prey, and much spoil was to be gained by raiding them.

The following tale shows that the Lillooet Indians were held in very low esteem: —

One spring some Lillooet Indians near The Fountain were removing their dried salmon from the cellars in which they had been cached during the winter. A number of Shuswap who were visiting in that locality looked on. They sat down a little distance off, and in no way attempted to molest the Lillooet. These, however, were suspicious of the Shuswap; and two of their men, with arrows on string, watched them, with the intention of shooting the Shuswap if they should interfere. At this time a famous Shuswap warrior called Xaa'kst (Cut-off-Hand) joined his friends. He said to them, "Why do you sit here like fools while the Lillooet remove their fish? You should take a share. You need not be afraid; they are only Lillooet, and are of no account. Watch how I make them run." Going up to the Lillooet, he said to them, "I am Cut-off-Hand, the great Shuswap warrior, and these are my fish. How dare you try to remove my property! Begone or I shall kill you all!" Then, taking up the backbone part of a salmon, he struck one of the men holding the bow and arrow across the face with it. The Lillooet left without offering resistance, and the Shuswap took possession of the salmon, which they carried to their camp.

I have also received an account of a war with the Thompson Indians: —

A war sprang up between the northern Shuswap and the Thompson River Indians in the following manner. Four Shuswap belonging to Canoe Creek went down to The Fountain to gamble, and a number of Lillooet were also there. The Canoe-Creek men stole, or were thought to have stolen, some things from the Lillooet, and were pursued by six of the latter, who overtook them on Pavilion Mountain. The Shuswap asked why they had followed them; and the Lillooet answered, "We just followed you to exchange or buy things from you." They had their weapons hidden, and one of them had a stone war-club hidden which hung by a string around the neck and down his back. He was wearing a thick cloak. After sitting and talking some time, this man stood up and pretended to take off his cloak to exchange it with one of the Shuswap. At the same time he advanced close to the latter. Suddenly he pulled out his club and dealt the Shuswap a terrific blow on the head, knocking him down. The six Lillooet then attacked the three remaining Shuswap, who fled. One of the latter, who was very fleet of foot, bothered the pursuers by shooting arrows at them, and then running and overtaking his comrades. Being unable to

overtake them, the Lillooet returned to where they left the wounded Shuswap. During their absence he had gone down a steep bluff to the river. They searched for him, but were unable to find him.

Next day a Bonaparte Shuswap saw him, and told the Lillooet where he was, saying, "If you do not kill him, his friends will seek revenge." Then the Lillooet went out and killed him.

This man's death was not avenged for a long time; but at last a nephew of his, called Nkeki'tsa,<sup>1</sup> grew up, and became a noted runner, jumper, and shooter, but as yet had not become a warrior of any note.

Now, the season came around when the Shuswap went to their great gathering-place at Green Lake. This year a very large number went, including very many of the Bonaparte people, with whom went some Upper Thompson Indians. Among the latter was a noted elderly warrior called Sa'mel, or Sa'mel, belonging near Lytton. This man had been a noted warrior, and was covered with scars. One day he said in the presence of Nkeki'tsa and some other people of the Fraser River division, "The Shuswap say that the Canoe-Creek band are great fighters, yet it is now many years since one of their number was killed by the Lillooet, and none of them ever sought to avenge his death." Nkeki'tsa felt nettled, and answered, "Do not mention the name of my dead!" Sa'mel paid no attention, but kept on, saying, "The Canoe Creek men cannot be very powerful, or brave warriors, when they are afraid to avenge the death of a friend." Nkeki'tsa said, "Stop! Let the dead alone. Do not laugh at my dead, and mock my friends." Never heeding, Sa'mel continued, "The Canoe Creek men must be women, when they are afraid of the Lillooet, whose men are worse than women." Nkeki'tsa said, "My uncle was killed because his enemies got the advantage of him. If your enemies had gotten the advantage of you, you would have fared just as badly." Sa'mel replied, "No! no women like the Lillooet can get the best of me. If your uncle had been a Thompson Indian and had been killed by Lillooet, his tribe would have had revenge long ago. They would not allow women like the Lillooet to kill their warriors." Then Sa'mel challenged the crowd, and showed his scars, saying, "These scars were not made by women. I am a Thompson warrior, and no one can kill me!" Nkeki'tsa answered, "You have fought with women! If a man fought with you, he would soon kill you." Sa'mel retorted, "No man can kill me, much less Lillooet or Canoe Creek men, who are all women!"

Nkeki'tsa went away feeling much insulted. He had taken Sa'mel's words very much to heart. He said to his friends, "I will kill that Thompson warrior for insulting me, and afterwards I will avenge my uncle's death, and show that I am not afraid of the Lillooet." His friends agreed that he should do as he had said.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 455.



The night before the people were to separate, Nkeki'tsa asked two young women to go and play through the night with Sa'mel, so that he should be sleepy in the morning. He also induced some young men to prompt him in the morning to eat a big meal, so that he should be heavy. On the next morning, when Sa'mel was eating fish, they said to him, "You had better eat plenty now at the last. You are leaving to-day, and will not be able to get any food as good as that in your country." Sa'mel took this in joke, but ate much more than usual. Some time before this, Nkeki'tsa had hidden a small Okanagan bow and two "nLoks" arrows in the roof of the long lodge which the Bonaparte and Thompson people occupied. Then he crept around, and, watching a chance when Sa'mel was standing with his right side fully exposed, he snatched down the bow, and shot him twice between the ribs, the arrows going right through him. Sa'mel fell down, but, rising again, drew a large knife and rushed among the people, stabbing right and left, and wounding many, including some women, and even his own friends. In the confusion, Nkeki'tsa jumped out over the roof of the lodge, and escaped with two of his friends, who had a horse waiting for him. Some of Sa'mel's friends followed them, but soon returned, especially as they saw that many of the northern Shuswap looked ugly. At noon next day Sa'mel died.

Not long afterward a Thompson war-party, bent on revenge, raided the northern Shuswap, and killed a number of people. Then Nkeki'tsa led a war-party against the Thompson Indians of Lytton, and thus war-parties of these tribes attacked one another at intervals, until about forty-five years ago. A number were killed on both sides, but no side inflicted heavy defeats on the other, as in the Lillooet and Cree wars.

Once a large party of Lytton Indians came to Canoe Creek, but failing to surprise the people, or to fire their houses, they besieged them for several days. At last they left, killing a few stragglers on their way back. Afterwards Nkeki'tsa led a number of expeditions against the Lillooet, and, killing many of them, thus avenged his uncle's death. The Lillooet, however, never sent any parties in return, as did the Thompson Indians.

A number of tales refer to quarrels of the Shuswap among themselves. A few of these may find place here.

Sowâ'exken was a Shuswap warrior belonging to the Fraser River. He was noted as a bad man, rash, cruel, treacherous, selfish, and bloodthirsty. He killed many Carrier and Shuswap, some of the latter relatives of his own; and the people were much afraid of him. He killed people in passion and without the slightest provocation. Sometimes he would take young men away, and force them for a time to be his slaves or servants. If they refused to do what he told them, he would often stab and kill them. He stole many horses from other people, and gambled them away, or killed

and ate them. He seldom had any horses of his own, yet he never lacked a horse to ride.

One day he camped with two relatives of his, who were well-known warriors, by name Anā'na and Newi'sesken. They treated him very hospitably. He had with him a young man belonging to Alkali Lake, whom he used as a companion and servant. Both were on foot.

By this time he had come to be so much disliked, that there remained few people in his own country with whom he could camp. The next morning, when he left his friends, he stole their two best horses, and travelled on northwards. They discovered the theft shortly afterwards, and declared they would kill him. Taking two saddle-horses with which to chase him, Anā'na, before starting, told his father-in-law, who was a shaman, that he must bewitch Sowā'xexken's gun so that it would not shoot, adding, "If by your mystery you do not do this, I will kill you when I return."

They overtook Sowā'xexken at Upper Chimney Creek, where he was shooting grouse, being attracted to the spot by the reports of his gun. When the Alkali Lake Indian saw them approaching, he ran away, leaving the horse of Sowā'xexken, who was in the timber, on foot, and had just shot a grouse. The brothers jumped off their horses and ran towards him. When he saw them coming, he was loading his gun and just putting the powder in, and either forgot to put in the ball, or thought he would intimidate the other men, for he ran out to meet them, pointing his gun at them. When they were close, he fired at Anā'na, but, of course, did no harm, as there was only powder in his musket. Newi'sesken then shot him, and he dropped. Anā'na jumped on him, and, pulling out Sowā'xexken's own knife, drew it across his nose, saying, "Smell that! You have killed women long enough, now men and warriors will kill you." Then he stabbed him in the breast, running the knife up to the hilt, and left him.

Shortly afterward some people travelling southward came along and saw his body. They went up to see who it was, and were surprised to find it was Sowā'xexken. They hated him, as he had killed some of their relatives, and, seeing he was not quite dead, they took a stone and battered in his head. Then, cutting off one of his legs, they placed it across the trail. His body lay there until the coyotes had eaten most of it, then some of his relatives picked up the remains and buried them. No one avenged his death, for it was considered just.

Another quarrel is related as follows: —

Tceqtaqē'qen, a young man belonging to one of the southern bands of the Fraser River division, was evil-tempered, overbearing, and quarrelsome. At the slightest provocation he would beat, stab, and kick people and pull their hair. He was thievish, and had taken away the wives of several men. He had two half-brothers or first-cousins, one of whom was named Nexwi'mken.

They had advised him several times to behave himself, but he gave no heed to their counsel. At last they talked over the matter among themselves, and said, "Our relative is indeed very bad, and heeds not our advice. He is conducting himself in such a way that very soon some one will kill him. Then we shall have to avenge his death." They agreed to kill him that night when he was asleep. Nexwi'mken's brother was to rise before daybreak and cough a little, pretending to have a pain in the chest. Then he was to take some pitch-wood, light a fire, and pretend to warm himself. As soon as the blaze was bright, Nexwi'mken was to lean over and stab Tceqtcaqê'qen with a large knife. They were all living together at that time in a large lodge with a number of other people, and Nexwi'mken generally slept next to Tceqtcaqê'qen. The brothers carried out their plan as arranged; but their victim was not easy to kill, and, although stabbed many times, he fought very hard. His bowels, liver, and lungs protruded through his wounds, and the lodge was spattered with blood. At last, however, he seemed to faint. All the people jumped up at the first sounds of the struggle, but none of them interfered. They said, "The victim is a very bad young man, — so bad that his relatives wish to get rid of him. He belongs to them, and has nothing to do with us." Then a woman called out, "Tceqtcaqê'qen will never die unless you cut his throat." Then the brother held Tceqtcaqê'qen, while Nexwi'mken cut his throat. He was very much excited, held up the bloody knife, and said, "This knife has not only killed my relative, but it will also kill any bad man or warrior who thinks himself a match for me. Let any warrior who thinks himself my equal walk up and smell of it, as it rests in the hands of a man." Then an elderly warrior, who was disquieted by the whole proceeding, jumped up, gun in hand, and said, "You are not content with murdering your relative, but also boast and challenge me." Then the two brothers fled at once.

Tceqtcaqê'qen's remains were buried that day; but he must have moved in his grave, for the next morning the grave-pole had fallen down and the earth over him was cracked. The people claimed that for four days his ghost was very restless and went about the village singing.

A third story of a similar nature was told to me.

About 1850 there lived three men, Tselixê'sket, Nuxenê'sket, and Komusê'llet. Their brother had recently died, leaving a widow who was young and good-looking. A warrior called Kwulê'sket carried her away on horseback to his brother-in-law's camp near William's Lake. As this action was considered quite as serious as the abducting of a married woman, or even more so, the three brothers held a consultation as to what they should do. One of them was in favor of taking no notice of the matter; while another thought there was no need for immediate action, and it would be better to wait until one of them could get a chance to take revenge on

Kwułê'sket. Tselixê'sket would not listen to these proposals, however, and insisted on immediate action, saying, "I feel greatly ashamed, and all the people will laugh at us if we do not take back our sister-in-law."

The brothers now decided to pursue Kwułê'sket. They mounted their saddle-horses, and started north for the grounds of the William's Lake band. The next day, about noon, they arrived near the camp, and, tying up their horses in a grove of small timber, they approached the lodges on foot. Tselixê'sket, who was armed with a gun, called to Kwułê'sket, "You are a coward. You run away and hide from us." Kwułê'sket replied, "No, I am here, I do not hide, I do not fear you;" and immediately he ran out carrying a loaded gun, a long machete hanging from his right wrist. As the brothers closed in on him, he shot Tselixê'sket dead, dropped his gun, and struck Nuxenê'sket, who was armed with bow and arrows, with his machete, skinning the side of his face and almost cutting off one ear. The weapon sank deep into the shoulder. Komusê'llet, who was a strong man, seized Kwułê'sket, threw him down, and choked him with one hand, while with the other he endeavored to wrench the machete from him. When Kwułê'sket's brother-in-law saw that Komusê'llet was getting the best of the struggle, he shot him with his gun, the ball passing through the flesh of one thigh and along the testicles, wounding him badly. Although the two wounded men were now in Kwułê'sket's power, he did not kill them; but he and his friends moved their camp farther to the north, leaving the brothers as they fell. Some people coming along the trail helped them, and carried away Tselixê'sket's body for burial.

Another noted warrior, Sixwi'lexken of Big Bar, who abducted the wife of Sowâ'xexken, was also a renowned warrior, and known as a man of vindictive and revengeful disposition. Sixwi'lexken's friends advised him to let the woman go, and reminded him that her husband was no ordinary man, and would be sure to avenge the insult; but he persisted, and declared that he was not afraid of him. Sowâ'xexken followed the runaways, and, arriving at their camp, he challenged Sixwi'lexken, saying, "I have come here to fight you. If you are a man, you will meet me; and if you dare not come, then all the people will know that you are a woman, and no warrior." At first Sixwi'lexken did not answer; but when Sowâ'xexken continued to taunt and jeer him, he rushed out of his lodge, armed with a long knife and bow and arrows. As he came out, and while aiming an arrow at his enemy, Sowâ'xexken hit him with an arrow in the right shoulder and disabled him. He hit him with another arrow, which glanced off from the breast-bone. Then Sixwi'lexken rushed at him, brandishing his knife and uttering his manitou cry; but Sowâ'xexken shot him a third time, the arrow entering his bowels. Now Sowâ'xexken threw down his bow and arrows, and ran to meet his adversary, flourishing his short spear, and imitating the cry of the Grisly

Bear, his manitou. When they closed, although Sixwi'lexken was lame in one arm, badly wounded, and, moreover, a smaller and lighter man than Sowâ'xexken, he knocked the spear out of the latter's hand, threw him down, and stabbed him in the arm and hand. Just then he fainted, and Sowâ'xexken freed himself, wrenched the knife from Sixwi'lexken's hands, and stabbed him to death.

The following refers to a quarrel in the same band: —

Kwełtê'sket was a great warrior of the lower group of the Fraser River division. He was a small active man. His father belonged to the Thompson tribe. He had killed many people on war expeditions and in fights. One day when he was living with Sixwi'lexken in the Big Bar district, he had a quarrel with a young man, and mortally wounded him. Soon afterwards four of his victim's friends — one armed with a tomahawk, one with a long dagger, one with a machete, and the fourth with bow and arrows — came to Sixwi'lexken's lodge, and called out, "Sixwi'lexken, do not hide from us our enemy." Kwełtê'sket, who was clad only in a breech-clout and moccasins, answered, "It is not necessary for my friends to hide me, I may be found at any time." Then he rushed out, uttering his manitou cry, and attacked them with a spear. The man who was armed with a bow was standing off a short distance from the others, and, as Kwełtê'sket ran to attack the other three, he shot him three times, one arrow passing through the right leg, one hitting and disabling the right arm, and the other entering the body near the kidneys. Kwełtê'sket, who was now incapable of using his spear, pulled a short knife out of the belt which held up his breech-clout, and fought with it, holding it in his left hand; but he was no longer a match for the three well-armed men, and soon sank down, struck on the head with the tomahawk, his neck and shoulders slashed with the machete, and stabbed in the back with the dagger. He was left for dead.

His mother, who was living in Sixwi'lexken's camp, came out and covered him with a tent-mat; for he had often told her that if he died, she must cover his body with a tule tent-mat and afterwards bury him wrapped in it. None of the people who were looking on interfered during the fight; for some of them, although they considered Kwełtê'sket an estimable man in many ways, yet were afraid of him. For this reason they did not mind if he were killed. Kwełtê'sket had been lying under the mat for a couple of hours, when a fifth friend of the man he had killed came along, and, raising the mat, saw that he was still alive. He said, "I will finish him," and stabbed him four times in the breast with a knife, causing much blood to flow, and his lungs to protrude. That evening Kwełtê'sket was seen to move under the mat, and shortly afterwards threw it off. Rising on his knee, he called for water, which the people gave him. His leg and arm were very much crippled. He asked for fish, and the people gave him some in a dish.

He ate it up like a dog. He pushed in the piece of his lung which protruded, but it came out again. Then he tore off the piece, saying, "They think they can kill me, but I will live to kill them, I am hard to kill. I am no ordinary man to die easy." Now he licked the wounds which he could reach like a dog, and rubbed saliva on the others. This he did for four days, and he felt much better. His wounds even commenced to heal up. Then the chief Łoxłoxpā'uz called all the people together, and asked all the shamans to sit down in one place. He addressed them, saying, "You know that Kwełtê'sket is a dangerous man, and has always been known to keep his word. You are all aware that he is getting well again, and he has declared his intention of killing not only his enemies, but also all their women and children. It is useless to try to kill him with weapons. Even a bullet has no effect on him, for he has been shot with a gun before. I propose that the shamans kill him, for only in this way will he ever be disposed of." Then he asked the shamans, one after another, to undertake this task, but they all excused themselves. He said to Sixwi'lexken, "You are a powerful shaman and can easily kill him;" but Sixwi'lexken answered, "My manitous all help and heal people, they have no power to harm." Finally he asked a shaman (whose name has been forgotten) to kill him. He answered, "Yes, my manitous have great powers to hurt. If Kwełtê'sket is not dead in two days, then I am no shaman." In two days Kwełtê'sket hanged himself.

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## VIII. — GAMES AND PASTIMES.

The games and amusements of the Shuswap were identical with those of the Thompson Indians. Dice played with beaver-teeth was a favorite game of the women. The markings on these were almost always triangular lines (on two), short straight lines (on one), and dots (on the fourth). A favorite game of the men was played with a number of short sticks, as among the Thompson tribe.<sup>1</sup> The ring-game played by the Thompson Indians<sup>2</sup> was very common. The ring-and-dart game was much in vogue, especially among boys.<sup>3</sup> The lehal game was a great favorite. Sticks were used for beating time, and the players wore knuckle-covers. The counters were invariably six sticks on each side.<sup>3</sup> A game of birch-bark cards was played, the cards having marks similar to those of the Thompson people. Gradually these were altered to correspond to the marks on cards used by the employees of the fur companies, and French names were adopted for the various cards. Recently, when paper cards came into use, English names were introduced. Some old Indians aver that card-games originated in the early part of last century, the Indians copying the cards used by the French half-breeds in the employ of the fur companies; or, at least, the Indians received the suggestion from them, making cards of their own, and playing them in their own way until they learned the European way of playing. Ball-games like those of the Thompson Indians were commonly played, that similar to lacrosse being the most common. Nearly all the lacrosse-sticks used on bare ground were similar to that shown in Fig. 267, *a*, of Vol. I, p. 278, only the end was made more crooked. Lacrosse-sticks with netting<sup>4</sup> were only used in the winter-time, when the game was played with snow on the ground. These netted lacrosse-sticks were also used by children for throwing snowballs. Goals were marked with pegs driven into the ground, poles laid on the ground, stones, or simply by lines scratched in the ground. The opposing parties painted their faces or bodies, each party a different color. Thus one party might be painted red, and their opponents yellow; or all of those on one side white, and those on the other side blue. The ball-game described on p. 279 of Vol. I was played by boys, and the kind of cup-and-ball game described on pp. 278 and 279 was played by both boys and girls. All these games were played in exactly the same manner as among

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 272 and 273.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Fig. 267, *b*, p. 278.

the Thompson Indians. Sometimes, instead of playing the ordinary ring-and-dart game, the ring was thrown up in the air and caught on the end of a dart. If a number were playing, those who missed went out; and the game continued until the best catcher alone remained, and was declared winner.

All shooting-games in vogue among the Thompson tribe were also played by the Shuswap. One method was to tie up some fir-branches in a knot, in size about 15 cm. by 10 cm., and suspend it as a target from the limb of a tree, or from one or more poles adjusted for the purpose. The distance of range varied according to agreement. Each man had two arrows, and the counters were two sticks on each side. If one man hit twice and the other once, the former won one stick, and the shooting continued until one man had won over his opponent's two sticks. Shooting at pegs in sandy ground and at rings which were set rolling were also common games.

Wrestling and foot-racing were much practised, and large bets were often made on the contestants. The longest races were upwards of ten miles. Tugs of war between teams of various numbers were pulled on ropes; and other tugs between two men in sitting posture, holding the middle of a stick between them, with the feet of one against the feet of the other, were common. Sometimes several men sitting opposite each other pulled on a long pole. It was very common for men to pull against each other with the middle fingers of the right hand, and bets were made on the results. Another trial of strength was to see who could press down the other's hand without allowing the elbow to leave the ground.

Games at long and high jumping were much indulged in. In the standing and running high jumps, a rope was held extended by two men. The highest running jump done by any men was with the rope held at arm's length above the head. The highest standing jump accomplished was with the rope level between the tops of the heads (or upper part of the brows) of two men of medium height. The next best jump was with the rope held level with the eyes, the next level with the chin, and so on to level with the belt or belly, which was the lowest standing jump attempted.

"Putting the stone" was a common game, the contestants trying who could throw it the farthest. Each village had its recognized or standard putting-stone. Lighter stones were thrown at pegs, and rings were also thrown at pegs, as in the game of quoits. At the present day horseshoes are used instead of rings. When two rings were about equally distant from the peg, their distances were measured with the feet if far, with the hand if not very far, and by finger-widths when very near by. On some lakes, canoe-races were held, and also swimming-races. Some men could swim across Fraser River easily. Horse-racing became very common in later days, and snowshoe races were sometimes run in the winter.

Cat's-cradle was played by boys and girls. Some of the common figures



made were the tepee, the eagle, the water-ouzel, the sturgeon, the female mountain-sheep, and the ruffed grouse.

Little toboggans were roughly made of pieces of bark, the older people often indulging in the game, but there were many accidents. Frozen hillsides were chosen for the slides. Once a young man on a piece of birch-bark was coasting down an icy creek-bottom, and, being unable to stop, shot over a fall near the mouth of the creek, alighting on a large sheet of ice floating down Fraser River, from which he was rescued by a canoe.

Gambling was a prominent feature of nearly all games played by adults. They seldom played except for a stake. Lehal is the only one of the old games which survives. The ring-and-peg game in a modified form is played with horseshoes, and foot-races occasionally take place. Horse-racing is frequent, and gambling with cards not uncommon in some bands.

## IX. — SIGN LANGUAGE.

It seems, the sign language of the Shuswap was almost the same as that of the Thompson Indians, or perhaps entirely the same; and at one time it was used extensively. The younger people nowadays know hardly any of it. I obtained the following signs among the tribe, all of them the same as those described before<sup>1</sup> as used by the Thompson Indians: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 41, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 68, 73, 74, 84, 85.

I obtained the following new signs, which I find were also used by the Thompson tribe; and therefore, to avoid confusion, I shall number them commencing with No. 88.

88. *Come*. — A wave of the hand, as among the whites.

89. *Come quickly!* — The same sign as No. 88, made rapidly two or three times.

90. *I want to speak (with you)*. — Right hand nearly closed, forefinger pointing upwards, hand raised near to right eye, at same time forefinger of left hand pointed towards mouth.

91. *You mustn't*. — Same sign as No. 48; only finger raised to right eye and shaken.

92. *Don't speak* or *Don't tell*. — Right hand same as No. 91, and closed finger-tips of left hand pressed against the mouth, points upwards.

93. *Dumb, astonished, or speechless with astonishment*. — The whole of left hand pressed against the mouth, points of fingers towards the right.

94. *Two*. — First two fingers of right hand held apart and upwards, rest of hand nearly closed.

95. *Both, or two together*. — The same as No. 94, only fingers close to each other.

96. *Three*. — Three first fingers of right hand held as in No. 94.

97. *Three together*. — Same as No. 96, only fingers close together.

98. *Large flat or prairie*. — Both hands held level with breast, palms downwards; then moved outwards from each other in horizontal plane (one towards each side).

99. *Small flat or prairie*. — The same as No. 98, only the hands moved inwards towards each other from the sides (the reverse motion of No. 98).

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 283 et seq.

100. *Man's privates.* — Right hand closed fairly tight, and held, back downwards, in front of breast; right middle finger straight and pointing upwards.

101. *Woman's privates.* — Thumb of right hand placed between first and second fingers of the same hand, the tips of the two fingers touching, and the point of the thumb slightly protruding forward.

102. *Sexual intercourse.* — Middle of first finger of right hand placed between the thumb and first finger of left hand, the point of the thumb touching the distal joint of the left forefinger.

103. *Fish.* — Hand stretched out, and held horizontally in front of breast, palm towards body, and edge of hand down, moving in quick meandering motions in horizontal plane.

104. *Many fish.* — The same, only both hands used, and fingers slightly apart.

105. *Come quickly and quietly, or Pay quick attention.* — Open hand raised to about on a level with the shoulder, then closed and moved rapidly downwards across front of body. More or less stooping forward, or crouching, often accompanies the movement.

106. *Astonishment.* — Closed hand placed in front of mouth for two or three seconds, the thumb often touching the lips. A gesture is often used just before or just after a person has told something he considers wonderful or astonishing. The open hand is held up, palm towards the person spoken to, then it is suddenly closed and brought to the mouth in the same position as that just mentioned.

All the cries in hunting, and signals left at camp-fires and on trails, seem to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> The owl-cry was very much used by hunters. A "pointer" or "direction" stick left at a camp, if entire, told any who saw it that the party had gone a long distance, and there would be little chance of overtaking them. If the end was broken so that it hung down, then people knew they had not gone far, and could easily be overtaken.

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 287 and 288.

## X. — SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS.

The Shuswap had two distinct types of social organization, — that of the north and west, where the people were organized in much the same way as the Carrier and Chilcotin; and that of the east and south, where the same organization as among the Thompson tribe prevailed. No doubt at one time the latter was the typical organization of the entire tribe. The bands of Shuswap Lake, of the North Thompson and Kamloops divisions, all of the Bonaparte division (excepting the Pavilion band), and the Fraser River bands of Empire Valley, Canoe Creek, Big Bar, Kelly Creek, and High Bar, had the simple organization characteristic of the Thompson tribe. About 1850 the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by the western system. Thus the main body of the tribe maintained its old organization, and I shall deal with them first.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN BANDS. — Like the Thompson Indians, they had war chiefs, hunting chiefs, and chiefs of dances, who were men elected as the best qualified to fill these positions; and a very few other people were called chiefs because of their influence obtained through excellence of oratory, wise counsels, wealth, or liberality. Men called chiefs because of liberality gave feasts on a large scale more or less frequently, at the same time giving presents to the people. These presents were not expected to be returned, but were given as free gifts.

Besides these, however, the Shuswap had one hereditary chief for each band, the office descending in the male line. When a chief died leaving several adult sons, they, and sometimes also all the immediate male relatives of the deceased, held a meeting and elected the son considered best fitted to occupy the position, and he was announced by them to the band as chief. Soon afterwards he gave a small feast to all the members of the band, to which visiting strangers were also invited. At this feast the people addressed him as chief, and henceforth recognized him as such until his death. There was hardly ever any trouble about the succession. If a chief died leaving two adult sons, both very capable and anxious to fill the position, the male relatives and the people of the band decided, generally choosing the elder one. A man's son took precedence over all others, — the eldest son, if he was capable, and if he was willing to accept the office; failing a son, a grandson; and failing a grandson, a brother; and failing a brother, a nephew. If a man left a son who was still a child, then his brother succeeded him, and the son did not become chief until his uncle died.

Chiefs had no special privileges, and their only duties were to look after the general welfare of the band, regulating, when necessary, the gathering of the food-supply, so that all could have an equal chance, and admonishing the lazy and quarrelsome. They also gave their advice on all important matters, and were the agents of the band in dealing with strangers. The chief was looked upon as a kind of father and leader of the people, and was expected to set a good example, and to act fairly in all matters.

Slaves occupied the same status exactly as among the Thompson Indians,<sup>1</sup> their children becoming members of the tribe, and having the same privileges as other people. In one case, at least, the grandson of a slave became chief of a band. The hair of slaves was frequently cut, their masters using it for making fringes on garments. When a slave married a free woman, which was rare, or when a slave-woman had children by a free man, they themselves became free, and their hair was no longer cut.

There was no nobility or privileged classes, neither were there any clans or societies. Consequently there were no crests or totems, nor any tradition of a mythological character, defining the origins of families, village communities, bands or divisions.

It devolved on a man's relatives to avenge his death. If he were killed by a stranger, it devolved on his relatives first, and, failing them, on the band. In grave or important cases a number of bands, or even the whole division, would help.

As stated in a former chapter,<sup>2</sup> the Cañon division were practically sedentary, while some bands were almost completely nomadic. The great bulk of the tribe, however, were semi-sedentary, but many families did not winter habitually in the same place. In this respect they had about the same customs as the Upper Thompson Indians.

Probably over seven-eighths of the individuals of the tribe bear hereditary names, many of them of long standing. No two people in a single band have the same name at one time, and it is even very rarely that there are two of the same name in a whole division. Persons bearing the same hereditary name in different divisions and neighboring tribes are often found; and these, as among the Thompson tribe, are considered in all cases to have inherited their name from a common remote ancestor. Keeping this in view, it appears clear, from the large number of names (from about 35 to 65 per cent in various bands) common to the Upper Thompson Indians and the Shuswap, that these people are of common descent. Either they were one people originally, or they have intermarried often. Even in bands that, so far as tradition goes, have never lived close together nor had any direct intercourse, — like the Lytton band of the Thompson tribe, and the Shuswap bands of High Bar and Big Bar, — nearly half of the names are identical.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 460. Footnote 2.

The names current among the Spences Bridge band of the Thompson Indians have greater affinity to those of the Canoe Creek Shuswap than to those of some other divisions of the Thompson tribe.

Less than one-eighth of the Shuswap names have originated in late years. These were mostly nick-names and dream-names; and, having once been adopted, they became family property, and descended like other names. Owing to the decrease in the tribe, there is a great surplus of hereditary names in most families, so that a person may sometimes have more than twenty ancestral names to choose from. Many names have died out.

The naming-ceremonies were the same as among the Thompson tribe, but wealthy individuals only gave public feasts when they changed their names. About a year or two after a relative had died, the eldest surviving male relative called his relatives and friends together, and said, "We have a name to be kept alive." Then he mentioned the name of the relative to whom he consigned the name, saying, "You better bear the name of your father" (or uncle, etc., as the case might be).

It was the duty of the eldest or most influential man of the group of families in which the name was hereditary to bestow the names of deceased relatives upon their successors. The person receiving the name always gave a small feast to the assembled friends.

In cases where a family possessing many illustrious names had become nearly extinct, — for instance, when only one or two survivors were left, who had few or no children, — one or more of the hereditary names were given away. The survivor singled out a friend whom he admired, or some one he thought worthy, and said to him, "I wish to keep alive the names of my illustrious dead, and will give you an illustrious name." If the man accepted the name, he gave a small feast to the donor, and was henceforth called by that name, and his descendants could use it.

A man, if he had no children or nephews, could give his own name to a friend not belonging to his family before he died. The name could then descend in the stranger's family. When he gave his name away, he presented the man with a horse or a robe, and asked him to use his name. The man then feasted the people and publicly took the name. Men gave their names away in this manner if they valued them, and wished to preserve them from extinction. No person could have two names at the same time, and he had to use each name several years before he changed it for another.

At the present day most Indians, besides their own tribal names, have baptismal or other names given to them by the whites. A large percentage of these are French.

The marriage-customs were practically the same as obtained among the Thompson Indians, and levirate prevailed.<sup>1</sup> On a man's demise, as a rule,

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XI.

the nearest of kin took all his property, and divided it among all his relatives, generally including first-cousins. The widow received nothing; for she had to marry the brother of her deceased husband, and did not depend on what the latter had left. However, she retained all her own property, and very often all the cooking-utensils; and the house was left to her. Lodges generally belong to the women, who gather the poles, erect them, and make the mats with which they are covered.

If the children were very young when their father died, their uncles who had appropriated most of the property gave them presents, such as horses, when they were grown up, as though these represented part of their father's property and had been held in trust by the uncle until the children were of age.

All the land and hunting-grounds were looked upon as tribal property, all parts of which were open to every member of the tribe. Of course, every band had its common recognized hunting, trapping, and fishing places; but members of any other bands were allowed to use them without restriction, whenever they desired. About seventy years ago the Fraser River bands north of Dog Creek, who had a different style of social organization, recognizing a nobility, clans, and societies, set up a claim to a large part of the northern hunting-grounds, which they attempted to parcel out as the sole property of certain of their clans or groups. For a time this caused much friction. The majority of the Lake and North Thompson bands were afraid of them, and avoided these grounds; but the people of the Lower Fraser River group would not acknowledge the claims, and hunted where they pleased. The northern people tried to make a compromise by allowing the southern band to hunt, but not to trap, in the disputed territory; but the latter ridiculed the proposal, and trapped where they liked. Afterwards, when the northern band saw that they could not enforce their claims, they gave up the attempt, and never tried it again.

Fishing-places were also tribal property, including salmon-stations. Sometimes men erected platforms, one above the other, quite close together along the river-bank. Any one could get in where there was room, and a place one man had this year, another might occupy next year. Often a number of men used the same station, taking turns at fishing.

At the lakes every one had the privilege of trapping trout and erecting weirs. The fish caught in traps were distributed among all the families who came there. In most of these places it would have been useless to have more than one weir.

On large streams where weirs were used, if salmon were not plentiful, all the people living on the stream fished with the people who had erected the weir lowest down. If salmon were plentiful, then generally the lower weirs were not built right across the stream, or, at least they were opened.

occasionally by the owners to allow fish to reach weirs erected by other families farther up the river.

A deer-fence was inheritable property, the nearest of kin inheriting it. If he did not care to use it, he gave it to the next of kin; and if none of them wanted it, then it was sold, generally for a small sum, to a stranger, who henceforth owned it. If a deer-fence fell into disuse and was not repaired for a number of years, then any one might erect a new one and snare deer in that place.

Eagle-cliffs were inheritable property, and were dealt with in the same way as deer-fences. It was not uncommon in some places to infringe upon the property-rights in eagle-cliffs.

Berry-patches were tribal property; but picking was under tribal control. All the large and valuable berrying-spots were looked after by the chief of the band in whose district they were situated. Thus there were several large service-berry patches near Big Bar. The chief there watched the ripening of the berries, and deputed young men to watch and report on the various places. From time to time the watchman brought in branches and showed them to the chief. When the berries were about ripe, he sent out word that on a certain day the berrying would commence at a certain berry-patch. Women would come from as far away as Alkali Lake and Clinton. The first day each woman picked only a little, about enough for herself and her friends to eat fresh during that day and night. After the first day they picked all they could and began to cure them. When they had finished one patch, the chief directed them to the next one which was ripe, and so on until they had finished all.

Root-digging grounds were all common tribal property. Some people of the Northern Fraser River bands laid a claim on the root-digging grounds of Quesnel Lake, where very large lily-roots grow, but their claims were not recognized by the rest of the tribe.

Fat and meat were divided equally among the hunting-party by the leader or by the eldest hunter. A man hunting alone had the sole title to whatever game he killed; but when he brought the meat home, he almost always distributed a large part among his neighbors. Even meat of game trapped was generally distributed in like manner. Skins of animals trapped belonged to the person in whose trap they were caught, and skins of animals shot belonged to the hunting-party; but the hunting chief generally allowed the best hunters the greater part of the skins.

Division of labor between the sexes was the same as among the Thompson tribe, although, it varied slightly in different families. Many men made most of their own clothes, and in several families only the men cooked fresh meat.

At present the position of chiefs is the same as that found among the Thompson Indians.



The four kinds of feasts celebrated by the Thompson Indians<sup>1</sup> were also held by the Shuswap, the first and third by far most frequently. In many bands the second (or ntcīxa'nk) feast was rarely celebrated, while the last one was fairly common; but no decorated kettle or painted sticks or stones were used in connection with it. Generally a common basket attached to a tump-line was used instead.

Potlatches were formerly unknown, except among the bands next to the Carrier and Chilcotin. From these points the custom of giving potlatches spread farther east and south, but never took a strong hold. Prior to 1850 it was altogether confined to the Fraser River and Lake bands, and rare among the latter. From that date until about 1880 it spread among the Bonaparte and Kamloops divisions and the Upper Lillooet, Upper Thompson, and the Okanagon nearest to them. About 1885 it had reached its height, and thereafter waned rapidly among the Shuswap, and has now completely disappeared. In form the potlatch was identical with the one obtaining among the Upper Thompson.<sup>2</sup>

There was no begging custom, as among the Thompson tribe.<sup>3</sup> If any one was short of food, his relatives were supposed to help him; and if they could not do so, it was the duty of the chief to make a quiet collection of food among those better off, and to give him the goods so collected in an unostentatious way, to avoid hurting his feelings. Sometimes the families best supplied with food were simply requested to give some of their stores to those in need.

The Shuswap were great smokers. A few of both sexes, however, did not smoke. Simon Fraser, in 1808, said of them, "This tribe is extremely fond of smoking. . . . They make use, in lieu of tobacco, of a kind of weed mixed with fat."<sup>4</sup> The weed referred to was the narrow-leaved tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*). After being gathered, it was cut up fine in a dish, and then spread on a large flat stone before the fire until quite dry. It was then thoroughly saturated with mountain-ram's grease, mixed over, and rolled or rubbed with another flat stone for several hours. Instead of this it was sometimes put in a mortar and worked with a small stone pestle. It was then dried slightly and put away in bags made of a ram's scrotum, which were hung up in the lodge. Any person watching the process was entitled to a free smoke of the tobacco. Kinnikinnic or bearberry leaves were seldom mixed with tobacco in smoking until after the introduction of the strong white man's tobacco. Then the use of these admixtures became universal. Tradition relates that the first white man's tobacco smoked by the Indians was some black twist given to them by Simon Fraser. It is said that it made many

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 296, 297.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 299, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 297—299.

<sup>4</sup> Fraser, in Masson, *Les Bourgeois*, etc., p. 162.

of them sick.<sup>1</sup> In some places where tobacco was scarce, it was gathered under the surveillance of the chief, in order to give every person an equal chance. It grew luxuriantly on some village sites, and some Indians think the seeds must have been planted in these places. In later times the chief of each Shuswap band received annually a present of tobacco from the Hudson Bay Company's post at Kamloops. The chiefs of distant bands sent young men to Kamloops to receive the annual present. Each chief was given a piece of twist-tobacco two fathoms long, and a message was sent with it to the effect that the chief receiving it must induce his people to trap diligently fur-bearing animals, that he must desist from wars, and always be friendly and helpful to the white employees of the company, who were travelling through the territory. Upon receiving the gift, the chief called all his men together, gave a feast in which all smoked and talked for from two to four days, and then he divided the remaining tobacco equally among all present. The Shuswap had all the smoking-rites found among the Thompson tribe, and all their councils and many feasts began with smoking-ceremonies. The pipes used were of the same kinds as those of the Thompson Indians, and almost all of them were made of varieties of soapstone. A few pipes, however, were made of buck-antler and of bearberry-root.<sup>2</sup> About four generations ago the most common kind of pipe was tubular,<sup>3</sup> shaped like a cigar-holder. Such pipes were well adapted for the native tobacco; but after the introduction of twist-tobacco, which was smoked with kinnikinnic, pipes with upright bowls entirely displaced them. Pipes were sometimes carved. At the present day wooden pipes, bought from the whites, are almost altogether used.

Drums were used at dances and as an accompaniment to singing. They were all circular, and exactly like those of the Thompson tribe. They were very seldom painted or decorated in any way. Fawn's hoofs were sometimes attached all around the rim.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WESTERN PART OF THE TRIBE. — As stated before, the organization of the Cañon division, and of all the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based on the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Cañon

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 306, p. 382, which represents the most common type of Shuswap pipe. Others resembled Figs. 307 and 309 (p. 383) and Figs. 271 and 273 (p. 301).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Fig. 374, p. 429.

division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.

*Rank.* — The people of these bands were divided into three classes, — noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendants," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with the men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.

*Crest Groups.* — The nobles appear to have been divided into hereditary groups, which probably differed somewhat from those occurring among the Lillooet; for it is asserted that there were no traditions relating to the origin of village communities, bands or groups of people. In other words, there were no clan traditions relating to the origin of any of these groups. It would seem that the originators of the clans obtained a "crest" through an initiation which followed a short period of fasting and training, in a manner similar to novices of religious societies. These groups of the nobility were strictly hereditary. A person marrying a member of the crest group did not acquire its privileges, although they belonged to his children, both male and female. Marriage seems to have been exogamic in these groups. The existence of rank classes and of crest groups probably had tended to increase the number of marriages with Carrier and Chilcotin, and in time would have made the western Shuswap very distinct from the rest of the tribe. The crest of the group was carved and painted on the top of the ladder of the underground house, the ladder frequently being made very long for this purpose. Sometimes the figure was carved out of a block and fastened to the top of the ladder. The people dwelling in the house were supposed to stand in some kind of relation to the crest, perhaps to be simply under its protection.

Among the Cañon division, representations of the crest were also erected at the main fishing-places of the family group, and also at their graves. At the bridge across the Chilcotin Cañon there were three carved figures, — one at the south end, and two at the north end, — which were supposed to represent the crests of the three chiefs, or rather family groups, that owned the bridge. From this it appears that there were at least two groups in the North Cañon band. Each crest group of the noblemen had an hered-

itary chief or leader. The crests among the nobility, so far as I could ascertain, appear to have been (1) Grisly Bear, (2) Raven, (3) Wolf, (4) Eagle, (5) Beaver.

It appears that the members of a man's crest group, as well as his relatives, were bound to avenge his death. It is not clear that the societies to be described presently were bound to avenge the death of a member. On the whole, it seems they were not.

*Grouping of Common People.*<sup>1</sup> —

Most of the groups into which the common people were divided were not strictly hereditary. Any man could become a member of any one of these groups by passing through a short training and fasting a few days in the woods, and an initiation in which he had to dress and act like the protector of the group that he had chosen to enter. However, a son generally became a member of the group to which his father belonged, in preference to others. Membership in some of these groups, as in that of the Black Bear, which it appears admitted members only from among the common people, was more strictly hereditary. Each of these groups had a protector, and a clew to their nature may be obtained from a list of these as far as remembered: (1) Black Bear; (2) Moose; (3) Caribou; (4) Elk; (5) Deer; (6) Sheep or Goat; (7) Beaver; (8) Marmot; (9) Mink, Weasel, or Marten (not sure which); (10) Hare; (11) Buffalo; (12) Wolf or Dog; (13) Owl; (14) Ruffed Grouse; (15) Ptarmigan (?); (16) Prairie Chicken; (17) Goose; (18) Thunder-Bird; (19) Salmon; (20) Frog; (21) Service-Berry; (22) Cannibal; (23) Corpse; (24) Wind; (25) Rain; (26) Rock-Slide (or Avalanche); (27) Arrow; (28) Snow (or Snowshoe); (29) Hunger or Famine.

Some of these groups were closely related; as, for instance, the Wolf or Dog, the Cannibal, and the Corpse (Nos. 12, 22, and 23), which seem to have formed parts of a larger unit; so that a member of one had the right to perform the dances and sing the songs of the others. Another larger unit embraced the Beaver, Thunder-Bird, Frog, Wind, Rain, and Arrow (Nos. 7, 18, 20, 24, 25, and 27). Moose, Caribou, Elk, Deer, and probably also Buffalo (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 11) may have formed another unit. The Moose, Caribou, Elk, Deer, and Snow were particularly groups belonging to hunters; while the Wolf, Cannibal, etc., appear to have been more shamanistic in their nature. The Service-Berry (No. 21) was probably altogether a group of women. It seems that these groups intercrossed the hereditary family groups of the nobility; so that common people, and perhaps also members of the nobility of any crest group, may have belonged to any of the groups here discussed. It would seem, therefore, that these are analogous to the dancing societies of the east and west.

Certain kinds of ceremonial dresses and ornaments were used by the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the honorific totem described by Father Morice (Notes on the Western Dénés, pp. 203-205).

crest groups and dancing societies when giving dances and potlatches, the members of one society having no right to use the paraphernalia of another. Each society had a distinct song and dance peculiar to itself. Most dances were performed in the winter-time only, but some could take place at any season. The only masks remembered are one representing a beaver, used by the group comprising the Beaver Society; and another representing a corpse, used by members of the group comprising the Corpse and Cannibal Societies. Rattles made of wood and bark enclosing pebbles were very commonly used in dances.

A few of the dances were described to me in detail. Although these descriptions are vague, they give us some conception of the activities of these societies.

In the Marmot dance (No. 8) the chief actor appeared carrying a pack and the sticks used for marmot-traps, as if he were going on a trip to the mountains to trap marmots. Another man imitated the action of the marmots by motions and by whistling, and the dance finished with his capture by the trapper. The song to this dance was very peculiar.

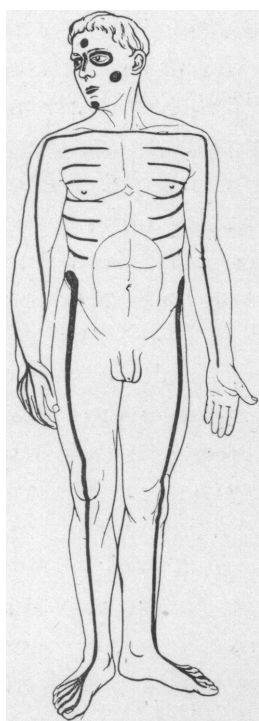


Fig. 250. Body Painting representing the Famine.

In the Hunger or Famine dance (No. 29) the chief actor appeared almost naked, and painted like a skeleton, to represent the famine. White stripes ran down the legs, arms, and backbone, across the shoulders, and along the ribs (Fig. 250). These marks represented bones. He had his face painted with circles around the eyes, and with dots or marks on the brow, cheeks, and chin. He had white paint or down on his head, and a long white streak across his mouth. Sometimes he wore a mask with hollow cheeks, protruding eyes, and projecting jaws and teeth. He personified hunger, which is one of the figures of Shuswap mythology. The Chilcotin had

the same dance.

Some men who were said to belong to the Salmon (No. 19) used to act in a dance the catching of salmon with dip-nets, spears, etc., meanwhile singing the Salmon Song.

Women danced with baskets and branches of service-berry bushes (No. 21), imitating the gathering of berries. The Carrier had both the Salmon dance and the Service-Berry dance.

Others impersonated moose, caribou, elk, and deer (Nos. 2-5). The persons acting dressed in the skins of these animals, with the scalp part hanging over their head and face. Some had antlers attached to the head and neck. Others assisted in the acting. The dancers went through all the

actions of the animal impersonated, imitating its feeding and fighting, hunting and snaring, chasing over lakes in canoes, and final capture or death.<sup>1</sup>

The dances of the Prairie Chicken (No. 16) and Ruffed Grouse (No. 14) were performed by both men and women, the dancers imitating the cries and all the actions of these birds. Each dance had a song of its own. The eastern Shuswap and Thompson Indians adopted the Prairie Chicken dance and song; and their women sometimes danced it at potlatches for amusement, the dancers being paid.

Another dance (No. 28), in which much swan's down was scattered about, — perhaps in imitation of snow, — was performed chiefly by hunters, who dressed as if they were travelling on snowshoes in cold weather. They danced in a circle, carrying their bows and arrows, and sang the Snow Song.

The performers in the Beaver dance (No. 7) wore masks of bark and head-bands of beaver-skin, having a beaver-tail in front and a number of tall feathers all around. The mask was painted with vertical red stripes. In other dances, called the Thunder (No. 18), Wind (No. 24), Rain (No. 25), Arrow (No. 27), and Frog (No. 20) dances, the performers wore head-bands of beaver-skin, without the tail. They used no masks, but had their faces painted in different ways. In one or two of these dances, arrows with very large stone heads were used, and the bows were covered with dentalium-shells. Feathers and scalps of red-headed woodpeckers were attached to the body and hair. In a few dances necklaces and belts of cedar or other bark dyed red were used by the dancers, while others wore necklaces of dentalia. Short bark whistles were sometimes used, and strings of fawn's hoofs were often worn around the ankles, knees, waist, wrists, elbows, and neck.

Among all the Shuswap bands of Fraser River, as far south as Alkali Lake or Dog Creek, were men who danced the Dog dance (No. 12). They formed a group by themselves, called the Tseka'ma, which name was also applied to their dances. The song of their dances was called the Tseka'ma Song. These people were also called Dogs, Crazy Dogs, Dog-Dancers, and Wolves. Their dance was sometimes called the Dog dance, or the Crazy dance, and their dance-song the Dog Song or Wolf Song. Their dance was generally opened by one man clad in wolf-skins, who sang the song and danced in a circle in the midst of the people; a chorus of the Dog Society, who were seated on a platform, joining in the song, and accompanying it

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<sup>1</sup> An old man told me that the members of the Moose, Caribou, Elk, Deer and Buffalo groups were the only ones who in their dances imitated the rutting of these animals. The people accustomed to these dances took these actions as a matter of course; but to bands of Shuswap unaccustomed to them they caused some, especially the young women, to be ashamed while some of the men thought this kind of pantomime was great amusement. An old Indian of Spences Bridge told me that he had seen one of these dances performed by a band of Williams Lake Indians who had come to the Thompson above Spences Bridge to buy fish, and who wintered there. The Thompson people were astonished at the successful imitation of the animals. They asked the Shuswap to perform the dance again, leaving out the representation of sexual acts in the rutting-season, as it made their women ashamed. The Shuswap repeated the dance later on, leaving out part of it, as directed.

with drums, beating of sticks, and shaking of rattles. The dancer soon became very excited, shook his head from side to side, and cried and acted like a dog or wolf. At last he became like a madman, and acted violently, hitting and scratching the spectators, throwing water on them, and breaking everything within reach. When he was at the height of his fury, another man dressed in wolf-skins appeared, leading a dog, and he also danced. Then the first dancer attacked the dog, tore it in pieces, and devoured it. Then the second dancer became excited, and joined the first one in devouring the dog. The chorus took up the excitement, and, leaving their places, the members danced behind the actors, each with a wolf-scalp on his head, the rest of the skin and tail hanging down behind. They flourished their batons, shook their rattles, and beat their drums fiercely, singing at the tops of their voices. Finally the spectators were drawn in, and joined in the dance, clapping their hands violently, and singing loudly. After a while the dance ceased and the singing subsided through sheer exhaustion. Meanwhile the Tsēka'ma all disappeared. Anything broken or destroyed during the performance had to be paid for by the people giving the dance.

Sometimes the Tsēka'ma danced the Dog dance differently. The people sat in a circle, leaving a large open space in the middle. The singers sat at one end, and commenced the Dog Song in a low key. Two quarters of raw venison were buried under the floor of the lodge, — one at one end, and another at the opposite end. Soon after the singing commenced, a man with a wolf-skin on his head appeared, leading another man dressed in skins, who represented a dog or wolf. The man began to sing, and led the supposed dog round the circle several times. The man acting like the dog became very fierce, and snapped at the people, sometimes biting them. His excitement increased, he took the scent of the venison, and finally located one of the quarters, which he dug up with his hands in the manner of a dog. He dragged it away and devoured it, attacking and biting any people who came near him. When he had finished, he looked very fierce, his face and hands being covered with blood. In his eagerness to attack and bite the people, he dragged the man around who was holding him. At last he found the other quarter of venison; and when he was devouring it, he was at the height of his frenzy. Then a number of women danced opposite him, singing the Dog or Wolf Song. Gradually he calmed down, and after a couple of hours he acted again like a sane person. He was then surrounded by his friends, who kept him in their midst as they danced, and he disappeared with them amid much shouting and clapping of hands. The Carrier of Fraser River, and the Chilcotin, had these same dances.

Some Tsēka'ma, often called Cannibals (No. 22), had a dance sometimes called Corpse or Ghost dance (No. 23). They were supposed to have great power over the dead, and trained themselves in graveyards. In the perform-

ance a man was introduced, wearing a mask of white birch-bark (or of wood painted white) painted black at the eyebrows and mouth, and with shaggy black hair, which hung down over the face. After dancing a while, he vomited blood and fell down, apparently dead. The men formed a circle around him and sang the Cannibal or Corpse Song, while the women formed another circle on the outside. They danced in circles round him, the women moving in a direction opposite to that of the men. When the dance was at its height, the dancer revived and arose.

Another Tsëka'ma dance, sometimes called the Graveyard dance, was performed when people erected large carved monuments at graves. In later days it was performed when people conveyed heavy logs to graveyards, which were to be used for the bottom logs or sills of fences. A large tree was felled and cut off ten or more axe-handles in length, and hewed to a diameter of about 45 cm. square. If the ponies could not haul it, then this dance was performed to give the people strength to carry it. The Dog dance and song were used, which excited the people, and gave them extraordinary strength for the time being. Drums were brought, the people sang, and soon they snatched up the log and marched away with it. Before long the excitement increased, and they danced with the log, sometimes raising it above them. Some men, generally from one to four in number, would leap on top of the log and dance on it, or run back and forth on it, as it was carried along. The log was conveyed to the houses first, where other people generally joined the dancers; and then it was carried to the graveyard, where it was deposited, and where the dance stopped. This dance was always performed at night, and it is not many years since it went out of use among the Alkali Lake and Canim Lake bands.

It seems certain that the whole system outlined above was originally foreign to the Shuswap tribe, and has been introduced from the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Lillooet tribes, who themselves have borrowed these customs from their neighbors of the coast, — the Carrier chiefly from the Tsimshian, the Chilcotin mainly from the Bella Coola, and the Lillooet principally from the Squamish. The system as adopted by the Shuswap shows diverse elements, and seems to have reached them first about the beginning of the last century, gradually spreading from the Soda Creek band and the Cañon division, and at a later date from the Pavilion band, until by 1855 or thereabouts it had embraced almost all the western Shuswap. Although the method of dividing the people into three classes originated at an earlier date than the crest groups and societies, still I think there is no doubt of its being derived from the same sources. Probably the original families of each band, perhaps only the chief and relatives, became the nobility; while all accessions to the band were classed as common people, without any rights to land or fisheries. Owing to the comparatively recent introduction of the



whole system in most bands, the decimation of the people by small-pox in the sixties, and the introduction at the same time of a new social system through the settlement of the country by the whites and the arrival of missionaries, these customs soon dropped out of use, and at the present day very little is remembered about them. In fact, the information is now so meagre that it is very difficult to draw exact conclusions regarding the real status, privileges, and ceremonies of any of the various classes, crest groups, and societies, some informants having very vague ideas regarding the differences between these groups.

*Chiefs.* — It is difficult to state whether the chiefs were heads of bands or leaders of crest groups. It seems probable that each crest group had a chief, and not each band. In some places both may have existed. Chiefs were hereditary, as among the rest of the tribe.

Among some of the western Shuswap, women occasionally became chiefs of bands, when there were no male heirs to fill the position. Then the woman's son became the next following chief.

*Slaves.* — The children of a slave woman, if their father was noble, became noble also; and children of a noble woman by a slave father were also noble from birth, but instances of slave men becoming husbands of noble women were exceedingly rare. One or two instances, however, are on record.

*Names.* — Names were the same as among other Shuswap, and also belonged to families. Some people, at least, had additional names, which belonged to the crest group; and some of these are asserted to have been of Chilcotin origin. At dances the performers were for the time being called by the same name as their crest or the animal they represented; and at potlatches the group donating and the group receiving were both called by their crests, collectively and individually.

Personal property was divided among the members of the deceased's crest group, the relatives receiving the largest share. If a person left only a little property, it was divided among the relatives only. Personal ownership in land did not exist. Fishing-sites belonged to the crest group. All land and whatever grew upon it, all hunting-grounds with the game thereon, and all rivers and lakes with the fish therein, belonged to the nobility; and among the Cañon division all trading-privileges also belonged to this class. The land, with the waters pertaining thereto, was divided among the various bands, although their hunting-grounds were not in all cases well defined. The hunting-territory, root-digging grounds, berrying-resorts, and camping-places in the mountains of each band belonged to the nobility of the band in common, but the trapping-grounds and fishing-places were divided among the crest groups of the nobility of each band. Apparently some of the principal village sites were also divided among them; or, at least in some instances, the land was divided so that each crest group had its habitations and

graveyards on its own grounds. In other cases it appears that members of different crest groups dwelt in the same village, and buried in the same graveyard, but members of different crest groups did not live in the same house.

Chiefs or members of noble crest groups collected rents from common people and strangers for the privilege of fishing and trapping on their grounds. In cases where they trapped or fished without permission, they were fined or driven off. Tolls were also collected on bridges by the crest groups that had erected them. In a great many places, however, the more distant hunting-grounds and root-digging and berrying places were looked upon as tribal property; and the nobility of the bands either did not claim them, or, being unable to enforce their claim, had decided to leave them as common property. Tithes or rents were generally paid in skins, dried fish, and oil.

*Potlatches.* — Potlatches were very common among the western Shuswap, especially among the Cañon division, where they were often on a very large scale. They were the same, or almost the same, as those customary recently among the Thompson tribe, and were generally given by one crest group to another. Many were given by Shuswap to Chilcotin and Carrier, and *vice versa*. The crest group giving the potlatch erected a large lodge for the purpose, and exhibited a large carved image of their crest in front of or on the top of the lodge. The guests, on their arrival, made an offering or present of many articles to it, which were appropriated by their hosts. Any guest or stranger present who mentioned the name of the crest publicly during any day of the potlatch had to make a present of something valuable to it. Just after the giving-away of each article a special short song was sung by a chorus of members of the party potlatching, which was taken up by a chorus of the party receiving the presents, and joined in by most of the people assembled. It was accompanied with loud beating of drums and shaking of rattles. This song was only sung when gifts were exchanged. Another special song was sung when the people were about to be feasted. It was commenced as soon as the waiters were seen carrying in the food. The party receiving gifts had to return them in equal or slightly increased value at a future date. •

## XI. — BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH.

PREGNANCY. — The restrictions on a pregnant woman and her husband were not so many as among the Thompson Indians. A pregnant woman was not allowed to sleep long; both she and her husband had to rise early. She had to work steadily, especially at light work, and must not sit down too often or too long. She should walk around frequently, but not to make herself too tired. She should avoid running and jumping, and ought not to lift or carry very heavy burdens. She should feel moderately tired every night. She and her husband must bathe often. She must not touch nor look at black bear, nor pass near a bear which has been killed. She must not eat any fresh flesh of bird, mammal, or fish (excepting salmon), until at least a day old. She should eat often and a little at a time. She ought to drink plenty of clear running water morning and evening.

BIRTH. — Midwives were in demand at child-birth, and were paid a dressed deer-skin for their services. Wealthy people paid them a horse. If a child does not breathe when born, the midwife blows in its ears and on the top of its head to revive it. Shortly after birth, the midwife inserts her finger in the child's mouth to give it the proper form, and presses against the palate to shove out the nose. Then she pulls and pinches the latter and massages the face, so that all the features may become shapely in after years. The navel-string is cut with an ordinary sharp knife. In former days midwives used thin arrow-stone knives for this purpose. The navel-string was tied with a soft thread of Indian-hemp bark. The piece outside the ligature was preserved by some people and sewed in a little pouch, which was attached to the head of the cradle or worn around the neck. This custom was evidently borrowed from eastern tribes. Some people, especially of the western bands, did not preserve it. The infant was bathed in warm water shortly after birth, and afterwards in tepid water once a day, by most people, until able to walk. The after-birth was always hung up in a tree. A woman, after parturition, drank a decoction of mountain-juniper for several days. Some drank instead a decoction of devil's club. Abortion was rarely practised. It was effected by drinking decoctions of certain herbs. The day after the birth of a child the father gave a feast to all the neighbors.

CHILDHOOD. — The most common carriers were made of birch-bark in the manner of those of the Upper Lillooet and Thompson Indians. Among the western bands this was the only kind used. The rims of all cradles

were strengthened with a hoop of willow around the outside, and some had a hoop on the inside as well. The raised hoop across the head of the carrier was also made of willow, but maple and other woods were sometimes used. An extra piece of thick bark was sewed to the carrier on the inside near the head. Most cradles were entirely covered with buckskin, usually dyed red, which was sewed on to the bark. The covering was wider than the carrier, and a flap was left free on each side, extending nearly the full length, and the two flaps folding together over the top of the infant were laced together with strings. Conduits were not used for cradles by all people. A good many, however, used them for male children, but very seldom for female children. All were made of birch-bark, generally with a padding of buckskin at the end next the infant. They are seldom used nowadays. The inside of the carrier, at the foot, was padded with rabbit-skins, which were considered best and softest for the child's feet. The padding for the body was made of lynx-skin; and the head padding, or pillow, of musquash-skins. The child was wrapped in a small soft lynx-skin robe, and the covering over the top of the cradle was generally composed of some dressed marmot-skins sewed together. Many people of the Shuswap

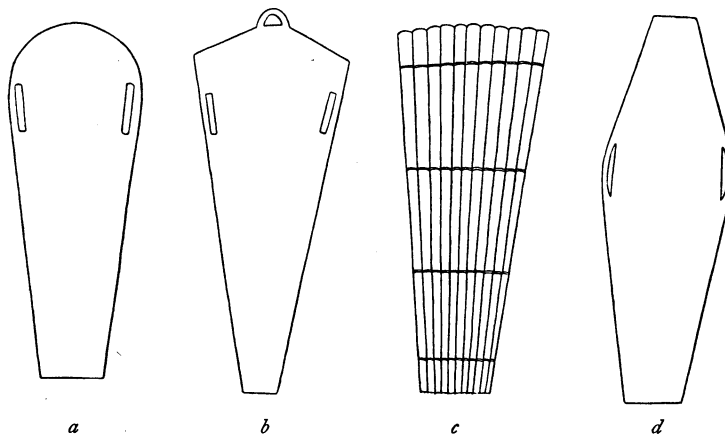


Fig. 251. Cradle-Boards.

Lake, Kamloops, and North Thompson divisions, used board carriers similar to some of the styles in vogue among the Upper Thompson tribe and the Okanagon. On the North Thompson and among some other bands they were more common than those made of birch-bark. A few people of the Bonaparte and Lake divisions also used them. The most common kind had a round, wide head, and slits in the sides (Fig. 251);<sup>1</sup> but they were rarely provided with projecting head-pieces. When a board could not be obtained easily, they were made of rods woven together with bark twine (Fig. 251, c). Two or three slightly different shapes were used. Most of them were covered with dressed skin, generally dyed red or yellow, the flaps of which were brought together in front and laced over the infant. At the present day board carriers are very seldom used.

Buckskin sacks laced in front were also used for carrying infants, with

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 281, a, p. 307.

or without the board carrier. Carriers for twins were often made of rawhide. Carrier sacks were sometimes fitted with conduits. When dressed skin was scarce, cradles of birch-bark and board were not covered. The sack containing the child was attached to the board by means of a belt, which passed through loops on the sides;<sup>1</sup> or a small piece of buckskin was sewed across the inside of the board (near the middle) or around the outside or back of the board, the ends of which were brought together and laced in front. A new cradle and a new sack or robe were made for each child. The old cradles were thrown away or suspended on trees.

Heads of children were never pressed or deformed in any way. The custom of fostering children was practised to some extent. The ordeal of whipping, exactly as among the Thompson tribe, was universal.<sup>2</sup>

TWINS. — Twins were considered great "mystery," and the regulations regarding them were much the same as among the Thompson Indians. The woman's husband was the real father of twins; but the foetus was divided, or became two creations, through the influence of the black bear, grisly bear, or deer. The mother was frequently visited by one of these animals in her dreams, or she repeatedly dreamed of their young, and thus she had twins. Whichever animal she dreamed about became the protector for life, the manitou, of her children. A woman was considered lucky to have twins, for she thus gained powerful manitous for her children before their birth. Twins who had the deer for protector were always successful in hunting; and, in like manner, those who had the grisly bear for protector could always find bears and kill them easily. The bear never became angry nor tried to hurt them. Most twins were under the protection of the black bear. A good many had the grisly bear for protector, and a lesser number the deer. So strong was the influence of the black bear believed to be, that a twin having that as a protector was thought to know at once when a black bear was killed, and immediately uttered cries like that animal. On the birth of twins, the parents shifted camp to the woods, some distance away from other people, even if it were mid-winter. Twins were not carried around so much as other children, one of the parents generally remaining at home with them. However, when it was necessary to transport them, carriers of black bear, grisly, or deer hide, were used, according to the animal which was their protector. If the right kind of hide could not be obtained, birch-bark cradles were used. Twins were not allowed near people for four years. During this time the father washed them with fir-branches every day. If the father happened to die, the mother washed them. Young men were not engaged for the purpose, at least among the western Shuswap.

Twins were believed to be endowed with powers over the elements,

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 281, a, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 307 and 308.

especially over rain and snow. If a twin bathed in a lake or stream, it would rain. Their ordinary method of washing was by dipping fir-branches in a basket full of water, and by pouring the water over themselves with a dipper.

The next child born after twins was also considered "mystery," for some of the influences which controlled the twins still remained in the womb of the mother. For this reason the next child was kept apart and washed with fir-branches, in the manner of twins, for one year or less. During this time the family lived in a conical lodge made of fir-branches.

PUBERTY. — When a girl had her first menses, she was considered "mystery," and had to live in a small lodge apart from the people. The lodge was conical in shape, and made of fir-branches placed very thickly together, or of mats. Her grandmother, mother, or aunt attended to her. For the first four days she had to fast; and afterwards for one year she trained herself in the same manner as pubescent girls of the Thompson tribe.<sup>1</sup> She remained in her lodge all day, engaged in practising the various arts and industries required of her in future years, her parent or attendant instructing her. In this way she made many miniature bags, mats, and baskets of different kinds; did sewing and embroidery; manufactured thread, twine, etc.; and, in fact, made a beginning at almost all kinds of woman's work, so that she might be fitted to fill a useful place in the family, and become a valuable wife. Everything she made was hung up in trees near her lodge, alongside a frequented trail, or at the crossing of two trails. She wandered abroad at dusk, and spent every night in the mountains roaming about, exercising herself and praying. About daybreak she bathed in running water, washing herself with fir-branches; and praying to the Day Dawn. She had to be back in her lodge before it was properly daylight. If she had wandered far and daylight overtook her, so that she might possibly meet people on her way home, she made a veil of fir-branches to hide herself; for no one, excepting her instructor or nearest relatives, was supposed to see her face during her training. Sometimes her male relatives never saw her during the whole time. After arriving at the lodge, her mother or attendant gave her some breakfast, after which she had a rest. She was not allowed to sleep much, and as a rule was not allowed to keep supplies of food in her lodge, for fear that she might over-eat. Some girls went out in the evening, and again in the early morning, while the greater part of the night they spent in the lodge sleeping. While out at night, girls practised running, climbing, carrying burdens, digging trenches, the last so that in after years they might be expert at root-digging. Each morning they brought home a small load of fresh fir-brush or fire-wood to their lodge. A pubescent girl, during

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 311—316.

her training, wore a large robe, which was painted red on the breast and sides, and her hair was done up in a knot at each ear. It seems that among the North Thompson and Bonaparte people some girls painted their faces all red, and sometimes part of their bodies as well. Some of the Kamloops girls painted only their cheeks. Girls of the western bands, and a great many throughout the other divisions, did not paint the face at all.

The girl wore a head-band made from the inside bark of the willow; but in some places cedar-bark was used instead, the material, when not at hand, being procured from the North Thompson and Lillooet people. She was provided with a wooden comb, a bark wiper, a scratcher, a drinking-tube and whistle of bone,<sup>1</sup> all of which she wore attached to a thong around her neck. Some girls wore the comb stuck in one knot of the hair, and the scratcher in the other. Some scratchers were two-pronged and made of wood. The girl also carried a small birch-bark basket provided with a thong for carrying it, and often having a handle of wood besides. To the rim of the basket were attached many buckskin thongs, on which dentalium-shells were threaded. Inside her lodge she suspended grass, bark, rushes, and other materials that she had gathered for the making of miniatures; strings for threading seeds on, that she might become an adept at stringing roots; fir-branches, from which she plucked the needles in her spare time, that she might learn to move her fingers nimbly; and pieces of skin, on which she practised tanning and dressing.

Girls placed little heaps of dry fir-needles on their wrists and arms, to which they set fire, meanwhile praying that they might be enabled to withstand pain of all kinds, but especially that of child-birth. They generally burned themselves in from two to four places, — as a rule, on both wrists and on the fore-part of each arm. Many families watched their girls from childhood until marriage. It seems, however, that in most bands there was very little immorality among young people before the coming of the whites.

Lads commenced their training when the voice changed, or when they commenced to dream of women, arrows, and canoes. Most boys did not live apart from the people, but separated themselves at irregular intervals, extending from two or three days to upwards of as many weeks at a time. During their absence they trained themselves with the object of obtaining a manitou and of acquiring the requisite knowledge for the profession they had chosen, such as that of the gambler, shaman, warrior, hunter, etc. Their training continued until they had accomplished their object, — from one to upwards of eight or ten years. During their first period of seclusion they fasted as long as they could, generally from four to ten days. Some lads, especially among the western bands, built their sweat-houses in some wild or

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<sup>1</sup> These were the same as those of the Thompson Indians (see vol. I of this series, Figs. 282—285, pp. 312—314).

lonely spot near their home, to which they repaired almost every evening, and after sweating and training during the night they returned home after daylight. Among the Dog Creek band a noted place for youths dancing and praying was in a large cave in the cliffs on the north side of the creek, a little above the present Dog Creek village.

Twins did not train to acquire manitous, as they had them already. It seems that sweat-houses had no special doors, nor were they erected in reference to the four quarters or to sunrise. Young men supplicated the Day Dawn, but some also prayed occasionally to the Earth, the Sun, and the Darkness (or Night). Among the western bands many addressed themselves directly to animals, birds, weapons, and other material objects, and rarely supplicated the Day Dawn, etc.

A young man, when training, wore a painted robe and a head-band of willow-bark, elæagnus-bark, or cedar-bark. Some of the last were bought ready-made from the Lillooet and Chilcotin. Many lads in some bands wore no head-bands; and the face was not painted, excepting occasionally among the southern bands. Every night, or during the day, part of the time was spent in running, jumping, and in many kinds of gymnastics, and at shooting with arrows. The hollow end of a deer's or elk's bone was shot at, as among the Thompson Indians, and lads ran down mountain-sides trying to keep up with bowlders they had started from the top. They also climbed mountains in the evening, trying to overtake the ascending shadow as the sun set.

The largest feathers of all birds killed by a lad during training were plucked out and hung up near his sweat-house, or suspended from trees near a trail. Fir-branches at washing-places were piled up in the same way as among the Thompson people. Scratchers, drinking-tubes, and combs like those of the girls were used. Lads purged themselves by drinking decoctions of soapberry-bush, barberry-bush, and other medicines, and also made themselves vomit by running willow-twigs down their throats. They tied long fir-branches to their feet, or made rough snowshoes of fir-branches and ran in shallow water with them on, praying to the Day Dawn that in after years their limbs might be strong and tireless when they walked on snowshoes, and that their shoes might not sink deep into the snow. A lad training did not eat fat; for it would make him heavy, make it difficult to vomit, and stop him from dreaming. He did not eat any fresh fish, excepting the tail-part. He ate marrow from old bones to make himself strong and fleet of foot. He also rubbed all over his body a white fungus which grows on trees, to give it strength and suppleness. Almost all the lads of the tribe cut their bodies at some time during their period of training. This formed an important part of the training of warriors, hunters, and runners.

I may here state, that although almost every man of the tribe was both



a hunter and a fisherman, still there were certain men who trained with the special object of being hunters; and these men excelled, or were thought to excel, others.

The novice ran until quite hot, and then cut the points of his eight fingers with a sharp arrow-stone, after which he sweat-bathed. Others usually cut four half-circles or four straight lines, not very deep, on the outside of each leg, between the ankle and the knee, with a stone knife or dagger, afterwards piercing the inside of each leg in four places between the ankle and the knee with the point of a dagger, or, instead, cutting four dot-like cuts or four crosses. He made these cuts in very cold, clear water, and afterwards sweat-bathed. Meanwhile he prayed that he might be enabled to withstand pain stoically and without fear, and that, if wounded, his wounds might heal quickly. The cutting of the finger-tips was supposed to let out all bad blood. Besides the above, lads training to be warriors slashed their sides and breast, — generally four cuts on each side, and from four to eight on the breast. Those training to be gamblers also cut the point of their tongue, and some of them swallowed the blood. This was supposed to make them lucky.

Both girls and boys were carefully watched from childhood, and not allowed to smoke or have sexual connection until after their periods of training. To indulge in the latter during their training would have a disastrous effect on their future, would render of no avail the training they had undergone, and would make it impossible to obtain a manitou or become proficient in "mystery" for a very long time. It would also make them heavy-footed, slow, and short-winded in after years.

The majority of both boys and girls wore strings of dew-claws of fawns on some part of their persons during their training, most commonly around the knees or ankles. Some carried bunches of them in their hands, and used them as rattles when passing any awe-inspiring or uncanny places in the mountains.

Among the western and perhaps other bands, fires were not lighted on mountain-tops by boys and girls.

Both boys and girls gathered lice, which they enclosed in a horse-tail reed, and set adrift on a stream, at the same time praying to the Day Dawn that in after years they might have no lice. This was done on four consecutive mornings.

All pubescent lads and some girls made pictures with paint on rocks during the middle or toward the end of their training-period. Most of these pictures were representations of objects seen in their dreams, and the painting of them was supposed to hasten the attainment of a person's manitou or other desires (Fig. 252).

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS. — The marriage-customs require no extended notice, as they were just the same as those in vogue among the Thompson

Indians.<sup>1</sup> Marriage by presents and marriage by betrothal were the most common and more honorable methods. Marriage by claiming or touching during the religious or ghost dance was also in vogue. As a rule, the woman took up her abode among her husband's people; but a compromise existed, as shown by the conducting-ceremonies, which were exactly the same as among the Thompson tribe.<sup>2</sup> As among the latter, blood-relations did not marry, not even second-cousins. There were no other restrictions, excepting in the western Shuswap bands, where it seems a person could not marry a

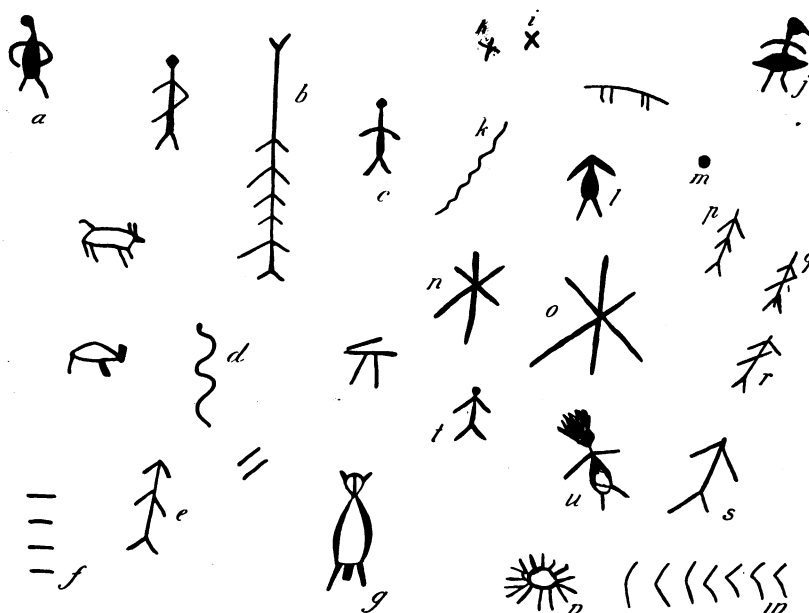


Fig. 252. Group *a-f*, Rock-Paintings on Big Bear Creek; *g*, Carving on the Bark of a Cottonwood-Tree; Group *h-w*, Rock-Paintings in a Cave near Dog Creek.

*a*, Dancer; *b*, Fir-branch; *c*, Person; *d*, Snake; *e*, Fir-branch; *f*, Tattoo-marks.

*h, i*, Cross-trails; *j*, Rough cross; *k*, Snake; *l*, Man with mask of fir-branches; *m*, Star; *n, o*, Cross-trail with upright stick; *p*, Fir-branch; *q, r*, Fir-branch with crossing stick; *s*, Fir-branch; *t*, Person; *u*, Man with head-dress of eagle-feathers; *v*, Sun; *w*, Ribs.

member of his own crest group. Nobles also generally married within their class; but sometimes they married common people of their band, or untitled strangers.

When a man's wife died, he was supposed to seek another wife from among her sisters or cousins. Levirate prevailed in a strict manner, as among the Thompson people.<sup>3</sup> If a man did not wish to take to wife his brother's widow, he called all the people together, and said, "I wish you all to know that I do not take my brother's widow to wife, and I herewith give her to my friend (mentioning his name), who will henceforth be the same to

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 321, 322 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 325.

me as my deceased brother was. Now it will be the same as if my brother were alive. My friend (mentioning his name) and I will henceforth be the same as brothers until one of us dies." The man then gave a feast to the people, and the widow took her place with the husband chosen, or he with her. As a rule, the woman's consent to the arrangement was asked beforehand.

Polygamy flourished. At the present day all marriages conform to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

CUSTOMS RELATING TO WOMEN. — The customs regarding women were the same as existed among the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> The only fresh meat a menstruating woman might eat was flesh of the female mountain-sheep. Women at no time ate the head-parts of any animals; and but few men ate them, except they were shamans. When an animal was killed, the head and "mystery" parts — such as the heart and kidney — were generally given to the nearest shaman, or to a shaman who was a relative of the hunter. Men never smoked women's pipes. Women, when going for wood or water, never passed the part of the lodge where men's heads were when they slept. As a punishment for adultery, or suspected adultery, a wife's hair was cut off on one side of her head by her husband.

BURIAL CUSTOMS. — The burial customs of the Shuswap were almost the same as those of the Thompson tribe. The body was laid out and buried in the same manner, and the customs and ceremonies connected therewith were also the same.<sup>2</sup> Burials were generally made near villages, on the edges of terraces, in low side-hills, and in sandy knolls. As far as known, they were never made in caves or rock-slides. Relatives were buried together as much as possible. Poor people and old people who had no powerful relatives were not buried. Their bodies were carried away some distance and deposited on the ground, or occasionally on a rough scaffold of poles and brush. The remains were then covered with a mat, and piled over with brush and sticks. Frequently they were covered with bark and stones, where these were handy. The bodies of warriors dying on the war-path or in a strange country were generally burned, so that the enemy could not sport with them. Warriors who were seriously or mortally wounded sometimes chose to be burned alive.<sup>3</sup> The warrior was placed on the top of the pyre, and sang his war-song until enveloped by the flames. As among the Thompson tribe, many things were interred with the body, such as gambling-sticks, knives, weapons of all kinds, pipes, dentalia, etc. All moccasins worn by the deceased were buried with the body, for any one who used them would get sick or die. Slaves were sometimes killed and buried with the dead. Most graves had poles erected over them, to which were attached some of the deceased's property, and offerings from friends, consisting of a

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 326, 327.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 327, 328.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 554.

buckskin, old gun, etc. The best or favorite dog of the deceased was killed at the grave, and the body hung up on a pole or to a tree near by. The tails of all the horses killed and eaten at the funeral feast were also hung on the grave-pole. If a man possessed a canoe at his death, it was generally broken up. Canoes were never drawn up and overturned on the grave, and grave-effigies were unknown. Tents were seldom erected over graves, but sometimes conical and oblong lodges of poles were erected over single burials and groups of graves of wealthy people. Oblong and circular fences of logs, and poles, were erected around many graves, especially in the west. It has been mentioned before that among the Cañon division, and to a lesser extent among other western bands, what appears to have been carved figures of the crest were erected at graves.

At the present day the Shuswap graveyards are very plain, each grave being surrounded by a picket fence painted white, or white and black, and surmounted by a plain wooden cross at each grave.

Simon Fraser, in 1808, said of Shuswap graves, "These Indians do not burn their dead, but bury them in large tombs, which are of a conical form, about twenty feet diameter, and composed of coarse timber."<sup>1</sup>

Nursing infants were never buried alive with the mother.

As among the Thompson, wealthy people took up the bones of their relatives every few years, and reburied them in new blankets or robes. Fresh grave-offerings were suspended on the grave-pole at the same time, and a feast was given to all the people who came to witness the ceremony. The customs regarding the people who handled corpses were the same as obtained among the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup>

There were very few restrictions on widows and widowers. They had to sleep on a bed of fir-branches, without robes underneath them, and had to wash every morning at some stream, rubbing their bodies, and especially their eyes, with fir-branches. Children whose parents had died had to do the same. No fir or rose-bush twigs were worn, nor special head-bands, neither did they wander around at night and supplicate the Day Dawn. Buckskin thongs around neck and wrists were not used by the western Shuswap, but in all parts of the tribe a thong was worn round the right ankle after the death of a parent, and orphan children generally wore one around each ankle. Orphans had to drink salmon-oil, so that they might not become thin.

The period of mourning lasted one year. Mourners must not eat fresh meat or fresh fish of any kind, excepting salmon, else the people would have bad luck hunting and fishing. The funeral feast, or "paying-off" ceremony, was the same as among the Thompson Indians.<sup>3</sup> At a person's death

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<sup>1</sup> See Fraser in Masson, *Les Bourgeois*, etc., p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 334.

no strings of hoofs were used to keep away the ghost, and no miniature deer were shot at, neither were children made to jump over their parent's corpse, as among the Thompson people. Mourners cut their hair as among the latter tribe. If a widower was troubled by his deceased wife's ghost appearing to him, or if he had frequent bad dreams regarding her, he heated stones, covered them with earth, and spread sage-twigs thickly on the top. On this he slept, and the ghost troubled him no more. If a widower were to hunt within too short a time after his wife's death, he would be attacked by bears. The custom of warriors killing an enemy whenever a son, brother, or father died, was found among many southern and western bands. The victim seems to have been considered as an offering to the dead relative.

## XII. — RELIGION.

CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD. — The former Shuswap beliefs are rapidly changing, under the influence of education, and association with the whites, and the teaching of the missionaries. I obtained the following old beliefs regarding their conception of the world, almost all of which are similar to those entertained by the Thompson Indians.

The earth is believed by some to be circular, while others think that it is nearly square. It is surrounded by lakes, to which the edges of the sky descend on all sides. At the beginning the earth was very small, but it gradually became larger, emerging more and more from the waters.

Other people personify the earth, and believe that it controls the elements and seasons, thus enabling people, animals, birds, fishes, and plants to live. Some Indians believe that the earth gradually increases in size, and is still growing. They expect it to die some time in the distant future. When the Earth-Spirit is too hot, he makes the weather cool; or, in other words, the Earth, being an animated being, feels the heat, and cools himself. He tires of being covered with snow, and makes the weather warm, and the snow melts. When dry, he makes rain come. When he shakes himself, there is an earthquake.

Some of the present features of the earth were made by transformers during the mythological age. The people who inhabited the earth during this period partook of the characteristics of both men and animals. They were called *speta'kuł*. Some were cannibals.

At that period many kinds of animals, birds, and fishes, did not exist, nor many kinds of trees, plants, and berries. The earth was much troubled with great winds, fires, and floods.

In those days the Old-One, a personage to be described presently, sent Coyote to travel over the world and put it to rights. He was gifted with magical power beyond that of all the other mythological beings, and had great knowledge and cunning; yet often he proved himself to be selfish, lazy, and vain, doing many foolish and bad tricks. In fact, he was fond of amusing himself and playing tricks on other people. Nevertheless he did a great deal of work which benefited people, and did away with many evil beings. Although Coyote was a long time on earth and travelled all over it, yet he left much of his work undone. Probably his greatest work was the introducing of salmon into the rivers, and the making of fishing-places. All the best fishing-places on the large rivers were made by him. Another

work that he accomplished was the creation of the seasons and of day and night. He did many wonderful things along North and South Thompson and Fraser Rivers, and all over the Shuswap country. When the time came for him to leave the earth, he disappeared, and no one knows where he went. It is certain that he did not die; and it is expected that he will come back some day, and do wonders on earth again. Many Indians claim that Coyote disappeared towards the east, and that from that direction he will re-appear.

Other transformers were Ca'wa or Sa'memp, Kokwe'lahäit, and Łeē'sa. Ca'wa taught the people various arts; Kokwe'lahäit and Łeē'sa rid the world of many evil beings who preyed on the people.

The Old-One<sup>1</sup> was the chief of the ancient world, and finished the work of Coyote and other transformers, leaving the earth in the way we see it at present. He travelled in the form of an old man, but sometimes he changed his appearance. He was all-powerful in magic, and always able to do what he took in hand. He never acted the fool, like Coyote. Whenever he played any tricks, they resulted in good. When he appeared, no one knew who he was; and he travelled rapidly over the country, performing much more work than Coyote, in much less time. He made transformations wherever he thought they were required. He flattened the land in some places, and raised it in other places. Where it was too dry, he made lakes; and where there was too much water, he made it dry. He put the sun and moon in their proper positions, and made rain and snow to fall at the proper seasons. Some say there was no rain in the world until he caused it to come. He also regulated the winds, telling them the proper directions from which to blow, and when to be calm. He introduced trout into many of the streams and lakes, and ordered salmon to ascend new rivers. He made many new kinds of trees, bushes, and plants to grow in places where they were required. He introduced certain kinds of animals, such as the deer, elk, bear, and hare, and told them to multiply. Before that, they had lived all together in their own worlds, underneath the ground. He told the people to be respectful to them, use them properly, and not make them angry. At that time the people were all poor and foolish, and he taught them what kinds of animals, fishes, and roots to eat. He also taught them many methods of catching, procuring, and preserving food, and how to make certain tools and weapons. He introduced sweat-bathing and smoking, and taught the people how to make baskets, snowshoes, and canoes. He transformed the remaining bad people into animals, birds, fishes, and rocks. Where he found too many people in one place, he told them to move, and live in other places. He led the different tribes into the countries which they now inhabit, and gave them the languages they were to speak.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson Indians*, pp. 48 et seq.

The present Indian tribes are therefore descendants of the good people of the mythical period; but, as they were not all equally good, therefore we find some people better than others at the present day. When the Old-One had finished his work, he disappeared towards the east, and no one knows what became of him. Some say he went to the sky, where he now watches the earth, and makes rain and snow; others think he became chief of the dead, and lives in the spirit-land, whence he sometimes sends messages. The Indians expect him to return some day, and make the world better even than it is. It is said, Coyote may precede or accompany him. Many boulders, rocks, and cliffs are pointed out as transformed people or animals of the mythological period.

The conception of thunder is the same as among the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> The thunder-bird is large and black, and covered with down or short downy feathers. Some part of its body — according to many, its head — is bright red.

The sun, moon, stars, rainbow, and aurora are transformed people of the mythological age. The shadow which ascends the mountains as the sun sets is said to be a man called Sexkwa'lpem. This was discovered by a lad who had many times at evening climbed the mountains in an endeavor to pass the shadow and reach the receding sunlight. One day he was successful, and was surprised to overtake an old man climbing with the aid of a staff, who said to him, "Ah! you have long wanted to find me. Well, now you see me. I am Sexkwa'lpem, whom you have sought to overtake so often. Tell no one that you saw me." For many years the lad kept silence, but at last thought he might divulge what he had seen. After he had told the story, he expired.

All the stars have practically the same names as among the Thompson people.<sup>2</sup> Those without names are believed to be members of a war-party of earthly people who were slaughtered by the sky people and transformed into stars. The Milky Way is called "trail of the dead," and is said to have been a dusty trail used by dead people, which was transformed as we see it now.

Some people believe that two groups of people, possessed of much magic, control the warm and cold winds. They live at the extreme south and extreme north of the earth. The north people send cold winds against the people of the south; and the latter send warm winds against the people of the north, who dislike heat. Therefore south winds are always warm, and north winds cold. The people keep the winds in bags in their houses. When the people of the south feel a cold wind blowing, they say, "The north people wish to kill us," and they open one of their bags containing wind of the

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 341 and 342.



required heat, and let it blow until the atmosphere becomes quite warm. If they squeeze the bag, the wind blows more strongly; and if they squeeze hard, it blows a gale.

The Chinook wind was kept in a bag by the people of the south. The Fox and Hare stole the bag and liberated the wind, so that all people might be benefited. The people of the south, in revenge, tried to burn the world by a great fire, which spread over nearly all the earth. The latter was flooded — some say by the musk-rat or beaver — to drown the fire, and many people perished by either flood or fire.

It is said that at first the earth was exposed to gales of winds, to cold, heat, and drought. Eventually the wind was snared by a person named Sna'naz, and induced to moderate its strength.

Some people say that the house of the wind is situated in high mountains, near the head of Bridge River, where there are many caves and hollow rocks. When any one treads near this place, the wind becomes strong and a whirlwind passes over the mountain-tops, or it thunders and rains.

Spirits — the land and water mysteries — inhabit many places, most of which are harmful. The land mysteries live chiefly in mountain-peaks and caves; and the water mysteries, in certain lakes, especially those having no outlets, and in waterfalls, bogs, and springs in the forest, particularly those surrounded by moss and reeds. Certain marshes and muskegs also have spirits. Ancient rock-paintings have mysterious powers, and may hide and show themselves at will. They are supposed to have been made by people long ago; but through the agency of the dead, or by the supernatural influence remaining in them, they are in a manner spiritualized. Some people think they were made by the spirits of the place or by beings of the mythological age.

At a place called Sulta'tkwa, opposite Peq, on Riskie Creek, there is a spring on the top of a rock. Here the people sometimes took a light pole, and, after painting pictures on one end, pushed it into the spring. A few days afterwards the pole would be found thrown out by the water on the other side of Fraser River. A long time ago this spring is said to have sent out intermittent spouts of water. Young men used to sleep here and train themselves.

At another place below Chimney Creek there is a hole in the ground, and the noise of flowing water can be heard far below. A stick thrown into the hole will be found on the opposite side of the Fraser in the morning. These places are also considered to be full of mysterious power.

The spirits residing in some parts of the mountains are kindly disposed, and do not dislike having people "walk around on them." In these places visitors do not need to paint their faces or to make offerings. When they leave, "the mountains cause rain to fall" in those spots. They are then said

to be weeping because the people have departed, as a mother does on the departure of her children, or a wife when her husband leaves her.

In all parts of the Shuswap country, but particularly in the east, there are stories relating to the "water mysteries" of various lakes and ponds. These beings are more or less malign, but vary in character. Most of them are described as half human and half fish, or part animal and part fish. They cause storms on lakes, swamp canoes, and make rain fall when people fish. In certain places, when people see them, they die.

The Indians believe in a race of dwarfs which were at one time numerous in many parts of the country, but are said to be seldom seen now. They are about two feet tall, and gifted with great magic. Their women dress their hair in a knot at each ear, like pubescent girls; and the men tie theirs in a knot at the back of the head, in the manner of pubescent lads. They do not harm people, and are as wild as game.

A race of giants are believed to have been, until lately, quite numerous. They are great hunters and runners, and possessed of immense strength. The smallest ones are four or five times the height and strength of an ordinary man, while the largest are only comparable to trees. They are of a gray complexion; and probably on that account, and also because of their tallness, they are often called "bleached or gray trees." They are also called "burned trees," probably because at a distance they look all black. Their dress consists of cap, robe, belt, leggings, and moccasins, all of black-bear skin. It requires an entire medium-sized black-bear skin to make one of their moccasins. They are able to carry four large buck-deer on their backs at one time with the greatest ease, and it is said that one of them killed two black bears, and shoved them one into each side of his belt, as an ordinary man would do with two squirrels. They very rarely molested people, but sometimes stole fish, of which they are very fond.

Beings called tema'ut or temtemana'ut are said to be occasionally seen. They are described as very short, — from about four feet to four feet and a half tall, — with underset strong bodies, sometimes obese, and with heads of peculiar shape. They are said to be very wild, and to live in holes in the ground. They are believed to have no real language, but make jabbering noises. Once the Soda Creek people noticed their footprints at the mouth of Deep Creek, and found that they led to a number of holes in a slide near by, where there were many springs. They watched from above, and saw the tema'ut emerge from the holes at dusk, and repair to a shingly bank near the mouth of the creek, where they began to play. At daybreak they suddenly disappeared. One night the people surrounded them, and lay in wait. Just when the day began to break, they rushed on them as they were playing, and succeeded in capturing one girl. The others escaped, and never showed themselves at this place again. The girl was very wild and

could not talk. After a long time she became tame, and gradually learned how to speak. She married a Soda Creek man and had many descendants. They were all short, stout people, and partook of all her characteristics. They were superior, both physically and mentally, and all of them were great wrestlers.

The most general belief seems to have been that the land of souls was in the extreme south. When a soul left the earth, it travelled downwards along the streams or followed the great waters south, finally reaching the land of souls. Some people, however, believed that souls went to the country of the sunrise, and yet others thought they went to the sunset. Shamans claim that they have followed souls far to the south, but no Shuswap shaman has ever claimed to have reached the land of souls. Therefore people knew of that land, and the conditions of the souls therein, only from the words of prophets who had apparently died, and whose souls had been there, and who had returned to life. Some of these asserted that they did not recognize the direction or location of the trail they followed, but that they arrived at what appeared to be the land of sunrise, where the shades lived. Others declared that the trail they followed went over the sky (probably the Milky Way), at the far end of which lay the land of souls. Thus there may have been several trails leading to the spirit-world. It is said, however, that there is but one spirit-land, and that it must be somewhere beyond or at the edge of the world. The land of souls is described as always warm without being too hot, and the berries as always ripe. The ground is covered with grass always green, and there is a great profusion of sweet-smelling flowers of many colors. The appearance and climate of the country is much like the nicest parts of the high mountain-ranges in summer days; but without any flies or mosquitoes. When the people are hungry, they sing, and a deer falls down dead; they sing again, and it is cooked, ready to eat. When they have finished their meal, they sing again, and it becomes alive again. When they pick fruit and afterwards return to the bush, there are as many berries on it as before. There is no death, sickness, bad weather, cold; no fires or houses.

There is a belief that each species of animal has a world of its own. The entrance to the Black Bear world is situated in the Green Timber, not far from Bridge Creek. It is said to have been discovered by Indians more than once; and one man, after travelling a long way through a cave or passage in the earth, emerged to find himself in a country swarming with bears, and no signs of any other animals. The entrance to the Hare country is believed to be somewhere north of the Carrier country. The elk and buffalo also have underground worlds of their own. Some say that the entrance to these is in the Cree country. The entrances to these worlds are kept concealed, and are very hard to find, but some Indians have

discovered them. Generally the entrance is at the foot of some small hill. Similar beliefs are found among the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup>

PRAYERS AND OBSERVANCES. — The prayers and observances of the Shuswap were quite similar to those of the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup> People painted their faces and asked for good luck or good weather when approaching certain lakes and other parts of the higher plateaus and mountains. They also made offerings to peaks and to the genii of certain places. Among some bands the people would repair from time to time to the gaveyards, and pray to the dead not to harm them, but to help them. They said, "We are one people with you, and will join you soon. We will then be happy together." It seems that on those occasions they sometimes gave to the dead offerings of food and other things. So far, I have not heard of any custom like this among the neighboring tribes.

There was a feast of first-fruits at the commencement of each berrying-season, when the first fresh service-berries were eaten. The people, during the feast, had to eat all the berries that had been picked; otherwise they would be unlucky. If any were left over, there would be a poor crop next year. In some places the chief prayed over the berries, asking that there might be a good harvest every year, but it seems there was no ceremony of offering part of the first-fruits to the earth or the mountains.

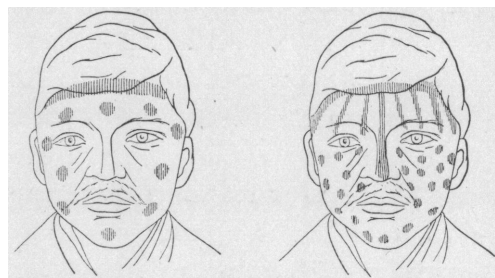


Fig. 253. Facial Painting representing Rain-Cloud and Rain.

If there had been a long spell of cold weather or of dry weather, and the people wished mild weather or rain, a shaman whose guardian spirit was the rain painted his face with perpendicular red stripes or with dots in red; or the upper part of his face with stripes, and the lower with dots (Fig. 253). These probably represented the rain-cloud and the rain. He went out of the house and walked around in a circle with the sun, singing his rain-song, and saying, "My guardian spirit will go around the world until it meets rain (or mild weather, as the case might be), and will bring it here." Then he told the people, "If my guardian spirit finds it quickly, rain will fall soon, probably to-morrow; but if he cannot find it quickly, it may be two or three days before rain falls."

Another method of obtaining mild weather in the winter-time was to let a pubescent girl light a fire and heat some stones. When they were about red-hot, she took them with tongs and threw them into the snow, praying to the earth or weather to become mild and melt the snow, in the manner these stones had done.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 344.

When people went to hunt in mountains where mountain-sheep live, the sheep made it disagreeable for them by causing a cold wind to blow, or snow or fog to come. If it was a place frequented mostly by ewes, the people took a ewe's tail, and, after singeing it in the fire, pointed it at the sun and asked for clear weather or warm sunshine. If it was a place frequented by rams, they burned in the fire a whole ram's-horn or some parings from a ram's-horn spoon or from a horn, and asked for mild weather. — If people wished the weather to become cold, they burned wood from a tree which had been killed by lightning. — A person's death affected the weather in the same way as is believed by the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> — Unlike most of the latter, the Shuswap burned wood on which a dog had urinated. — A dog which got in the habit of urinating where a woman had urinated was always killed. It was believed that a dog doing this had the effect of stopping the woman from becoming pregnant, or tended to make

her barren. It was also thought that a dog getting into this habit would ere long desire to have connection with the woman.

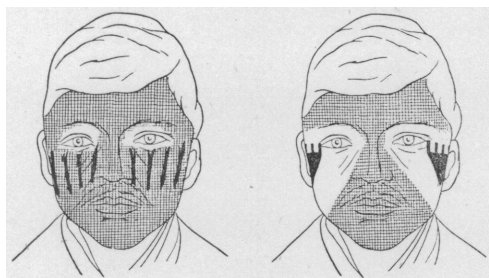


Fig. 254. Bear-Hunter's Face-Painting representing Claws and Paws of the Bear.

As among the Thompson Indians, there were no ceremonies regarding the first salmon. The Indians say the salmon is a "hard" fish, and people need not be careful about it. It has no real "mystery."

Women did not pass the back nor the head of a man lying down, without warning him. This was principally because they might startle the man, and his guardian spirit might harm the women.

Respect was shown to animals to please them and to secure good luck in the chase. When a bear was killed, the hunter sang the grisly or black bear song, as the case might be, and prayed, "Oh, thou greatest of all animals, thou man of animals, now, my friend, thou art dead! May thy mystery make all other animals like women when I hunt them! May they follow thee and fall an easy prey to me!" Before the hunter returned to camp, he painted his face all black with charcoal, or painted the grisly-bear or black-bear paw design on each cheek (Fig. 254). Another design used by him was a blackened face with darker black streaks down the cheeks, which represented the claws of the bear. Then the people knew that he had killed a bear. He himself never told, for the bear would be angry if he boasted. When he asked the people to go and help bring back the meat, he said, "We will go and carry in our friend;" or, "Let us go and

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 374.

carry in what our friend has given us." Skulls of all bears killed were raised on the tops of tall poles.

The bones of the first deer killed on a hunting-trip were generally burned. No meat of deer or any animal killed for food was given to dogs until the people had first had a meal of it. If the meat were given to dogs first, these animals would be angry, and afterwards not allow themselves to be shot. Women also had to eat meat after the men, or the deer might be offended. A shaman, — if one were present, — or the slayer of the animal, generally ate the first morsel.

When a child's tooth came out, the child ran in the direction away from the sun, and threw it back over its shoulder at the sun, praying, "May my teeth grow quickly!" Instead of doing this, the tooth was sometimes embedded in a piece of meat and given to a dog to swallow. This was believed to make the new teeth grow quickly. Cut hair was thrown into the river. No particular care was taken in disposing of parings of finger and toe nails, which were simply thrown away.

People made freshets subside by taking a grave-pole or other stick from a graveyard and throwing it into the water.

The bones of the first beaver trapped by a party or person were thrown into the river.

Smoking by the elders generally preceded all councils and important ceremonies. Before smoking, the pipe-stem was pointed to the east. In prayer the face was generally turned toward the east. This was invariably the case with pubescent lads and girls when addressing the Day Dawn.

Four was the sacred number in ceremonies and in mythology. The Shuswap offered prayers to the chief of the dead, to the dead, to the sweat-house spirit, and to powers like the earth, day dawn, sun, darkness, animals, guardian spirits, water; and even to the plants they used for striking themselves with in the sweat-houses, such as alder-twigs, sage-twigs, fir-boughs, and nettles. It seems that the western Shuswap, during puberty, prayed oftener directly to animals, and other Shuswap more to the Day Dawn, etc.

A few men had small images of stone, generally made to represent men, which they kept in their medicine-bags. They were carved from soapstone; and some were perforated, so that they could be used as tubular pipes. I failed to obtain any information regarding the use of these, because they went out of use long ago. I did not succeed in finding any old men who had ever seen any. It seems, they had some connection with the guardian spirits. They seem to have always been rare, at least among the western bands. I have heard vague reports of similar images having been in use among the Thompson Indians a long time ago.

FESTIVALS. — The Shuswap had religious festivals and dances similar to those customary among the Thompson tribe. The dance was performed

by the people of each band at irregular intervals. Most bands held it once or twice a year, at the midsummer or midwinter solstices. The dances were performed regularly for a time, whenever a message came from the spirit-land. After a while they would fall into abeyance until another message came. The songs sung at the dances are supposed to have been obtained from the spirit-land. These ceremonies were expected to hasten the return to earth of the souls of the departed, and the beginning of a golden age, when every one would lead a life of ease and happiness, and when the dead would be re-united with the living. It is also said that the chief of the dead, who is evidently identical with the Old-One of mythology, advised the Indians to perform these ceremonies. They were also said to make it easier for the dying to reach the spirit-land, and to make life there more pleasant for them, and to strengthen the bonds between the living and the dead. It was also believed that no more messages from the spirit-land would come if the ceremonies were not performed. The following story will help to throw light on the nature of these dances.

The Alkali Lake band had not performed their ceremonial dance for many years, when an aged woman fell into a trance; and the people, thinking she was dead, carried her away some distance, and laid her on the ground, covering her over with some old mats and a pile of fir-brush, in the manner that poor people were buried. Eight days afterwards the people were surprised to hear her singing, and some of them went to investigate. She said to them, "I am not dead. I have been to the land of souls, and the chief has sent me back with a message to the people. Let the people assemble, and I will give it to you." For several days the people flocked there, until a large concourse from all the northern and western bands had assembled. She said to them, "I saw all your dead friends. They are happy and dance, and sing many strange songs." Then she gave the names of the people whom she had seen, — many of them persons of whom she could not possibly have had any knowledge on earth. She continued, "The chief gave me several new songs, such as are sung by the shades, and sent me back to earth to teach them to you, and also to show you the proper way to dance. The chief said that the people on earth should sing and dance like the people of the spirit-land, so that they may become like them as far as possible." Then the people danced in circles in the same manner as the Thompson Indians,<sup>1</sup> and she stood in the centre and directed them. She said, "You must all dance in pairs, each man with one woman. It is wrong for a young man or a young woman to dance alone. Young people must dance in couples, holding each other's belts, and in this way choose each other for husband and wife. The chief told me no bachelor man or

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 293, 294.

maiden women of age will be received by him. Their souls will be turned into animals. All the people of marriageable age who have died single since the beginning of the world have been changed into animals. Therefore all young people who do not wish to meet the same fate must marry, and marry as early as possible." The people danced eight dances that day. The woman described the land of shades, and sang all her new songs. They were like the songs of the souls. The dancing was kept up with great energy for several days, and after the people dispersed they continued to dance every few days at their homes for several months. Afterwards they repeated the dance from time to time. The woman said she had been given the name Tazle'k by the chief, and henceforth people called her by that name. She lived many years afterwards, and could fall into a trance and go to the land of souls whenever she desired. Hostile shamans had no power over her. She could prophesy and tell who was going to die, and at what time. She would sometimes mention a person's name, even that of a Lillooet or Thompson Indian whom the people did not know, saying, "He entered the spirit-land last night. I saw his soul." Upon inquiry, the people would learn that a person of that name had really died. Each time she brought a message or a new song from the spirit-land, she assembled the people and held dances. Once she brought a message, saying the chief had told her it was better for men to have two wives.

People performing this ceremonial dance stripped off most of their clothes. Most of the men wore only a breech-clout and belt, and the women a kilt and belt. Some of the western Shuswap adopted cedar-bark sashes and head-bands with long trailers, which they wore when dancing. These were probably copied from the Chilcotin, who used them in other dances of their own. People painted for the dance in red and white, generally laid on in narrow perpendicular stripes, which is said to have been in imitation of the way dancers painted in the spirit-land. In these dances people supplicated the chief of the dead.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS. — Guardian spirits were the same in character, and acquired in the same manner, as among the Thompson Indians. A few men inherited them from their parents, but these were never so powerful as those acquired by themselves. This is illustrated by the following story: —

The guardian spirits of Sixwi'lexken's father were fire, water, the owl, and the coyote. These often appeared to him in dreams, and advised him. Fire always accompanied the others when they appeared. These protectors, however, were never of much value to Sixwi'lexken, for they did not really belong to him, and therefore he did not know the proper way to use them. Water, besides coming to him from his father, was also acquired by himself when training, and consequently he understood it perfectly, but the others he did not understand.



Most men had several guardians, but generally one was much more powerful than the others. Those of some men were wholly helpful, and could not be used to harm any person; while others had exactly the opposite properties. In some parts of the tribe the dog, coyote, and water were considered the most powerful of all guardian spirits. Other very powerful ones were the dead, cannibal, fox, tobacco, grisly bear, wolf, eagle, and pipe. The tobacco, pipe, and fox guardians were inseparable. A person obtaining the one also obtained the others. In the same way the coyote and the cannibal were associated. The scalp guardian was often associated with the cannibal. Guardian spirits generally thought to possess considerable power, and much used, were the thunder, loon, pinto horse, white horse, weapons of all kinds, hunger or famine, mountain-goat, otter, beaver, hare, owl, fire, rain, blood, woman, black bear, deer, scalp, man, boy. The woman guardian was sometimes called the "singing woman." She was not an ordinary woman,

and was acquired in conjunction with the black bear or the deer. This is illustrated by the following story: —

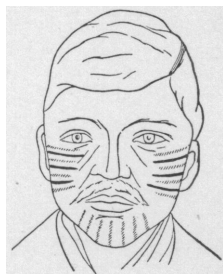


Fig. 255. Face-Painting prescribed by a Guardian Spirit.

A young man was training in the mountains, and a deer appeared to him and gave him advice, saying, "You will hear singing and have a dream, to which you must pay strict attention if you desire to be successful in future years." That night he heard a woman singing, but on searching failed to find her. Giving up the search, he lay down in his sweat-house to rest, and fell asleep. He dreamed that a woman appeared to him, having her face painted with white and yellow horizontal stripes on her cheeks, and yellow perpendicular stripes on her chin (Fig. 255). She said, "I am the deer, and the woman you heard singing. Through me you may have success and be great. Whenever you desire my aid, paint your face in the manner in which mine is painted, and I will appear to you and help you. When in trouble, if you smoke your pipe, I will at once come to you and give you thoughts, and thus advise you what to do. If you desire a woman to love you, paint your face in secret in the manner in which she paints hers, and her thoughts will at once turn to you. If you desire a woman's affections, do not at first show that you care for her more than for any other, but smoke your pipe within view, so that she can see you well; meanwhile think of this woman; and as you smoke, she will love you more and more. At last she will weep when you are absent; then you have gained her love entirely. Thus you will have power over women's affections, but you must never lie to them. Always tell them the truth, and never force them in any way. If you desire to be lucky at gambling, always invite women to watch you playing; and if you win much, give them some

presents. As long as they watch you playing, you will win; but if no women watch you when you play, you will lose. Do as I direct you, and you will always be successful at gambling and with women." Thus this man obtained as his guardian spirit the deer who had changed into a woman, and he has generally been very successful in gambling, and has had several good wives. He is now an old man, and lives at Canoe Creek.

The guardian called the "man" was a fox who could assume the form of a man. He was often called the "smoking man."

Of the guardians, the thunder, weapons, blood, and scalp were most powerful for warriors. The dead and the wolf were powerful guardians of shamans, while for other people their assistance was of less value. The cannibal had power to assist particularly the shaman and the warrior. The loon, otter, pinto and white horse, were generally acquired by shamans. The woman, black bear, and deer were said to be powerful for gamblers. Some men acquired guardian spirits of a certain number, which seem to have possessed qualities of their own sufficiently different from that of the units of which they were composed to mark them as distinct. Among these were seven straws, seven trees, twins, two lakes, two boys, four plants, twenty coyotes.

Guardians in the form of fish were very rare. Persons partook largely of the character of their guardians; for instance, a man who had the goat for his guardian could travel on steep rocks better than other people.

A man who had the swan for his guardian spirit could make snow fall by dancing with swan's down on his head, or by throwing swan's down on the water.

When a man was a hunter, his profession became almost part of his nature, and the animal he hunted almost part of himself. If he was bewitched, and therefore had bad luck in hunting, he developed an extreme desire to kill game and an intense craving to eat its meat, and in this way became more seriously sick than a person similarly situated who was not a real hunter.

If a man became sick, his guardian spirit told him what to do to get well. The following story exemplifies this idea: —

Sixwi'lexken got very sick, and thought he would die. Then his guardian power appeared to him in a dream, and told him that if he cut his hair and made an offering of it to the sickness, he would recover. The next day he had his hair cut, and burned it in the fire, at the same time praying to the sickness, "I cut my hair and offer it to thee, sickness. Now leave me, so that I may recover." After this he soon became well. In this way his guardian spirit saved his life twice.

The guardian spirit also gave advice which insured success in hunting and gambling. Some men were told to kill a squirrel or some other small animal first, when going out hunting, and thus to secure success. One man

was told when he hunted, and saw the first deer, not to shoot, but to sit down and smoke his pipe. Afterwards he would be sure to see many deer and kill some.

Another example of this kind is given in the story of a gambler who had two boys for his guardians. They appeared to him, and told him, whenever he lost at playing lehal, to hold his right hand at his back for a while, and to paint a red stripe down from each corner of his mouth, and another red stripe across the bridge of his nose from ear to ear (Fig. 256).

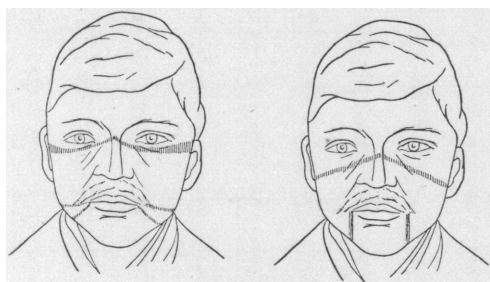


Fig. 256. Gambler's Face-Painting.

If he followed this advice, he would always be lucky. Whenever he had bad luck at playing lehal, he did as he had been directed, and invariably his luck changed so that he won.

A hunter was told by his guardian the owl to smear his gun with the blood of each animal that he killed with it, and in this way he would always be lucky. He did as directed, and was always successful in hunting.

A warrior called Tcaā'uz (Cut-across-Middle or Torn-Stomach), who was half Thompson and half Lillooet in blood, had his stomach ripped across in a fight. He claimed that his guardian appeared to him and told him he would always be successful in war if he changed his name to Tcaā'uz. When he had fully recovered from the wound, he changed his name as directed. Some Indians believed he did so because he was proud of the incident. Ever afterwards he cut a gash across the stomachs of all his victims.

Some warriors painted their bodies the color that their guardian's body was believed to be, and most men painted their faces and bodies as directed by their guardians in dreams (Fig. 257). Many also arranged their clothes, ornaments, and hair as directed. A great warrior called Slemti'tsa painted his face and his whole body above the navel black. Hā'tspeqain, another great warrior, dressed his hair in one long knot or "horn" standing out from the left side of his head, and painted the left side of his hair, face, and body black. When dressed, he painted the left side of his clothes black. The right side of his hair, face, and body, was painted red. Sometimes he wore a woollen blanket, shirt, and blanket leggings. The right half of the shirt was made of red blanket, and the other half of black or very dark blue blanket. His right legging was red, and the left one black. He painted his right hand

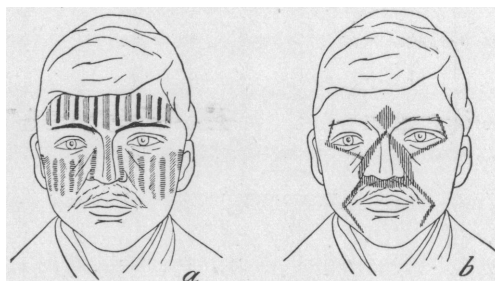


Fig. 257, a, Warrior's Face-Painting; b, Face-Painting representing a Frog.

and the moccasin on the right foot red, and the left black. He wore a quiver of horse-skin, and his arrows were all painted red and white. He would continue to dress this way until his guardian told him to change. At a later time he wore a head-dress made of the entire skin of a black-bear cub. The skin of the skull fitted on his head; and the rest of the skin was cut in a long fringe which hung down his back, to each strip of which were attached several eagle-feathers. Some men always rode a horse of a certain color. A shaman called Tcelé'sket rode a white horse, the mane and tail of which he always painted red. He also painted a red stripe from the horse's nose to his tail along the backbone, and red spots on the animal's sides. Eagle-feathers were used for decorative purposes by all men, and especially by warriors. Horses were also decorated with them. They were not used by shamans only, as among some tribes.

For a lad, while training, to dream of a black bear or a deer which changes into a woman, or a woman who says to him "I am the black bear or the deer," is a good omen. He obtains them for guardians, and will be successful in gambling and in love. The woman is one of the best guardians for a man who wishes to be a gambler.<sup>1</sup> For a lad to dream of a man smoking, who says to him "I am the fox," is also a good omen. He will get the fox, tobacco, and pipe for guardians, and be successful with women. By smoking with strangers he can make them his fast friends, even if they were evilly disposed towards him, and by smoking with women he can make them love him. The fox in ancient days was a great traveller, and noted for his ability to make peace with people. Those who have the fox and tobacco guardians, and fully understand them and rightfully use them, cannot be bewitched nor hurt by shamans. A boy and twins are very lucky guardians for gamblers.

Some men were told by their guardians in dreams to eat only certain parts of some animals, or to eat certain parts of an animal first, or to eat certain parts raw, or cooked in a particular manner, and by doing this they would always have luck in hunting. Some men were told to paint their faces in a certain way when they hunted, or after killing game, and by doing this they would be successful in hunting. Men were also told to change their names, so as to have good fortune. The guardian spirit told them what name to take.

Parts of animals, such as the heart, hoof, bone, hair, tail, etc., were claimed as protectors by certain men, but generally they only represented the guardian in about the same way as a hawk's feather in a man's head-band represented the hawk as one of the man's guardians.

A man was sometimes told by the guardian spirit to hold certain parts of animals sacred; and thus, according to the way some Indians look at it,

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 606.

these particular parts of the animal were of prime importance, for they represented the means by which the guardian power exercised its mysterious influence.

Thus a deer's tail, although called a man's guardian, might, in the first place, be only a symbol, and have no special powers apart from the whole deer; or it might be the mystery part of the guardian power by which alone the latter could exercise its functions. In this case the part was more important than the whole, but still not altogether distinct nor independent of it; while, in the first case, the part was subordinate and formed an unimportant part of the whole, having no practical value excepting as a symbol.

It seems, however, that there was a third class of things called guardians, which, although parts of a whole, were guardian spirits in the full sense of the word, and were looked upon as independent beings, with powers of their own, distinct from those of the whole object or animal of which they were part. Probably the best example of this class is blood.

Only a very few warriors had the mystery of the scalp. They scalped their enemies, and wore the scalps or scalp-locks on their persons. On their return from war they held a scalp dance, which was similar to the dances described before.<sup>1</sup> The men having the scalp as their guardian often had the cannibal as well. It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is in its songs.

Some people, besides their ordinary guardians, had other protectors which they impersonated in dances.

Once at least, during the winter, the people gathered in the largest underground house, and each in turn sang his mystery-song, — either the most powerful song obtained from his guardians, or the one best adapted for the purpose of the ceremony. This is said to have been done for the purpose of discovering whether any sickness were approaching, whether any one had been bewitched, or if any other evil were threatening. As nearly all the men were possessed of some shamanistic power, their spirits watched; and if they saw or found any influence that would be harmful to the community, they reported it in their song. Thus the people were warned, and prepared to defend themselves. Each man, in his song, told whatever was wonderful or important that had happened to his spirit since last they sang the mystery-songs. A very few of the men danced when they sang.

Another object in holding this ceremony was to train all the youths in the singing of their mystery-songs, to give them self-confidence, to find out how they were progressing in their training, what their guardians were, and who among them was likely to become greatest.

It seems that the Shuswap women held no dances during the absence of

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 578 et seq.

war parties. Before departing, the warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side, and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies. When the dance was over, all the men put their contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power through incantations to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start. At all war councils the pipe was passed in a direction opposite to the sun's course. Warriors often painted their old wounds or scars red.

THE SOUL. — The beliefs regarding the soul and ghosts were similar to those held by the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> The soul can leave the body at any time, and wander around like a ghost, or go on the trail of the dead towards the spirit-land. A person becomes sick when his soul leaves the body for any length of time, or he becomes crazy. Shamans and people with shamanistic powers can see souls. If a soul is seen wandering around a graveyard, it is a sign that the person to whom it belongs will die soon, unless the soul is restored to the body. Souls of suicides do not reach the spirit-land for many years. At the present day many believe that they will remain wandering around the earth until the judgment day. Souls of drowned people also do not go to the spirit-land for a long time.

Ghosts are the shadows of souls. The ghost bears a close resemblance to the person to whom it belonged, and is seen dressed in the manner peculiar to that individual. It does not need to have the shape of the person at the time of death.

Souls of deceased children are occasionally reborn of the same mother or of a near relative. Some say the chief of the dead pities the mother and sends the child back again, and others think dead relatives help the mother

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 357, 358, 359.

to have another child soon, similar to the one taken away by them. There is no interchange of sex: a male is reborn a male. In a very few cases adults are said to have been reborn by a loved relative, — a belief which is found rather strongly developed among the Athapascan. Souls were never reborn as animals.

There was a belief that the Old-One and Coyote would return to earth, bringing the shades with them.<sup>1</sup> This event was to be preceded by the appearance of one or more transformers, who were to make the world a place of happiness for the living and for the dead. The chief transformer to usher in those good times was to be Coyote, who, after completing his task, would disappear, and in a short time re-appear with the Old-One, or the chief of the dead, and accompanied by all the souls from the spirit-land.

When the Indians saw the first priests, they believed them to be Coyote and his assistants, presaging this important event. At the present day many of the old Shuswap beliefs are disappearing; and most of the Indians believe in heaven, hell, purgatory, and a judgment day, as taught by the priests. The fatalistic idea that everything has a time set for its death is held by many.

SHAMANISM. — The Shuswap beliefs regarding shamanism were practically the same as those held by the Thompson tribe. Very few Shuswap shamans accompanied their practices by dancing, while this was the custom of almost all the Thompson shamans. Most of them sang, the remainder practising without song or speech, or simply by speaking. They cured people by exorcising the disease, by incantations, by certain prescriptions, by laying on of hands, by massaging parts of the body, and by sprinkling water on the head, and blowing it over the body.

Shamans, when in search of sickness or of souls, often wore mat masks, as among the Thompson tribe. The soul was restored to the body through the top of the head, between the crown and forehead. Most shamans were believed to be able to pull out sickness with their hands, or suck it out with their mouths. A very few used bone tubes for sucking through. Pulling was the method resorted to for taking out "shots" fired into the body by shamans or other persons practising witchcraft. When the shaman had removed or pulled out the "shot" which had been fired into the body of the bewitched person, he asked the people if he should let it go. If they said "Yes," he blew on it, and it disappeared; but if they answered "No, the person who owned it has bewitched too many people," then the shaman put on his mask, and in secret gave it to his own guardian spirit, or he threw it into the fire, and asked his guardian spirit to see that the person owning the "shot" should die at a certain time.

A shaman will die if his guardian spirit is destroyed, or if it is

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 596.

imprisoned, so that he cannot get it back. A person could also be bewitched by taking possession of the soul and imprisoning it in a medicine-bag. Some men had "medicine-places" where their guardian lived, — as, for instance, the place of sunrise, or the place of sunset; and when they bewitched a person by taking his soul, they sent it to these places, where it was kept captive by their guardian spirit. In such cases the shaman had to put on his mask, and, travelling in spirit to the place, attempted, with the aid of his guardians, to take back the soul forcibly from its captors. If he failed in his task, he became sick himself, and felt like a man who had received a severe thrashing.

Some Shuswap and Carrier shamans could bewitch a man by taking a little earth from the spot on which he had stood, and placing it in their medicine-bag with the skins or other symbols of their guardians; then the man became sick or died.

Sickness or death was often seen by people in the form of a small bank of mist hanging over or moving around some low or wet spot. Other kinds of sickness, especially epidemics, are mysteries, or evil spirits, which live underground, and occasionally come out and travel around. They are most liable to appear during hot weather. Shamans who had the cannibal for their guardian spirit often became insane when they became old.

The guardian spirits of some always caused sickness of a certain kind. Therefore, when a person was bewitched, an expert shaman could generally tell the name of the person who had caused the sickness.

If two shamans with equally powerful guardians tried to bewitch each other, both died at the same time, or one shortly after the other.

None of the Shuswap shamans were ever able to reach the land of souls, as Thompson shamans frequently did.

A few women were shamans, but their practices differed in no way from those of the men, and none of them were very powerful.

The following stories about shamans will give a clearer idea of the beliefs of the tribe: —

Most of the Tcuxkexwa'nk people (Buckskin Creek band) were living in two large underground houses. A man got sick, and a shaman tried to cure him. After much trouble, he found the cause of the sickness, and, sucking it out, held it between his hands so that the people could see it. It was like a small piece of buckskin. He went outside to throw it away. Dividing it in two, he blew on it, and threw it up into the air, asking it to leave. The two pieces went different ways, one piece striking the ladder of one underground house, and the other piece settling on the roof of the second house. As soon as they touched the houses, they changed to clots of blood. Within two days all the people of both houses died.

According to another version, the shaman treated the sick man and



pulled the sickness out. He called to the people, "I have his sickness, but it is different from any disease I have ever seen. It is like a piece of buckskin." He showed it to some people, and asked one of them to cut it as it lay between his hands. One man took a sharp knife and cut down between the shaman's hands, dividing the buckskin in two. Then the shaman threw away the pieces, and they fell on the roofs of the underground houses, changing to blood. The shaman at once fell down dead, and all the people became sick and died inside of two days.

Another celebrated shaman of Soda Creek called Sqe'qet ("spider") declared "I have seen a great evil 'mystery' travelling in our country. It will throw sickness on us. It will attack us; it is a mystery sickness (epidemic). We must try to dispose of it." He and three other shamans cut four sticks, and, sharpening the points, stuck them into the ground. Then putting on their mat masks, their souls went to search for the sickness. It was very hot weather, and the people squatted on the ground near by, watching them. The shamans called out, "We need not go far. See, it is coming here, we will meet it!" They ordered the people away some distance. At last they said, "It has arrived." Now they told the sickness or mystery to leave, or to return whence it came, but it would not go back, and the shamans could not make it return. Neither could it pass them. Then the shamans took their sticks and dug a hole in the ground. Now the mystery tried to pass the shamans; and when it came to the mysterious powers with which they intercepted it, the combat was so violent that the earth shook as with an earthquake, and the people's dogs, which were tied, broke their halters and ran away, yelping with fear. The children also began to cry. Then the shamans seized the sickness, and with much exertion pushed it into the hole they had dug. It got out several times, but they rolled it back again with their sticks, and at last covered it with some earth. They said to it, "You must go away beyond the habitations of people, and must not come out of the earth this side of Fort George, for beyond that place there are no people." At last the mystery left, and, travelling underground, came out beyond Fort George in the shape of a gale of wind, which blew northward so violently that it devastated the country, in some places overturning all the trees. No other Shuswap shamans were able to master "mystery sickness" like those of Soda Creek.

The following story is also instructive: —

An old shaman belonging to Clinton once lost his soul. He sang, and blood came from his mouth. He was wearing a marmot-skin robe fastened around the middle with a belt, and tied on his left shoulder. After singing, he went outside and gathered frozen excrements of the people, with which he filled the front part of his robe above the belt. Returning, he held up each piece before the people and ate them one after another. When he had

finished, he sang again, and then went outside looking very wild. The people said, "His soul has gone from his body." When he came in again, he walked around, talking foolishly and looking wild. Then Sixwi'lexken — a shaman whose guardians were all helpful — asked him to sit down and smoke with him. Sixwi'lexken took his pipe out of his medicine-bag, and, filling it with tobacco, he lighted it with a stick at the fire. After taking a few puffs, he handed the pipe to the insane shaman. The latter took four puffs, and then cried like his guardian the fox. Sixwi'lexken put some water on the crown of the shaman's head and blew on it. Then, relighting the pipe, he took a few puffs and handed it back to the old man. The latter took a few puffs, and then fell down as if in a swoon. Very soon he arose and crawled over to his bed, where he lay down and fell fast asleep. When he awoke, Sixwi'lexken invited him to smoke again. He was now in his right mind, and smoked quietly, as was his wont. He conversed properly, and seemed to have no recollection of what he had done. When the people told him of it, he would not believe them.

Some shamans who were said to have cannibals for their guardians acted like madmen. The cannibal was a dangerous guardian for a person to have. It was so powerful that it frequently made the persons who possessed it insane, and transformed them, as it were, into cannibals. One shaman was found eating bodies in a graveyard. The people took him away, but he could not be restrained from returning. If he knew of a corpse, he wished to eat it before burial. At last he was killed by an Indian in 1859.

Another shaman repaired to the place where a person had died; and when he saw the corpse with froth on the mouth, he said, "Nem, nem!" (the cry of this cannibal when scenting food), and, going up to it, he licked all the froth up with his tongue. Afterwards this shaman became crazy, and before long died.

A shaman of Kamloops, called Tcelé'sket, always rode a white horse, — as many shamans do, — the tail and mane of which he always painted red. He also painted a red stripe along the animal's back from nose to tail, and red spots on its sides. Tcelé'sket's principal guardian was the wolf, and he generally wore a wolf-skin poncho painted or daubed with red. One day, when gambling with a man of another band, he lost his horse, and felt very sore about it. He expected the man would be afraid of him, and return the horse, which was a favorite and the only white one he possessed. When he left, he said, "No one can win my horse with impunity." That fall the man became sick, and his body and limbs became doubled up and stiff, especially his back. It was believed that Tcelé'sket had carried out his threat and bewitched him. A shaman was called, who, after singing nearly all day, declared that Tcelé'sket had shot him with his mysterious power. He said, "This kind of sickness is caused only by Tcelé'sket; it is peculiar

to him." The next day the shaman continued his practices, assisted by his son, who was also a shaman. He painted his hands red, and his son painted his wrists red. The old man struck the man's back with his hands very hard, while the young man pulled out the sickness. The young shaman lay down on his face near the fire, holding the sickness in his hands, while his father moved in circles around the fire, singing. The son joined him. At last they stopped near the sick man, who was sitting close to the fire. The young shaman said, "I hold the sickness shot by Tcelê'sket in my hands, and can do with it as I will. Shall I kill Tcelê'sket, or let him go?" The people answered, "Kill him!" The shamans said, "Build a large fire," and the people heaped a number of small sticks on the fire, making it very hot. The father put his mat mask over his son's head; and the latter, singing, went to the fire and threw the object into it. Then he lay down near the fire and did not speak for a while. At last he arose, and, taking off the mask, said, "I have given the sickness to my guardian the loon; and next spring, when the birds come, Tcelê'sket will die." As soon as the sickness was put into the fire, Tcelê'sket became sick and excited; he became almost like a madman, and sang and searched all the time, trying to recover his guardian spirit, but in vain. Next spring, when the first birds came, he died. The man whom he had bewitched with his supernatural power became well as soon as the two shamans had removed the sickness.

Yet another shaman had many children, who all died. Their father seemed powerless to save them. When the last one died, — a fine young man, — the shaman became distracted with grief, and wept very much. Whenever he rubbed his fingers over his face to wipe away the tears, blood oozed out, and he became terrible to behold. This was a great mystery. No other shaman could do this.

A similar story is told of another shaman: —

A man's face was swollen for a long time, and he asked a shaman to cure him. At first the shaman refused, saying he was not able to cure him, but at last he consented to try. He rubbed his fingers four times across the man's face, and blood came out in great quantities. The patient washed his face in cold water, and found that he was cured. This shaman had blood for one of his guardians.

The following story shows that shamans were believed to kill by a glance of the eye: —

A party of Fraser River Shuswap went on a journey to Spences Bridge to buy dried hump-back salmon. When they had arrived within the confines of the Spences Bridge band, they saw a large rattlesnake. A Dog Creek shaman who formed one of the party called attention to the snake, around which they all gathered. During their journey this shaman and some of the other members of the party had boasted much, and disputed over their

respective shamanistic powers. Now he saw a chance to show his own power and belittle that of the others. He asked them to take hold of the snake; and when they refused, he laughed and taunted them, saying, "You claim to have much power and 'mystery,' but now I see you have none. You all lied. Now I will show you that I alone told the truth, and really have mysterious powers." Going up to the snake, he looked sternly at it, and it bent low and ceased rattling. It seemed to be cowed, and lay quiet. The shaman seized it by the neck, and, after holding it up for a while, threw it among the people, who ran away. He laughed, and said, "Why do you run away from a dead snake?" When they examined it, they found that it was quite dead. The people were all surprised, and said nothing. The Shuswap were much afraid of rattlesnakes, for there are none in their country, except in the extreme southern part.

PROPHETS. — Prophets occasionally made their appearance; but all, so far as remembered, were persons who bore messages from the spirit-land. They all spoke in a similar manner to the woman Tazle'k, already referred to in this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

ETHICAL CONCEPTS AND TEACHING. — These were exactly the same as among the Thompson Indians. Evenings were spent in playing games, smoking, and general conversation among the elders; and in relating stories of war and hunting, and comic stories. About bed-time mythological tales were told by some old person until the people all fell asleep. On the following evening another elderly person told stories, and thus all the people who knew any myths took turns at relating them throughout the winter. These were the times when the old people would address the young, and when they would admonish them to follow the rules of proper ethical conduct.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 605.

### XIII. — MEDICINE, CHARMS, CURRENT BELIEFS.

MEDICINE. — The Shuswap agree with the Thompson Indians in saying that formerly they were, on the whole, a larger, stronger, and healthier race than they are now. Very few children died, sickness was not common, and many lived to an extreme old age. As among the Thompson people, a large number of herbs were used as medicines; and when people got sick, they at first resorted to them for remedies. If they failed to do good, it was thought something was wrong with the soul, and a shaman was called. I heard of the following plants being used as medicines: —

*Soapberry-Bush* (*Shepherdia canadensis*). — Stalks and leaves boiled slowly for twenty-four hours. The person fasted all day, and drank four cupfuls of the decoction at night. Acted as a physic next morning. Decoction of roots and stems drank in sweat-houses for purification.

*Barberry-Bush*. — Bark and twigs boiled, and decoction drank as a physic.

*Hudson Bay Tea or Labrador Plant*. — Decoction drank as a tonic or beverage, and also given to dogs for purification.

*Bearberry-Plant* (*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi*). — Leaves and small stems boiled slightly, and decoction drank as a tea or beverage. Thoroughly boiled, the decoction is used as a diuretic.

*Arabis Drummondii*. — Decoction used as a diuretic.

*Devil's Club* (*Fatsia horrida*). Decoction drank after child-birth.

*Mountain Juniper* (*Juniperus communis*). — Decoction drank at child-birth; also used for sore eyes.

*Sage-Bush* (*Artemisia tridentata*). — Decoction of twigs drank for purification in sweat-houses. Twigs dipped in water used for rubbing the body when sweat-bathing. Leaves put in the nostrils for colds.

*Sage-Bush and Mountain Juniper together*. — Twigs bruised, and decoction used by hunters as an eye-wash to make them clear-sighted.

*Sage, Juniper, and Soapberry together*. — Twigs boiled, and decoction used in sweat-houses as a drink and a wash for purification.

*White Fungus* which grows on trunks of large trees. — Used by pubescent lads for rubbing on the body to give them strength.

*White and Black Lichens* (*smutlê'lst*) which grow on rocks. — Boiled, and decoction drank by lean people to make them fat.

*Alder*. — Twigs dipped in water and used for rubbing the body when sweat-bathing.

*Fir* (*Pseudotsuga Douglasii*). — Twigs used in the same way as alder-twigs. Decoction drank in sweat-houses for purification.

*Common Nettle*. — Used for striking and rubbing the body when sweat-bathing.

Each bunch of nettles, sage-twigs, fir-twigs, or alder-twigs, after having been once used for rubbing the body, was thrown away to the west.

For sudden pains, or for colic and cramps and the falling-out of hair, the same medicines were used as among the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> Several

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 368 and 369.

powders of crushed and burned leaves, and ointments made from grease and gum of trees, were used for sores and burns. Hot water and powdered charcoal were sometimes used for flatulency. Charcoal is rubbed over the eyebrows or around the eyes to prevent snow-blindness, or if the eyes are inflamed.

CHARMS. — A male and a female cricket are tied together with a hair from the head of the woman or man who is to be charmed. This has the effect of binding their affections together, and is used as a love-charm by persons desiring the affections of parties of the opposite sex.

The Shuswap claim that none of the plants growing in their own country were much good as charms, but some of those procured from the Thompson and Okanagon were very effective. A plant with a strong smell, and from which a kind of steam rises, was a very sure love-charm. It is called Ntekê'llsten by the Thompson and Okanagon, in whose country it grows. It was used in various ways, i.e., worn as a necklace in the daytime next the body, and put under the pillow at night. Before falling asleep, the person must think of the woman whose love is desired, and next morning early must wash in a creek and pray that by the power of the plant the woman may love him. Other effective ways are to give a woman a present of something scented with it, or to smoke with her, using some of the plant mixed with the tobacco. If a man carries this charm and walks up-wind, women will be so attracted that they will follow him. — A plant, probably *Parnassia fimbriata*, is rubbed on some part of the body, such as the brow or the soles of the feet, to insure luck in hunting. — Snakes' tails are sometimes worn as a preventive of headache. — When one person wished to poison another, he took saliva from the mouth of a corpse, and, mixing it with salmon-oil, put it in a place where the person was likely to see and drink it. Putrid flesh from a corpse which has been buried (brush-burials) was used as a poison in the same way. — White hellebore (*Veratrum viride*) was also used as a poison.

OMENS AND BELIEFS. — When a person sees the bird called sokwa'z (probably a kind of crane), it portends the death of a relative very soon. This kind of bird is rarely seen. — To see an âxlusełken snake (the kind sometimes nicknamed double-headed snake) foretells death. — If the whiskey-jack (or Oregon jay) comes to the camp and utters its cry, a deer or other animal will be killed by the hunters next day. If it cries like a child, a child will die soon. This bird is "mystery," and always knows where to find meat, of which it is very fond. — To meet a black lizard on the trail portends bad luck or the sickness and possible death of a friend. — The same beliefs are entertained as among the Thompson Indians, regarding the crying of the owl and the coyote, and the finding of a dead short-tailed mouse on a trail. The Shuswap also dread the black lizard, and have the same beliefs regarding

it as the Thompson tribe. They jump over the camp-fire, so that the lizard following them may enter the fire and destroy itself.

A person being drowned causes rain. — Twins, by bathing in a lake or stream, cause rain or storm. — To break eggs of the ptarmigan produces rain or snow. — Burning of hair or the horns of mountain-sheep brings mild weather. — Burning of wood of a tree struck by lightning will make cold weather. — Burning of hare's fur will cause cold weather. — It seems that, unlike the Thompson belief, the mentioning of the coyote's name and the burning of his hair do not bring cold weather, neither does the burning of beaver's hair make the weather mild. — The head of the fool-hen was used as a die, but only in fun. — If you sneeze, some woman is mentioning your name. — When the ear rings, the dead are speaking of you. — To feel a chill go down the back shows that a ghost is standing near you. — If the leg or arm twitches, some one is coming to visit you. — If whistling is heard at night near the camp, and if a person can't sleep, or if his sleep is troubled with bad dreams or nightmares, it is a sign that ghosts are around, and the camp should be shifted to another place. — If twins are quiet, their father will have poor luck in hunting; but if they play boisterously, and hug and bite each other, he will have good luck. — To dream of spots of blood is a sign of murder or war. To dream of lightning striking is the same. — The grisly bear is like the wisest shaman, and hears everything said about him. — A person's death or birth makes a change in the weather. — If a man sweats in company with a woman in a sweat-house, he will turn blind or have sore eyes. If he has connection with a woman in a sweat-house, he will become totally blind. — A person must blow on his arrow before shooting at an owl, otherwise he will miss. — A person should not fire his best arrow at an eagle. — The early changing of the weasel's and hare's coats portends an early winter. — A wet or cool summer will be followed by a mild winter, and *vice versa*. — Rain may come from any direction. When it comes from one direction, and then, changing around, comes from other directions, and at last from the east, it is said to be "going home," and the weather will soon be dry. The home of the rain is in the west. — The same belief is entertained as among the Thompson tribe regarding a knot or muscle which moves in the left leg.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, p. 375.

#### XIV. — MYTHS.

INTRODUCTORY. — An old Indian named Sixwi'lexken told me as follows: "When I first remember, about sixty years ago, the people of my tribe had very many stories, far more than they have now. In each house they told them almost every night throughout the winter. The fullest versions of some stories were only known by certain individuals. When a fresh story was told, at first the young people flocked to hear it, and afterwards it went the rounds of all the houses. The half-breeds of the Hudson Bay Company sometimes camped with or lived for a time among the Indians. They were very fond of listening to and of telling stories. I think they probably introduced some stories into the tribe. Also, when Indians had been away for a time, among people who lived at a distance, — such as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, Chilcotin River, or The Fountain, — they sometimes heard and learned fresh stories, which they related upon their return. Some of these new stories took root for a while, but eventually died out or were forgotten. I remember having heard stories a few times, and never again afterwards. It is possible, however, that some of the stories introduced this way became permanent. Many of the stories which were commonest when I was a boy are now seldom told, or have been forgotten altogether. Thus the number of stories has decreased, and no new stories have taken their place, excepting (of late years) some Bible stories introduced by the priests. These are looked upon, however, as forming a different class, and are not considered the same as myths of the speta'kuł. Tales of every kind are not told as often as formerly among the people. When I was a boy, very many stories were told about the Old-One or Chief, who travelled over the country teaching people, and putting things to rights. Many wonderful tales were related of him; but the men who told these stories are now all dead, and most of the 'Old-One' tales have been forgotten. The majority of the Coyote tales have survived, however, and are often told yet; for they are funny, and children like to hear them. Formerly Coyote stories were probably commonest of all. Long before the arrival of the first white miners, a Hudson Bay half-breed told the Shuswap that after a time strange men would come among them, wearing black robes (the priests). He advised them not to listen to these men, for although they were possessed of much magic, and did some good, still they did more evil. They were descendants of the Coyote, and like him, although very powerful, they were also very foolish, and told many lies. They were simply the Coyote returning to the earth in



another form. If the Indians paid attention to and followed the directions of these 'black-robcs,' they would become poor, foolish, and helpless; and disease of all kinds would cut them off. If they avoided them, they would remain contented, happy, and numerous. Some Indians believed what was told them, and for this reason called the first priest whom they saw 'Coyote.' At the present time some Indians wonder whether, if they had taken the half-breed's advice, it would have turned out as he said, and whether it is really the priests and their religion that are the cause of the people dying so much, and not being so well off as they might be."

Nos. 1-52 of the following traditions were told with variants by Sixwi'lexken, and are characteristic of the Fraser River division and the Canoe Creek region. A few variants from the Thompson River region, and a story from the Bonaparte division, are included in this series. The provenience of these has been recorded in the proper place. The rest of the traditions were collected among the North Thompson division.

#### 1. COYOTE TALES.<sup>1</sup>

##### *Coyote and his Son; or, The Story of Kalla'llst.*<sup>2</sup>

Coyote lived with his son (or nephew) Three-Stones (Ka'lla'llst), who had two wives, one of whom was old and the other young. Coyote desired to possess his daughters-in-law, and made up his mind to get rid of their husband. One night he was heard laughing as he approached the house; but when he came nearer, he began to cry, and upon entering went to his place on the opposite side of the fire and wiped his eyes. He was asked why he cried, and he answered, "What I saw to-day makes me sad. I saw an eagle's nest with the eaglets nearly ready to fly. I considered how highly our ancestors valued eagle-feathers, and thought how we had none. I wished to get them, but knew I was too old and stiff to climb up for them." Afterward he said to Three-Stones, "You had better climb for the feathers to-morrow. Put on all your best clothes. Our ancestors always dressed nicely when going after eagles."

Next morning Coyote took his son to a cliff some distance away, and pointed out to him the nest. The cliff was very low, and easy to ascend, having many jagged steps leading up to the ledge where the nest was. Then he told his son to divest himself of all his clothes, and leave them behind, adding, "Our ancestors always did so." Three-Stones stripped off his clothes and ascended the cliff. When he had but one more step to take to

<sup>1</sup> By the North Thompson Shuswap, Coyote is often called Hóxalex.

<sup>2</sup> This legend is a much-distorted account of Coyote's son's ascent to the sky (see Teit, Traditions of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia, pp. 21 et seq; Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 29 of this volume.

reach the nest, he became aware that something was wrong. Looking below, he saw that the cliff had grown to such a height that he was almost afraid to look down, and, instead of having rough steps as before, it was now smooth. Looking up, he saw that the cliff above was overhanging. He was as if in a hole, and could neither get up nor down. Coyote had caused the cliff to grow so that his son could not return.

Then Coyote gathered up his wrinkled skin so as to make it look smooth, and tied it in several places on his back. He did this to make himself look young, and to resemble his son. Then, putting on Three-Stones' clothes, he went to the lodge, saying to himself, "I will deceive my daughters-in-law." When he neared the camp, he cried, saying, "Oh! my father climbed after the eagle's nest, and was killed. Poor father!" The women thought he was their husband, and bewailed Coyote's death.

He slept with them that night, and on the next morning said, "We will move. Father's ghost may visit us, and, besides, we do not wish to be reminded of him by seeing constantly the place where he has lived so long." They shifted camp to a place two days' journey away.

Meanwhile Three-Stones sat on the cliff and lamented his fate. Two women, the Bush-tailed Rat and the Mouse, heard him, for they were gathering Indian-hemp bark on a hillside underneath, and they resolved to help him. They said, "Our nephew is in difficulty. We must try to help him." The Mouse sang, and the cliff grew lower until it was only half the height. Then the Rat sang, and the cliff assumed its former height and shape. Three-Stones descended and thanked the women for their assistance.

Turning aside a little distance, he pulled out four pubic hairs, and threw them on the ground. From these there grew up a dense thicket of tall Indian-hemp bushes, which he showed to the women, who were glad to find a place where they could obtain so much good bark.<sup>1</sup> Proceeding to his camp, he found it deserted, but he followed the tracks of the party until he located them.

It was night, and Coyote was sleeping with both the women. Three-Stones entered, lighted the fire, and waked Coyote, who pretended to be half asleep. Then he struck the women, saying, "Why do you roll over so near to me? Your husband has come back." Three-Stones said to him, "Say no more. You need not try to deceive me." He then took his clothes away from Coyote, and discovered the knots in which the loose skin of the old man was tied up. He untied it and informed Coyote that henceforth they would live apart. Taking the younger wife for himself, he gave the older to Coyote and left him.

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 24.

*Fox and Hare; or, The Liberation of the Chinook Wind.*

Fox and Hare were brothers who lived together with many other people. At that time the earth was very cold, for the Cold People of the north ruled the elements, and delighted in having cold winds blow over the Indian country all the time. Thus people suffered much, and constantly shivered.<sup>1</sup>

One morning Fox smoked his pipe, and muttered, "Last night I dreamed, and gained much knowledge." Then, when he had finished smoking, he said to the people, "The People of the Cold have had power over us for a long time. Can none of you obtain mild weather? Do you like the cold?" They answered, "No! We hate the cold, but we know not what to do." Then Fox said to Hare, "Come with me, and we will obtain warm weather." Taking their bows and arrows, they travelled south many days, until they reached the mouths of the large rivers, where the people dwelt who possessed the heat and the Chinook wind. These people were called the People of the Heat, [and were enemies of the Cold People<sup>2</sup>.] Their chief was the Sun,<sup>3</sup> and they lived in warm weather, sunshine, and mild winds. Fox and Hare had already arranged what to do and how to act, for the former knew everything through his dreams. Entering the house of the Sunshine, they saw a large round bag hanging on a post. It contained the Chinook wind. Fox ran and struck the bag with his fist, trying to burst it, and the Heat People jumped up to stop him; but Hare held his bow and arrow drawn on them, and they were afraid. Again Fox ran at the bag and struck it. The fourth time he tried, the bag burst, and the Chinook wind rushed out. Then Fox and Hare ran along with the wind, and the Heat People made the weather exceedingly hot so as to overcome them.

At last the heat became so intense that the country took fire, and the Heat People made the fire run after the wind, thinking it would overtake Fox and Hare, and burn them up. They did not know that the latter were the fleetest and swiftest footed of all the myth people. Thus the earth burned up for a long distance north, and many trees and people were destroyed.<sup>4</sup> Hare kept just far enough ahead of the fire to have time to sit down frequently and smoke his pipe. He was the greatest smoker of all the myth people. Fox was annoyed at Hare, for, when he told him to hurry, he would sit down and smoke his pipe. Fox went on alone, and soon left Hare and the fire far behind. He also outstripped the wind, and,

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<sup>1</sup> Some say it was just a prolonged hard winter, and the people were tired of its length.

<sup>2</sup> Some add this part.

<sup>3</sup> Many say, not the sun itself, but the heat of the sun. According to others, it was the sunshine.

<sup>4</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 75.

reaching the people, he said, "I bring the warm Chinook wind. You will be cold no longer."

They could hardly believe him at first; but soon the Chinook wind commenced to blow, and, the snow and ice melting under its influence, the people felt the cold no more. Then Fox said, "Henceforth the Chinook wind shall be no longer the sole property of the Heat People of the south; and warm winds shall blow over the north and the rest of the world, melting the snow, and drying the earth. Only occasionally may they be followed by fire. [Henceforth the People of the Cold shall not always rule the weather, nor plague the Indians too much with their cold winds.<sup>1</sup>]"

Meanwhile the wind had left the fire far behind, and, there being no wind, the fire naturally did not spread, but died out.<sup>2</sup>

A long time afterward Hare arrived home and met Fox. The latter was smoking a fine stone pipe carved and incised with numerous designs, while Hare's pipe was made of wood.<sup>3</sup>

Fox said to Hare, "You and I are the greatest smokers of all the people. Let us run a race. The one who wins shall get the other one's pipe, and the one who loses shall smoke no more." Hare agreed; and Fox said, "We will race on flat open ground." But Hare objected, saying, "I like to race where there are fallen logs and much brush." Fox assented, so they commenced to run through a brushy piece of country full of fallen logs. Fox jumped over the logs, while Hare always ran underneath them, and thus kept easily ahead.<sup>4</sup> Then Fox got angry, and seized Hare as he came out from underneath a log, and transformed him, saying, "Henceforth you shall be only an ordinary hare, and, as you like to run in the brush, you shall henceforth live in that kind of country. You shall no longer be the greatest smoker of the people." Then Fox took Hare's pipe and went home.<sup>5</sup>

*Coyote and Grisly Bear make the Seasons, and Night and Day.*

Grisly Bear met Coyote and said,<sup>6</sup> "I am greatest in magic of all the people. When I wish a thing to be, it has to be so. Now I am displeased with the short time that it is dark.<sup>7</sup> I think it will be better if it is dark all the time. I intend to make it so." Coyote answered, "No. That would inconvenience the people too much." Grisly said, "Well, I will have it my

<sup>1</sup> Some add this part.

<sup>2</sup> Some say the fire was stopped by Beaver and Muskrat making a flood in front of it. They flooded all the valleys; and many people who were not quick enough to climb up the mountains or go aboard canoes were drowned.

<sup>3</sup> Some say just the reverse of this.

<sup>4</sup> Some say managed to keep up even with him.

<sup>5</sup> The fox was considered a powerful guardian spirit among the Shuswap, and whoever had it also gained the mystery of the pipe and tobacco.

<sup>6</sup> Some add that he addressed him as transformer.

<sup>7</sup> Some say that at this time the winters were very short, and the days longer than they are now.

way." And Coyote answered, "No, you can't." So the former danced and sang, saying, "Darkness, darkness, darkness! Let it be always dark." And Coyote also danced and sang, saying, "Light, light, light, light! May it be light!"

Thus they danced and sang a very long time; and sometimes the Bear got the ascendancy, and darkness would prevail; and, again, Coyote got the ascendancy, and light would prevail. They struggled for a long time, and neither beat the other.

At last the Bear got tired, and said, "Let there be half darkness, and half light." Coyote agreed to this, and said, "Henceforth it shall be light from the time the sun prepares to rise until he sets: the rest of the time shall be night. Thus every day the sun shall travel; and when he leaves, the night will follow him until next day he rises again."<sup>1</sup>

Then Grisly Bear said, "I am displeased with the length of the year and the duration of winter. It is far too short. Let it be the same number of moons that there are feathers in the tail of a blue grouse." Coyote counted them, and found twenty-two. Thus Grisly Bear wanted each winter to last twenty-two moons.<sup>2</sup> Coyote said, "No. The people cannot endure such a long winter. They will all die. Let it be half that number." Grisly Bear objected: so Coyote said, "Let there be the same number of moons in a year as there are feathers in the tail of the red-winged flicker." Grisly Bear thought there were many feathers in the flicker's tail, so he assented. Then Coyote continued, "Half of these feathers shall represent the number of moons it may snow; and the other half, the number of moons it may not snow or be cold." Grisly Bear assented, as he thought the winter would thus be almost as long as he desired. He got a flicker's tail, and was surprised, when he counted the feathers, to find only twelve; but it was then too late to make any change. Coyote said, "Henceforth the year shall consist of six moons of warm weather, and six moons in which it may snow or be cold." Thus Coyote saved the people from having to live in darkness and cold; and he determined the seasons and days as they are now.

*Coyote makes Women menstruate.*

Formerly the men menstruated, and not the women. When Coyote was working in the world, putting things to rights, he considered this matter, and said to himself, "It is not right that men should menstruate. It is very inconvenient, for they do all the hunting and most of the travelling. Women stay more at home, and therefore it will be better if they menstruate, and

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Some say the Grisly wished the year to consist of twenty-two months.

not the men." Whereupon he took some of the menstrual fluid from men, and threw it upon the women, saying, "Henceforth women shall menstruate, and not men."<sup>1</sup>

*Coyote and his Hosts.*

Coyote was travelling over the earth. He felt hungry. He saw a house, entered, and found it inhabited by an old man called Fat-Man (Skia'uzkelesti'tmt).<sup>2</sup> There was nothing to eat in the house, and he thought, "What will this old man give me to eat?" The man knew his thoughts, and, making the fire blaze brightly, he sat with his bare back close in front of it. His back became soft and greasy, and he asked Coyote to eat. "Eat what?" said Coyote. And the man answered, "My back, of course." Coyote refused at first; but the man invited him to eat his back. Coyote said to himself, "I will bite his back right to the bone, and kill him." Going up to the man, he took a big bite; but the piece came away in his mouth, and no mark was left on the man's body. He found the food was very good.

Now he thought he could do the same thing: so, making a big blaze, he turned his back to the fire. But his back burned; and the smell of burning hair made the man angry, who threw him outside, saying, "You try to imitate me, but you cannot do it. You fool! Don't you know it is I only who can do that?"

Continuing his journey, Coyote came to another house, which he entered. It was inhabited by an old man called Fish-Oil-Man (Stiauzka'insti'tmt). Feeling hungry, and seeing nothing in the shape of food, he wondered what this man could give him to eat. The man made the fire blaze, and placed a wooden dish for catching drippings in front of it. He held his hands over it, with the fingers turned down, and the grease dropped from his finger-ends. When the dish was full, he placed it before Coyote, and asked him to eat. Coyote said, "I can't eat that." And the man answered, "Try it. It is good." Coyote then ate some, and, liking it, he finished the contents of the dish.

Coyote thought, "I will show this fellow that I can do the same thing." So, making the fire blaze, he took the wooden dish, and held his hands above it, in the same way the man had done. His hands shrivelled up with the heat, but no grease dropped from them. This is the reason why the coyote has short paws. He cried with pain; and the man threw him outside, saying, "You fool! That method belongs to me only."<sup>3</sup>

Again Coyote was travelling, and, coming to the house of a man called Beaver-Man (Skala'uzti'tmt), he entered. He felt hungry, but saw nothing to

<sup>1</sup> Some add, "They shall menstruate once a month, or with every moon."

<sup>2</sup> — ti'tmt is a suffix used in men's names.

<sup>3</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 40.

eat. He wondered what the old man would give him. The man took a sap-scraper and a bark dish, went outside to an alder-tree, and scraped off the cambium layer. When the dish was full, he brought it in and gave it to Coyote, who had been watching him meanwhile. Coyote said, "I cannot eat sticks." And the man assured him it was good, and that it was sap, and not sticks. Coyote ate, and found it very good.

Now he tried to imitate Beaver-Man. He took a sap-scraper and bark dish, went to an alder-tree, and scraped off the bark, which he offered to the old man, saying, "Eat some of my food." The man, seeing it was only bark, threw it away, and said, "Why do you try to imitate the methods which you ought to know belong to me only?"

Coyote continued his journey, and reached the abode of an old man called Kingfisher-Man (Tsalastí'mt), who lived in an underground house near the water's edge. He entered the house, feeling hungry, and looked around for food, but could see none. He thought, "What can this fellow give me to eat!" The man stripped the bark off a willow-bush, and made a string of it, which he put around his waist. Then he ascended to the top of the ladder, gave a cry, and dived down into the water through a hole between some driftwood.<sup>1</sup> Coyote watched; but, as he did not see him re-appear, he thought he must be dead. At last, however, the man came up bringing a string of fish, which he cooked and placed in a dish in front of Coyote. The latter refused to eat, saying that it was bad food. He was, however, assured that it was good, and ate it all.

Then Coyote made a bark string, went to the top of the ladder, and cried like a kingfisher. Then he dived into the hole. But his head stuck fast, and he would have been drowned had not the man pulled him out, saying, "You fool! Why try to imitate the method that belongs to me alone?"<sup>2</sup>

Coyote travelled along, and came to an underground house in which people were dancing. He looked in, but saw only a row of different kinds of snowshoes, which were standing on their ends all around the house. As soon as he left, the dancing commenced again; and when he looked in, it stopped. Then he entered and seized one of the snowshoes; and the others at once attacked him, striking him all over the body. He threw down the snowshoe he had seized, and ran out.<sup>3</sup>

He continued his journey, and soon he came to another underground house, which was quite full of small children. He said to himself, "I will play a trick on them," went in, took off his moccasins, and showed the children some cracks in the heel of his foot. He said, "My shoes are full of holes, and my feet have become very sore." Then all the children went

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<sup>1</sup> Some say a hole in the ice.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

out and brought in gum, which they gave to Coyote. That night, when they were all asleep, he daubed their eyes with gum, and then left the house.

The mothers of these children were Blue (or Dusky) Grouse, Willow (or Ruffed) Grouse, Prairie-Chicken (or Sharp-tailed Grouse), and Fool-Hen (or Franklin's Grouse). When the children awoke in the morning, they could not open their eyes, and, wandering around, lost one another, and could not find their way back to the house. Their mothers arrived, and after some difficulty found them all, and cleaned their eyes.

The children told them that Coyote had played them this trick: therefore the Grouse followed his tracks until they caught sight of him. The trail followed along the brink of a precipice. They passed Coyote unobserved and hid themselves near the precipice, at considerable distances apart. As Coyote came along, he sang, "They will never find their children, I have tricked them!" While he was thus singing, Fool-Hen arose suddenly from cover, and startled him. When he saw who it was, he said, "Oh, it is you! I suppose you are going home. Well, you will find your children all well." Going on, he commenced to sing again, and forgot all about meeting Fool-Hen, when suddenly Prairie-Chicken arose, and startled him as he leaned over backwards. He said to Prairie-Chicken, "You will find your children all well," and continued his journey, and again commenced to sing, when Willow-Grouse flew out, and startled him so that he nearly fell back over the cliff. He recognized the Grouse, and said, "You are going home. You will find your children all well." He kept on his way and sang his song, when suddenly Blue-Grouse arose in front of him with a loud noise, and startled him so much that he lost his balance and fell right over the cliff into the river below.

Here he was in danger of drowning, and transformed himself into one thing after another; but, as none of them floated satisfactorily, he at last changed himself into a piece of plank. Thus he drifted down the stream until he came beyond the Lower Thompson region,<sup>1</sup> where he was stopped by a weir belonging to two sisters who inhabited that country, and who were noted for their magic. On the next morning, when the women came to their weir to catch salmon, they saw the piece of plank, which they picked up, saying, "We will take this piece of wood home. It will make a nice dish." They made a plate of it; but each time they ate off it, the food would diminish so quickly that it disappeared before they had taken many mouthfuls. At last they became angry and threw it into the fire, saying, "There is too much magic about that dish."

Coyote immediately transformed himself into a little baby boy, and cried from the centre of the fire. The women said, "Quick! Pull it out! We

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<sup>1</sup> Some say the mouth of the Fraser River, or near the mouth.



will rear it as our child;" for they had no husbands or children. They made a carrier for him, and when they went to bed they placed him between them. When they were both asleep, Coyote arose and had connection with them, returning again to his cradle. Next morning, when they went to wash themselves, one of them said, "I feel queerly. My abdomen is all wet." And the other replied, "I also feel strange. There is blood between my legs." — "How can this be," said they, "when no men are around?"

Soon Coyote outgrew his carrier, and the women alternated in carrying him on their backs when they travelled about. He annoyed them very much, however, for he would constantly slip down lower and lower on their backs until he managed to have connection with them.

Thus the women kept him for a time, until one morning he arose early, and, going to the weir, broke it in the middle, and crossed to the opposite side of the river. When the women awoke, they searched for him, went to the weir, and found that it was broken and the salmon were passing through in great numbers. Then they noticed Coyote walking up the other side of the river; and he called to them, "I am going back to my country. If your children are males, rear them; but if they are females, stick them on the points of tree-branches." The women said, "It is the dog of a coyote who has been fooling us, and playing tricks on us." They were unable to mend the break in their weir, for Coyote had beaten them in magic. They said, "Coyote has stolen our salmon, and has left us pregnant." Coyote now conducted the salmon up the Fraser River to its source, and afterward up the Thompson River. This is the reason why the Fraser River is a superior salmon stream to the Thompson River. He said, "Henceforth every year, this season, salmon shall run up the rivers, and the people of the interior shall fish, and eat them. They shall no longer be kept at the mouth of the river, nor shall the people there have a monopoly of fishing and eating them."

As he went along, he cleared the waters of the rivers of obstructions, and arranged the banks so that it should be easy for people to fish for salmon as they ascended. The people were grateful for this great work of Coyote.

### *Coyote and Grisly Bear.*

*(Fraser River and North Thompson Division.)*

Coyote visited the old Grisly-Bear-Woman, and said to her, "I wish to live with you. You are a nice old woman." She assented, and he took up his abode with her. He had not been there long when he thought he would play her a trick. She was in the habit of defecating while sitting on a pole which she had laid across a deep, narrow gulch. One day while she was in

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 27.

the house, Coyote went to this place, and, after cutting the stick nearly through in the middle, told it to break the next time Grisly-Bear-Woman came to use it. Soon after he returned, Grisly-Bear-Woman went to defecate, and Coyote watched her from the top of the underground house.

Grisly-Bear-Woman had just finished when the stick broke, and she fell to the bottom, where she was covered with dung, which stuck to her fur. Coyote was so amused that he rolled over and over on the ground, laughing.

Grisly-Bear-Woman wiped herself and went home. As she entered, Coyote went out, and, coming in again, sniffed, and said, "I smell excrement." Then, looking at one of his feet, he said, "I must have stepped on excrement." Sniffing again, he held up his other foot and looked at it also. Grisly-Bear-Woman felt ashamed, and, going outside, wiped herself again. As she returned, Coyote went outside, and, entering again, sniffed and looked at his feet, as before. Grisly-Bear-Woman went and wiped herself again. When Coyote had done this four times, Grisly-Bear-Woman went to the water and washed herself.

It was now winter-time, and Coyote thought he would play another trick on Grisly-Bear-Woman. Taking some dead leaves, he threw them into the river, and they changed into salmon. Then he took some dry service-berries from the trees and threw them at the bushes, thus making them green, and laden with many fresh berries. He went to the house, and informed Grisly-Bear-Woman that many salmon were running and the service-berries were ripe. She would not believe him: therefore he took her along and showed her the salmon and the berries. When they returned to the house, he said to her, "There is no use eating old food when there is plenty of new to be had. Let us eat all your stores of provisions. There is no use keeping them. To-morrow I will help you pick berries, and afterward I will help you catch salmon. After you have enough of both, I will leave you and go on a journey."

Grisly-Bear-Woman agreed to this, and, bringing out her stores of dried salmon and dried berries, spread them in front of him. Then Coyote and Grisly-Bear-Woman ate all day and far into the night, finishing all.

Then Coyote said, "We will sleep for a while, and early in the morning we will start to pick berries." When Grisly-Bear-Woman had fallen asleep, Coyote put a rotten log in the place where he used to sleep, and covered it over with his blanket. Then he left the house, and caused a cold wind to blow, which withered up the leaves and berries he had made grow, and covered the river with a thick sheet of ice. After this he made a heavy snow fall, which nearly closed up the entrance of the underground house. When Grisly-Bear-Woman awoke, she noticed the snow, went outside, and saw everything covered with ice and snow, and no sign of berries or salmon. Then she returned to the house, saying, "Coyote has fooled me: I will kill

him." She hastened to Coyote's bed, thinking he was still asleep, seized what she presumed to be her husband, and commenced to tear it, only to find that it was a piece of rotten wood. Being left totally without food, Grisly-Bear-Woman soon starved to death.<sup>1</sup>

*Coyote and the Hunting-Cannibal.*

*(Fraser River and North Thompson Divisions.)*

Coyote, while travelling about, met a Cannibal who was hunting. The latter said to him, "Come help me hunt deer! There is a band of deer just coming around the shoulder of the hill yonder." Coyote looked where the Cannibal had pointed, and saw many people travelling along the hillside. He said, "These are not deer, they are people." The Cannibal answered, "No, they are deer, and good food. Let us go and drive them." Coyote said, "I tell you, they are not deer. They are people going to visit another village."

When the Cannibal and Coyote had thus spoken to each other four times, Coyote said, "I will show you deer." He stepped up to a tree, took some of the roots, and transformed them into a buck-deer with large antlers. Then, after showing the animal to the Cannibal, he took some of the meat and cooked it. Coyote ate some of the meat first, and invited the Cannibal to do likewise; but at first he refused, for he was afraid it might poison him. At last he ate some, and acknowledged it to be good. Coyote said, "This meat is food, flesh of people is not food. Now we will go together, and I will show you how to hunt and kill deer."

After hunting for some time, they found a band of deer; and Coyote shot one with an arrow, cut it up, and cooked some of the meat. After they had eaten their fill, Coyote took the Cannibal's sack, which contained human flesh, emptied out the contents, and replenished it with venison. Then Coyote said, "I ordain that henceforth no one shall eat human flesh. There shall be no more cannibals in the world. All people shall eat deer-meat." Some say, that, on leaving, he transformed the Cannibal into an owl.

*Coyote and Holxoli'p.*<sup>2</sup>

Holxoli'p was in the habit of amusing himself with his eyes by throwing them up in the air and letting them fall back again into their orbits. When doing this, he called out, "Turn around, stick fast!" (Xa'lxalǽ'k, xêqxé'qa!) Coyote came along, and, seeing him do this, he thought he would do the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the end of this tale with Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup> This is the name of a small dark-colored bird which I was unable to identify.

same. Taking out his eyes and throwing them up, he called out the same words; but his eyes would not fall back into their orbits properly. He tried many times; but, even when they did happen to fall back into their proper places, they would fall out again. Meanwhile Raven came along, and, seeing Coyote throwing up his eyes, he seized them and made off with them. Coyote was now completely blind, and said to himself, "What a fool I was to attempt doing a thing I knew nothing about! If I could only get some bearberries, I could make very good eyes of them." He crawled about on the ground, feeling for bearberries, but he could find none. Finally he found some rose-bushes, and, taking two rose-berries, he put them in his orbits, and was then able to see; but his eyes were now large and red, and he could not see as well as formerly.<sup>1</sup>

*Coyote and Fox.*

Coyote, while travelling about, came to an underground house which was inhabited by very small, short people. They were the rock-rabbits.<sup>2</sup> He said to himself, "They are too short for people. I will kill them all and eat them." After slaughtering them, he tied all their bodies on a string, and carried them over his shoulder. It was very hot, clear weather, so he sought the shade of a large yellow pine-tree, where he heated stones, and, digging an earth oven, put all the rock-rabbits in to bake.<sup>3</sup> Then he lay down in the shade to sleep until they should be cooked. Meanwhile Fox came along, and, seeing Coyote asleep, he dug up and took out the contents of the oven, and began to eat.<sup>4</sup> He had eaten about half the rock-rabbits when Coyote awoke, but, feeling too lazy and overcome by the heat to get up, he said to Fox, "Spare me ten." The latter never heeded, but kept on eating. When Coyote saw there were only ten left, and Fox still continued to eat, he said, "Spare me nine." But Fox paid no attention; and, although Coyote continued to ask him to spare the rest, Fox continued to eat until there was only one rock-rabbit left. Coyote was still too lazy to rise: so he said, "Spare me half a one." But Fox ate the last one up, and then crawled away, having eaten so much that he could hardly walk.

At last Coyote became energetic enough to rise. Saying to himself, "I will kill that fellow!" he set out to follow Fox's tracks. Soon he came upon Fox sleeping in the shade of a very thick fir-tree. Coyote, by his magic, made the tree fall on Fox; then he laughed loudly, saying, "I told the

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<sup>1</sup> Also collected among the Lower Thompson Indians.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly so called in British Columbia, also sometimes called Pika or Rocky Mountain Pika. They are small brown tailless animals, very plentiful in high mountains of the interior. They live in rock-slides at the base of cliffs, and utter a shrill, squeaky cry. They often inhabit the same slides with the hoary marmots.

<sup>3</sup> In the same manner as roots are cooked.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar incident of Coyote and Fox, see Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 29 and 71.

tree to fall on him, and now he is dead." The tree was so branchy, however, that it had fallen over Fox without the trunk touching him, for the many branches had hindered the trunk from reaching the ground. Soon Fox crawled out from underneath the tree and walked away.

Reaching a place where the wild red-top or rye-grass was very thick and tall, he went into the middle of it and lay down to sleep again. Coyote followed him, and set fire to the grass all around; but Fox, waking up, set counter-fires around himself, and thus made Coyote's fire harmless.

When the fires had died out, Fox went on, and entered a piece of country overgrown with reeds, where hares were very numerous. Coyote, following, set fire to the reeds, saying, "They will burst, and then Fox's eyes will burst also." When the fire spread, the hares ran out in large numbers; and Coyote was so intent clubbing them, that Fox escaped, and was some distance away before Coyote noticed him. The latter then said, "Fox, you may go."

Then Coyote travelled on, and came to a place where magpies were very numerous. Here he set snares, and, catching many of these birds, he made a robe of their skins. He put his robe on and admired it very much, saying, "What a beautiful robe I have! and how the feathers shine!" Soon afterwards he met Fox, who was wearing a robe thickly covered with tail-feathers of the golden eagle. Coyote said to himself, "His robe looks better than mine, and is much more valuable." So he offered to exchange robes; but Fox said, "How can you expect me to exchange a valuable robe like mine for yours, which is made of only magpie-skins?" Just as they were about to separate, Coyote seized Fox, and, tearing his robe off, went away with it.

Fox sat down and watched Coyote until he was out of sight. The latter, arriving at a lake, took off his magpie robe, and, tearing it to pieces, threw it into the water. Then, donning the robe of eagle-feathers, he strutted around, admiring himself, and saying, "If a wind would only come, so that I could see and admire these feathers as they flutter!" Just then Fox caused a great wind to come, which blew the robe off Coyote's back, and carried it back to himself.<sup>1</sup> Then Coyote went back to the lake to see if he could find his old magpie robe; but the wind had scattered all the pieces and the feathers, so that only here and there on the surface of the lake could one be seen. Coyote was now worse off than at first, and had to travel along naked.

*Story of Coyote and Fox quarrelling.*

Coyote and Fox<sup>2</sup> lived together. At first they were on good terms with each other, but afterwards they had frequent quarrels. One day Coyote

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<sup>1</sup> A similar incident of a robe is contained in an Uta'mqt story.

<sup>2</sup> Some say Fox was Coyote's younger brother.

attacked Fox, saying he would kill him. The latter ran out over the plains, and Coyote after him. He chased Fox until he was out of breath and very tired. Then he said to himself, "Fox can run much better than I can: he is still quite fresh, and I am exhausted. He may turn round and attack me when he sees that I am fatigued." Therefore he made a hole in the ground, and crawled into it, for he was afraid. Fox hastened back, and sat down to watch the hole. He said to Coyote, "You are exhausted; and if you come out, I will soon run you down and kill you. I will watch the hole until you have to come out." Coyote did not know what to do to induce Fox to leave, but at last he hit upon a plan.

He defecated, and transformed his excrement into many pans, kettles, and other food-vessels, with which he rattled, making much noise, as if many people were getting their utensils ready hurriedly, preparatory to starting on a journey. Then he spoke in a loud voice, as if addressing a concourse of people, saying, "We must leave at once. It will take us a good while to reach our destination."

Then he let his excrement make a noise, as if many people were leaving; and he let the noise gradually subside, as if the people were passing out of hearing. Fox said to himself, "Coyote must have found some people, and is going with them to the underground world. They are evidently going to feast the people of the underground world." He listened until the last sound had died away; then, feeling sure that Coyote had gone, he left. As soon as Coyote saw that Fox had left, he came out of the hole, and escaped.

*Story of Coyote's Daughter;<sup>1</sup> or, Coyote's Daughter and her Dogs.*

A man<sup>2</sup> and his wife lived in an underground house. The wife<sup>3</sup> was not a native of that place, but belonged to a distant country. The couple had a son who was just able to walk, and who bothered his parents very much by constantly crying to see his grandfather. At last the father became tired, and said to his wife, "Go back and visit your people, and take our son with you, that he may see his grandparents."

When the woman and her child were ready to depart, he warned his wife, saying, "You must be very careful how you go, for there are cannibals<sup>4</sup> in the country through which you will pass. Always keep in the open, and never pass through any bushes or groves of trees." The country was a prairie, with clumps of trees and bushes here and there.

On the fourth day the woman said to herself, "It makes the journey much longer having to go around all the clumps of trees on my trail." So,

<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 35 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> According to some Indians, a coyote.

<sup>3</sup> Most Indians agree that she was the daughter of Coyote.

<sup>4</sup> Some say mysterious beings.

seeing a small patch of trees and bushes just ahead of her, she thought she would take a short cut right through them, especially since she could see that it was a very small patch surrounded by open prairie. As soon as she entered the bush, it spread out on all sides, covering a large area, and, travel in whichever direction she would, she found no way out of the forest.

Toward evening she approached an underground house in the woods. The house was inhabited by four women,<sup>1</sup> who invited her to enter. When she reached the foot of the ladder, one of the women stepped up and caressed and blessed the boy. Then she said to the other, "Build a large fire, that the mother may warm her child, for he is very cold." When the fire had become very large and hot, they shoved the woman and her son into it, and piled up much fuel on top of them. The boy, however, urinated on the fire right around where they were, and thus preserved himself and his mother from being burned.

The women added fuel to the fire four times, and, after doing so the last time, they went to bed, saying to one another, "They will be nicely cooked by the time we rise. We will eat them for breakfast."

After the women had fallen asleep, the boy urinated so much on the fire that he extinguished it altogether. Finding that the women had blocked the entrance, he urinated against the wall of the house, and thus made a hole, through which he and his mother escaped by walking up over the stream of urine, and down on the other side. They had just reached the open plain when the cannibals awoke, and, finding their victims gone, at once gave chase. They ran very fast, and soon overtook the fugitives, who, however, saw them coming.

Then the woman pulled four hairs out of her body,<sup>2</sup> and threw them on the ground. They were at once transformed into four tall trees standing close together. In these they took refuge. The cannibals arrived, and at once with hammers and chisels tried to fell the tree in which the woman and her son were. When it was about to fall, the couple sprang into the top of the next one. Finally they took refuge in the last tree, and the cannibals commenced to chop around the base. Now, the boy began to urinate down the tree; and each time he did so, the wood swelled, and the notch that the cannibals had cut closed up, as if it had never been cut. Thus the cannibals worked hard, but their progress was so slow that it was nearly sunset before the tree showed signs of falling.

Now, the woman's husband had four fierce dogs which he always kept tied up near his house. They were Grisly Bear, Rattlesnake, Timber Wolf, and Panther.<sup>3</sup> When the dogs knew that their master's wife was in distress,

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<sup>1</sup> Some say a man and his wife.

<sup>2</sup> Some say out of her head; others say out of her pubes.

<sup>3</sup> Some say Grisly Bear, Rattlesnake, Wolf, and Porcupine.

they became very restless, and strove to break away. Their master suspected that something was wrong, and let them loose. They rushed off, and just reached the place as the tree was about to fall. Attacking the cannibals, they killed and ate them.

The woman and her son returned with the dogs to her husband's house, and, after resting for four days, started out on her journey again. Taking care not to enter any pieces of timber, she reached the house of her father, Coyote, without mishap, and she and her son were cordially welcomed.

Since these dogs killed and ate the cannibals, therefore the grisly bear, rattlesnake, wolf, and panther kill people at the present day. Their master said to them, "Because you have tasted human blood, you will henceforth be able to kill men occasionally."

### *Coyote and Salmon.*<sup>1</sup>

Some time after Coyote had introduced the salmon, he said, "I have never given a feast yet. Why should I not feast the people?" He caught and dried great numbers of sockeye and king salmon, and also made much salmon-oil, and buried much salmon-roes. Then he sent out messengers to invite all the people. He said to himself, "I will sing a great song, and perform a dance, when the people assemble. They will think me a great man."

Then he practised his dance, and sang, going out and in between the poles where the salmon were drying. While doing so, his hair was caught in the gills of one of the salmon, and he could not free himself. He got angry, pulled the whole fish down, and threw it into the river. Immediately all the salmon came to life, and, jumping off the poles, ran to the river. The Coyote tried to stop them, but in vain. As he was endeavoring to catch the last one, he noticed that the oil had also come to life, and was running to the river. He ran to stop it, but too late. The salmon-roes he had buried also came out and jumped into the river. When the people arrived, they found nothing to eat, and were very angry, for they thought Coyote had played a trick on them.

### *Coyote and Wolf.*

Coyote lived with Wolf. They hunted together, and killed many deer and elks. Wolf said, "When we kill animals, we should take their skins off before eating them. The skins are not good for us to eat. We might leave the skins wherever we kill the animal, and the people might find them and

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<sup>1</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 18 of this Volume.



be glad to have them. They might dress the skins and make clothes and moccasins of them." Coyote answered, "No, that would not do. It would take too long to skin each animal. We will eat the skin with the flesh."

This is the reason that at the present day wolves and coyotes, when they kill or find an animal, always eat the skin with the flesh, leaving nothing but the bones. If Coyote had been more considerate, and not so selfish, but allowed Wolf to have his wish, the people would have been better off.

*Story of Coyote and the Swans.*<sup>1</sup>

Coyote, while travelling with his son Kallê'llst, passed a lake, on the grassy shores of which they saw four swans. Coyote sang and danced, and thus brought it about that the swans lost their power of flight, and fell a prey to his son, who clubbed them, and tied them together. Coyote said to his son, "We will cook and eat them. You must watch them while I gather fire-wood. I will cut off the dry top of that tree yonder."<sup>2</sup> Coyote climbed the tree, and was standing on a branch, busily engaged cutting the tree-top, when his son cried to him, "Come quickly, father! The swans have come to life, and I cannot hold them." Coyote got excited, and cried, "Catch them! Hold them!" As he hurriedly descended the tree, the sharp point of a broken limb penetrated his scrotum, and he yelled with pain. Meanwhile the swans all got loose and flew away, and, although Coyote danced and sang, they kept on their way, and alighted far out on the lake.

*Coyote and the Black Bears.*

As Coyote was travelling along, he saw three black bears in a tree, — a mother and two cubs. He said to himself, "I will kill all three, and make their skins into a robe. The two cubs' skins sewed together will make one half of the robe, and the large bear the other half." He took off the robe he was wearing, tore it all to pieces, and, taking up a branch that was to serve as a club, he hid at the foot of the tree.

One of the bears came down, and he struck it with the club, but it ran away unharmed. The other bears also came down; and, although Coyote hit each of them on the head, they ran off unharmed, and disappeared in the timber. Thus Coyote was left without a robe. He picked up the pieces of the robe he had torn, but saw that it would be too much work to sew them together again, for the bits were very small. He travelled on, wearing only his leggings. He was foolish.

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<sup>1</sup> I have lately collected among the Thompson Indians a story similar to this.

<sup>2</sup> Some say it was the dead pitchy top of a yellow-pine.

*Coyote and his Niece.*

Coyote and his niece<sup>1</sup> lived alone in the same house, and slept on opposite sides of the fire. One morning Coyote happened to see her privates, and said to her, "Why do you show your privates? Keep them covered. I feel strange when I see them." The woman felt ashamed at what Coyote said. The latter thought, "I will play a trick, that I may have intercourse with my niece;" for, after seeing her privates, he desired her very much.

He pretended to be very sick, and said, "I am dying. Come here, and I will tell you what to do. Take a large spoon made of sheep's-horn, and a birch-bark basket, and dig a grave for me. Bury me in the hole you dig, just leaving my head uncovered. Then place a basketful of lily-roots (*Lilium columbianum* Hanson), and another one of service-berries, beside my head as a grave-offering. I shall never eat roots or berries any more, so be liberal and place plenty at my grave. Also leave the spoon and bark bucket near by, for it would not be right to take these away and use them when they had been once used for digging a grave. Then leave me to rot, and go to my brother,<sup>2</sup> who dwells in an underground house away to the south, and live with him, for you cannot live here alone. Marry the first nice man that comes along and wants you." Bidding his niece good-by, Coyote pretended to die, and was buried as directed.

Then the woman took all her property, travelled to her friends, and told them of her uncle's death. After she had departed, Coyote came out of the grave, and, taking the bark bucket, he fetched water, and boiled the berries and roots together. When they were done, he ate with the spoon, and thus he cooked and ate until all the food was consumed.

Then he travelled until he came near to the place to which his niece had gone. Here he went to a shallow lake, and, taking a horse-tail reed, he transformed it into a nice-looking bark canoe. He tore algæ and other plants from the bottom of the lake, and transformed them into many blankets of green and yellow colors. He transformed a piece of taxpā'wood<sup>3</sup> into a gun, and some alkali-grass into dentalia, with which he ornamented his body. He donned the brightest-colored blanket, painted his face red and black, dressed his hair, and placed two large feathers that looked like an eagle's tail-feathers, one on each side of his head, so that they stood up like horns. He attached long streamers of red ribbon to their tips. Then, going to the river some distance above the people's house, he launched his canoe and paddled down-stream.

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<sup>1</sup> Some say it was his daughter.

<sup>2</sup> Some say friend.

<sup>3</sup> A tree which bears a whitish berry, which the Indians eat.

The people saw him approaching, and called to one another, "A richly dressed stranger is coming in a canoe!" He had almost passed the people, whose curiosity was aroused by his appearance. They hailed him, asking where he was going, and if he had any news. He answered them in the Okanagon language, and they said among themselves, "He is an Okanagon," and invited him to come ashore. He tied up his canoe and entered the house. When the girl saw him, she said to herself, "This is surely the man my uncle told me about." She shook a mat, and spread it for him to sit on. Then he asked the people for the woman, and gave them all his dentalia, blankets, gun, and canoe as a marriage-present. That night he slept with his niece, and had intercourse with her. Next morning he arose before daybreak, and left.

When the woman awoke, her husband was gone, and the people found their rich presents transformed. The dentalia had become alkali-grass; the gun, a stick; the blankets, water-plants; and the canoe, a horse-tail. The people said, "Oh! this is certainly Coyote. He has played a trick on us." The woman was ashamed when she learned that her uncle had lain with her.

Soon afterwards some of the people saw a man walking up the river on the opposite bank, and they all ran out to have a look at him. It was Coyote, who called across the river, "If the child is a branch with a hole in it, hang it up in a tree; but if it is a branch with a spike on it, then rear it." He meant the child his niece would bear to him, as she was already pregnant.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Coyote and the Cannibal Boy.*

As Coyote was passing near the house of some people, he saw a boy, whom he captured. He put him on his shoulders and walked away with him as fast as he could. Now, Coyote had a small boil or sore at the root of his neck, or somewhere between his shoulders; and the boy, seeing it, picked the skin off and commenced to probe it. Coyote said, "Don't do that! It hurts." But the boy said, "I am only opening the sore to let the matter out, so that it may soon get well." Thus the boy opened up the sore four times, until it bled and became large; and each time Coyote remonstrated with him, for it was painful. At last he reached home with the boy, and the people asked him where he had gotten him, and what he intended to do with him. Coyote answered, "Oh! I stole him. When he grows, he will do everything for me. He is my slave." The people said, "If he belongs to any tribe near by, his friends may attack us, and try to get him back." Coyote did not know that the boy was a cannibal's son.

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<sup>1</sup> This last incident in the story forms part of a Thompson Indian Coyote story.

That night Coyote made his bed and put the boy in it, covering him over with a blanket, and lay down alongside of him. In the same bed, on Coyote's other side, lay a woman with whom he was familiar.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after going to bed, Coyote turned his back to the boy, and, laying his head on the woman's breast, he soon fell fast asleep. Then the boy put his mouth to Coyote's sore and sucked out all his blood and flesh, leaving nothing but the bones and skin. The boy swelled out very much, and had a thirst for human blood and flesh. Therefore he arose and killed all the people, and ate them, excepting one man who happened to wake up, and who made his escape. As the boy ate the people, he kept on growing, until, by the time he had finished his meal, he had attained the proportions of a man of gigantic bulk and enormous weight. Now, following the tracks of the man who had escaped, he soon began to draw near him. As he ran along, he repeatedly uttered the cry, "A'ak!"<sup>2</sup> and the man, hearing him coming, threw earth behind him, thus retarding the cannibal's progress.<sup>3</sup> Four times he retarded him thus, but at last the cannibal came close up to him again.

Then the man hastily made a fire, and, taking a marmot's bone, a porcupine's bone, a wolf's bone, and a grisly bear's bone, he put them into the fire. Taking them out again, he sharpened their points, and transformed them into four dogs, placing those made of the marmot and porcupine bones in front, and the other two a little farther back, while he himself sat down behind all. He made the dogs lie down quietly, with their jaws resting on their front feet, and leaving enough space for a person to pass between them. The cannibal approached, and asked the man to call in his dogs, that he might pass. The man answered, "Pass between them: there is plenty of room. They are very quiet dogs, and have never been known to bite anybody." The cannibal walked in between them, and, when he had passed the first two, all the dogs attacked him simultaneously and tore him to pieces. They devoured him, and licked his blood off the ground. Then the man returned home, and found Coyote still alive, but in such a weak condition that he could not walk. The man hunted deer, killed many, and fed Coyote until he regained his flesh and strength, and became quite well again. The man and Coyote lived together for a long time.

*The War of the Four Tribes or of the Four Quarters.*

Once in the ancient time, the Crees from the east, the Thompsons from the south, and the Lillooet from the west, made up their minds to attack

<sup>1</sup> Some say his wife.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Some say he merely threw earth so that it formed small mounds and ridges, and that, being soft, it impeded his walking. Others say he threw the earth behind him. Rolling up the surface, as it were, he threw it behind, and it spread out, making a wide expanse of space, and thus the pursuer had to cover a great distance.

the Shuswap of the north. They met on the east bank of Fraser River, and there joined forces. Numbering several hundred men, they now advanced up the river to attack the Shuswap, but, when nearly opposite the mouth of Lone Cabin Creek and still some distance from Canoe Creek, they were met by Coyote, or some other transformer, who changed them into pillars of clay. They may be seen standing there now, — the tall Crees on the right, the Thompson of medium height in the centre, and the short Lillooet on the left.

*Origin of the Chilcotin Cañon.*

It is said that as recently as about sixty years ago, the falls at the mouth of the Chilcotin Cañon were so steep, and the water so rapid, that very few salmon were able to ascend, and that before this time they could not ascend at all. Thus there were no salmon in the Chilcotin country. The falls there have gradually worn down, until at the present time salmon ascend freely, and reach spawning-grounds on the Upper Chilcotin River. It is further said that the falls in the Chilcotin Cañon formed originally a dam or barrier of rock, which Coyote placed across the river for the express purpose of hindering the salmon from ascending, and thus retaining them for the Shuswap.<sup>1</sup>

*The Ball.*

(The North Thompson division tell this story in the same way as the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup> Coyote desires a glittering ball owned by some people. He and Antelope send their sons to steal it. Coyote's son assumes the shape of a stone on the playground, takes it, and is pursued; when almost caught, he throws the ball to his brother. All Coyote's children are killed. Antelope's sons reach home with the ball. Coyote is prevented by Antelope from throwing himself into the fire; he sleeps four nights with the ball under his head, then escapes with it, pursued by Antelope; he makes a fog to mislead Antelope; then he breaks the ball, which contains dung; he uses pieces of the shell as armor, leaving his throat unprotected, and attacks people in the shape of an elk, killing many; finally he is struck by an arrow in the throat, falls, and is found to consist of dung.)

2. OLD-ONE.

*Old-One and the Sweat-House.*

Old-One was travelling over the earth, visiting the people, and putting everything to rights. He taught the people how to sweat-bathe and make

<sup>1</sup> Some say this was done because the Chilcotin were a bad people.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 32—34.

sweat-houses. He told them, "When you sweat-bathe, pray to Swalu's<sup>1</sup> that you may be healthy, and obtain success in hunting and gambling." Soon after this he met Swalu's, and said to him, "Henceforth people will make sweat-houses, and, when they sweat-bathe, they will supplicate you, to whom the mystery of the sweat-bath belongs. When they pray for relief from pain, for health, long life, lightness of body, fleetness of foot, wisdom, wealth, and success in hunting, gambling, and war, pay heed to them, and grant their desires. Gather their sickness when they are in the sweat-house, take it from their bodies, and cast it to the winds."

Then Old-One visited the Water, and said to him, "When my children wash and bathe themselves, draw sickness from their bodies, heal their wounds, refresh them; and, when they pray to you, answer their supplications. You shall be the guardian of those who constantly seek you."

Old-One also visited the Fir-Tree, and said to him, "When my children take your branches and wash with them, may your mysterious power help them!"

For this reason the Indians use fir-branches, bathe in the cold water, and sweat-bathe at the present day.

#### *Old-One and the Brothers.*

Once when Old-One, or Chief, was travelling over the earth, he came to a place where four brothers were living. The brothers were about to make a canoe; and that day the eldest had taken some food on his back, and an axe, and had gone into the woods to pick out a good canoe-tree, and to fell it. While wandering around in the woods, he met Old-One, but did not recognize him. Old-One told him he was hungry, and asked if he could give him something to eat. The man answered, "I have nothing to eat myself." They separated; and the man, finding a nice straight tree, felled it and then went home. Next morning, when he came to work the tree, he found that it was crooked. This frightened him. He went home and told his brothers what had happened.

Then the second brother went out; and he also met Old-One, who asked him where he was going and what he would do. He answered, "I am looking for a good tree. I intend to make a canoe." Old-One asked him if he could give him something to eat, for he knew the man carried food in a sack; but the man answered that he had nothing to eat himself. They separated; and the man found a fine straight tree, which he chopped down. On the next morning it was bent and twisted in all directions.

After this the third brother went out in search of a tree, and the same thing happened to him.

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<sup>1</sup> Swalu's is the name of the spirit of the sweat-house, or the deity of the sweat-bath. The name is the same in Shuswap and Thompson, and seems to mean "open face," or "face not hidden" (uncovered).

At last the youngest brother went out. He was despised by all the others. After he had been travelling some time, and when it was about noon, he met Old-One in the forest, and was asked the same questions his brothers had been asked. He replied that he had a little food, and offered the sack with its contents to Old-One, saying, "You may eat all the bag contains. I do not care if I go hungry myself for a time. I am young and strong, while you are old and weak." Old-One took the bag, emptied out its contents, and asked the young man to shut his eyes. When he opened them again, the food had increased fourfold,<sup>1</sup> and, although they both ate their fill, they were not able to finish it. Old-One told him to throw away what was left. Then Old-One asked the young man for his axe, and, telling him to wait where he was, he disappeared in the timber. Soon the young man heard a sound as if many people were working wood. Suddenly the sound ceased, and Old-One re-appeared, saying, "Your canoe is finished. Come and look at it." The lad went, and beheld a fine canoe. He thanked Old-One for his help. When the latter left, he gave the young man an iron axe in place of the one made of stone which he had used before.

When the people saw the canoe, they pronounced it the best they had ever seen, and they wondered that the inexperienced youth had been able to make such a fine craft. The people also wondered at the iron axe, for hitherto they had seen those of stone and antler only. The lad's brothers despised him no more. Thus he won much by being kind and hospitable.

### 3. TLEE'SA AND HIS BROTHERS.<sup>2</sup>

*(Fraser River and North Thompson Divisions.)*

Tlee'sa was the eldest<sup>3</sup> of four brothers who lived with their aunt<sup>4</sup> somewhere near Kamloops. With them also lived a small boy called Kwelaā'llst,<sup>5</sup> who was a grandson of their aunt. The latter was called "mother" by them all, and was a woman of profound wisdom. She often bemoaned the fact that there were so many evil beings and cannibals in the country, thus rendering it hard for the Indians to live, and preventing them from increasing. Many of the present-day animals were at that time human beings with animal characteristics; and all of them were cannibals, who used many devices to entrap and slay the unwary. Tlee'sa pondered deeply and long

<sup>1</sup> Some say it had increased to a great heap, and was changed to the very best kind.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 7 of this volume; Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 42-45; G. M. Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1891, Section II, pp. 31-33, 35).

<sup>3</sup> Some say, also, that he was shortest of stature (see Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 42).

<sup>4</sup> Some say grandmother.

<sup>5</sup> One Indian said he had heard that Kwelaā'llst was the offspring of the hog-fennel-root (compare Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia*, p. 31). He is called by the North Thompson "Shuswap Iukema'llst or Iukemenē'llst."

over the matter, and at last decided that he would try to rid the country of these evil beings.

Then his "mother," in her wisdom, looked over the world, and told him the names of the several cannibals, and the places where they lived. She also told him the different methods they employed to kill people, and how he might conquer them. She only forgot to tell him about Pubescent-Girl (the chipmunk).

Finally Tleē'sa, who was gifted with great magic, started out, assisted by his three brothers,<sup>1</sup> to vanquish the cannibals. They carried no weapons with them, Tleē'sa alone having a double-ended arrow-flaker of deer-antler, which could also be used as a dagger.<sup>2</sup>

First of all, they repaired to the house of the four Grisly Bear sisters,<sup>3</sup> who possessed arrow-stone. Tleē'sa entered the house, and the others waited for him outside. By the power of his thoughts he made the women jealous, and evilly disposed towards one another. Then he proposed marriage to them, and, calling them aside one after another, he told each that the other was talking evil about her. Finally he induced them to fight among themselves. As soon as they became angry, their hair fell out, for it consisted of arrow-knives and arrow-points loosely set in the skin. When great numbers of these had dropped, he gathered them up and gave them to his brothers outside. When they had enough, he ordered the women to stop fighting, telling them that he had lied to them to make them angry, in order that he might obtain arrow-points. They answered, "Why did you do that? If you had asked, we would have given you plenty of arrow-stone. It was not necessary to make us angry." Then the brothers threw the arrow-heads on the ground, saying, "Henceforth arrow-stone and arrow-flakes shall be scattered over the whole country, and people will find them in plenty, and use them. They shall no longer be in the possession of a few."<sup>4</sup>

From this point the brothers journeyed toward the place where the four cannibal Grisly Bears lived. In the same place lived Coyote and many other people.<sup>5</sup> Tleē'sa transformed himself into a dog,<sup>6</sup> with small arrow-points in place of hair, spear-points for teeth, and a very large arrow-stone knife for a tail. The brothers led him as they neared the underground house of the Grisly Bears. Coyote saw them approach, and called out, "Three men and

<sup>1</sup> Tleē'sa was more gifted with magic than his brothers, and acted as their leader.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the magic stick carried by Lendix'teux in the Chilcotin legend (Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 11 of this volume).

<sup>3</sup> Some Indians say this place was on the north side of Kamloops Lake. Others say the story never stated any place in particular, although the Bonaparte Shuswap and the Thompson Indians say the incident happened near the Arrowstone Hills, on the east side of Bonaparte River. Compare this part of the story with Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 76; and with Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> From this time on, the brothers all carried arrow-stone knives.

<sup>5</sup> In the North Thompson version, one half of the people were Grisly Bears; the other half, Coyotes.

<sup>6</sup> In the North Thompson version of this story, Iukemenē'llst takes the place of Tleē'sa.



a dog are coming! That is my dog!" When the brothers reached the house, they saw that heaps of human bones were piled up around it. They were invited in, tied their dog to the top of the ladder, and entered. The people asked them to play a game of hide-and-seek outside. The bark of a large tree which stood close by had been scraped off all around by the Bears' claws, and the brothers were told that they would play around the tree. Soon the Bears caught the brothers and killed them. Meanwhile Coyote had examined the dog, and spit in its face. Once, however, he got his face too near, and cut his lips on the dog's hair. Then he said to the dog, "You are indeed wonderful."

When the people came back, he told them about it; and they said, "Let us play with the dog." They then let him loose, and he ran to and fro among the Grisly Bear people, killing them with his sharp hair, teeth, and tail. Whenever his tail swung round and hit a man, it cut him in two.

When he had killed them all, he changed back to his former self, went to the bodies of his brothers, and jumped over each of them, thus bringing them back to life. Then he said, "Henceforth the grisly bear shall be a mere animal, able to kill people only at times when they are foolish. It shall no longer live on human flesh, but on roots and berries."<sup>1</sup>

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to Little-Tobacco-Place (Pesma'menex),<sup>2</sup> near Dead-Man's Creek, where the poisonous tobacco-tree grew. It was a large, very leafy tree, and all around it lay the bones of its victims; for any one who touched its leaves, or rested in its shade, invariably died. Tleē'sa said, "I will smoke tobacco." His brothers tried to dissuade him; but he insisted, and, going up to the tree, he cut it down with his arrow-flaker. Taking the leaves, he smoked them himself, and gave his brothers the stalks to smoke. Then he said, "Tobacco shall never again kill people. It will be a good plant, and people shall gather and smoke it without harm."<sup>3</sup>

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to where the Thompson River flows out of Kamloops Lake. At this place the river was blocked by a huge elk, which stood tail up-stream. Everything that floated down-stream entered the monster's anus, and passed out at its mouth. When a canoe with people tried to pass, the former only passed through the elk, which devoured the crew.<sup>4</sup> Tleē'sa said, "I will eat elk-meat." His brothers answered that he must not attack the monster, for he would certainly be killed. He insisted, however, and, lying down on a board, he floated down, and entered

<sup>1</sup> Compare preceding part of this story with Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 30, 31; and with Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 13 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Wild tobacco was plentiful here.

<sup>3</sup> Compare preceding part with Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 12 of this volume. In the North Thompson version the tree killed the people by falling on them. When it fell on Tleē'sa, he put his arrow-flaker upright, and the tree rested on it.

<sup>4</sup> Some say he killed them by pressing his sides in on them.

the elk. When his brothers saw only the board pass out of the elk's mouth, they said, "Tl̥ē'sa is certainly dead." Presently, however, they saw the beast stagger, and very soon it fell down on the bank dead. They were cutting the carcass to find the body of their brother, when he called to them from inside, saying, "Be careful! you may cut me." He had placed his flaker crossways inside of the elk, and had then cut off its heart, thus killing it. Then Tl̥ē'sa said, "The elk shall no longer have supernatural powers. Never again shall it eat people. Henceforth elk shall be hunted and killed by the people, who will eat its flesh, and dress its skin."<sup>1</sup>

Continuing their journey, the brothers reached a cliff called (Ox̥)tseta'ks,<sup>2</sup> in the Bonaparte Valley. Here dwelt a ram of the mountain-sheep,<sup>3</sup> which killed everybody who passed that way by blowing its breath on them. Tl̥ē'sa said, "I will eat sheep-flesh;" and against the wishes of his brothers, who feared he would be killed, he went up toward the ram, which blew on him, but without effect. Tl̥ē'sa ripped up the ram with his arrow-flaker and killed it. Then he transformed it into a proper mountain-sheep, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a common sheep, unable to harm the people, who will hunt you, and make use of your flesh and horns."

Here Tl̥ē'sa sat down and made a spoon out of one of the ram's horns, and his brothers joined him. As they were sitting there, a boy passed by, running along on the flat ground underneath them. He was carrying a small bundle on his back, and his bow and arrow in his hands. It was Kwelaā'llst, who had been sent out in haste to overtake the brothers, and tell them of the mysterious power of Pubescent-Girl, and how to overcome her. The brothers did not recognize him; and, although they called to him, he did not hear. Then they made up their minds to kill him, and kicked down the stones from the cliff on to the flat below, the boulders falling all around him.<sup>4</sup> When the dust cleared away, they saw him going along singing, as if nothing had happened. Four times they kicked down the rocks,<sup>5</sup> but with the same result.<sup>6</sup> Then they ran after him, and, when they had reached him, recognized him.

He said to them, "You had better eat of my food. You must be hungry." Taking off his pack, which consisted of a round basket-kettle called sel̥ekwa'n, and some ska'metc, hog-fennel, and other roots, he put them in the kettle and boiled them with hot stones. When cooked, he placed the food before

<sup>1</sup> Compare the preceding part with Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 10 of this volume; also with Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People, etc.*, p. 32. Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der nord-pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This place is near Doc. English's ranch; and the Indians claim that the forms in stone, of a big-horn ram and of a dog barking at it, may still be seen there.

<sup>3</sup> In the North Thompson version, a mountain-goat.

<sup>4</sup> In the North Thompson version, he puts the woven cooking-basket over his head, thus protecting himself.

<sup>5</sup> Indians say the stones may still be seen on the flat, where they were kicked down.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 43; and Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People, etc.*, p. 31.

the brothers. Tleē'sa remarked that the kettle was too small, and declared he could eat the contents at one spoonful. He helped himself first, and filled his large horn spoon, almost emptying the kettle. He turned away to swallow it; but when he turned back, the kettle was just as full as at first. Thus they all ate and were satisfied.<sup>1</sup> When they had finished, Kwelaā'llst left them without telling his errand, and went home.<sup>2</sup>

From there the brothers followed up the Bonaparte until they came to a place called Skelawa'utux,<sup>3</sup> which is a deep hollow surrounded by cliffs. Here dwelt the beaver and its friends, which were noted for their magic. They were not cannibals; but at that time people did not know how to kill them, and they were considered to be possessed of mysterious powers. Tleē'sa said he would eat beaver-flesh. He made a beaver-spear, and tied a strip of white bark around each of his wrists,<sup>4</sup> that his brothers might see him more readily if he were taken under water. Going up to the beaver, he harpooned it, and was dragged into the creek. His brothers watched his movements under water, but at last lost sight of him. They searched for him in all the creeks, and dug trenches<sup>5</sup> in many places, but without result. At last they dug a very deep trench along the main creek, and found him. When they dug near to him, he said, "Be careful not to hurt me! I am here." He had been carried into the beaver's house in the bank, where he had finally killed the beaver. Now the brothers killed many beavers, and took their skins. They also ate the big beaver's meat, and said, "Henceforth beaver shall be speared by people, and their flesh and skins made use of. They shall no longer possess mysterious powers."<sup>6</sup>

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to a place near the creek called Stony-Hollow (Nxa'nextem),<sup>7</sup> where the marmot<sup>8</sup> had a house in the rock. Tleē'sa said, "I will eat marmot-flesh;" and his brothers told him he would certainly be killed, for no one could enter the marmot's house without the top of the entrance crushing him down. On his way to the house, Tleē'sa, seeing two of the marmot's little ones, killed them both, and stuck them in his belt. When he entered the house, the rocks shut on him; but he placed his flaker vertically in the entrance, and passed inside unharmed. Then he transformed the animal into the common marmot of the present day, saying, "Henceforth you shall be the common marmot, and shall never again be able to kill people, who will use your flesh and skin."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 43; Boas, *Sagen*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 14 of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> This place is a chasm near the old 59-mile post on the Caribou Road.

<sup>4</sup> Some say he painted his wrists white.

<sup>5</sup> The Indians say these trenches may be seen in the shape of hollows and vales in the hills at this place.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 13 of this volume.

<sup>7</sup> This place is a little beyond the old 59-mile post (from Lillooet), mentioned above (Footnote 3).

<sup>8</sup> In the North Thompson version, the bush-tailed rat.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 12 of this volume; Teit *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 48; and Boas, *Sagen*, p. 1.

From this place the brothers turned back, descending the Bonaparte until they arrived at the mouth of Hat Creek, which they ascended. A little distance from the mouth, they arrived at a place called Little-Coming-out-Place (Puptpu'tlemten), where, on one side of the trail, there was a smooth rock. Here Tl̥ē'sa said, "Let us amuse ourselves by seeing who can stick his head farthest into the rock." The three brothers, one after another, pressed their heads against the rock, but made only slight impressions. Then Tl̥ē'sa pushed his head against the rock, and it went in to the ears and bridge of the nose. When he pulled his head out again, a red mark was left in the cavity.<sup>1</sup>

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to a place at the Marble Cañon called Break-Wind-Water-Place (Npê'atkwatan), where there is a lake. Here lived the skunk, which killed people. Tl̥ē'sa said, "I will eat skunk-flesh;" and thereupon he transformed the skunk to the present-day animal of that name. Cutting out the bag containing the scent, he emptied it into the lake, thereby changing the color of the water. Then he ordained that never again should the skunk be able to kill people with its secretion.<sup>2</sup>

Close by here, in a high cliff, lived the cannibal eagle, which swooped down on people, and, picking them up, dashed them against the rock, the base of which was strewn with human bones. Tl̥ē'sa said, "I will have eagle-feathers to decorate myself." Unobserved by his brothers, he put some white paint in one side of his mouth, and red paint in the other. When the eagle saw him approach, it swooped down and clutched him, and flew with him high up on the cliff, against which it dashed him. Tl̥ē'sa warded off the blow with his flaker, and let the red paint flow out of his mouth. When his brothers saw Tl̥ē'sa dashed against the rock, they said, "He is dead. See his blood!" Again the eagle dashed him against the rock, and he let the white paint flow out of his mouth. Now his brothers said, "He is surely dead. See his brains!" The eagle, thinking he was dead, placed him on the ledge where its nest was, whereupon Tl̥ē'sa killed it with his flaker, and pulled out its tail-feathers. Then, tying the eaglets one to each wrist, he commanded them to fly down with him. When they alighted, he pulled the large feathers out of their wings and tails, and gave them to his brothers. He transformed the cannibal birds into eagles, saying, "Henceforth you shall be ordinary eagles without the power of killing people. Your feathers shall ornament the heads, clothes, and weapons of men."<sup>3</sup>

Continuing their journey, the brothers came to a place called Hillside

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<sup>1</sup> Compare preceding part with Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia*, p. 32; with Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 45; and Boas, *Sagen*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 45, 59, 60; also Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People*, etc., p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People*, etc., p. 32; also Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 45; Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 12 of this volume; and Boas, *Sagen*, p. 4.

(Kola'ut), on Pavilion Creek, where the cannibal hare lived. The hare always reclined on its back, with one knee over the other, and its foot sticking out close to a stick stuck in the ground, on which it had a roast. When any one came along and asked it for food, it told them to help themselves. As soon as they reached forward to take the roast, it would strike them with its foot, killing them. Tleē'sa said, "I will eat hare-meat;" and, approaching, he asked for some roast. The hare said, "Take it," and kicked him in the breast as he reached for it. The blow had no effect, however, for Tleē'sa had put on a breastplate of mica before approaching the hare.<sup>1</sup> Then he took the hare by the foot, and threw it away among some bushes, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a harmless, timid hare; and people shall eat your flesh, and dress in your skin."

Near this place, but on the opposite side of Pavilion Creek, lived a woman called Tsakelsxene'ixa, who killed men. Tleē'sa said, "I will have connection with the woman." His brothers tried to dissuade him, saying he would certainly be killed; but he insisted. In front of her house was a bridge formed by the long legs of a bird called sokwa'z.<sup>2</sup> When any one tried to cross, he rolled his legs over, and hurled them into the creek. Tleē'sa crossed first; and when he was on the middle of the bridge, sokwa'z turned his legs over, trying to throw him into the creek. Tleē'sa got across, and, going up to the bird, held his flaker above its head, saying, "If you move your legs when the others cross, I will kill you." Thus the brothers crossed safely, and they transformed the creature into the sokwa'z-bird which we see at the present day, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a bird with little power, and rarely seen. When a person sees you, a relative will die."<sup>3</sup> Now Tleē'sa went to the house of Tsakelsxene'ixa; and she agreed when he said he would have connection with her, for she had teeth in her vagina, which she made close on the penis of any man who tried to have connection with her, thus killing him. Tleē'sa placed his arrow-flaker across the inside of her vagina, and had connection with her. All his brothers had connection with her after him. Then he transformed Tsakelsxene'ixa, saying, "Henceforth you shall be an ordinary woman, and hereafter men will have connection, and women's vaginæ will not bite or kill them."<sup>4</sup>

Then the brothers, following up Fraser River toward High Bar, passed west of Pavilion Mountain, over a high bluff, on the flat top of which they saw a Chipmunk, who was also a pubescent girl. She was dancing, and they stopped to look at her. The brothers tried to transform her, but could not manage it properly. They walked forward, but found their feet getting

<sup>1</sup> In the North Thompson version it is stated that the Hare broke his foot when striking the flat stone that Tleē'sa had hidden under his shirt. See also Boas, Sagen, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Described by the Shuswap as a rare bird having long legs and a bluish body.

<sup>3</sup> See Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, pp. 11, 12, of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 12, 13, of this volume.

heavy. After a few more steps, they became transformed, and gradually turned to stone where they stood. The Chipmunk girl became changed into stone of a red color, for she was painted red at the time; and the stripes, like those on a chipmunk, may still be seen on her back. The place where she stands is called Lu'i't. The place where Tleē'sa and his brothers stand is called Slemmi'x. The former may be seen a little distance to the rear of his brothers, for he was behind them when they all became transformed.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. STORY OF CA'WA.<sup>2</sup>

*(Fraser River and North Thompson Divisions.)*

Ca'wa was a man who belonged to Churn Creek, and became possessed of magical powers. He was also very wise and very good. He saw that there were many bad and foolish people on earth, therefore he made up his mind to travel over the world and to enlighten them. He said, "Other people ought to do the same as the Shuswap do. I will go and show them what is right."

After travelling a long distance, he came to a lake<sup>3</sup> where a people lived who caught frogs in fish-traps. Lake-trout were plentiful there; but the people called them frogs, and were afraid to eat them, while they thought that the frogs were fish. They had dried frogs hanging all around their houses; and they had sores around their mouths and fingers from eating frog-meat. Ca'wa made a net, and caught four large trout, which he put on sticks and roasted before the fire. When they were cooked, he ate some, and gave the rest to the people to eat. He said to the people, "This is the proper kind food, and is the real fish. You have been eating frogs, which are bad."

When the people found that the lake-trout was much better food, they wished to know how to catch them. Then he taught them all the methods of catching fish, and how to make nets, spears, and weirs. He persuaded them to throw away their stores of dried frogs, and then gave the command, "Henceforth the people of this country shall eat no more frogs. They shall eat fish, and catch them in the same manner as the Shuswap do."

<sup>1</sup> Compare Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 14 of this volume; Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People*, etc., p. 33; Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 45; Boas, *Sagen*, p. 41.

Among the North Thompson Indians the following additional incident was obtained: The brothers came to a place on the North Thompson above the Red Trees Reserve, where, on looking over a cliff, they saw two Goat girls bathing in the river below. They had their bodies painted red. Leē'sa drew away their breaths by drawing in his own, and they became transformed into two red stones, which may be seen there at the present day. There is a cliff at this place near the river with a rock-slide at the bottom.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 20, 44, 45, 96; also known to the Lillooet Utamqt, and Chilcotin. Ca'wa seems to have occupied somewhat the same rôle as the hog-fennel (kokwe'la). He is always altruistic in his actions. The name is a form of address among the Thompson River and Shuswap Indians. It means "friend." He is also called Sa'mpes or Sāmp by the Fraser River division, Spelkamulāx or, Sa'momp by the North Thompson division.

<sup>3</sup> Some suppose this to have been in the Chilcotin or Carrier country.

He continued his journey, and came to a country which seemed full of graveyards. Here, when people fell asleep, their friends buried them, thinking that they were dead. Ca'wa entered a house, where he discovered a man asleep. His friends were preparing to bury him. He stopped them, and told them that they were doing wrong, as their friend was only asleep. He said, "Wait until to-morrow morning, and you will see him come to life again."

The people obeyed and waited patiently. Shortly after daybreak the man stretched himself, yawned, and after a little while arose, apparently the same as when he lay down. Ca'wa said, "To-night all the people will lie down and sleep. In the morning they will rise again." The people tried it, and learned that the stranger spoke the truth: so, after that, they fell asleep every night and woke up every morning. Then Ca'wa gave the command, "Henceforth people in this country shall sleep during the night, and awake in the morning, as the Shuswap do. They shall never again bury sleeping people."

He went on, and arrived in a country where the people cut open pregnant women. On entering a house, he found a man who was sharpening a knife which he was going to use presently to cut open his wife. Ca'wa told him to stop, and said he would show them the proper way. Thereupon he delivered the woman after the manner of the Shuswap, heated water, washed the child, cut and tied the navel-string. Then he rubbed the woman's belly, until the after-birth came away. After showing the woman how to suckle the child, he said, "Henceforth in this country men shall no longer cut women open. Children shall be born in a natural and proper manner." The people now saw that there was no need of cutting women open when about to give birth to children.

Thus Ca'wa travelled all over the world, teaching people and showing them how to do things properly.

On his way home, after leaving the Cree country, he came to a land inhabited by Coyote people.<sup>1</sup> Here the men had branches of trees with knot-holes in them for their wives,<sup>2</sup> and therefore they had no children. He reproved them for their way of living, led a woman into a house where there was a man, told them to live together, and showed them how to have sexual intercourse. When leaving, he said, "Henceforth in this country, men will know women, and never again will men have branches for their wives." After this, Ca'wa returned to Churn Creek, where he lived to be a very old man, and was much respected.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is supposed by some to have been the Thompson or the Okanagan country, more probably the former.

<sup>2</sup> Some add that the women had hog-fennel roots for their husbands.

<sup>3</sup> Several Indians say that in the olden time this story was much longer, as it related the incidents in every country that Ca'wa visited.

## 5. BRIEF STORIES OF TRANSFORMATIONS.

*Story of the Moon.*

The Moon was a very handsome man, who during the winter travelled constantly, camping every night in a different place. He had a wife called Wa'la, and many children.<sup>1</sup> When travelling, the Moon always went ahead, and prepared a house (the halo) for his wife and children to camp in. Wa'la always carried her large birch-bark buckets on her back, and her snow-shovel of birch-bark in her hands. She used the shovel for filling her buckets with snow to melt for water, for melted snow was the only water they could get in the winter-time.

One morning Wa'la said to her husband, "Where are you going to pitch our camp to-night? Where will you prepare a camp for your children?" Several times she asked this question, but the Moon never answered. At last he said pettishly, "Camp on my face." His wife took him at his word, and, jumping on his face, stuck there, and he could not get her off.

Thus the Moon's handsome face became disfigured, and, when he was afterwards transformed into the present moon, he could not shine very brightly. Wa'la may still be seen on the Moon's face, holding her birch-bark buckets and her snow-shovel.

*Story of the Deer.<sup>2</sup>*

In mythological times the deer was an animal, and never had human form. At first people could not kill it, because it was able to jump from one mountain-top to another. Neither bow and arrows, nor traps and snare, were of any avail. Then they asked an adolescent girl, who threw her kilt at it. She struck it on the side, and this reduced its jumping-powers to some extent. Then she threw her apron, which struck it below or behind the ribs, and reduced its powers a little more. Again, she threw her breech-clout at it, and this reduced its powers still more; but still it could jump out of arrow-shot at one spring. At last she threw her paint-bag at it, which struck it on the legs. Then it could jump only just as deer do now.

After this had been done the people could hunt successfully, and killed deer with bow and arrows.

This is the reason that there are mysterious parts inside the deer now. The girl's kilt may be seen as the pleura and diaphragm. Her paint-bag is

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the name Wa'la seems to be unknown. Some say the children were the stars, and afterwards the whole family were transformed, thus making the present moon and stars (see Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 91).

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 51; known also to the Lillooet.



now a muscle on the legs; her breech-clout is the pericardium; and her apron is the meat below or behind the ribs.<sup>1</sup>

*Story of Owl and Chipmunk.*<sup>2</sup>

Chipmunk lived with his grandfather, Owl. One day they went out together to eat and gather bearberries. While thus engaged, Chipmunk suddenly said to his grandfather, "Your scrotum has many lines, and is much wrinkled." Owl looked up, saying, "What is that you said?" Chipmunk gave a little laugh, and answered, "I said these bearberries have many lines on them, and are much wrinkled." Owl turned away, and was picking berries again when Chipmunk said, "How wrinkled your scrotum is!" Owl asked him savagely what he said; and Chipmunk answered, "That was a slip of the tongue. I meant to say that the berries were much wrinkled." Thus four times Chipmunk said the same thing. The last time Owl got angry, and attacked Chipmunk, who had just time to get into a hole as Owl's hand scratched his back, leaving deep marks along both sides of his backbone. This is the reason the chipmunk at the present day has stripes extending along its back. These are the marks of the owl's claws where it scratched it before the chipmunk made its escape.

*The Little Chief Hare.*

The Rock-Rabbit (skī'kel), or Little Chief Hare, was one of the myth people noted for his industry and pride. One fall none of the people had put up any supplies for winter, while he had laid by a great store. He said to them, "Why do you waste your time playing games and amusing yourselves? Why not work and lay up food for the winter? Soon you will be hungry when winter sets in. Look at me! Fall is not yet gone, and I have got plenty to last me until spring." He had worked so hard that all his robe was torn, only a piece around his backside remaining.<sup>3</sup> He was a person very fond of hearing his own name, and anxious that people should notice him. He always called out, "Ski kel!" to attract people's attention and to please himself. He does this still at the present day.

*Beaver and Porcupine.*

Beaver and Porcupine lived together. They used to eat together; but Beaver became dissatisfied because Porcupine always ate Beaver's share in

<sup>1</sup> These several parts of the deer are so named.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Some say he had worked so hard, that, with constant bending down and the friction of his robe, his tail had become worn quite short, and that is the reason he has such a short tail at the present day.

preference to his own. Beaver said, "Henceforth we shall eat apart. So at meal-times he took his own food, and sat down some distance away to eat it, leaving Porcupine to eat by himself. Porcupine, however, would always leave his own food, and, going to Beaver, would eat his.

Then Beaver determined to get rid of Porcupine. He said to him, "To-morrow we will move camp to the mountains, where there is an abundance of food." They packed their household goods, and, after travelling some time, they reached the mountains, where they camped. The following morning Beaver said to his friend, "You will find much food to eat here. I am going hunting, but shall return very soon." When he had gone some distance, he stopped and transformed Porcupine, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a common porcupine, and shall always inhabit the mountains. You shall never again live with Beaver, nor steal his food, neither shall you ever live in a good country." Beaver continued his journey, and took up his abode in a flat, swampy country with numerous lakes, where he lived alone. This is why beavers prefer that kind of country at the present day, and also why porcupines inhabit the forests of the mountains.

#### *Story of Grasshopper.<sup>1</sup>*

Grasshopper lived with the people who were busy catching and curing salmon. They said to him, "Come help us. It is the salmon season. We must all work, that we may have a plentiful store of salmon for the winter." Grasshopper answered, "No, I do not like to work. I like to amuse myself playing, jumping, and making a noise. I do not need salmon. I like to eat grass, of which there is great plenty all around here." Soon winter came, and the grass was all covered deep with snow. Then Grasshopper was cold and hungry. Finding nothing to eat, and being in a starving condition, he begged the people to give him some dried salmon. This they refused to do, telling him to go and play, and eat grass. When he was nearly dead, they transformed him, saying, "Henceforth you shall be the grasshopper (tekata'ka), and, as you were too lazy and thoughtless to catch salmon, you shall live on grass, and spend your time jumping around and making much noise."<sup>2</sup>

#### *Story of the One Bound and Grasshopper.*

A man who was very quarrelsome, and of a violent temper, frequently annoyed the people, who were in the habit of binding him hand and foot when he became too obstreperous, and placing him outside the house.

<sup>1</sup> A variety of grasshopper called tekata'ka.

<sup>2</sup> Some say the people did not transform him, but allowed him to die of starvation (see Æsop).

One day he was thus lying bound when Grasshopper came along, and, seeing that he was tied, kicked him. He kicked hard, and his leg fell off. Getting angry, he kicked him again with his other foot, which fell off also. Then Grasshopper went to the chief of the people and made complaint against the man, saying, "He knocked off my legs." The chief was inclined to believe Grasshopper's story, for he knew the violent disposition of the man: so he gathered the people together to make inquiry, and told them to bring the man before him. The man, when questioned, said, "Grasshopper kicked me twice, and his legs fell off. I could not touch him because I was bound hand and foot." It was proved by the people that the one bound had told the truth, and that Grasshopper had lied: so they transformed the latter, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a grasshopper, and shall kick no one. Your legs shall be loosely fastened to your body, and shall come off easily. People shall use you for bait to catch fish."

*Story of Tsowa'una.*<sup>1</sup>

The Salmon were about to leave their country on their annual run to the interior, and Tsowa'una begged to be allowed to accompany them. They said to him, "No, you cannot go. The journey is very long and hard, and the dangers are great. You could not possibly stand the hard work." Tsowa'una answered, "Never fear! I am quite able to take care of myself, and, although I am small, I can stand much hardship. I wish to see the country you visit every year, and to gaze at the leaves of the trees as I go along." The other Salmon then said, "We will let you go with us this year, and occasionally in other years, so that you may amuse and enjoy yourself by gazing at the leaves of the trees and other strange scenery on our route." For this reason, and since that time, the Tsowa'una occasionally run with the big salmon.

*Story of Bighorn-Sheep and his Wives.*

Bighorn-Ram had two wives, — Bighorn-Ewe and Mountain-Goat. The wives were very jealous of each other, for each thought her husband paid more attention to the other, and loved her more. At last their jealousy led to a quarrel, and they fought each other. The Ewe got the better of the Goat. The Ram did not interfere, but let them fight it out. Then the Goat took all her goods and belongings, and left the house, saying to the Ewe, "I am leaving. You can have the Ram. He has an ugly nose, big lumps

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<sup>1</sup> This is the name applied to a small variety of salmon that run some years in considerable numbers up Fraser River with the other salmon. I think they are young king-salmon.

behind his ears, and a large occiput; in fact, he is as ugly as yourself. I will seek another husband who is better-looking." The Goat went down a steep rock, where she made her home and lived by herself. Afterward she married the He-Goat.

Before that time, Sheep and Goats had always lived together and intermarried; but thenceforth, although often inhabiting the same tracts of country, they lived separately, and never intermarried. The Sheep and Goat families had different houses.

### *The Woman and the Pelicans.<sup>1</sup>*

A Shuswap woman saw a large flock of pelicans flying overhead. It was springtime, and they were on their passage north. She said, "I wish I were one of those birds, and that I could fly as they do!" Then she whistled, and called to them, "Take me with you, pelicans!" When the birds heard her, the whole flock came down, and, as they reached the height of the tree-tops, the wind caused by the flapping of their wings was so strong that it took the woman off her feet.

First she tried to resist, and clung to the lower branches of the trees; but as the flock gathered around her, she could hold on no longer, and was carried away by them, ascending as with a whirlwind. Thenceforth she staid with the pelicans, and, marrying one of them, became as one of themselves. She never learned to fly quite as fast as her friends, however; and she may be seen every year on her way north, flying behind the others, accompanied by her husband and children.<sup>2</sup> When people whistle at them as they fly overhead, the whole flock stop and circle around, or drop down to a lower level and fly along in this way for some distance.

### *Story of the Women and Muskrat.*

Two women lived in a lodge close to the edge of the water. One day Muskrat was standing in the water close by when he heard one woman say to the other, "Hand me that fish, so that I may put it on a stick and roast it before the fire." The woman handed the carcass of a marmot<sup>3</sup> over to her friend. Then Muskrat laughed loudly at the women, and cried out to them, "That is not a fish: that is a red marmot." This made the women very angry, and they chased Muskrat away.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some say cranes.

<sup>2</sup> The two or three lone pelicans that always fly behind the main body are said to be this woman and her husband. They are generally called "the man and his wife," or "the woman and her husband."

<sup>3</sup> The common or red marmot.

<sup>4</sup> Some say they transformed the muskrat; others think this is only a fragment of a story.

*Story of Porcupine.*

A large number of people lived together at one place. Their chief was Swan.<sup>1</sup> At another place — distant a long day's journey, and beyond a high range of mountains — lived another band of people, who were sometimes called the Deer People.<sup>2</sup> They consisted of the Deer, Caribou, Moose, Goat, Sheep, and others, and their chief was the Elk.<sup>3</sup> The two groups of people had been enemies for a long time. Each tried to interfere with the other, and to make their means of procuring a living as difficult as possible. Each people had a different kind of government, and lived and worked differently. What one did well, the other did badly. The birds acted in some ways like mammals, and the mammals like birds. The Swan wished to remedy the defects of both parties, and to enable them to live without mutual interference. He believed that their troubles all arose from ignorance.

One day in the winter-time, when the snow lay very deep on the mountains, he assembled his people, and, after explaining to them his plans, asked if any one of them would carry his message of invitation to Elk. Whoever would undertake the journey was to receive a large present of dentalia.

Coyote volunteered to go, and prepared for the journey by putting on his finest clothes, embroidered moccasins, and all his dentalia and necklaces. At dusk he left the house, but, not caring to face the deep snow, he ran around the underground house all night, admiring himself, and was still running in the morning, when the people awoke. The Swan asked him why he had not gone; and Coyote answered, "I was just playing and running around for practice. I will start to-night." When evening came, the people saw him leave, and watched him until he was out of sight. Coyote soon found the snow too deep, returned after dark, and lay down underneath the top of the ladder, where he fell asleep. When the people awoke in the morning, they found him fast asleep, and Swan asked him why he had not gone. Coyote answered, "Oh! I was playing, became tired, and lay down to sleep. I will start to-night."

Then Swan asked the people which one of them was best able to undertake the journey, and they all agreed that Porcupine was the fittest person, for he was accustomed to walking in the high mountains where there was much deep snow. Porcupine was thus selected, and after sewing his moccasins all night, and dressing himself warmly, he left at daybreak. When

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<sup>1</sup> The Swan was noted for his goodness and wisdom.

<sup>2</sup> The smaller animals and birds all lived together. The other community consisted of all the large animals, but, according to some, was composed of game-animals only (therefore called Deer People), — all the varieties of big game hunted by the Indians and used as food, including the Buffalo, Antelope, etc. It seems, according to some, that the Bears were not included.

<sup>3</sup> The Elk was a great chief, but, according to some, was inclined to be thick-headed or stupid at times.

Coyote saw him leave, he laughed, and said, "When even I could not go, how can such a poor, slow, short-legged creature be able to travel through the deep snow?" That night Porcupine reached Elk's house in an exhausted condition, and all covered with ice and snow. After warming himself, he delivered his message to Elk, and asked for sinew and awl with which to sew his moccasins. After he had done so, he left for home, bearing Elk's reply, who promised to visit Swan on the following morning together with all his people.

When Elk and his people arrived, Swan feasted them; and, when the feast was over, he and all his people knelt down before Elk, and Swan related to him all he knew of the affairs of both people, and told him in what way he thought they did wrong. Thus he gave Elk all his knowledge and all his advice.

Then Elk and his people all knelt down before Swan, and Elk gave him all his ideas and knowledge. Thus each people gained full knowledge of the other, and together became able to devise means for doing what was right. After this they lived much easier and happier than before, and the methods of one party did not come into conflict with those of the other.

The laws made at the council are those which govern animals and birds at the present day. Porcupine got his rich present of dentalia, and was much envied by Coyote.<sup>1</sup>

#### 6. STORY OF RED-NOSE AND THE WOODPECKERS, INCLUDING THE TALE OF BLUEJAY AND TELA'NA.<sup>2</sup>

In ancient times red was a color possessed by an old man called Red-Nose (Tcekwa'ks),<sup>3</sup> and no one else in the world had anything of a red color. The birds which at the present day have red in their plumage had no such brilliant feathers at that time. Red-Nose lived by fishing, and owned two very valuable things which the people envied him greatly. These were his magic two-pronged spear-head, which never missed fish, and his wonderful robe (or cloak) of fish-skin, which was fringed with red feathers and ornamented with rosettes of red down arranged over it like stars. Although offered many valuable presents for his robe, he could not be induced to part with it, but kept it hanging above his bed, seldom using it except on special occasions. Red-Nose had a wife who always staid at home, and a grandson who accompanied him whenever he went fishing. The lad always speared the fish, and his grandfather would sit by and tell him the proper fish to spear.

<sup>1</sup> A similar tradition is told by the Lillooet (see also for the last remark, Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 83).

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 43; Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 11 of this volume; Boas, *Sagen*, p. 13; also the end of the tales in Dawson, *Notes on the Shuswap People of British Columbia*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> It is not known whether there was any particular bird or animal called by this name.

Now, the Red-Headed Woodpecker (*Ceophlæus pileatus*), Tcokqa'in, was a great man among the people in those days, and he gathered all the young men<sup>1</sup> together, saying to them, "We will make war upon Red-Nose, and obtain his beautiful robe." They started, each carrying a sharp knife, and soon arrived at the river where Red-Nose and his grandson were fishing. Here Woodpecker stated his plans, saying, "We will transform ourselves into fishes, and will each in turn swim past the place where they are fishing. The first one of us whom the lad spears shall steal the spear-head." First the small red-bird<sup>2</sup> swam up; and the lad spoke to his grandfather, saying, "A strange fish is swimming towards us. Shall I spear it?" But the old man answered, "No, let it pass. It is too small and too red-colored to be good."

Now, all the Birds passed by them in fish form, one after another, and lastly Woodpecker himself. When he appeared, Red-Nose told the lad to spear him. The boy hit the fish and threw it into the stone corral built on the bank of the river to hold fish; but while he was turning around to reach for his fish-club, Woodpecker pulled out his knife, and, after severing the string which held the spear-head to the handle, he jumped into the river with it. The lad cried, "See the fish go off with the spear-head!" and when Red-Nose saw that his valuable spear-head had been lost, he felt so sorrowful that he went home and lay down in bed, covered himself up, and would neither speak nor eat.

Now all the Birds swam down-stream, went ashore, and assumed their natural forms. Soon Woodpecker joined them, and they dressed his wounds. On the second day they all went to Red-Nose's house. His wife said, "Many men are coming from the south. Get up and meet them." But he paid no attention, nor would he move. Shortly the Birds arrived; and Red-Nose's wife greeted them, and asked them whither they were bound. They said, "We are just wandering around; but what is the matter with Red-Nose? Is he sick?" The woman answered, "Yes. He is full of sorrow, and has not eaten for two days. A fish took away his valuable spear-head." Woodpecker said, "My young men, when travelling up the river, saw a dead fish with a spear-head in it, and took it away. I believe it may be the same." When Woodpecker heard this, he jumped up, and, looking at the spear-head, said, "Yes, it is mine. I thank you." Woodpecker said, "It is not mine. I cannot give it to you. It belongs to my young men, and they will not return so valuable a thing for nothing." Red-Nose offered a rich present for it, but the Birds would not accept it. Then he proposed one thing after another, until he had offered everything he possessed, excepting the robe.

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<sup>1</sup> These were only the birds which now have red in their plumage.

<sup>2</sup> A small bird almost entirely red.

Woodpecker said, "My young men have taken a fancy to your robe, and unless you give it to them you cannot have your spear-head." At last Red-Nose gave them the robe, saying, "Of the two things, my spear-head is more valuable, for I live by it." The Birds departed; and when they had gone some distance, Woodpecker called a halt, and they all sat down. He said, "I will keep the robe and one of the largest red-down stars on it. You may take off the other spots of down, and all the red-feather fringes, and divide them among you." Woodpecker put on the dark fisher-robe, and stuck the red down on his head. That is the reason why the woodpecker has a dark body and a red head. The other Birds put more or less of the red feathers and down on their heads, necks, breasts, arms, and other parts of their bodies, each one according to fancy. That is the reason why all the birds which accompanied Woodpecker have now red feathers. If they had not managed to get the robe, and decorate themselves with the feathers from it, there would be no red-plumaged birds at the present day.

Then the party continued their march, and reached a small lake, where they fell in with Bluejay, who was on a war-expedition. Bluejay's scouts reported to him that people were approaching who were decorated with red, and appeared like trees on fire, or like walking stars. Their bodies were as if covered with fiery spots. Bluejay prepared for battle, and, followed by his men, went out and challenged them. Woodpecker shouted, "We are your friends! I am Woodpecker." Bluejay's party were surprised when they learned how their friends had obtained the red.

The two parties travelled together until they came to a spring above the lake where Tela'na<sup>1</sup> lived. The latter had gone down to the edge of the lake, where he now lay sleeping in the sun, — a huge, shapeless monster. Bluejay said, "I will kill him;" but the others said, "Do not attempt it. He has great powers." Never heeding, Bluejay stripped the white inside bark off of some willow-trees, and tied a piece around each of his ankles and wrists, that his friends might be better able to see him when under water. Walking up to the monster, he thrust his spear into him with all his might. Tela'na arose, and, rolling over, dragged Bluejay, who was still holding on to his spear, into the water, where both went down together. The warriors watched for a long time, and at last saw the white anklets and wristlets of Bluejay disappear underneath a steep cliff which overhung the lake. This was known to be the stronghold of Tela'na; and to it he repaired when the weather got too hot and dry, and the bogs and springs which were his usual haunts dried up.

The Birds waited a long time, but, seeing no signs of Bluejay, they

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<sup>1</sup> Tela'na seems to be the name of the "bog-mystery," a sort of spirit which is part of or frequents bogs, muskegs, and wet, miry ground. According to Boas, the name of this monster among the Kamloops people is Okelmuxō'lux.



came to the conclusion that he was a prisoner in Tefá'na's house. They said, "We will help him. We will try to break the house." All the Birds went to the cliff, and each in turn struck the rock four times with his beak. The first ones made no impression, but eventually some of them made a small depression in the rock, which those following gradually made deeper. At last the Woodpeckers' turn came, the smaller of whom enlarged the hole considerably. Then Sap-Sucker (Tcekwo'kieks<sup>1</sup>) made the hole quite large; and Red-breasted Woodpecker (Tcekwa'ken<sup>2</sup>), following, made it still larger. Flicker (Tcektcekwa'sp<sup>3</sup>) then struck the rock, breaking it further. Woodpecker, then stepping up, said, "I am Woodpecker," and, striking the rock, split it badly. With the next blow he split it still more; and on striking the fourth time, the cliff split in two, leaving a large, deep rent. Looking down the hole, the Birds saw Bluejay lying on his back, smoking his pipe, and by his side the dead form of Tefá'na with the spear in his body. Bluejay pulled out his spear, and held up the butt-end, of which the Birds took hold and thus pulled him out. Both parties then journeyed home without further adventure.

#### 7. STORY OF BLUEJAY; OR, WAR BETWEEN THE BIRDS AND MAMMALS.<sup>4</sup>

There had been continued wars between the Birds and Mammals. The last war-expedition had been made by the Mammals, and many Birds had been slain. Now Bluejay, who was war chief of the Birds, proposed that they should take revenge. His captains were Willow-Grouse, Chickadee, and Snow-Bird, — all great warriors, and relatives of his own. After having assembled all the men, they put feathers on their heads and danced the war-dance. They travelled three days, Chickadee carrying the rations, and distributing them among the warriors every night. On the fourth day they came to a large lake with a river running into it. Here they saw a "water-mystery" of great size lying on the edge of the water, sunning itself. Bluejay tied strips of the white inner bark of the willow-tree around his wrists and ankles, and attacked the monster with his spear. They fought, and Bluejay was dragged under water, his followers watching the white strips on his wrists and ankles until they disappeared. They waited a considerable time; and when he did not re-appear, they concluded that he was dead.

They left, and travelled up the river.<sup>5</sup> Suddenly they heard him singing a song of victory on the opposite bank. Four times they heard him sing, but could not locate the exact spot whence the sound came. At last Chickadee saw him, pointed him out, and said, "Don't you see him?" They all looked,

<sup>1</sup> A variety of woodpecker, probably the red-naped sap-sucker (*Sphyrapicus varius nuchalis*).

<sup>2</sup> The red-breasted woodpecker, probably *Sphyrapicus ruber*.

<sup>3</sup> The red-shafted flicker (*Colaptes cafer*)

<sup>4</sup> Also known to the Uta'mqt.

<sup>5</sup> Some say in search of Bluejay.

and saw him standing there, holding the monster's scalp by the hair, and singing. When they crossed the river and joined him, he put the scalp on his head. It had very long hair done up in a top-knot. For this reason the bluejay has a very large crest at the present day.

They went on, and after two days reached the village of their enemies, whom they attacked and killed. Since no more traces of people were found in that country, the Birds concluded that they had exterminated their enemies, and started on their way home. When they reached a great plain with clumps of trees here and there, Chickadee said he saw a great cloud of dust. After he had repeated his remark four times, the people also saw the cloud of dust, which was approaching them. Chickadee said, "As there is no wind to-day, the dust must be due to our enemies who are pursuing us." Bluejay also believed that a large party of enemies were coming, and said, "Well, we can die here as well as anywhere else."

At his direction they hurried to the nearest timbered side-hill, and lay in ambush on both sides of the trail. The Mammals came along; and, when fairly inside the ambush, Willow-Grouse's and Chickadee's men attacked them in front, and Bluejay's and Snow-Bird's warriors from behind. Now there was a great battle, and all the Birds and Mammals were slain, excepting ten of the latter, and Bluejay, who was wounded. Bluejay ran down the hill on to the plain, where he sought refuge in the scattered clumps of trees. The ten Mammals followed him, and drove him from one clump of trees to another. At last he was sorely wounded, and cried out, "If only another great warrior like myself would help me!" Immediately another Bluejay appeared, and attacked the enemy, who were very tired.

Then Bluejay regained strength and courage when he saw that he had a helper, and the two attacked the Mammals so fiercely that they killed them all. Then Bluejay thanked his helper, and jumped over all the bodies of the Birds; and they came to life, and went home without further adventure.

#### 8. STORY OF WOODPECKER'S MARRIAGE; OR, BLUEJAY'S REVENGE.

Bluejay was the greatest warrior and war chief of the myth people. No one dared to disobey him. For many years he had carried on wars with the Hoary-Marmots and the Antelopes; but for a number of years there had been peace between them, and Bluejay had almost forgotten to look upon them as enemies.

One day he addressed his people, saying, "There will be final peace between us and the Antelopes and Marmots. My heart feels soft toward our enemies, and our peace shall be sealed by intermarriage. Woodpecker (Tcokqa'in<sup>1</sup>), who is greatest of my people, shall marry one of their daughters.

<sup>1</sup> The red-headed woodpecker, probably *Ceophlaeus pileatus*.

Antelope and Marmot are both wealthy chiefs, and each of them has a daughter fair and good. — Go, Woodpecker, and obtain one of them. Flicker (Tcoktceqwa'sp<sup>1</sup>), Red-breasted Woodpecker (Tcekwa'ken<sup>2</sup>), and Sap-Sucker (Tcekwo'kiëks<sup>3</sup>) will accompany you."

The four Woodpeckers departed, and, upon nearing their destination, came to a camp composed of many old people, one man of whom asked them where they were going. They answered, "Nowhere in particular. We are just seeing the country." The old man said, "Young men do not generally travel to see the country, but to see women. You are going to ask for the chiefs' daughters. Well, you may get them, for their parents will not give them to any of their own people, but are keeping them until some rich strangers happen along."

Continuing their journey, the Woodpeckers came to a great open plain, where Antelope lived in an underground house. Near by, on a knoll, was the house of Hoary-Marmot. Believing the latter to be the wealthier of the two chiefs, they went to his house first. Marmot entertained them hospitably, and, when night came, spread marmot robes for them to sleep on. They lay all together, and, when every one else seemed to be asleep, Woodpecker (Tcokqa'in) arose, and, crawling over to where the chief's daughter lay, he asked her if she would become his wife. She assented, and on the next morning told her parents that the chief of the strangers had lain on her robe. The parents agreed to the marriage, saying they were glad to be connected with the people of such a great chief as Bluejay. Marmot gave them many marriage-presents; and on the fourth day Woodpecker left, taking the bride and presents with him.

When they neared home, Coyote, who was on watch, saw them approaching, and called out, "Four men are coming with one woman!" Then Bluejay prepared a place for the bride, and welcomed her as though he were her father-in-law.

Some time afterward Bluejay said that the couple should pay a return visit: so he sent the Woodpeckers and others of his men to act as the body-guard of the bride and bridegroom, and many slaves to carry the presents he gave to Marmot and his people. Woodpecker (Tcokqa'in) staid with Marmot until his wife had borne him two children, when he returned again to his tribe. Coyote saw them coming, and called out, "A man, a woman, and two children are drawing near!" Bluejay was glad to see them, and welcomed the children, caressing them as if he were their grandfather. Then they staid a long time with Bluejay, and the children grew large.

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<sup>1</sup> The red-shafted flicker (*Colaptes cafer*).

<sup>2</sup> The red-breasted woodpecker, probably *Sphyrapicus ruber*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the red-naped sap-sucker, a variety of woodpecker with yellow head and dark body; according to others, yellow-bellied with red on the head, probably *Sphyrapicus varius nuchalis*.

At last the woman said she would like to visit her people again. Therefore Bluejay sent many men to escort them, and slaves to carry the presents. When they were departing, he said to the Woodpeckers, "You may stay some time with the Marmot and Antelope people, and play games with them until you are tired; but none of you must marry their women." Now, the party staid a long time, and, when about to return home, Flicker (Tcoktceqwa'sp) married Antelope's daughter. When Coyote saw the party approaching, he called out, "Many men are coming, accompanied by two women and two children!" When Bluejay heard this, he took to his bed, covered himself with his robe, and would not speak. When the party arrived, Woodpecker's (Tcokqa'in) children ran to play with him, but he took no notice of them.

At last Bluejay arose and addressed his people, saying, "Flicker (Tcoktceqwa'sp) disobeyed me, and my heart became so sad that I cried. I cannot weep for nothing.<sup>1</sup> When my tears came, I remembered my enemies, and my heart has now grown hard. To-morrow we will go to attack them." Bluejay painted and dressed himself for war; and all his men went with him, including Woodpecker (Tcokqa'in) and Flicker (Tcoktceqwa'sp), for they dared not refuse. They attacked the Marmot and Antelope people, slaying them nearly all.<sup>2</sup> "Now," said Bluejay, "I have wiped away my tears."

#### 9. STORY OF TALXA'NA.<sup>3</sup>

(Zaxtci'nemux.)

A creature<sup>4</sup> lived in a lake near Green Lake (Tê'lzenten). His name was Talxa'na, and his house was situated in the middle of the lake. He travelled around the country, endeavoring to catch people, whom he took to the middle of the lake and drowned. He did not eat the bodies, for he was not a cannibal. The people in some parts of the country had been nearly exterminated by him, and they were all much afraid of him. One community had suffered severely, nearly half of their number having been killed or taken away. Among those who remained were four brothers, who were all very clever, could talk many languages, and were great warriors. The eldest one was Bluejay; and his brothers were Black-headed or Pine Jay, Robin, and Owl.<sup>5</sup> Bluejay felt very angry because of the destruction of his people, and was burning to have revenge. One morning early the war-spirit came over him, and he donned his cuirass, and painted and decorated himself for war. Then he danced the war-dance, and sang his war-song.

<sup>1</sup> Some add, "Women's tears may flow for nothing, for oft about little they weep; but the tears of a man and a warrior require some recompense. It is not easy for him to weep."

<sup>2</sup> Some say exterminated them.

<sup>3</sup> Also called S'ta'ana and Têlxa'nêk. The name seems to mean "trailing" or "hanging belly."

<sup>4</sup> Some say he was the otter, while others say he was a "water-mystery" somewhat resembling an otter.

<sup>5</sup> A certain variety of owl that cries principally in the daytime.

He awoke his brothers, one after another, saying, "Do you not remember Talxa'na's deeds? Do you forget that he has killed many of us? Let us go and fight him. We may as well be killed by him in battle as slaughtered by him near our houses sooner or later. Let us revenge our kindred." They went on the war-path, and next day reached a hill which overlooked the lake in which Talxa'na had his house. Then Bluejay said, "You shall watch from here, and I will go and fight him alone. He comes out on the bank to slide, and plays in the water just after the sun rises, and does the same at evening. I will go and wait by his slide, and attack him at evening." The brothers said, "Rather go in the morning, that we may see you more clearly," and he agreed. Then Bluejay told them to gather maple-bark. They cut the bark into strips, and wound it all around his body, leaving only his eyes and mouth visible. He left his bow and arrows with his brothers, and attacked Talxa'na, armed with a sharp horn dagger, and a war-club<sup>1</sup> attached to each wrist. Unbeknown to his brothers, he had put red paint in one side of his mouth, and white paint in the other. On reaching the slide, he hid in a hole in the ground near by, and watched for Talxa'na. Soon he arrived, and commenced to slide into the water, when he dived. Talxa'na slid into the water three times. As soon as he dived, Bluejay jumped out of the hole, ran to the slide, and lay down in the middle of it. Talxa'na came ashore to slide for the fourth time. When he reached the top of his sliding-place, he saw something lying about halfway down, and said to himself, "There is some bark: I wonder how it got there. I will brush it away when I slide down." He slid right down on top of Bluejay, who at once seized him and stabbed him. Now Talxa'na fought; and they rolled down the slide together into the water, where they sank.

They continued fighting at the bottom of the lake all day. Bluejay let the white paint ooze out of his mouth, and it made the water muddy, so that Talxa'na could not see. The brothers saw the water turn white, and said, "He has torn off the crown of our elder brother's head, and his brains come out."

When the water was becoming clear again, Bluejay let the red paint ooze out of his mouth; and the brothers, noticing the color of the water, said, "He is tearing our elder brother's flesh, and his blood runs out." Then they ran down to the edge of the lake. Bluejay fought fiercely, stabbing his enemy with his dagger, and striking him with his clubs. Talxa'na fought by biting with his mouth, and tearing with his nails: so at last he tore off all Bluejay's armor of bark, and even his cuirass of hide.<sup>2</sup> When evening came, Bluejay rose to the surface of the water, and cried, "Talxa'na is getting

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<sup>1</sup> The club referred to consisted of a ball of bearberry-root sewed up in skin, and attached to a short handle with a wrist loop.

<sup>2</sup> Some say it was of wood.

the better of me! I cannot continue the fight much longer." But Talxa'na was also tired out, and, when Bluejay let him go, he rose to the surface of the water, and tried to escape.

Then the brothers shot arrows at him as he swam, and killed him. They took his body ashore, stretched it out, and danced around it, singing a song of victory.

Bluejay said, "To-morrow we will dispose of his body." The next morning at sunrise Bluejay cut up Talxa'na's body, and threw some part of it to every tribe of Indians. Cutting off the scalp, he took it by the long hair, and threw it to the Cree tribe,<sup>1</sup> saying, "I give you the scalp; therefore you will use scalps in dances, and wear them when you go to battle." He threw the hands and arms toward some other tribes, and the legs and feet toward others. Thus he threw away all the parts of Talxa'na's body, including the insides; and every tribe got some part, each taking after the characteristics of the part they received. The heart was thrown to the Okanagan, therefore they are a brave people; and the head was thrown to some tribe<sup>2</sup> on the coast, therefore they have large heads, and behead their enemies.

When all the parts had been disposed of, one of the brothers said to Bluejay, "You have forgotten our friends the Thompson tribe and the Lillooet." Bluejay took up the knife he had been using, and threw it to the Thompson tribe, saying, "You will be called 'Knife people,' or 'Knives,' and will be noted for fighting with daggers." Therefore the Thompson Indians are sometimes called "Knife (people)," and they became noted for fighting with knives, and for stabbing one another. Then he took some grass, wiped the blood off his hands, and threw the grass to the Lillooet, saying, "You will be the most unwarlike people, inferior to all others; you will only kill a person once in a while."<sup>3</sup> After this the Shuswap increased, and became numerous.

In later years a Fraser River Shuswap dreamed of Bluejay and this story, and changed his name to that of Bluejay. He became a noted warrior, and when old was all covered with scars. He alone killed many Chilcotin and Lillooet.

#### 10. STORY OF THE LOON.

Bluejay and Pinejay were chiefs or head men of a large number of people, and each of them possessed two black dogs noted for their hunting-abilities. One day Bluejay said to the people, "It is now a long time since

<sup>1</sup> This is the reason why the Cree always took scalps, and also the reason that they have finer heads of hair than any other tribe.

<sup>2</sup> It seems the Kwakiutl are meant.

<sup>3</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 81.

our friends died. They have been buried many months, and we have had no games because of their deaths. It is now time that we ceased mourning. We will give a feast and have games, that our abode may become again as it used to be, and that we may regain our former cheerfulness."

Then he sent all the women to dig roots, and the men to hunt, and told Loon, who was a good canoe-builder, to make a canoe to be used for catching fish and deer. Then Bluejay and Pinejay took their hunting-dogs and ran deer from the mountains into the lake, where Loon paddled after them in the canoe, and killed them in the water.

When the people had obtained a sufficient supply of food, Bluejay, who was very wealthy, invited all the people of the neighboring district to a feast. The people he invited were noted players and gamblers, and their chief was Golden-Eagle. Their other head men were Bald-Headed Eagle, Chicken-Hawk, and Goose. Bluejay gave his guests a great feast and many presents. He also gave presents to those of his own people who had helped him. To Loon he gave a pair of leggings and a shirt embroidered with dentalia, and also a large and a small necklace of dentalium-shells. Golden-Eagle, seeing Loon dressed in his new clothes, and wearing the dentalium necklaces, played the stick-game (*peku'm*) with him for these. Golden-Eagle had won all the sticks from Loon, excepting a few counters, when the mats were spread, and the people were asked to eat. Then Golden-Eagle had to interrupt the game and go to the table, for he was the principal guest. Loon said, "We will finish the game by and by. My dentalia already belong to you. When we are through eating, we will play the game to its end."

After the people had finished their meal, the chiefs addressed them for a long time, and there was much talking and smoking. At last the games were started again, and Eagle said to Loon, "Now we will finish our game." Loon said, "Yes. But I have no grass to hide my sticks in: I will go and get some." Whereupon he departed, moving very slowly toward the lake, for he was a slow traveller. After a while some of the people said, "Loon takes a long time. He is now near the lake, and has not gathered any grass yet." Then Eagle ran out to overtake Loon, but the latter reached the lake before he could catch him, and dived in. Coming up some distance away, he laughed, and, diving again, he came up near the centre of the lake. Once more he laughed, and then, diving, came up so far away that no one could see him.

Eagle was angry, and thereupon transformed Loon into the bird of that name which we see at the present day, and his necklaces of dentalia may be seen around his neck as two white rings.<sup>1</sup> After this event, the gathering broke up, some of Eagle's people saying that Bluejay's people were thieves.

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<sup>1</sup> See L. Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 36 of this volume. The Thompson Indians say that Loon's collar was once a dentalium necklace, and the white spots on his body were dentalia.

## 11. THE MAMMALS STEAL FIRE FROM THE FISHES.

The Fish people had all gone to bed, and their fire had burned low. The Mammals crept stealthily up in the darkness and took some of the embers.<sup>1</sup> The Fishes knew what had happened, but were not inclined to rise. Their chief said, "Call out in a loud voice, 'Our fire has been stolen!'" Then the Tsokemu's fish called out, but his voice was very weak. Next Tcoktci'tcen<sup>2</sup> called; but his voice was not much stronger. Then Ma'melt<sup>3</sup> called out, but not loud enough. Now Kwa'ak<sup>4</sup> called, and his voice sounded very far; but by this time the Mammals were far away.

12. STORY OF THE TSÔLENÛ'ET'S SON.<sup>5</sup>

The Mammals made war on the Fishes, and killed them all except the wife of Tsôlenû'et,<sup>6</sup> whom they took as a slave to their own country. She was pregnant<sup>7</sup> at the time, and soon gave birth to a son. When he grew up, the other boys would call him bastard and little slave, and said that he was not one of them. He felt grieved at this, and complained to his mother, who informed him fully about his origin, and advised him to train himself that he might gain knowledge, and become the avenger of his father and his people.

Acting on this advice, the boy retired to the mountains, where he slept many days at a time, and dreamed much. At last he gained Thunder for his guardian, and acquired from him the magic power of making lightning. Then he told his mother to dig a hole in the lodge secretly, large enough to hide in, and to prevent its being discovered by sleeping and keeping her property on it.

One night the chief<sup>8</sup> said, "Let all the people sing their magic songs and imitate their guardians."<sup>9</sup> All the people crowded into the underground house, which was very large. One after another they danced, imitating the cries and actions of their guardians, and singing their songs. They had all finished except Coyote and the slave lad, and now their turn came.

Coyote asked the slave boy to dance first; but he answered, "No, I do

<sup>1</sup> Or glowing coals.

<sup>2</sup> A variety of fish with a red mouth or head. The meaning of the name is "little red mouth."

<sup>3</sup> The fish commonly called whitefish in British Columbia.

<sup>4</sup> A variety of fish with a large wide mouth.

<sup>5</sup> See Teit, Traditions of the Thompson River Indians, p. 77; also known to the Utāmqt.

<sup>6</sup> The name of a large species of trout called tsô'lla or tsô'lla by the Thompson Indians. I think it is *Salmo Clarkii*.

<sup>7</sup> Some say she was two months in pregnancy.

<sup>8</sup> Some say the old men.

<sup>9</sup> This was a common practice among the Shuswap, Thompson, and Lillooet Indians.



not dance very well. I will wait and be the last." Then Coyote danced and sang, boasting much, and causing much amusement to the people. He said, "Watch me call my guardians. You will see much blood coming from my mouth. I am a great warrior." He called on the frame on which skins are dressed, and on salmon-eggs. No blood came, although Coyote danced furiously; and the people laughed aloud, saying, "You must indeed be a great warrior, for you vomit so much blood, and your guardians are so powerful."

At last the lad's turn came, and he began to dance and sing. The people did not know that he had been training. They sneered at him; and Coyote said, "How can a Fish-boy have a great guardian!" The lad paid no attention, but sang louder and louder. The house became hot, and there was a noise like fire coming. The people began to feel alarmed; but Coyote put his hand on his mouth, and cried La'-la-la-la'," and the house cooled off again. Four times he cooled the place thus; but the lad kept on singing louder than ever, and at last he shouted, "Come, strike!" Then Thunder struck the house with his fire, and it began to burn. The lad went out, still dancing and shouting. The lightning struck the people, who tried to escape, and also set fire to the other houses. Thus all the people and their whole village were burned, and Tsólenü'et's son had his revenge. While the fire was raging, his mother had hidden in the hole that she had dug. Now she came forth, and they went to the Fish country, where he jumped over the bones of his father and of the other people, and thus revived them.

### 13. THE FISHES AND THE CANNIBAL.

A cannibal lived with his family in a cañon through which flowed a river. His house was a cave in the rock, the entrance to which he made open and close at will. He spent most of his time hammering and chipping with an adze, as if engaged in making canoes. He probably did this so that the noise might attract people's attention. He had a canoe which he always left tied to the opposite side of the river, which was the side on which the people lived, and where a trail followed along the bank. Strangers passing along the trail often called to be taken across, and the cannibal invariably told them to take the canoe, and cross themselves. As soon as they reached the shore, he seized them and put them in his house, the entrance to which at once closed. Sometimes, however, the people who were crossing became afraid, when they came close enough to see the cannibal, for he had a very fierce appearance, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of human fingers, men's testicles, and finger and toe nails. Then they would turn around and paddle back; but the cannibal would hook them with a very long-handled hook which he always kept ready, and, drawing them ashore, would eat them. If he was not hungry at the time, he put them in

his house, or took pleasure in placing them in the entrance, and seeing the rock close on them.

The cannibal's great magic power was the Cold, and any being that entered his house froze to death at once.

Not far from the cañon lived a number of people in two houses.<sup>1</sup> The Fishes inhabited one house, while in the other dwelt the water-birds; namely, the Swan, Goose, and many kinds of Ducks. These people knew what the cannibal did, and never went near the place where he lived. Once the Sturgeon's brother, thinking himself equal in magic to the cannibal, went over to his house and was killed. The Swan<sup>2</sup> alone could visit the cannibal with safety. The cannibal never attempted to harm him, and always asked him to return again soon and bring him news.

One day the Fishes and Birds held a council, and came to the conclusion that they would all train themselves and try to master the secrets of the cannibal's mystery. After training a long time, the Sturgeon at last gained the desired knowledge. He learned how to make the rock open and shut, and how to counteract the Cold.

Then he said to the people, "We will go and kill the cannibal and his family." They sent out the Swan as a scout, and he returned with the information that the cannibal and his family were asleep in the cave. Going up to the house, the Sturgeon made the rock open, and they all walked in. The cannibal caused the rock to shut behind them, and pretended to welcome them, thinking that shortly they would all freeze to death. Then the Sturgeon opened his bag, which contained heat,<sup>3</sup> and soon the house was filled with a dense fog. Then the animals killed the cannibal and his family, opened the rock again, and went out. They said, "Henceforth the cannibal's house shall be only a common cave,<sup>4</sup> the entrance to which shall never shut, and the cannibal himself shall be only a cañon mystery. Sometimes, but very rarely, people may get harmed if they see or hear his spirit, which shall henceforth haunt this place."

#### 14. WOLF AND WOLVERENE.<sup>5</sup>

Wolf was a relative of Coyote,<sup>6</sup> and was noted as a hunter and a shaman. He lived with Wolverine. Wolf hunted deer and elk, while Wolverine caught beaver. He set nets in the creeks near beaver-dams, and then broke the beavers' houses and dams, drove them into his nets, and killed them.

<sup>1</sup> Some say in one house, or together.

<sup>2</sup> The Swan was a man noted for his goodness.

<sup>3</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 25 of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 41 of this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Some say a brother.

One day Wolf said to his companion, "I must leave you; for the game I hunt is now very scarce around here, and I must go to some place where it is more plentiful." He went to a different part of the country, where he found elk and deer abundant. There he made a lodge, and hunted, killing so many of these animals that before long he had his lodge hanging full of dried meat.

Meanwhile beavers had become very scarce where Wolverine lived. He had caught most of them, and the remainder had left. He lived for a time on his dried beaver-meat; but at last that source failed. He was reduced to starvation, and became very thin. Then he decided to search for his friend Wolf, and to find out how he had fared, thinking he might have plenty of food. Soon he found Wolf's lodge, entered, and sat down near the door. He felt tired, for he was weak, and said to himself, "Wolf will see my plight, and feed me from his plentiful stores;" for he saw that Wolf's house was hanging full of dried meat, — back-fat<sup>1</sup> and soq.<sup>2</sup>

Wolf never spoke to Wolverine, but proceeded to heat stones and to boil some meat, which he ate when done, and emptied the brew out of the door of the lodge. Wolverine was very sad because Wolf offered him nothing to eat, and said to himself, "He has no pity on me when he sees me lean and hungry, but even insults me by throwing out the nourishing brew right close by my face. Well, Wolf shall find out that he is not the only shaman. I shall be even with him yet."

Thereupon Wolverine left the house, and, after travelling a considerable distance, reached a lake where beavers were very plentiful. Here he caught many of these animals, and before long had his lodge hanging full of their dried meat, and of beaver-tails tied in twos. Then, through his shamanistic powers, he made Wolf unlucky. Wolf could find few deer, and, when he did find any, he could not kill them. Wolf had to live on the stores of meat which he had laid up in his lodge; but at last he finished them all, and was reduced to boiling the old bones, and scraping the pieces of fat and meat adhering to skins. Even this at last failed, and Wolf bethought himself of Wolverine, saying, "I will search for his house and live with him; perhaps he has plenty of food."

Soon he found Wolverine's lodge, entered, and sat down at the door. Wolverine never spoke to him, but proceeded to cook some beaver-tails, and, after eating then, he threw the brew over Wolf's head out of the door of the lodge. Wolf then remembered how he had treated Wolverine, and said to himself, "He serves me as I served him." He forthwith left, and thereafter Wolf and Wolverine never lived together.

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<sup>1</sup> The best fat of an animal, cut off from the back in a single piece.

<sup>2</sup> The "jacket," or fleshy and fatty part of an animal, between the skin and the bones, laid off in one piece by the hunters.

## 15. WOLVERENE AND FISHER.

Wolverene and Fisher lived together in the same house. One day, when Fisher was hunting, he saw a woman pass along in the distance. That night, when he returned home, he told his companion, saying he intended to follow her. Wolverine said, "It will be useless for you to follow her, she lives too far away." On the following morning Fisher went to the place where he had seen the woman, and, finding her tracks, he followed them for several days, but did not overtake her. Since he had nothing to eat, he returned to his camp, which he reached in a very exhausted state, emaciated and weak.

Then Wolverine said he would search for the woman, and on the following morning he started out, carrying a woven buckskin bag<sup>1</sup> filled with food. After travelling a long distance, he reached a house in which a number of people lived. At nightfall he crawled up to the house, and discovered the woman lying in a corner by herself, for she was menstruating. She had taken off all her good clothes before menstruating, and had placed them under her pillow.<sup>2</sup> Then Wolverine assumed the form of a dog, entered the lodge, and ran away with the woman's moccasins. The people saw him, and cried out, "Oh! one of the dogs has taken our sister's shoes!" The people chased the dog, but he disappeared in the darkness.

Some time afterwards Wolverine returned, pulled the woman's leggings from underneath her pillow, and ran off with them also. The people cried, "Oh! one of the dogs has taken our sister's leggings!" and they pursued him as before. Shortly afterward he ran away with her bag in which she kept her sinew and sewing-materials; and thus he took her skirt, then her robe, and at last the woman herself. The people chased him each time, but always lost him in the dark.

Then Wolverine resumed his original human form and told the woman that she must be his wife. He put all her belongings into his bag, and they travelled back to the home of Wolverine and Fisher, where the woman henceforth lived with the former, and bore many children to him.

16. STORY OF AXA'NA;<sup>3</sup> OR, MARTEN AND FISHER.

Marten and Fisher were brothers who lived together in an underground house.<sup>4</sup> Fisher was a noted hunter and fisherman, and fed his brother on

<sup>1</sup> These bags were used by the Canoe Lake and North Thompson Shuswap. They were of buckskin thongs woven like a dip-net, the mesh varying in size. Some were made of twisted caribou and elk skin. See p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> The women of all the interior Salish tribes separated from the people when menstruating. They took off their good clothing, and put it on again when their period was over. In the interval they dressed in old clothes, which they afterwards threw away or put aside in a tree to be used again during their next period.

<sup>3</sup> Axa'na is the mythological name of the marten.

<sup>4</sup> Some say they lived with a family of people.

the hind-hoofs of deer. When he brought home game, he always lowered it down the entrance with a rope, and Marten took it from him. Sometimes Marten wished to hunt; but Fisher would ask him to stay at home, saying, "I will do all the hunting, for you are a poor hunter, and get tired too quickly. You had better stay at home, or hunt in the vicinity of the house. Of one thing I warn you, however. If you shoot an arrow at a bird eastward and it misses, never go to pick it up.<sup>1</sup> If you shoot in any other direction, you may go and recover it."

One day Marten saw a small bird which he desired to shoot, but it was due east of him. He tried to move around so as to be in a position to shoot his arrow in some other direction than due east; but the bird always flew away, and would alight east of him. At last he shot his best and most beautiful arrow at it, and missed, the arrow going a long way. He went to recover it; but the arrow kept moving away from him toward the east, and he followed it.

Thus he was led some distance from home, and at last came to a lodge, which he entered. A woman<sup>2</sup> who was seated by the fire offered him roasted dried salmon to eat. She handed it over to him across the fire, together with his arrow, which had made straight for this lodge, and had entered it. Marten asked her to throw the food to him; but she said, "No: reach over and take it." When Marten was taking it from her, she pulled him into the fire, and he was badly burned. She laughed at him, and he went home, taking the salmon and arrow along with him. He put both into his medicine-bag, and lay down with his head on them, expecting to dream, or to do some harm to the woman.

When Fisher came home, he called from the top of the ladder, "Come, brother, take the meat!" Marten felt angry and sick: therefore he would not arise, but answered pettishly, "Come, brother, take the meat!" Fisher called four times, and each time Marten simply repeated what Fisher said. Then Fisher let his pack of meat drop, and descended himself. When he saw what had happened, he said, "Aha! You followed your arrow to the east, did you? Well, you are in a bad state: I must hasten to cure you." Then he licked Marten all over with his tongue, excepting a little spot on his throat, and told him to run about. Marten obeyed, and said, "Now I feel quite well." Fisher said, "You look nice, and have a white spot on your throat where I did not lick you. I will leave you that way." This is the reason that martens have white throats at the present day. "Now," he continued, "we will go and get the woman who burned you. You must help me." He gave him an elk-skin robe to carry, and told him what to do.

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<sup>1</sup> In the North Thompson version, Marten is warned never to go southward. His arrows were never known to miss.

<sup>2</sup> In the North Thompson version, the Woodworm-Woman. She gives him salmon meat and roe to eat.

When they entered the house, the woman offered Fisher food over the fire, and he reached out to take it. She gave a pull to draw him into the fire; but he jumped right over it with great force, and, knocking her down, fell on her and had connection with her. Then Marten covered them with the elk-skin robe, and left. Afterward Fisher took her to his house, and she became his wife.<sup>1</sup>

One day, before going hunting, he told Marten to dress some buckskin very soft for his sister-in-law's skirt. When Marten had done so, and had cut it out, he gave it to the woman, who was much pleased, for it was very soft, and fitted nicely. Then Marten sat down to eat, and, as he ate, the skirt began to shrink and became hard. It gave the woman so much pain, that she began to cry. Marten laughed, for he was now taking his revenge for being burned by the woman. When it was about time for Fisher to arrive, he made the skirt become soft again.

When Fisher arrived, and saw tears in his wife's eyes, he asked why she had cried; and Marten answered, "It is impossible to satisfy a woman. She thinks her kilt is too hard." Fisher felt of the skin, and said, "It is very good. I think it could not be softer. Why, then, do you cry?"

Again Fisher went hunting, and told his brother to look for a nice small pebble and a smooth flat stone<sup>2</sup> for his sister-in-law to crush bones on when extracting the marrow. Marten gave the stones to the woman, sat down to eat, and the hammer-stone at once grew in size and weight until it became a large boulder. The woman cried, for she could not use the hammer at all. Marten merely laughed; and, when it was about time for his brother to arrive, he made the hammer small and shapely again. Fisher noticed tears in his wife's eyes, and said, "You have been crying again. What is the matter?" Marten answered, "It is impossible to suit women. She thinks the stones I got for her are too large and unshapely." Fisher examined them, and said, "Why! they are fine stones, and could hardly be better."

In due time the woman bore a son to Fisher; and the boy grew very rapidly, as did all the myth people. When the boy was able to walk and play, Fisher said to his brother one day, "I want you to help me hunt to-day. We will try to drive deer."

When they returned at night, they found the woman gone; and the boy informed them that a man<sup>3</sup> came there and took her away. They were going to start at once on their tracks; but the boy always cried when they left him. They gave him many different toys to pacify him, but still he would always cry when they left. At last they made a bow and arrows for him, and a small Deer to run around inside the house. The boy was now

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<sup>1</sup> The preceding part of the story occurs also among the *Ut̄am̄qt̄*.

<sup>2</sup> Some say to make a small hammer, and a large flat stone hollowed a little in the centre.

<sup>3</sup> Some say a number of people.

satisfied, and was so engrossed chasing the Deer, that he paid no attention when they departed. They left food and water for him, and told the Deer to look well after the boy during their absence.

They followed the tracks that led away from the house, until one evening they came to a lake, where they saw two women in a bark canoe, and hailed them, asking to be taken across.<sup>1</sup> The women had been fishing, and were going home with the trout they had caught. When they came ashore, Fisher asked the women what tracks those were that came down to the lake on the other side; and the women answered, "Those are the tracks of our friends, who have brought a new woman." — "Where do they live?" asked Fisher; and the women answered, "A little ways over yonder, in an underground house. We live there also, and are going to take our trout home now." Fisher asked them in what part of the house they slept, how they entered the house, and what they did. They answered, "We sleep on a raised platform in one corner; and when we enter, we jump down from the fourth step of the ladder, and then go over to our places in four steps. We amuse ourselves for a time throwing fish-eggs at the eyes of our younger sister. Then we accompany our brother's new wife to the lake to bathe, and upon our return we go to bed."

Then the brothers killed the two women, who were the Mouse and the Rat, and flayed them. Fisher put on the Rat's skin, and Marten the Mouse's skin; but the latter was not large enough to cover him entirely, so his privates and a piece around his eyes remained uncovered. Then they took the trout and repaired to the house. They entered and did everything just as the girls had told them. It was a little dark inside the house, and therefore they were not seen distinctly.

After a while the younger sister of the Mouse and Rat remarked to her mother, "My sister the Mouse has different eyes from what she used to have, and is very different between the legs." The mother paid little attention, and said, "Hush! You must not talk about your sister in that manner. It will make her feel ashamed." When the woman went out to bathe, they accompanied her, and told her who they were. They said, "Play much with your new husband to-night, that he may become tired and sleep soundly."

The woman did as directed; and when the man, whose name was Copper, commenced to snore, the brothers arose and cut off his head with a sharp knife that Fisher had concealed on his person. They slipped out quietly with the woman, took a canoe, and paddled away. When they reached the centre of the lake, they threw Copper's head overboard, and it sank to the bottom.

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<sup>1</sup> In the North Thompson version they follow in a bark canoe propelled by eight paddles. While crossing the lake, a gale, arises and all the paddles except one are broken.

Toward morning the younger sister said to her parents, "I am thirsty;" and her father answered, "I hear your brother drinking. Go and drink with him." The noise was produced by the blood gurgling from Copper's body; and the little girl, who had gone to her brother's bed, called to her father, "Brother is not drinking. I don't know what he is doing." But the old man never answered, for he was sleepy.

When the people arose, they found Copper's headless body, and, instead of the Rat and the Mouse, they found only their skins. They started in pursuit, but by this time the brothers had crossed the lake, and were far on their way home. When the pursuers reached the middle of the lake, they saw a bright spot underneath the water, and knew it to be Copper's head lying on the bottom. They called all the water-birds to dive for it; but Loon would not go, and none of the others succeeded in reaching it. At last Loon dived and brought up the head. Loon's eyes are exceedingly bright and fiery at the present day because he dived for Copper. They took the head home, put it on Copper's body, and he came to life again. They said, "The friends of the woman we stole have committed this deed." They never tried to steal Fisher's wife again. Fisher and Marten reached home safely, and found that the Deer had taken good care of the boy.<sup>1</sup>

#### 17. STORY OF SKUNK AND BEAVER.<sup>2</sup>

A great many<sup>3</sup> animals lived together in a large underground house. Among them were Elk, Deer, Grisly Bear, Wolverene, Hare, Lynx, and Coyote. Skunk lived with them, for he was married to one of their daughters. He was disliked, however, and Coyote and Lynx always made fun of him. One night the people proposed that they should play, and sing their medicine-songs. One after another they danced and called their guardian spirits. When Lynx finished, he sat down at the foot of the ladder. Then Coyote danced, and created great amusement. He called on wooden pins, a half-eaten carcass, and other foolish, worthless things as his guardians.

Now Skunk whispered to his wife to lie down flat, for he intended to sing presently. He was a quiet fellow, and had never sung at any of their events hitherto. The people thought him useless, lazy, and sulky. When all had finished, Skunk arose and said he would try to sing like the other people. Coyote made fun of him, calling him nasty names, and jeering at him. He answered, "I know very little, and am very weak in magic power. You may laugh at me if you like." Then he commenced to sing, "Pa'-po-po-po'," and the people jeered. When he called on the Stench as his guardian,

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 64 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare parts of this story with Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Some say all.



Coyote said, "Oh! our son-in-law has indeed a powerful guardian spirit. He is great in magic power." The stench of Skunk filled the place. Four times he called, and the people commenced to choke. They said, "The smell of Skunk's guardian spirit kills us," and they ran up the ladder as fast as they could. In their hurry they trod on Lynx's head; and others trampled him down and kicked him in the face and ribs, thus disfiguring him. It was a long time before his bruises healed up; and he remained ugly, as we see him at the present day, while previously he had been very handsome.

Another night the people were again showing their magic powers; but Skunk would not dance. However, after being abused by the people, and mocked at by Coyote, he danced at last. He had asked Beaver to help him, who had dammed up the creek<sup>1</sup> near by. Skunk sang, and called on the Water as his guardian, saying, "Now come, Water! Now help, Beaver!" Skunk and his wife went out, while the others laughed at him because the Water did not come. Then the water rushed in at the top of the underground house, and drowned all the people except Coyote, who swam round and round, with only his head above water. Skunk mocked him, and ejected his stench at him. He left him there, and with his wife joined Beaver, who was his friend, and with whom he afterwards lived.

#### 18. THE HARE AND THE GRISLY BEARS.

[This story is the same as that told in Teit, "Traditions of the Thompson River Indians," pp. 66, 67, with the following additions. When the Hare came home, he said to his grandmother, "Grisly Bear will be angry and come here to kill me. When he enters the house, throw the pitch-wood into the fire, that the house may be full of smoke. Then I will kill him." — Hare's weapon was a tomahawk, which he held ready behind his back. — After Hare had had connection with his grandmother, he sat down on top of the ladder, and three times he asked some people passing on the other side of the river if they had any news. They answered, "No." The fourth time that people passed he asked them the same question, and they answered, "Yes. Hare has had connection with his grandmother, and killed her by putting his penis into her nose."]

#### 19. STORY OF KUTLIWA'TAXEN<sup>2</sup> OR THE WREN.<sup>3</sup>

Wren lived with his grandmother.<sup>4</sup> He was a young man possessed of magic powers. One day he took an adze in his hands and went out to build a double salmon-weir; but he felt lazy, and lay down and commanded the trees to fell themselves. This they did. Then he said, "Cut yourselves into lengths;" and at once the noise of many hammers and chisels was heard,

<sup>1</sup> Some say river.

<sup>2</sup> This is the mythological name for the wren. It is really a nickname derived from the peculiar movements of the bird.

<sup>3</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Some say they were the only inhabitants of the country, the rest of the people having been exterminated by a great fire.

and the trees were soon all cut the proper lengths. Then he said, "Drag yourselves to the stream;" and immediately they obeyed. In this way, by six commands, he completed the weir, and by six more commands he constructed a drying-platform and fishing-implements, and made the salmon catch themselves, cut themselves up, and hang themselves on the poles.

Then he hastened and told his grandmother, who would not believe him, for she said it took many men many days to complete a double salmon-weir; and she was much surprised, when she went to look, to find that he had told the truth.

On the following morning, when he went to the weir, he found most of his salmon stolen; and, upon examining the ground, he noticed the tracks of a grisly bear. He hastened to his grandmother, and told her that Grisly Bear had stolen his salmon, and that he intended to kill him. His grandmother said, "Grisly Bear is a large and fierce man. A small weak person like you is not able to kill him, for in former days only the bravest and most skilful hunters managed to kill one once in a while."

Nothing daunted, Wren tied his robe tightly around him, and, taking his tomahawk, repaired to the drying-platform, where he hid himself. Early in the morning Grisly Bear appeared, and began to help himself to the remaining salmon. Wren now sprang out, and asked Grisly Bear why he stole the fish. The Bear rushed at Wren, thinking he could kill him at once; but the latter avoided the Bear's charges by always jumping away. Before Grisly Bear could recover himself, Wren would strike him on the head. Thus the Bear became exhausted by his fruitless exertions, and the repeated blows he received began to tell on him. Wren was still as nimble as ever, and redoubled his endeavors, until at last he killed the Bear.

Then he hastened to his grandmother, and told her that he had killed Grisly Bear. This she would not believe until she went with him and saw the carcass. She asked him to skin the bear carefully, removing the skin in one piece with the claws adhering. Wren gave her the skin, and asked her to dress herself in it. When she had done so, he admired her so much that he desired to have sexual intercourse with her. Having gratified his passions, he found that his grandmother was dying as the result. He was very sorry for his act; and when she was dead, he wept bitterly.<sup>1</sup>

## 20. STORY OF MUSKRAT.

A pubescent girl lived in her lodge near the village. She had nearly finished her training; and several young men, including Muskrat, had asked to marry her. Her parents had spoken to her regarding these, but she had

<sup>1</sup> Some say she did not die; and others say they had formerly heard more of the story; compare Boas, *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 121.

refused them all. Muskrat made up his mind to kill her, and made a number of snowshoes and arrows of different types, in imitation of those used by the surrounding tribes, — the Shuswap, Thompson Indians, Lillooet, Cree, and Chilcotin. He made about twenty kinds of arrows and about ten kinds of snowshoes.

At last one night he killed the girl, shooting one of each of the different kinds of arrows into her body. Then, putting on the snowshoes one after another, he ran around the girl's lodge in all directions. On the following morning the people found the girl dead, with many arrows in her body, and snowshoe-tracks all around the place. They said, "It is impossible to tell who killed her. There must have been a war-party of many strangers here."

They took the girl's body into the underground house, and tried to revive her with the help of the shamans. When they had all failed, the people asked Muskrat, who was a young shaman, to try. He answered, "I will try; but I have not much chance, when all the old, experienced shamans have failed." Now he began to dance and sing in a different manner from the other shamans. He danced round the body, then towards the ladder and up some steps, and back again. Four times he did this. One time, when halting in his song, he said to himself in a low voice, "I am the one who killed the girl." Coyote, who was sitting nearest to him, overheard him, and whispered to the people, "He killed the girl." Some of them answered, "If he does not manage to bring her to life again, we will kill him." The fourth time, as he danced up the ladder, he cried out in a loud voice, "I killed the girl!" then bolted for the lake, and dived down the hole in the ice where the people drew their water.

The people pursued him. Coyote was close behind, and nearly caught him. He called to the people, "Hurry up! I am holding him." Now they all stood around the hole with their spears, ready to stab him as soon as Coyote should pull him out. Coyote plucked some grass by the roots from the lake-bottom, and made a great ado, saying it was very hard to pull him up. At last, after telling the people to be ready, he slowly pulled his arms out of the water, and exposed in his hands some grass and mud. "Oh! he must have escaped," he said, laughing.

The people were angry. They left Coyote. Some of them went aboard a bark canoe, and chased Muskrat all around the lake; and others tried to get a shot at him by running round on the ice. Although they chased him until dark, they could not even get within arrow-shot of him, for he was a very fine swimmer and diver. Finally they had to give up the pursuit, and they went home while he was laughing at them.

Now Beaver joined Muskrat. He said, "We look very much alike, and, as we are friends, we will sit here for a while and talk." As they sat together, Beaver commenced to admire Muskrat's tail, and wished that his

were like it. At that time, Muskrat had the tail that Beaver has now, while the latter had the tail we see on the muskrat at the present day. Beaver said, "I wonder how we should look if we changed tails!" This they did, and Beaver said, "You look fine with my tail. I will go into the water and try your tail, then afterwards you can try mine." Beaver dived and swam about, striking his tail on the water, and making a loud noise. He was pleased because he could swim so much better, and gradually swam farther away from the shore.

Now Muskrat became suspicious, and swam out after him; but Beaver caused a strong wind and high waves to come; so Muskrat, finding that he made little headway, and that he could not swim as well as before, gave up the chase. When he came ashore, he was transformed<sup>1</sup> into the muskrat that we see at the present day, and it was decreed that he should have to live along the shore, and never swim out into the deep water of large lakes, as he had been wont to do.

#### 21. STORY OF GRISLY BEAR'S AND BEAVER'S CHILDREN, INCLUDING THAT OF COYOTE AND THE EGGS.<sup>2</sup>

Grisly-Bear-Woman and Beaver-Woman lived in the same house. Each of them had two sons, all half-grown lads. The elder son of Grisly Bear was named Tcuke'kenakst,<sup>3</sup> and the elder son of Beaver was called Tcekemā'iya.<sup>4</sup> Every day the women went out together to dig roots. One day, while engaged at their usual occupation, Grisly Bear said to her companion, "Let us rest a while, and I will louse your head." Beaver was nothing loath, as she felt tired, and she laid her head on the other's lap. Grisly Bear proceeded to louse her, and showed her some of the lice, saying, "What strange lice you have! Their bellies hang down, and their legs turn out." When she had finished, Beaver said she would louse Grisly Bear's head. She was rather nettled because she thought Grisly Bear had compared the lice to her own shape, thus making fun of her. She took some of Grisly Bear's lice and showed them to her, saying, "What funny lice you have! Their eyes are so very small, and their backside so very large." This remark was intended as a description of Grisly Bear's peculiarities, and made her very angry. She flew at her companion and killed her. She ate her excepting the breasts, which she took home in her basket to eat at night.

When she reached the lodge, she told Beaver's children that their

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<sup>1</sup> The Indians are doubtful as to who transformed him. Some say the people whom he had wronged; others say Old-One or Coyote.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 69 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> This name is derived from the word for "claws."

<sup>4</sup> This word is derived from the word for "breasts."

mother had been tired and had to camp, but that she would be home on the morrow. When she thought that the children were asleep, she took out the breasts and roasted them; but Tcekemā'iya was watching her. When she began to eat, he cried out, "Oh! my mother's breasts!" Grisly Bear turned her back to him, that he might not see what she was doing, and answered, "Go to sleep! Those are large roots that I am eating." But the lad knew better, and made up his mind to be careful.

The next morning Grisly Bear, before going out, told her children secretly to cook a large mess of boiled roots and berries (nkau), and to invite Beaver's children to eat with them. She asked them to induce the others to eat plenty, but to eat sparingly themselves. Afterwards they were to invite Beaver's children to swim in the lake, and then, under the pretext of a wrestling-match, they should drown them. "You will manage this," said she, "because they will be full and heavy; while you will be light and agile. After drowning them, take the body of the elder, roast it on a stick, and set it up on the trail the way I come home."<sup>1</sup>

The young Grisly Bears cooked the roots as they had been told; but Tcekemā'iya was suspicious, and warned his younger brother not to eat of it. When the meal was ready, and they began to eat, they emptied each spoonful down the neck of their shirts; while the Grisly Bears, not being able to restrain their appetites, ate their fill. When they went to the lake, and began to wrestle, the Beavers quickly drowned their antagonists. They took the body of Tcuke'kenakst, roasted it, and stuck it on the trail by which Grisly Bear was expected to come home. Here they met Meadow-Lark, and told him, when Grisly Bear should begin to eat the roast, to cry out the name of her son. They hurried back to the lodge, put two rotten logs in their bed, covered them up, and ran away as fast as they could. When they came to the cañon of the river, where it was narrow and very swift, they threw a log across and went over. They came to a steep cliff which they could not ascend; therefore they made a ladder out of a tree, placed it against the cliff, and climbed up to the top and sat down.

Grisly Bear felt hungry, and, thinking of the savory morsel waiting for her, went home sooner than usual. Soon she found the roast; and when she began to eat it, Meadow-Lark drew near, and called out, "Tcuke'kenakst, Tcuke'kenakst! You are eating Tcuke'kenakst." Grisly Bear looked at the feet, and at once recognized the claws. She ran to the lodge to kill the Beaver boys, and bit and clawed the figures which she found in their bed, only to find that they were logs. Then she searched for the tracks of the children, and gave chase.

She reached the cañon, and crossed the log, but was afraid to climb the

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<sup>1</sup> Some say Tcekemā'iya overheard the conversation.

ladder. When she saw the Beavers sitting on the top of the cliff, she asked them to come down, saying that their mother had come home and had sent her after them; but they scolded her, and accused her of killing their mother. At last, when she saw that they would not come down, she began to ascend the ladder; but soon she became afraid. Tcekemā'iya said he would hold the ladder steady for her, but, when she had nearly reached the top, he pushed it over; and Grisly Bear was precipitated into the foaming river, and was drowned. Her carcass floated ashore below, and began to putrefy.

Now Coyote, who was travelling with his son, came along and found it. He said, "This is fine meat;" and his son answered, "Yes! let us cut off a leg and roast it." But Coyote said it would be better to dig a hole in the earth, and bake it in one piece, after the manner of roots. When they had done this, they went to sleep expecting that it would be cooked and ready to eat in the morning.

About daybreak many people came along on their way to a large swamp, where they were going to gather eggs. When they saw Coyote and his son asleep, they opened the oven, took out the meat, and ate it all excepting a little fat, which they used to smear the mouths and hands of the sleeping Coyotes. When Coyote awoke, he found the oven open and the meat all eaten. When he looked at his son, he saw grease on his mouth and hands, and thought that he had robbed him. Therefore he beat him with a stick. The son denied his guilt; but the father said, "Why is there grease on your mouth and hands?" The lad answered, "Why is there grease on your own mouth and hands?" Thus Coyote discovered that a trick had been played on them. He found the tracks of the people and followed them. In the afternoon he overtook them while they were gathering eggs in the swamp. He turned aside, and changed himself into a large overspreading tree on a smooth dry piece of ground; while he transformed his son into the lower branch of the tree, with his arm hanging down, and looking as if the end of the branch were nearly broken off.

In the evening the people looked for a place to camp, and selected the ground at the bottom of the tree. Here they dug a trench to bake the eggs, which they expected would be ready to eat in the morning. One woman said, "This is a nice tree to camp under. It is a wonder I have not noticed it before when here." Another woman saw the piece of branch hanging down, and said, "That broken limb will make a fine root-digger;" so she twisted it off and gave it to one of the men to whittle. When the root-digger was finished, he placed it beside the woman, who had by this time retired for the night, and at once it had connection with her. She shoved it over to the next woman, with whom it did the same. Now, the people wondered at this, and the men threw it away.

When all had retired, Coyote blew on them, making them sleep very

soundly. Then he dug out the eggs, and he and his son ate them all. They took the shells, and he tied a couple to the privates of each one of the sleepers, and then went on his way. When the people arose, there was a noise of shells rattling, and they thought it was a south wind striking the trees in the neighboring mountains. Then the people discovered that the shells made the noise, and that all their eggs had been eaten. They said, "That is Coyote, who has followed us, and got even with us for eating his meat."

## 22. STORY OF THE LYNX.<sup>1</sup>

Once there lived a good-looking girl who had many suitors, none of whom she cared for; and, as they bothered her a great deal, she made up her mind to leave home and go to the country where her grandmother lived. The old woman knew that she was coming, and, thinking the young men of the place would also want to marry her, she made her arrangements accordingly.<sup>2</sup> . . .

The people who had deserted them were starving. One day they sent Crow to see how Lynx was faring. Lynx's wife gave Crow a piece of fat to take home. This he rolled up in black moss, and at night fed his children with it. The people rushed in while the children were eating, and asked why they made so much noise. Crow answered, "I am feeding them with roasted black moss (hêmê'lk)." They did not believe that children would become so excited over some black moss; therefore they watched, and, when he fed them again, they rushed in and caught them swallowing fat. Now they were angry at Crow for not telling them that Lynx had plenty of food. They moved back to the village, and found that Lynx had filled with fat the houses of those who had not trodden on him. Because Coyote had kicked him, he filled his house with excrement. Now Coyote went around trying to claim the houses which contained fat; but the rightful owners drove him away, and at last threw him into his own house among the excrements.<sup>3</sup>

## 23. STORY OF BALD-HEADED EAGLE.<sup>4</sup>

Bald-Headed Eagle lived in an underground house with other birds; while near by lived Golden-Eagle and the Hawks, in another house. When

<sup>1</sup> See Hill-Tout, Story of Elk-Maiden. Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, etc., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The rest of this story is the same as that told in Teit, "Traditions of the Thompson River Indians," p. 37, with the following exceptions and additions. Her grandmother made a fog, that the animals who raced might not find the girl. — She hid the girl in a basket, which she hung up on the post of her underground house. — Lynx made a hole immediately above it, and at night urinated down along the post, thus making the girl pregnant. — The bow that the Lynx offered to the boy had a string of "kwoes"-bark, and the arrow-heads were fastened on the shafts with the same material. The end of the story as told by the Shuswap is given above.

<sup>3</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 10 of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 67; also known to the Utámq and Lillooet.

Bald-Head was fishing one day, he saw a woman approach his weir to cross over the stream. He met her in the middle of the weir, and would not let her cross. She tried to coax him, and called him many endearing names; but he never moved or spoke. She called him grandfather, father, uncle, brother-in-law, brother, but without avail. At last she called him husband; and at once he said, "Why did you not say that before?" He now claimed her as his wife, and took her home.<sup>1</sup> . . .

The woman left Golden-Eagle and lived by herself for a time. Then the head of Bald-Headed Eagle came to life, went to her hut, and married her. When he had connection with her, the head entered her privates. When he had finished and came out again, he asked to wipe him. After a time she had two children, who were heads also. Then she said she would visit her people. Wherever she went, the three heads followed her. When she came close to the houses of the people, some of them recognized her, and called out, "Our sister approaches with two little white dogs and a larger one following her." When she arrived, the people asked her what these things were that always rolled after her wherever she went. She answered, "These are my husband and children."

The people did not like them: so they made up their minds to kill them. They engaged three men,<sup>2</sup> named Spittle, Matter, and Cough, who were impervious to heat and had bodies that could not be hurt, to make a sweat-house. They covered the sweat-house above, below, and around with mysterious power, so that nothing could escape. They heated stones to a red heat, and induced Bald-Headed Eagle and his two children to have a sweat-bath. Then they poured much water on the stones, and the hot steam made the two smaller heads burst. Bald-Headed Eagle was severely scalded, and tried to escape, but was unable to do so. Then he attacked Spittle, Matter, and Cough with his beak, but could not hurt them. They continued to pour water on the stones, until at last Bald-Headed Eagle exploded. Then the people threw the dead heads away, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a common bald-headed eagle. You shall no longer have mysterious power, and never again shall you be able to molest women."

#### 24. THE BROTHERS WHO MARRIED THE GRISLY-BEAR GIRL.

Near a little lake in Empire Valley, called Komenka'ksxen,<sup>3</sup> there lived some people under the bluff in an underground house. They were Grisly

<sup>1</sup> From here on the story is the same as the Thompson Indian tale "Battle of the Birds," in Teit, Traditions, etc., pp. 67 and 68, except that the collar armor of Bald-Headed Eagle is said to consist of two woven rabbit-skin blankets and two bark-twine nets. The story then continues.

<sup>2</sup> Some say there was a fourth man, but none of the Indians was sure who he was. Some said that probably he was Whistle.

<sup>3</sup> So called because of a pointed rocky bluff there.



Bear people, and at that time Coyote was living with them. Among them was a beautiful girl with whom many of the neighboring youths fell in love. Among her lovers were four brothers, the youngest of whom had a lame leg. The eldest went to marry the girl, and, before entering the house, he hung his quiver and arrows on the top of the ladder. He was accepted as the girl's husband, and remained with her. That night her friends took all the heads off his arrows.<sup>1</sup> On the following morning they shouted, "Four grisly bears are feeding on the other side of the lake. Son-in-law, go and shoot them!" He took his quiver without looking at the arrows, went down to the lake, launched a bark canoe, and crossed the water. When he landed, the bears attacked him fiercely, and killed him, for his arrows had no effect on them. The next brother went to marry the girl, and then the third; but they fell into the same trap, and were killed.

The youngest said to himself, "Something is wrong, and I must discover what it is." He went up the mountains to gain supernatural help, and learned through a dream how his brothers had perished. Then he returned, and told the people that he intended to marry the Grisly Bear girl. The people said, "Your elder brothers were better than you, and used to kill grisly bears; yet these people must have got the better of them. If they failed to get the girl, you surely will be unsuccessful." He did not pay any attention to their warnings, hid fire-sticks within his shirt, on the left side of his body, and sinew and four fine arrow-heads on the right side,<sup>2</sup> and went to the house of the Grisly Bears and hung his quiver on the top of the ladder. He was accepted as the girl's husband; and on the following morning her people told him that four grisly bears were feeding on the opposite side of the lake, and asked him to kill them. When he launched the canoe, Coyote said, "Your son-in-law will be killed like the others;" for he knew that the people had taken the heads off all his arrows.

The young man stopped in the middle of the lake, and took fire-drill and tinder from within his shirt, with which he made a small fire. Then he melted some gum that he took from the canoe. Then he tied on the four arrow-heads with sinew, gummed them, and threw the fire away. Then he proceeded and went to meet the bears, who attacked him; but he killed them, each with one arrow. After he had done so, he returned and transformed the people into grisly bears, saying, "Henceforth you shall be ordinary bears, and hunters shall shoot you with arrows." Coyote ran away during the transformation. The young man took the girl home,<sup>3</sup> and she lived with him after being purified with herb medicine.

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<sup>1</sup> Some say they transformed his arrows; others, that they simply passed their hands over them, thus making them defective, or ready to break or fall off.

<sup>2</sup> Some say he had sinew on one side of his body, and arrow-heads on the other, while the fire-sticks were in his quiver.

<sup>3</sup> Some say he transformed the girl and the house into stone.

25. THE WOMEN WHO SOUGHT FOR A HUSBAND; OR, THE WOMEN WHO MARRIED THE CANNIBAL (STAR) AND WOLVERENE.<sup>1</sup>

Two young women<sup>2</sup> could not get along with the people, so they said they would leave, and live by themselves. They agreed to train themselves, and then to wander over the country in search of husbands. For four moons they trained themselves, and then tried their magic powers. They reached an open plain, the elder one sang, and a tree with branches only at the top grew out of the prairie. When it had grown very high, she stopped singing, and the tree stopped growing. Again she sang, and the tree became shorter and shorter, until at last it disappeared. Again the elder sang and the prairie split open, leaving a deep chasm. She pulled a hair out of her head, threw it across the chasm, and it became a bridge, on which they crossed. Again she sang, and the chasm gradually closed, leaving no mark.

The women went on, and came to a large valley. Then the younger one sang, and the valley was filled with water, which rose up to the tops of the hills on each side. She took a hair from her head and threw it on the water, thus making a bridge, on which they crossed. Again she sang, and the water receded until the valley was dry again. Once more the younger one sang.<sup>3</sup> "Now," said they, "we are wise in magic. If danger assails us, we are safe."

Then they started to seek for a husband, and camped the first night at a fine open spot near a stream. Here they lay down. Before going to sleep, they looked at the stars overhead, and wished that one of the large bright ones would become their husband. That night the Star came down and lay between them.<sup>4</sup> When they awoke in the morning, they saw an old man with sore eyes in their bed. They were surprised and disgusted as well as afraid. As the man appeared to be asleep, they arose quietly and ran away into the forest, where they thought he would not find them.

They came to a trail, which they followed until a large gray log barred the way. "That is a strange-looking log," they said. "It is too thick to climb over."<sup>5</sup> Let us go around it." But the log grew lengthwise, the end always keeping ahead of them. They turned back, and tried to go around the other end, but with the same result. Then the elder woman kicked it, saying, "What kind of a magic log is this!" At once the log changed into a man, who said, "You wish for a husband. I will take you for my wives." They answered, "Very well," and went with him to his house. He hunted every

<sup>1</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 31 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Some say sisters.

<sup>3</sup> I could not get any one to inform me what her last feat was.

<sup>4</sup> Some say this star was the cannibal with whom they afterwards lived.

<sup>5</sup> Some say they said, "It looks dangerous to step over."

day, and brought home different kinds of meat, which he rolled up in grass and placed on the shelves of poles which were all around his house. The first day he roasted some and offered it to the women, who refused it because they did not know what kind of meat it was. They never saw him eat anything, and, although he lay between them at night, he never showed any desire to have connection with them. They said, "Our husband is a queer man."

One night the younger woman watched, and saw him get up, go to the shelves, and, after eating heartily of the meat there, return to his place in the bed, and fall asleep. Next night she watched again, and saw him get up, sharpen his knife, and uncover the feet of the other woman. He cut a deep gash the whole length of the sole of one foot, which he eagerly examined, saying, "She is hardly fit to eat yet. I will wait until she is fatter." Then he spat on the palm of his hand, and, rubbing the saliva on the cut, it healed up at once, leaving no mark.

The following morning the younger woman said to her companion, "Did you not feel our husband cutting your foot last night?" She said, "No!" So the younger one told her all about it. Then they looked on the shelves, and found much human flesh and also rib and breast pieces cut off in the same manner as Indians cut up deer. Now they knew that their husband was a cannibal, and that he intended to eat them. So, after throwing all the flesh and bones into the fire, they left the place. When the cannibal came home and found his wives gone, he went in pursuit and soon overtook them.

When they saw he was near, the younger woman sang, and a lake formed before them. She threw a hair of her head on the water, and it stretched straight across, forming a bridge, on which they crossed. The cannibal cried out, "Why do you leave me?" They answered, "You can follow." He walked out on the surface of the lake a little distance, and then sank.<sup>1</sup> They thought that he was drowned, but soon they saw him following again. Then the elder sister sang, and a tall tree grew out of the earth underneath them, in the top branches of which they sat.<sup>2</sup> The cannibal passed by, looking for them, and disappeared. Then they caused the tree to disappear again, and continued their journey. Again they saw the cannibal close behind them. Then the elder one sang, and the earth split in front of them, forming a deep chasm. She took a hair from her head, threw it across, and on this they went over as if on a log. She told it to break when the cannibal should step on it. The man cried, "Why do you leave me?" and they answered, "Follow us; we will wait for you." The cannibal hesitated to cross; but the women assured him that the log was quite strong.

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<sup>1</sup> Some say the younger woman told the bridge to break, or turn over, and throw him into the water.

<sup>2</sup> Some say it grew up, then they climbed it and hid.

When he was in the middle of the chasm, it broke, and he fell down to the bottom. They could hear his voice from the distant depths calling, "Take me out!" The women sang, and the chasm gradually closed, crushing and burying him.

Now they went on leisurely, for there was no need of further fear of the cannibal. Soon they reached a lake, took off their clothes, and had a bath. A beaver was swimming around, and struck his tail on the water. Then they wished they had a husband to kill the beaver, that they might eat its tail. Wolverine was on the edge of the lake, looking for a beaver that he had wounded, and heard their wish. Noiselessly he went up behind them, and touched each of them on her backside with his toe. They turned around, and were surprised to see a man there. He said, "I am the man you wished for a husband." They agreed to be his wives. They built a house at that place; and Wolverine hunted beaver, and procured plenty of meat and tails for his wives to eat. They made many beaver robes. They lived there two years, and each of the women bore a child. Then Wolverine by magic compressed a great amount of meat into three bags made of beaver-cub skins. He and his wives carried these along. They were going to the houses of the people; and, on arriving there, Wolverine shook out the contents of the sacks, and the meat filled two underground houses. Thenceforth they lived with the people. Wolverine was a short man, but very strong and a great hunter.

#### 26. SPIDER AND OTTER.

A number of people lived near a large lake. Among them was a young woman who had refused all suitors. One day, when she was drawing water at the lake, Otter seized her, and, putting her in his bark canoe, paddled away to the other end of the lake. Here he hid his canoe in the bushes, and, after travelling with the girl a long distance, they reached the shores of a very large lake. Here he made the girl jump on his back, and, telling her to shut her eyes, he dived into the water, and soon reached his house.<sup>1</sup>

The people searched for the girl in vain, and at last came to the conclusion that she had been drowned. Now, Spider, who lived in the sky, had seen all that had happened, and made up his mind he would have the woman. One day he came down from the sky on a rope, carrying his tomahawk with him, and, going to Otter's hole, he sat down to wait for him. Otter had a hole in the ice through which he was wont to come out when he went hunting and fishing. When he appeared, Spider killed him. Then he called the woman and took her up to the sky with him.

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<sup>1</sup> Some say his house was at the bottom of the lake, or, at least, that he had to go along the bottom of the lake to reach it.

Here she staid, and bore Spider two children. When the children were old enough, Spider said to his wife, "We will go to the earth and visit your people. They will be glad to see you and your children. We will make them happy." Spider went hunting, and killed many deer, the flesh, fat, and skins of which he made to assume such small proportions that he could put them all in the thumb of his mitten, which he attached to the end of his rope, and lowered down to the earth. Then he lowered down his children and his wife, and finally he descended himself.

When they reached the houses of the people, Spider shook his mitten; and the meat, falling out of the thumb, assumed its original proportions, and filled an entire underground house. The people were very glad to see the woman who they thought had been drowned, and to hear her story. Spider gave a feast to the people with the meat he had brought, and gave them all the fat and skins as presents. The woman and her children continued to live with the people, but some say Spider after having staid on earth some time, returned to the sky.

#### 27. STORY OF THE SALMON-BOY.<sup>1</sup>

A lad who lived with his grandparents went playing one day, and did not return. The people searched for him, and found the place where he had fallen into the river. His bow and arrows were lying on the bank. The boy had been amusing himself by tobogganing on a piece of bark, and had slid over a bluff, alighting on a piece of ice<sup>2</sup> which was floating down the river. Thus he floated down to the mouth of Fraser River, and arrived in the land of the salmon, where there was a great fish-dam.

After staying there some time, he told the Salmon chief that he wished to return home. The chief said, "Yes. When the Salmon go to your country, they shall take you with them." Soon the Sockeye Salmon started to run, and the boy wished to accompany them; but the chief said, "No, you must not go with them. You would be hurt. They travel through many dangerous places." At last the King Salmon started, and the chief gave the boy into their charge, and he swam with them after having been transformed into a salmon.

Now, the boy's grandfather cried all the time, because he believed his grandson to be dead. When the salmon began to run, he made a weir across the small stream near which he lived, and there he fished by bag-netting. The boy came swimming up, and was caught by his grandfather, who was about to split and dry him, like other fish, when he noticed that the salmon's eyes were like those of a human being. Then he rolled him

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<sup>1</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 24 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Some say it was a driftwood log.

up in a blanket, and hung him in a tree. On the following day he unwrapped him, and found that the whole head had become human. On the following day the fish had assumed human form down to the waist. On the third day he was man down to the knees; and on the fourth day, when the blanket was opened, the boy jumped out, saying, "It is I, grandfather! Tell no one of my return. Catch and cure all the fish you can, while I go and hunt. In two months' time I shall return, and we shall give a feast to the people."

Then the old man was glad, and, instead of weeping, and singing dirges, he now whistled all day long. The people said, "Something must have happened to make the old man so happy. He has changed from sadness to gayness very quickly." In two months' time the fishing-season was over, and the old man had cured many salmon and their roes, and had made much oil. Then the lad returned from hunting, carrying one of his mittens full of the meat, fat, and skins of deer; while the other contained meat, fat, and skins of marmots. He emptied out the contents of his mittens, and they assumed the form of a large pile of meat, fat, and skins. Then he and his grandfather invited all the people who were surprised to see the boy, and feasted them many days.

#### 28. GRISLY BEAR'S GRANDCHILDREN.<sup>1</sup>

*(Fraser River and North Thompson Divisions.)*

An old Grisly Bear woman lived alone in an uninhabited part of the country. She felt very lonely, and desired much to have a daughter. One day she gathered some gum, which she melted; and when it was cool, she fashioned it into the form of a girl. At her command<sup>2</sup> the figure became alive, and she ordered it to train itself as pubescent girls do, adding, "When you bathe in the stream, do not afterwards dry yourself in the sun. When it is a hot day, always keep in a shady place." The girl did this for a while; but at last she said to herself, "Why does my mother instruct me thus? I am always cold and miserable." So, one hot day after bathing, she picked out a large flat rock near the stream, and lay down on it to sun herself for a little while. Presently she commenced to melt, stuck to the rock, and was unable to rise. Thus she melted, until there remained only a large pitchy spot on the stone. Her mother discovered her remains, and said, "Alas! my daughter is dead."

Then she fashioned a stone hammer into the form of a girl, and, after endowing it with life, she gave it instructions. She said, "When you bathe, go where the water is shallow. Don't jump off a rock where the water is

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 21, 22, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Some say she put life into it by blowing on it, others say by jumping over it.

deep, nor try to swim." After a time the girl wondered at these instructions, and thought she would try to swim. Jumping off a rock into deep water, she sank to the bottom and was drowned.

Again Grisly Bear made a daughter, this time from clay, and gave her the same instructions as the second one, adding, "When you bathe, don't scratch your body." Before long the girl also disobeyed her mother's commands, for she thought, "Why should I not scratch myself when there is so much dirt on my skin, and it itches so?" When bathing in the stream one morning, she scratched herself until she was entirely dissolved in the water.

At last Grisly Bear made a daughter of wood; and this one was a success, for she could go in the sun without melting, in the water without sinking, and could scratch herself in the water without dissolving. The girl grew into a woman, and lived with her mother.

One morning she went down to the lake to fetch water and at the same time to have a bath. Just then a speckled brook-trout (*stē'kesuŭ*) jumped out of the water; and she remarked, "Oh, how pretty he is! I wish I had him for my husband!" Soon afterwards she felt a touch on her back, and, looking round, saw a handsome man, who said, "I am the person you wished for a husband. Now, I take you at your word. You must be my wife." She was nothing loath, so he put her on his back, and bade her not to open her eyes until he told her to. Then he dived with her into the lake, but soon she opened her eyes, and they came up again. Again he dived with her; but they had not gone much farther when she opened her eyes as before. The fourth time he tried, she kept her eyes shut throughout, and they reached the land of the fishes, which was at the bottom of the lake, on the opposite side from Grisly Bear's house. Here Trout-Man told the woman to wait until he went ahead and warned the people. He said, "I will send your sisters-in-law to meet you."

Soon she saw the latter approach. One of them was the *tsoqci'tcīn* fish,<sup>1</sup> and her mouth was covered with blood. The other was the Frog, who came along making jumps. The girl did not like their appearance, but accompanied them to the large house where all the people were assembled. Here in a wide circle sat all the young men, and she was asked to sit down beside the one who was her husband. This she found almost impossible to do, for they all looked alike, and all were equally handsome. She selected one and sat down beside him; but the people smiled, and said, "That is not your husband." Again she tried, with like result. On the fourth attempt she succeeded. She remained many years, and had two children, — a boy and a girl.

When they grew up, the children of Fish and Frog laughed at them

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<sup>1</sup> A small fish having a red mouth.

because they had no grandmother. At last the children asked their mother about their grandparents, and she answered, "Yes, you have a grandmother; but she lives in another country, very different from this, where there are hills, grass, and trees. There she digs roots. They desired to see her: so their mother directed them how to go, and where to find their grandmother's house.

The children travelled up through the water the same way their mother had come down, and soon reached their destination. Finding no one in the house, and many roots baking in the ashes, they pulled them out and ate them. At last they saw Grisly Bear approaching the house. They became afraid, and ran away. When they reached home, their mother was angry with them, saying, "Your grandmother will have seen your tracks, and have known who you are. You must not disappoint her. She is anxious to see you, and will treat you kindly." Again they went, but with the same result. The fourth time their mother had great difficulty in persuading them to go, for she was anxious that they should live on the earth, but at last they went.

Meanwhile Grisly Bear had come to know all about it, and had arranged accordingly. She went out and set up a tall stick on the hillside, hung her basket and robe on it, and told it to dig roots. Then she prepared a decoction of herbs in a basket. When the children were in the house, they believed that the digging-stick was the old Grisly Bear, and thought that she was digging roots on the hillside. Therefore they played unconcernedly. Meanwhile Grisly Bear went down unobserved, took her decoction, and suddenly she stepped in and threw the contents of the basket at the children. The fluid covered the boy, who at once assumed human form; but only a few drops of the medicine fell on the girl, and she became transformed into a small female dog.

Now Grisly Bear made a bow and arrows for the boy, who was named Chickadee.<sup>1</sup> He amused himself by shooting in the woods. When she gave him the arrows, she said to him, "If ever the dog runs up and takes away or eats what you shoot, do not be angry with her or thrash her." The dog became the lad's constant companion, and often it took away or ate up the birds and rabbits he shot.

One day he shot a very fine chicken-hawk, and became very angry when he saw the dog run ahead and eat it. He took a stick and thrashed the dog severely. The dog howled, and at last said, "O elder brother! why treat me thus?" Now he recognized that the dog was his younger sister, and became very sorry for what he had done. He said, "If I had known

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<sup>1</sup> His name was Tseki'ksa, the same as the Thompson Tceski'kik, a variety of chickadee. Although having human form, he also had chickadee characteristics, and was transformed to a proper chickadee afterwards.



who you were, I should never have thrashed you." The dog<sup>1</sup> ran away, and the lad followed it, crying, "O my younger sister!"<sup>2</sup> Oh that I hurt my sister!" He followed it until at last it disappeared in the mountains. Weeping, he returned to his grandmother, and upbraided her for not telling him that the dog was his sister.

Soon after this, Grisly Bear told the lad that if any of his arrows should happen to stick in trees beyond his reach, he must not climb for them. Thus he lost many arrows. One day he shot his best arrow at a bird that was sitting in a tree. He missed it, and the arrow stuck in a branch beyond his reach. He forgot his grandmother's warning and climbed to get it; but, just as he was about to grasp it, the tree suddenly grew, and took the arrow far beyond his reach. Thus he kept on climbing, until, on looking down, he saw that the earth was far below him, and became afraid to descend. He climbed from branch to branch, and the tree continued to grow until it pierced the sky, and its lower branches were just level with it. Only then was the lad able to reach his arrow. He pulled it out, and travelled about aimlessly.

The sky country was a great plain covered lightly with snow, and he saw no signs of habitations. He said to himself, "There is no use wandering thus. I will set my arrow on end, and, whichever way it falls, in that direction will I go." He did so, and travelled the way the arrow had indicated, and at last came to some chips, which showed that people had been felling a tree. Farther on he came to fresher chips, and at last to a lodge with a mat door.

He entered, and saw a very old man,<sup>3</sup> unable to walk. Before he could speak, the old man addressed him, saying, "Welcome, my grandson! I know all about you. If you do as I tell you, you will become wise and great. I was once your grandmother's husband,<sup>4</sup> and lived on earth. The people all live in an underground house close by, where they get water from the lake through an ice-hole. Every day one of them visits me and gives me food, water, and fuel. Among them lives a girl, the daughter of the chief, who is very good and versed in magic. All the young men are anxious to marry her, but she has refused them all. Her father also considers her very valuable. If you train yourself as I direct, you will get her for your wife." Then the old man told the lad to get inside of him, and thenceforth he lived inside the old man in the daytime, but at night he came out, and the latter instructed him in all kinds of wisdom and mystery. Each morning when the day dawned, the lad washed himself at the hole where the people drew water,

<sup>1</sup> Some say the sister became transformed into a chickadee at this time.

<sup>2</sup> This is the reason why the chickadee at the present day goes around crying, and calls for his younger sister.

<sup>3</sup> Some say his name was Spetlamü'mux, or Spetlamü'lax, which is the same as stewitü'mux, meaning "weed" or "plant."

<sup>4</sup> Some say grandmother's father.

and immediately afterwards the lad returned and entered the old man, who told him that, besides the knowledge that he himself could give him, he would receive much wisdom and power from the water, ice, day-dawn, and fir-branch.

Now the people noticed, when they went for water in the morning, many frozen drops around the edge of the ice-hole. They said, "No one bathes there, nor leaves the house at night. It must be the old man." Others said, "No, it cannot be, for it is impossible for him to walk." When the lad had trained there for some time, the old man asked him if he had obtained wisdom, and the lad answered, "I know a little." The old man told him to persevere. After some time the old man asked the same question again, and the lad answered that he now knew everything. The old man said, "It is well. Soon the chief will hold a shooting-match, and you will win his daughter."

One day the chief said to his people, "The young men are anxious to have my daughter. She shall marry some one. Every man shall have a fair chance to win her. Nłtsa'ıya<sup>1</sup> shall sit on the top of the ladder, and any one that can hit him with an arrow shall get the girl." Hitherto no one had ever been able to hit this bird, for with his magic he always turned the arrows aside.<sup>2</sup>

Now all the men shot in the presence of the chief; but none of their arrows hit. Coyote tried four shots, but, greatly to his disgust, missed each time. He was very anxious to win the prize.

The chief now said, "Every one has tried except the old man. Bring him here." Coyote laughed, saying, "When even I have missed, how can an old blind man, not able to stand, hit the mark?" However, they carried the old man to the place, and supported him when he got ready to shoot. He said, "How can I shoot when I cannot see?" But the chief insisted that he should try. The old man then turned his head aside, as if taking aim, drew his bow, and the arrow sped straight to the heart of Nłtsa'ıya, who fell down dead. The people were all disgusted; but the chief made his daughter take her blanket and go live with the old man.

When night came, the lad came out of the old man, and lay down beside the girl, who was very much pleased. One night some people heard him speaking to his wife, and said, "That is not the old man's voice." They also remarked that the girl was wonderfully contented. One day they went to the old man's lodge, thinking to annoy and shame his wife. They said, "All the people go hunting to-day: the old man must go too." The girl said, "All right!" and, rolling him up in a blanket, she carried him along. When

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<sup>1</sup> A small variety of owl.

<sup>2</sup> For this reason the Shuswap used always to blow on their arrow before shooting at an owl, particularly of this species. If they did not do this, they would certainly miss.

the party arrived at the place where they were to separate, the old man said that he had no arrows. The others laughed, and each gave him an arrow. Some gave him good ones, others gave him poor ones, and Coyote gave him one of bark feathered with leaves. When the hunters were out of sight, the lad came out of the old man's body, took the arrows, ran ahead, and gathered the deer all into one place, where he killed them, leaving the arrows in their bodies. Then he returned, and re-entered the old man. The hunters came home in the evening without having seen any deer.

The old man said, "You could not see any deer because I killed them all. If you go to the place where I was, you will find as many dead deer as I had arrows. Each carcass shall belong to the owner of the arrow that is in it." The people went, and found the deer as the old man had told them. Those who had given good arrows to the old man found nice fat bucks; those who had given him arrows not quite so good, found does; those who had given him poor arrows found yearlings; and Coyote found only a small fawn. Coyote tried to claim some of the arrows in the large carcasses as his; but the owners beat him off and made him take his own. Now the people became curious, and questioned the girl, who explained it all. So they killed the old man, and cut him up; but they had to cut him in very small pieces before they succeeded in separating the lad from his body. The young man lived for a long time with his wife in the upper world, and afterwards was transformed into a bird, the chickadee. He was a great deer-hunter.

#### 29. STORY OF ELKWA'.

A number of people <sup>1</sup> lived together on a large open plain, through the middle of which flowed a river of some size. They were a cruel and warlike people, and their chief was a noted shaman and warrior called *elkwā'*. They lived in a great long lodge,<sup>2</sup> which had a door at each end, and was situated quite close to the base of a high knoll which commanded a view of the surrounding country for a great distance. From the top of the knoll a constant watch was kept by *elkwā'*'s men, who relieved each other. Below the lodge, at no great distance, was the river, in which *elkwā'*'s people caught salmon, and across which they had constructed two weirs. The weirs were also used as bridges.

In the neighboring country lived a numerous people divided into bands, who suffered much from raids made by *elkwā'*. War-parties that these people sent against him never returned, for so watchful was he that they could not approach without being detected and ambushed.

<sup>1</sup> These people had mysterious powers, and were different from the ordinary people of the country.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 142, p. 197.

One band, consisting of many of the birds and animals, held a council to consider what to do. Grisly Bear was their chief, and he addressed them as follows: "Elkwā' has almost exterminated many bands of our people, and we ourselves have suffered much at his hands. Let us make war upon him. Who will go with me?" Fox<sup>1</sup> volunteered first, then Elk,<sup>2</sup> Sheep, Wolf, and all the others. Coyote said, "Warlike powers alone cannot prevail over our enemy. It requires much wisdom and magic. I am wisest, and have the greatest mysterious power among all the people; the Goat and I can combat the elements. Without us you cannot win. We will go also, and give valuable aid."

When the war-party had nearly reached the edge of the plain, they held a consultation. Coyote, by his magic, made elkwā' fall into an unsuspecting, careless mood, and then he caused a blizzard to blow across the plain. The warriors considered the snow to be too fine; therefore the Goat danced, and at once a thick shower of large snowflakes commenced to fall, and the party were satisfied. It was still noon, and they had to wait until night before making the attack: therefore Tceki'ksê<sup>3</sup> said, "Meanwhile I will go to the enemy's house and learn all particulars regarding its construction and situation, how the people lie, and where their chief sleeps." He hovered over the lodge, flying here and there; and the people said, "See that bird! No birds ever came here before. There is something wrong." elkwā', who was lying down, answered, "That is nothing. These birds arrive in the late fall to eat salmon."

Now the cold became so intense, the wind so strong, and the snow so thick on the knoll, that the watchmen had to retire and seek the shelter of the lodge. They could barely see the river through the thick snow.

After Tceki'ksê returned, the warriors said, "We are hungry, and have nothing to eat." Therefore they selected the Wolf, who was fleetest of foot, to go and steal some salmon from between the weirs of the enemy, elkwā's people saw him, and shouted, "See the Wolf! He is stealing salmon! Something is wrong. Wolves never came so close before." elkwā', who was still lying on his back, answered, "That is nothing. Wolves always come to eat salmon in the late fall."

Wolf brought back some salmon, but not enough to appease the hunger of the party: so they sent Black Bear, who went, and returned with a load. The people saw him, and remarked, "See! Black Bear is stealing salmon! There is something wrong. Bears never came so near before." But elkwā' said, "That is nothing. Don't you know bears always come to eat salmon late in the fall?" At midnight the war-party crossed the river by the two

<sup>1</sup> Some say Coyote.

<sup>2</sup> Some say Goat.

<sup>3</sup> A chickadee. He was the best scout and spy of the party.

weirs, and, joining on the opposite bank, were conducted to the house by Tceki'ksê. Surrounding it, they attacked from both doors, Tceki'ksê entering first, and killing *elkwā'* where he slept. Then they slew all the others, and thus rid the country of those bad people.

### 30. STORY OF OWL.<sup>1</sup>

Owl was a man possessed of mysterious powers, and a noted hunter. He lived by himself. A long distance away from Owl's house lived a number of people, among whom were a woman and her son, a small boy. As the latter was always crying about nothing, and thus annoying all the people, his mother threatened to cast him out, saying she would ask Owl to come and put him in his basket.

One night the boy was crying as usual, and his mother became angry, and threw him into a dark corner of the house, saying that Owl would come and take him. After a time the people noticed that the boy had ceased crying, and thought he had fallen asleep. The mother went to look for him, but could not find him. Then the people took torches and searched for him, but in vain. He was not to be found. Owl had carried him away in his basket, the bottom of which was set with many awls, which were stuck in points up.

Owl travelled a long ways with the boy, and commenced to train him. Every day he washed him in streams, and rubbed his body with fir-branches, so that the boy grew very fast and became wise. Owl gave him a bow and arrows, and taught him to shoot mice, the skins of which he stretched and dressed, leaving them in their drying-frames when they changed their camp on the following morning.

At their next camp he made him shoot chipmunks and squirrels, the skins of which he also dressed and left in their frames. At the third camp he made him kill rabbits, the skins of which he treated in the same way. At their fourth camp the boy was able to shoot fawns and other small deer; and thus at each succeeding camp he shot larger game, — does and buck-deer, then elk and caribou, then bear. At last they reached a very distant place, where Owl made a house; and there they lived together. The boy had grown to be a man and an expert hunter, killing many deer and other game, which Owl always carried home.

Now, the lad's parents thought Owl had taken him, and made up their minds to search for their lost son. Soon they found his trail, and came to the camp where he had shot the mice. They saw all the mice-skins in frames, and said, "Undoubtedly our son made them." Thus they followed

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 63; Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 36 of this volume.

from one camp to another until they at last reached the place where the youth lived with Owl. Thinking they might be discovered, they returned, and camped halfway between Owl's house and the camp where their son had become able to shoot bears.

Both Owl and the lad knew by their mysterious power that these people had arrived; and at night the lad stole away and visited them, making himself known to them, and supplying them with some fresh meat. Owl knew what had happened, and asked the lad why he acted as he had done, and why he had given away his (Owl's) meat. The lad answered, "I gave nothing, grandfather. If you look at your meat, you will find just the same quantity as before." The following night, after dark, the lad visited his parents again, and told them he would flee with them on the morrow. Early in the morning the lad went hunting with Owl, killed a buck-deer, which he gutted, and made a packing-line of the entrails. He told the entrails to break every little while when Owl used them for packing.<sup>1</sup> Then he called Owl by cries,<sup>2</sup> and pointed out to him the place where the deer lay, and told him that there was a new packing-strap fastened to it by which he could carry it home. He also told Owl that he intended to hunt for some time longer, as the day was yet young. As soon as he was out of Owl's sight, he hurried back to the house, from which he took enough dried meat to last several days. Then he set fire to the house, joined his parents, and together they fled.

Now, Owl had much trouble in carrying the buck home, for the line always broke, and he had to stop to mend it. He became angry, and said, "Why is this?" As he came near his house, he saw that it was on fire, and the flames of the burning fat and meat were blazing high up into the air. He said, "Why is this? What has my grandchild done?" When he arrived, everything was burned; only a few charred deer's bones remained.

He followed the tracks of the lad, and soon began to catch up with the fugitives. The lad's parents were afraid when they saw Owl drawing near; but their son re-assured them, saying, "Be not afraid! I have received much magic power from Owl. Now the pupil is greater than his teacher, for I know more magic than he does." When Owl came near, the lad turned round and transformed him, saying, "Henceforth you shall be only an ordinary owl, and no more a being of magic power. You shall only be a little wiser than others, and able to give warning when people are about to die."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a similar incident of tump-line made of guts, see the story of Nli'kisentem (Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 26).

<sup>2</sup> For cries or calls used by hunters, see Vol. I of this series, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> That the owl gives warning of death, is a belief held by all the interior Salish tribes, who also frighten their children to quietness by saying, "The owl will come and take you if you cry."

31. STORY OF FAMINE<sup>1</sup> OR HUNGER.

Hunger or Famine was a man with a lean body, hollow cheeks, sunken orbits, protruding eyes, projecting jaws and teeth, and long finger-nails. He lived on the top of a high mountain which had sloping sides devoid of trees or bushes, so that he could see all the slopes of the mountain from top to bottom, except in one place halfway up, where there was a projecting bench over the edge of which he could not see. On this bench, which was open and of considerable area, lived the deer.

Not far from the base of the mountain, at one time lived a large number of people, but they had been almost exterminated by Famine. The men went in twos and threes to hunt deer on the bench above; but, as soon as their heads appeared over the edge of the bench, Famine drew their heads to himself, and they at once died. Thus their bleached bones covered the side-hill along the edge of the bench. At last no males were left among the people except an old man, Owl, and his grandson, a very small boy called Têkiê'tcen.<sup>2</sup>

When the latter reached the age of puberty, he asked his grandfather why there were no men; and the old man told him how they had all met their deaths at the hands of Famine, adding, "You must now train yourself, and sleep on the mountains, so you may become wise, and strong in magic power, and be able to avenge the death of your relatives." So the lad left, and took up his abode in the mountains.

After he had been away a while, Owl cried, "Hu xa hu hū'.<sup>3</sup> Where are you, grandson?" And the lad answered, "I am here! I am training hard, and am just beginning to know a little." Owl was satisfied. After a considerable time he again cried, "Where are you, grandson? Do you know much yet?" And the lad answered, "I am here, grandfather, and have gained some wisdom." After a long time Owl again called to the lad, who answered that he now knew very much. A fourth time Owl cried to the lad, who answered that he was now proficient in all magic powers and knew everything.

Then the lad came home, and told Owl he was going to kill Famine. Transforming himself into a humming-bird, he flew towards the place where the deer lived; but Famine was always on the watch, and had wonderfully keen eyesight.<sup>4</sup> As soon as the lad appeared over the edge of the bench, Famine saw him, tried to draw his breath away, and the lad had to retreat.

Then he changed himself into a bee, and again approached the place;

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<sup>1</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 32 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Said to mean "dream," or "similar to a dream."

<sup>3</sup> These words are an imitation of the cry of owls.

<sup>4</sup> Some say he could see just as well in the dark as in the light.

but Famine at once saw him, and he had to beat a retreat. Then he changed himself into a horse-fly, but had to retreat again. Again he changed himself, this time into a mosquito; but Famine saw him, as before. Then he changed himself into a black or deer fly, but with like result. At last he changed himself into a sand-fly or midge, and looked over the edge of the flat at the deer. Famine was watching, but showed no signs of being able to see him: so he flew up to the deer and entered their nostrils, one after another, and thus killed them all. Famine was watching with strained eyes, and wondering why the deer fell down dead, one after another. Then the lad flew to Famine, and bit him all around the head; but Famine, being able only to feel him and not to see him, wondered what it was. When he had annoyed Famine for some time, he entered his nostrils, and thus killed him.

Owl was anxious at the long delay of his grandson, and called out, asking him where he was. As the lad did not answer, he thought he was dead, went outside, and began to weep. Now, the lad, still in the form of a midge, bit Owl's face. Owl tried to find out what touched his face, but could not see anything. Again he wept, and cried, "Oh! where are you, grandchild?" Then the lad assumed his natural form, and answered, "I am here by your side, grandfather. I have just returned from killing our enemy Famine and all his deer." — "Well done!" said Owl.

The boy returned to the mountain, took Famine's body, and threw it away, saying, "Famine, henceforth you shall be no more a being of mysterious power, and you shall never be able to kill people as long as they have food to eat. Occasionally you may hurt them when their food is all gone; but as soon as they get more food and eat, you will have to leave." Then, going to the hillside where the men's bones were lying, he jumped over each skeleton, and they all came to life, went with the lad, cut up the deer, and carried the meat to their homes.

### 32. STORY OF THE MOON AND HIS WIVES.<sup>1</sup>

The Moon lived in a distant country, which was cold and largely covered with snow and ice. In another country, which was warm, lived a number of people, among whom were four sisters. The Moon visited these people, and asked for the eldest sister to be his wife. Her relatives consented, and upon his return he took her home with him.

For a time she was quite comfortable, for the Moon had his house in a temperate spot; but one day he told her they were going to move to his new house, which was a cavern in a glacier or snow-field, with icicles hanging from the roof. When they reached this place, he put the woman inside, shut up the entrance, and left her to freeze to death.

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 55.



Then he returned to her people and told them that his wife had died, and asked for her sister next in age to be his wife. He took her home, but treated her in the same manner as the first one, and froze her to death in his ice-house. Again he returned to the people, told them of his second wife's death, and received from them the third sister as his wife, whom he killed in the same manner as the others.

Now, the youngest sister, who had a lame leg, thought there was something wrong; and, as soon as her sister left with the Moon, she went to the mountains and trained herself as shamans do. Soon she became very wise, and saw, through her shamanistic power, what had been the fate of her sisters. She understood the designs of the Moon.

She had just finished her training when the Moon came along, and said to the people, "My last wife is dead. I desire my remaining sister-in-law to be my wife." She went with him, and before long accompanied him to his new house, as the others had done. On the way thither he said to himself, "I will kill this one too, thus I shall gain complete mastery over these people, who love warm weather; and I will make much cold and ice in their country, so that they will all die."<sup>1</sup> The woman entered the ice-cavern and sat down. She looked up at the roof, and the icicles at once melted. She looked steadily; and the roof of the house, then the house itself, and finally the whole country, melted before her gaze. The air became warm like a Chinook wind; and, aided by the sun, everything thawed out, and the country became as if it were spring. Thus the lame sister<sup>2</sup> thwarted the Moon, and saved the people from being frozen to death, or from having to live in snow and ice, and suffering much cold.

### 33. STORY OF SNA'NAZ.<sup>3</sup>

Sna'naz was the youngest of four brothers who lived together with their father. Near by lived many people, including Coyote. Sna'naz was an unassuming youth, and, moreover, was ugly and had very large eyes. At that time the wind was very fierce and destructive, blowing very hard at times, and even killing people. For this reason the people tried to snare it; but, although they had been trying for a long time, none of them had succeeded. The brothers tried, but they also failed. Thus every one had

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<sup>1</sup> Some say the Moon belonged to the Cold Wind or North-Wind people, and he wished all the people of the earth to be the same.

<sup>2</sup> Some say that she was a Shuswap, and others that she was a daughter of the Chinook Wind or Warm Wind people.

<sup>3</sup> This story is often told in two parts by the Shuswap; the first part dealing with the capture of the wind by Sna'naz, and the latter part relating his adventures in the underground world, commencing with the stealing of potatoes. The name Sna'naz may mean "little robe;" but some Indians seem to think it is a variation of a name for "owl."

failed, and it was now Sna'naz's turn to try. The people all laughed at him when he went out to set his snare, and said, "When all of us have failed, how can an ugly, miserable know-nothing fellow like him succeed?" Three times he set his snare, each time making it smaller; and the people made fun of him. The fourth night he made his snare exceedingly small, and was rewarded by finding the Wind caught in the morning. It was like a very small man with very thin body and limbs; while its head was large, and had long, stiff streaming hair, thus making the head part appear of enormous size. The eyes were large and protruding. He hid the Wind in his robe and carried it home, for it was quite light. The people were glad that their enemy had been caught, and a crowd of them followed Sna'naz when he went to release it. He went to an exposed hillside, and laid his robe down.

Coyote, who did not believe that Sna'naz had caught the Wind, tried to peer into the robe, and watched very closely. All the other people stood behind at some distance. After Sna'naz had made the Wind promise to blow moderately in the future, he opened the robe; and the Wind, rushing out, blew Coyote into the air, where he turned over and over, and up and down. Coyote held on first to the grass and bushes, then to the trees; but the Wind was so strong that it blew him off, and landed him in the middle of a swampy lake, where he held on to the rushes, and called on Sna'naz to save him. The latter helped him out, and they went home together. Since then the wind has never blown as hard as formerly, and often never blows at all.<sup>1</sup>

It now came to be early spring, and the water-fowl arrived on their way north. The ice still clung to the edges of the lakes, and the people had very little food left. One day a large number of swans arrived, and the people said, "Who can bewitch the swans so that they may become heavy, and we can catch them?" Coyote and all the shamans tried, and also Sna'naz's brothers, but without result. Then Sna'naz said he would try. The brothers laughed at the idea; but their father said, "Let him try. He is greater in magic than you are." The swans were sitting near the edge of the ice, and Sna'naz approached them, as a shaman would, with incantations. They became so heavy that they were unable to fly; and Sna'naz clubbed them all, and killed them. He tied them together, carried them home, and the people ate their fill.

Shortly after this the people were starving again, and made holes through the ice to spear fish, but they did not see any. Then Sna'naz went, and struck his foot four times on the ice. The water bounded up each time,

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the preceding part with Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 87; Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 42 of this volume.

and threw large quantities of fish on the ice. He tied them on a string, carried them home, and the people had plenty to eat until the weather grew quite warm. Then they shifted camp, and hunted deer.<sup>1</sup>

Now, Sna'naz's father had a garden near his house, in which he grew potatoes. For some time he had missed some of his potatoes every morning, and had noticed the tracks of the thief. The tracks seemed to come from nowhere, and to lead nowhere: so he was unable to follow them. Now the brothers watched for the thief. The first night the eldest watched, but fell asleep toward daybreak; and when he awoke, he found the fresh tracks of the thief, and more potatoes gone. Then the second and third brothers watched, but with like result. When Sna'naz essayed to watch, the others laughed at the idea of his being able to detect the thief. He, however, sharpened one end of a thin pole, stuck it loosely into the ground, and then sat down, resting his shoulders against the blunt end. Thus he sat watching. Whenever he fell asleep, the pole fell over, and he awoke. Just about daybreak he saw a very large black object among the potatoes, fired at it, and wounded it. It got up and flew away. Sna'naz watched until he saw it alight far away on the ridge of a mountain. He watched the place until the daylight was bright enough for him to recognize the exact spot.

Then he went to the house, and informed his friends that he had shot the thief. He asked his brothers to accompany him to the spot where he had seen it alight. He said, "I dreamed of a hole in the ground. We will take a long rope with us."

After travelling a long distance, and camping two nights, they reached the place, and found the thief's tracks where he had alighted. They followed these, and came to a chasm in the rocky ground, to which the tracks led. Then the brothers tied a rope around Sna'naz, and lowered him down the hole, promising to pull him up again when he tugged. After he had been lowered a long distance, they felt a tug, and pulled him up again. He told them the hole was very bad, rocky, deep, and dark, but he was determined to reach the bottom. The brothers lowered him again, and he reached the bottom, where he tied the end of the rope to a rock.

He found himself in the Lower World, and saw a wide trail leading away from the hole. On it were the tracks, two or three days old, of a large man. Following these, he soon came to a brush lodge, lifted the mat door, and looked in. Everything inside was covered with soot, and in one corner lay an old man under a robe, which was also soot-covered. He noticed a bullet-wound through the man's shoulder, and he thought to himself, "This is evidently the thief I shot."

As soon as he had entered the lodge, the old man asked him whence

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<sup>1</sup> The preceding part is often told as a separate story.

he had come, and he answered, "Oh, I am just travelling around to see the country." — "Well," said the old man, "if you continue along the trail, before long you will come to the house of our chief. He is great in magic power, and has two beautiful nieces.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he may be pleased to see you." Sna'naz soon reached the house of the chief, who gave him food to eat, and asked him whither he was bound. Sna'naz answered, "I am a poor lad, and wander around the country seeking wisdom. I hear you are a great chief, and I desire to learn wisdom from you. I have nothing to eat, and you have much food. I should like to remain with you for a time. If you will give me food, I will fetch wood and water for you." Sna'naz lived with the chief a long time, and learned much wisdom from him.

At last one day the chief said to him, "You may perhaps like to go to the other world and see your friends. You have worked for me a long time, and I have paid you nothing but your food. I like you, because you have acted so faithfully, and behaved so well. I give you my two nieces to be your wives. You may take them whenever you wish." Sna'naz said he would like to go to see his friends. Then the chief gave him his nieces and a very light box to carry.

When they arrived at the bottom of the entrance to the Upper World, Sna'naz tied the box to the end of the rope, and put one of his wives inside. He gave the rope a tug, and his brothers pulled the woman up. Then they lowered the box again, pulled up the other woman, and finally lowered the box for Sna'naz. He climbed into the box, and his brothers began to haul him up; but when he was halfway up, his brothers cut the rope, and he fell to the bottom of the chasm. They wanted to kill Sna'naz because they coveted his wives.

Sna'naz was badly hurt by the fall, but managed to crawl to the old man's lodge. After resting there, he went on to the chief's house, and related what had happened; and the chief invited him to stay until he became well, when he would help him.

When Sna'naz was well again, the chief gave him a roll of birch-bark with a picture on it,<sup>2</sup> saying, "I give you this. You can change it to a horse when desired. I will now teach you two wonderful feats." He stuck the point of a knife into the ground, with the handle sloping away from Sna'naz, whom he told to transform his "picture" into a horse, and ride up over the edge of the knife. Sna'naz threw the "picture" on the ground, and it became a horse, on which he mounted and rode at full tilt to and over the knife. Now the chief made the slant of the knife steeper, and Sna'naz rode over it as before. Again he made it steeper, and again Sna'naz rode

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<sup>1</sup> Some say daughters. Others say they were girls whom he had stolen from the Upper World; that is from the earth.

<sup>2</sup> Some say a piece of paper with a picture on it. Others say a piece of bark or paper with writing on it.

over it. The fourth time he made it perpendicular. Sna'naz whipped up his horse, galloped up over the sharp edge of the knife, and disappeared over the top of the hilt. The chief said, "It is well. You are proficient."

Then he took a small ring,<sup>1</sup> and set it on its side, with a needle<sup>2</sup> so placed that the point was just in the middle of the ring. Then the chief asked Sna'naz to ride his horse through the ring. Sna'naz charged at the ring, and rode right through it. Four times he accomplished this feat; and the chief said, "You are proficient. You may now go."

Then Sna'naz left the chief, and, on reaching the bottom of the chasm, he rode his horse up its perpendicular walls, climbling to the top without difficulty. Then he rode to the village of the people, changed his horse back to a roll of birch-bark, and himself to a ragged, dirty, famished-looking person.

While all this was happening, his brothers, thinking Sna'naz had been killed, kept the women for themselves, and agreed to say that they had brought them from the Lower World, and that Sna'naz had been killed by their uncle. When they reached the village, the people came to see them; and the chief asked them where they had obtained the women. They answered as they had agreed. The women, however, told the chief the true story,<sup>3</sup> who told the brothers that the girls would remain with him in his house. The brothers said, "Why act thus?" The women are ours. We went to the Lower World with our brother, and fought the people there. Our brother was killed in the battle, and we took these women from our enemies. They stand as payment for our brother, and, being captives of war, they are our property. We won them by our deeds." The chief answered, "They are the same as belonging to you, yet I will have charge of them for a little while, until they become accustomed to us and to our ways." The girls staid with the chief, and told him many things about their world, — how the people there had the power of making themselves so small that they could jump or ride through a finger-ring; how they had the power of making themselves invisible; how they could also shorten distances, transport themselves through the air, and run or ride over the sharp edges of knives and up steep cliffs. The chief said, "I will some time test my people to find out if they are capable of doing these feats."

Now Sna'naz came to the chief's house, and no one recognized him. He pretended to be very poor, and asked the chief to give him food and rest, saying that, when he got well, he would fetch wood and water for him.

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<sup>1</sup> Some say a finger-ring of metal; others that it is doubtful whether it was a finger-ring, but that it was about the size of one.

<sup>2</sup> Some say an awl.

<sup>3</sup> Some say the girls ran away from the brothers, and took refuge in the chief's house, and told him the story. The brothers went to claim them, but the chief would not give them up.

Shortly after this, the chief announced that he would give a feast to the people and have games.<sup>1</sup> First he placed the point of a large knife in the ground, and asked the men to try and run up over the edge of it. Some of them tried on foot, and cut their feet. Others tried to ride up the knife on horseback, and hurt their horses. Coyote managed to get far up the blade, when his horse, missing his footing, fell, and cut himself right in two.

Then the chief placed a finger-ring, with a needle pointing at the middle, and asked his men to jump or ride through it. They all tried, but the best of them could manage to get only half through. Coyote got farthest through, and stuck on the point of the needle.

Then the chief asked Sna'naz to try; and the people all laughed, saying, "How can a fellow like him do these feats, when all of us have failed? He does not know anything. If he were wise, he would have a house of his own, and not have to work or beg for his food." Sna'naz said, "I am certainly very foolish, and know little. Yet, if you wish, I will try to do the feats." Then he went to a place where he was out of sight, took out his roll of bark, changed it into a horse, and appeared again among the people. Full speed he rode up to the knife, went up over the edge, and disappeared. After he had accomplished this feat, he rode full speed through the ring, the needle only pricking his leg. The people were astonished; and the chief said, "He must belong to the Lower World." The girls, who were looking on, said, "Yes, indeed, he must be one of our people!" Then Sna'naz resumed his natural appearance, and the people all recognized him. The girls said, "He is our husband." His brothers felt ashamed, and avoided him. The chief returned his wives to him, and he lived with them happily, having many children by them, all of whom became noted for magic.

#### 34. STORY OF XONISSE'SEST.<sup>2</sup>

Four hunters lived in the mountains with their sister, whose name was Sôsi'ska. She was very small, — only about a foot tall, — and when digging roots carried four baskets made by her brothers, each one an elk's hoof. When she filled her baskets, she hurried home and cooked the roots, to be ready for her brothers when they should arrive. Her dog was the Louse, which she always led by a string. It was very small, and so slow that she had great trouble in leading it along. She talked to it much; and when they came to a bunch of grass, she would say, "Friend Louse, come around the grass-roots. The grass is too high for you to jump over."

One day there appeared to Sôsi'ska four very large, good-looking

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<sup>1</sup> Some say he also offered to give the girls to whoever could accomplish the feats.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 72 et seq.

women, with faces painted yellow, who asked her what she was doing. She answered, "I am digging roots for my brothers." — "How many brothers have you?" they asked. She answered, "Four." — "Very well," said they. "We will give you roots for your brothers to eat; but you must tell them to eat them whole, and never to break any." They filled her baskets with cinquefoil-roots (xi'lehil), in the heart of each one of which they had inserted a hair from their privates. Sôsi'ska cooked the roots, and her brothers ate them that night.

Four times the woman appeared to Sôsi'ska, and filled her baskets. On the fourth night the brothers asked her how she managed to gather so many large roots now, when formerly she could only dig a few small ones; and one of them, on breaking a root in two, saw the hair in the inside. They said, "These roots are different from those you used to dig." Then Sôsi'ska told how she got them from four women; and they said, "They must be the Grisly Bears, for we constantly see their tracks where they have been digging roots."

Some time after this, the brothers came home early one night. When they reached the place where their sister was engaged in digging roots, she told them that she had seen four Grisly Bears on the nearest hillside. The brothers took their arrows, and said, "We will go and kill them. We will hang our quivers on the branch of a tree within your view; and if you see them fall, you will know that the Grisly Bears have killed us."

Sôsi'ska watched, and saw first one quiver fall, and then another, until all had fallen. Then she knew that her brothers had been killed, and she went home weeping. She made a fire, and again wept bitterly; and the water ran out of her nose and eyes.

She blew her nose into the fire, and immediately there was a cry like that of a baby. She saw that the mucus from her nose had become a child, and she snatched it out of the fire, shook it, and brushed the cinders and ashes off its body. She nursed it, and made a carrier for it; and in due time the baby grew to be a big boy, and began to train himself. Then she told him the story of the Grisly Bears, and showed him where his uncles, quivers lay. He resolved to have revenge.

The boy trained himself until he was full grown. Although a man of very small stature, he was possessed of great courage. His name was Little-Mucus-Stone (Xonissê'sest).<sup>1</sup>

Now he made four arrows of great magic power, searched for the Grisly Bears, who had hidden themselves in the bushes, and one by one found them and shot them dead. He said, "Henceforth Grisly Bears shall no more

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<sup>1</sup> "Mucus of the nose" (from xon'sem, "to blow the nose"). The latter part of the word forms a common suffix for men's names, and means "stone." In this particular case it has the diminutive form.

have magic power, and hunters shall kill them." Then he went to the quivers, jumped over<sup>1</sup> them, and his uncles came to life, and afterwards lived with him and his mother.

### 35. MOSQUITO AND THUNDER.

[This tradition is identical with the corresponding tale of the Thompson Indians.<sup>2</sup>]

### 36. STORY OF KUXKA'IN.<sup>3</sup>

A number of people lived together, and among them was a boy who was a nuisance to every one. He was disobedient, lazy, and mischievous. The people made up their minds to leave him, saying, "It will either kill him or make a man of him." One day a few lads induced him to accompany them into the woods, and there they scattered, and left him. He was too lazy to follow them around. After the boys got out of sight, they spat on the ground, and bade their spittle to whistle. Meanwhile the people packed up all their belongings and went off to the mountains. Toward evening the boy, whose name was Kuxka'in, noticed that the whistling was getting faint, and went in search of his companions. At last he found that there were no boys, but that the sound of whistling came from the ground; so he hastened home, only to find all the houses deserted. He searched around, but he could find nothing to eat.

One woman, however, had taken pity on him, and, before leaving, had lighted a slow-match of bark, and covered it with a basket. She left for him fire, sinew, a hammer, and a basket. She had placed her stone hammer on top of the basket, and had instructed it to speak to the boy. When Kuxka'in entered this house, the hammer addressed him, saying, "My owner instructed me to tell you that she had pity on you, and left a slow-match underneath this basket, so that you may have a fire. She also left some sinew to make a bowstring and to tie feathers on your arrows, so that you may shoot game and get food."

Kuxka'in was glad when he heard the words of the hammer. He used it to split fire-wood, and then made a bow and arrow, with which he shot small game, and thus obtained food. After a while he managed to shoot larger game, and he became a good hunter.

In gratitude he filled the woman's house with meat and skins, which he gave her as a present when the people returned, and he also gave her

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<sup>1</sup> Some say he jumped over their bones as well.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> This is the name of a bird which I had no opportunity to identify (*ibid.*, p. 51).



back her hammer. To the other people he gave no presents, because they had taken no pity on him. Kuxka'in thenceforth lived well with all the people, and was no more a nuisance.

### 37. STORY OF HU'PKEN.<sup>1</sup>

Hu'pken<sup>2</sup> was a lad who lived with his parents, but would do nothing they told him. He was very mischievous, lazy, and quarrelsome, and would not train himself like other lads. As he was a nuisance to the people, his parents arranged to desert him at the first opportunity.

One day the boy went off into the woods and lay down in the shade, as he felt very lazy, and thought his parents might send him to do some work. When he returned home at sundown, he found the houses all deserted, so he started to follow the people's tracks and learn where they had gone. He said, "They cannot be far away, for I hear them whistling." He went in the direction of the sound, but next time it came from another quarter, — sometimes in front of him, then behind him, sometimes distant, and again close. Soon he became weary of following the sound, which really came from the excrements of the people, and, as it was getting dark, he returned to the village.

He entered one house after another, feeling very angry and disconsolate. He could find nothing to eat, except in the houses of Raven and Crow, who had left some fish-skins and other scraps. In the last house he noticed a large basket turned mouth down, and, feeling angry, he kicked it over, saying, "Why did the people not take this with them also?"

He was surprised to find his old grandmother hidden underneath. She was too old to follow the people, and they had left her behind. He was going to kick her also, but she said to him, "Do not kick me! I will be of service to you, and will teach you many things. Here is a lighted slow-match. Kindle a fire with it."

Then the old woman taught him how to make bows and arrows, and shoot game, that they might have food and clothing. At first he shot mice, rats, chipmunks, and squirrels; and the old woman sewed their skins together and made robes. Then he shot many bright-plumaged birds, and she also sewed their skins into robes. On sunny days the lad delighted in spreading out all his many robes in the sunshine, and admiring them. At last he was able to shoot large game, such as deer, sheep, elk, and bears, and he soon had great stores of skins, fat, and meat.

Now Porcupine happened to come along. When he saw the large

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<sup>1</sup> A small variety of bird which attacks other birds. I had no chance to identify it.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 26, 51.

amount of provisions the lad had collected, he hurried away to the people's camp, and told them that Hu'pken was now a great hunter, and had large stores of meat and fat, and many beautiful robes. The people would not believe Porcupine's story, and sent Crow to verify the report.

When Crow arrived, Hu'pken invited him to eat, and asked him how the people fared. Crow said, "We have found very little game, and are all starving." When he returned, Hu'pken gave him a present of fat to carry to the people; but Crow hid it and told the people that Porcupine had lied about the lad, who was just as poor as when they left him. During the night Crow got up and fed his children with some of the fat. The children quarrelled over the food, and made much noise as they ate; and the people, hearing them, said, "Crow is feeding his children secretly."

Crow returned to Hu'pken and got more fat, which he fed to his children, so that they became fat and sleek. Then the people said, "Crow must feed his children on good food, for they are getting fat, while our children are getting thin. We know he is no hunter, and cannot kill game. Where does he obtain his supply?" They sent Flying-Squirrel to watch Crow. He clad himself in black moss, and, keeping in the timber, walked along unobserved, and watched Crow's camp. Seeing Crow's children eating fat<sup>1</sup>, he returned and informed the people, who asked Crow where he got it, and he acknowledged that he received it from Hu'pken. The people then returned to their village, where they were feasted by the lad. Hu'pken had filled the houses of Crow and others who had left him food, but he put no meat into the houses of those who had not pitied him.

### 38. DIRTY-LAD AND HIS WIVES.<sup>2</sup>

There was once a lad who was very lazy, always dirty, and covered with lice. The people tried to make him work and keep clean, but without avail: so they became disgusted and angry with him, and turned him away. He travelled around aimlessly, and at last came to a lodge where he saw two blind women.<sup>3</sup> They were Elk women, and one was handing food to the other. He took the food from the woman, and the other woman asked her friend why she had not given her the food. The other answered, "I gave it to you. You took it out of my hand." The other woman denied having received it, and they began to quarrel.

Suddenly one of the women sniffed the air, and said to her friend,

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<sup>1</sup> Some say Flying-Squirrel heard Crow's children eating, and their father scolding them for making a noise, as the people would hear them and become suspicious. He ran out and seized some of their food, which he brought to the people, who discovered that it was fat.

<sup>2</sup> I have lately collected among the Thompson Indians a story very similar to this one.

<sup>3</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 23.

"Do you smell that strange smell? It is other than woman's privates I smell." Her friend declared that she could smell nothing, and was in the act of handing over some more food when Dirty-Lad seized her hand. The woman asked him who he was, and he answered, "I am a man." She said, "You will be our husband." The lad saw that the women were young, and that the cause of their blindness was a skin or film which had grown over their eyes. He took a bone of a black bear, burned it, sharpened his knife, and said, "Now I will cure your eyes." He pressed the bone against the eyeball, raised the skin, which adhered to the bone, and cut it away with his knife. Thus he treated their eyes, and told them to wash with warm water.

When the women looked at their husband, and saw that he was ugly, ragged, dirty, and lousy, they washed him with water, inside and out, thus transforming him into a clean man of good appearance. They made new clothes for him, and also a bow and two arrows, and told him, when he hunted, to always shoot above the game, and never at it. He hunted much, and killed caribou, elk, and deer, so that his house was full of meat; and his wives melted much fat. He staid contentedly with his wives for several years, and had a son by each of them.

One day he was thinking of his friends, and felt sorrowful. His wives knew his thoughts, and said, "Our husband is thinking of his friends, and feels sorrowful. We will accompany him to see them." Each of them put all the meat and fat into a mitten, and together they journeyed to their husband's old home. When they had almost reached the place, the wives said to their husband, "You will divide the meat and fat among the people. If any of the women smile at you, or laugh, do not smile or laugh yourself." When they arrived, Dirty-Lad emptied out the contents of the mittens, and the meat and fat assumed their natural proportions. Then the people all sat in a circle, and Dirty-Lad went around distributing the meat and fat, giving a piece at a time to each person. Thus he went round and round the circle until the last of the meat had been given away. After staying a few days with the people, Dirty-Lad and his family returned home.

Again he hunted, and killed caribou, elk, and deer, so that his house became filled with meat; and his wives proposed that they should visit their husband's friends again, and make presents of the meat. They travelled as before, and, upon reaching the people's house, the wives said to their husband, "You will distribute the meat. If, when handing any women their share of the meat, any one of them presses your hand, you must not smile at her." The people sat in a circle, and Dirty-Lad distributed the meat as before. As he was handing the very last piece to a woman, she pressed his hand, and he smiled at her. Immediately his wives and children assumed the form of elks, and ran out. Then all the meat and fat came to life, and

ran away in the form of caribou, elk, and deer. Coyote tried to hold on to some of the meat as it was being transformed, but was unable to do so; and the animals kicked him so much as they ran out, that he became senseless. Dirty-Lad was transformed back to his original self, and lived among the people in the ragged, dirty state he had been in before, and as ugly and lousy as ever.

### 39. STORY OF NTCE'MKA AND THE GIANT.<sup>1</sup>

Ntce'mka was the only man in the world who was as large and strong as the giants.<sup>2</sup> He was a noted hunter and successful fisherman. He was so strong that he could carry four buck-deer on his back with the greatest ease. When he killed black bears, he would shove one into each side of his belt, and walk home with them. Like the giants, he dressed in cap, robe, leggings, belt, and moccasins, all of black bear-skin. His feet were so large that he required an entire black bear-skin for each moccasin. One day in winter he ran short of meat, and decided to go fishing. He made a hole in the ice and speared fish, of which he soon had a great number heaped up on the ice.<sup>3</sup>

While thus engaged, he felt the ice shake, and the water moved up and down in the hole. Since he did not see anything, he continued to spear fish; but again the ice trembled, and the water moved up and down. This happened four times. The last time, as he looked around to discover the cause, he saw a huge giant approaching. When he saw Ntce'mka, he stamped his foot violently, the ice trembled and threw a lot of Ntce'mka's fish back into the water. Again the giant stamped his foot, and the same thing occurred. Ntce'mka told him not to do this, but the giant paid no heed. When he had stamped his foot the fourth time, the last of the fish fell back into the water.

Now Ntce'mka was angry because the stranger had given no heed to his commands, and also because he had lost all his fish: therefore he attacked the giant, and they fought. The fight lasted a long time,<sup>4</sup> and the combatants wrestled and rolled over each other, covering a great tract of country, and creating hillocks and hollows wherever they rolled. Neither could get the best of the other; and Ntce'mka retired to the mountains, where he afterwards lived with the giants.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 80; also known to the Uḡmq̄t and Lillooet.

<sup>2</sup> Some say he was a giant, and not a real human being or Indian.

<sup>3</sup> Some say the fish he caught were not real fish, but monsters, or "water-mysteries."

<sup>4</sup> Some say four days, or longer.

<sup>5</sup> Some say they were still fighting when Old-One, or some other Transformer, came along and transformed the country over which they had rolled, making of it mountains and valleys. If Ntce'mka and the giant had not fought and rolled over the earth, there would likely have been no mountains or valleys. The country would have been a plain. He transformed Ntce'mka into a giant, and banished him to the mountains, saying, "Henceforth you shall be a giant and live in the mountains with giants."

## 40. THE MAN AND THE FOUR CANNIBALS; OR, THE MAGIC ARROWS.

A man lived with his young wife, who was very wise, and gifted with magic. She said, "Danger threatens you: therefore I will make for you four arrows, which you must always carry in your quiver, and never use for shooting deer or other animals." He cut wood for her, and she made the arrows and tied them together. When the man went hunting, he carried these arrows, but never used them, not even when his quiver was empty of other arrows, and game was in sight.

One day he was hunting below Big Bar on the west side of Fraser River. The ground was good, but here and there broken by bluffs of rock. Looking over one of these, he saw below him a large band of mountain-sheep. It was impossible to approach within arrow-shot without being seen. He said to himself, "If somebody would only shoot the sheep for me!" Then, again, he thought, "If some one would only drive them for me!" Just then he heard a man's voice behind the sheep, calling "Xwoō'o," as some Indians do when driving game. The sheep all looked around. Then a voice sounded from below, and another from above, and the sheep all started to run one way. A fourth voice then sounded from above, "Run to Gap-in-Stone (Saieqsé'llst<sup>1</sup>), sit down there and shoot them." Thinking that the voices were those of Indians hunting, and seeing the sheep heading towards that place, the man ran there, and arrived just in time to see the first sheep emerge from between the rocks. As they came out, one after another he shot them, until all his arrows were discharged. Just then four large rams with enormous horns came along. He said to himself, "Why does my wife forbid me to shoot her arrows? I have been carrying them a long time, now I will use them." He untied the four arrows, and shot the rams with them. The dead sheep lay close together, and he skinned them and cut them up. He put all the rib-pieces in one pile, the fore-legs in another, the head-pieces in another; and so on, thus making eight piles. He took a large tripe, and filled it with blood to take home. When he had finished, he lighted a fire and roasted four pieces of meat.

While he was eating the meat, four men appeared who carried spears to the handles of which were attached strings of human nails and teeth, which made a jingling noise as they walked. He was afraid when he saw their fierce appearance, and offered them some of the roasted meat to eat. One of the men swallowed the meat at a single gulp, so he gave them more. They looked threatening, and he threw the raw legs to them, one

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<sup>1</sup> A place in that country where Indians sit to shoot sheep that are driven to them out of the cañon and bluffs below. The name means "gap-in-stone," or "cut-in-two stone."

after another. They finished these with a few gulps, and thus he gave them one pile of meat after another, and at last the skins. When all was gone, they attacked him, shaking their spears, and crying "Nem, nem, nem!" Then he picked up the tripe, intending to give it to them; and the blood inside made a noise. When the cannibals heard this, they drew back in fear. After a little while, when they returned, he shook the tripe at them again, and they ran away some distance. The fourth time they returned, he threw the tripe up into the air: it fell on the ground and burst with a loud report, and the blood came running out. The cannibals were very much afraid, and ran off a long ways.

Then the man seized his empty quiver, and ran for home as fast as he could. The cannibals chased him; but, when they came near him, he tore the earth up with his fingers, and threw it backwards between his legs. This made them run away; but they always returned. Four times he did this; but they still continued their pursuit. By this time the man was very tired. While he was running along, he heard the sound of chopping, and came upon two women who were felling trees with chisels. He asked for their assistance, and they transformed him into a baby, saying, "You must cry hard." Then they changed one of the chips into a cradle, put him into it, and one of them took him on her back, and resumed her work. Just then the cannibals arrived and asked the women if they had seen a deer (meaning the man) pass that way. They answered, "No." The cannibals said, "His tracks lead right to this spot;" but the women said nothing had passed them. The cannibals searched in vain for the man, and at last gave up the pursuit, and disappeared.

Then the women changed the man back into his natural form, and contracted the distance that separated them from his home, so that it became quite short. They said, "Go straight over that hill, and you will see your camp." He would not believe them, and said, "You must be mistaken. I know where my camp is, and it is a long way from here." Finally he went, and was much surprised to see his camp just on the other side of the hill.

When he reached home, his wife asked him what had happened to him, and he told her the whole story. She laughed and said, "Now you see the result of disobeying me. I made those four arrows for the four cannibals who torment the country. If you had kept them, you would have killed them when they attacked you. By not listening to my advice, you have nearly lost your life."

#### 41. THE WOMAN WHO BECAME A GRISLY BEAR.<sup>1</sup>

One time in the fall of the year a large party of people went into the mountains to a place called Pethi'lchil, near High Bar, to dig cinquefoil-roots.

<sup>1</sup> See Boas, *Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, Vol. I of this series, p. 111; Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 19 of this volume; also Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 72.

When they were ready to return home, one woman, who had four brothers and three sisters, began to menstruate, and asked to be left behind. She said, "When I get well, I will dig a few more roots and then come home." When her period was over, she washed herself and went digging roots. While thus engaged, the Grisly Bear appeared to her in the form of a fine-looking man, and said, "I want you for a wife." She assented, and followed him. He took her back into the high mountains, and they reached a hole in a steep side-hill, which he told her was his home. They entered the den, and shortly afterwards there came a heavy storm, and the snow blocked up the entrance. The Grisly Bear now told his wife that he would soon go to sleep for the winter, and asked her if she was hungry. Then he gave her several baskets full of honey, and a large quantity of dried salmon and hog-fennel and cinquefoil-roots. He said, "There is enough honey to suck, and roots and berries to eat, to last you until spring." Then he lay down beside the woman and went to sleep. He had no connection with her, for it was not the season of bears.

The woman thought of her brothers, and said to herself, "They will search for me, and surely among them they have enough magic power to find me." The Grisly Bear at once knew her thoughts, and growled four times, — once when she thought of all her brothers, and once again as she thought of each. When she thought of her youngest brother, he did not growl. She took this as an omen that the youngest brother would kill the bear.

The brothers searched for her, but could find no trace of her, owing to the fresh fall of snow. They returned home, saying that they would look for her tracks in the spring, when the snow had thawed.

Meanwhile the woman spent a dreary and lonely time in the bear's den. In the spring the brothers found their sister's tracks, followed them, and discovered the den. The snow which had blocked up the entrance all winter had now become quite thin: so they made a little hole through it, letting in the sunlight. The grisly bear awoke, but was still half asleep. The eldest brother aimed his arrow through the hole to shoot it, but the woman pushed him aside. She did the same with the next two brothers. When the youngest pointed his arrow through the hole, she directed it toward the place where the bear was sitting, and then drew aside to let him shoot. The arrow went right through the grisly bear, killing it. The woman ran out, while the brothers entered, and pulled out the carcass of the bear. Their sister said to them, "Save the skin for me, claws and all." The brothers gave her the skin, and they went home.

Then the woman built a brush lodge, and lived apart, some little distance away from the people. No one visited her except her youngest sister, who was a small girl. One day she sent her sister to her mother to ask for four

arrow-heads.<sup>1</sup> When she got these, she put them into her mouth, and they became like the teeth of a bear. One day, when she was engaged in dressing skins just outside her lodge, she put on her bear-skin, went up to the frame on which a skin was laced, and bit the frame to try her teeth. She found that they were loose. Therefore she took off the skin and hid it in the lodge. Meanwhile the dogs of the village had noticed her. They took her for a bear, and barked very much. Some people asked her why the dogs were barking at her; and she answered, "They were barking at the frame." She tested her teeth and claws several times; and on the fourth trial she found them firm enough to suit her. Then she told her youngest sister to ask her mother for some raw salmon. When she got this, she ate it immediately, and the little sister saw her large teeth. The girl went back and said to her mother, "My eldest sister has new teeth, and they are very large, like those of the grisly bear;" but her mother would not believe her.

One day, shortly after this had happened, the four brothers were out hunting. Then the woman put on her grisly-bear skin, and ran about and killed all the people, including her mother and two of her sisters. She took her youngest sister with her into the mountains, where she built a lodge. Here she dug roots, and made the little sister do very hard work. She also abused her, and used her hair for wiping herself after defecating. The youngest sister was much grieved, and always cried when digging roots alone.

The brothers had been out on a long hunt. When they returned, they found all the people killed, and heard their little sister crying, "Oh, if my brothers were here! Oh, if they could only find me!" They were surprised to find their little sister on the mountains. She related to them how their eldest sister had become a grisly bear and had killed the people, and also the manner in which she treated her. The brothers asked her how the Grisly Bear was accustomed to sit, and she told them, "She sits with her hands and feet spread out towards the fire." Then they said, "Make four little holes on the side of the lodge towards which she faces. We want to watch her." They gave her a fool-hen, and asked her to give it to her elder sister. Soon the Grisly Bear came home. She did not notice the holes that the girl had made. When she saw the grouse, she said, "How did you get that grouse to-day? Heretofore you never killed grouse when you were digging roots. You must have met your brothers, and got it from them." The girl denied having met her brothers, and asserted that she had killed the bird with a stick. Then the Grisly Bear believed her, and took the grouse to the fire to roast it. After the Bear had eaten the grouse, and as she was sitting before the fire with her hands and feet stretched apart, the brothers aimed their arrows through the four holes in the walls of the hut,

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<sup>1</sup> Some say white arrow-stones; others say pieces of jade. Some say copper arrow-heads; others, bone awls.



shot at the same time, and the four arrows pierced the hands and feet of the bear.<sup>1</sup> Then they killed her, and, cutting the carcass into small pieces, they threw it to the four quarters. They kept the heart,<sup>2</sup> however, which they placed in a birch-bark bucket and hid it.

After burning the lodge, they went to another place not very far away, where they built a new hut. As all the women of their tribe had been killed, they married their little sister. She gave birth to a child, who grew up very rapidly. Meanwhile the Grisly Bear had with difficulty, and after a long time, gathered all her parts together, and become well again. One day, while the brothers were away hunting, she came to the lodge, and killed and ate her sister.<sup>3</sup> Then she took the child on her lap, nursed it, and sang a cradle-song. The brothers, on their way home, heard the echo of her voice, and said, "That is not our little sister's voice: it is that of the Grisly Bear." One of them took the bucket with the heart, and another took two flat stones. When they entered the lodge, the Grisly Bear was still nursing the child, and pretended to be their wife. The brothers appeared not to notice that anything was wrong. They said they were thirsty, and asked her to fetch some water. She took a bucket, and soon came back with some muddy water. They threw the water out, saying it was not fit to drink, and told her to bring clear water. Meanwhile they put the two flat stones into the fire to heat them. Each time she returned with water, the brothers declared it was not fit to drink, and sent her for clear water. When she had gone the fourth time, the stones were red hot. They pulled them out of the fire, and placed the Bear's heart between them. Now the Grisly knew what had happened, and ran back to kill her brothers, and to save her heart, for her life was in it. However, the heart was burned up before she reached the lodge, and she fell down dead; for, although her body was not hurt, her life had been destroyed. After this, the brothers left that part of the country and went to a distant place, where they took wives among strange people. Then they returned and settled at High Bar, where they lived, and had many children.

#### 42. STORY OF TCOTCU'LCA; OR, THE HUNTER WHO BECAME A WOLF.

There was a famine in the land, and a certain family of people were moving from place to place, trying to find game. Among them was a man called Little-Leader (Tcotcu'lcâ<sup>4</sup>), who was noted as an indifferent hunter; and, being in a very weak and starving condition, he could not keep up with the other people when they moved camp.

<sup>1</sup> Some say two arrows entered her breast, and two her abdomen.

<sup>2</sup> It seems the Grisly Bear's life was in her heart.

<sup>3</sup> Some add, she dressed in the dead girl's clothes, which were far too small for her.

<sup>4</sup> A diminutive form of the word, applied to the leader of a pack of wolves.

One day when the people were travelling, and he was slowly following them, he noticed the tracks of a deer which was being followed by a large wolf.<sup>1</sup> Both had just crossed his path: so, putting down his burden, he followed them until he came to the place where the deer had been caught and eaten by the wolf, who had finished all except the front legs, on which a little meat remained. Little-Leader took these, put them in his pack, and, when he reached camp, he roasted them after the people had all gone to sleep.

On the following day he was travelling behind the people, as usual, and again he noticed the tracks of a deer and a wolf which had just crossed his path. He followed them, and came to where the wolf had eaten the deer. There he found a number of bones with more or less meat on them, put them in his pack, and ate the meat when he reached camp. On the third day the same thing happened, and he found more meat on the bones than before. On the fourth day, tracks crossed his path as before, and, following them, he came to where a large wolf was sitting beside the carcass of a deer that he had just killed.

The Wolf said, "Come here! What are you doing?" And the man answered, "I have followed your tracks, thinking that I might get some of the meat you might leave, as I am a poor hunter, and I am weak and starving." The Wolf said, "It is well. You have been poor and hungry a long time. Now I will help you." He took two long feathers from the centre of the tail of a chicken-hawk and a small bag of red paint, and gave them to the man, saying, "When you hunt, tie up your hair behind your head and stick these feathers in the knot. Take this paint, and draw with it one stripe on each side of your face, from the eyebrow down over the eye to the jaw.<sup>2</sup> This deer that I have killed is of no use to me, for its entrails are torn.<sup>3</sup> Take the carcass home with you and feed your people."

The man carried the deer home, and when he gained strength, he began to hunt, and was so successful that he soon filled all the lodges with meat, and the people had plenty to eat. He was very careful to follow closely all the instructions the Wolf had given him. He never ate any meat himself, but only the marrow of old deer-bones, which he roasted. This made him fleet of foot. Although the people pressed him to marry, he always refused, saying, "If I take a wife, I shall lose all my power, and I shall not be able to run fast."

The people did not know that the Wolf had helped him and had

<sup>1</sup> This wolf was a leader. The leaders of a pack are called *tcaá'a* or *tcoô'*, and *neko'a* ("first" or "leader"). They are the largest and fleetest wolves of the pack, and run and kill the deer, while the other wolves only follow to eat.

<sup>2</sup> Some say he was told to wear the feathers only when he hunted, and to paint his face only when he killed a deer.

<sup>3</sup> The Indians say that if a wolf happens to catch a deer, and tears its entrails when killing it, it will not eat the carcass, but leaves it.

become his guardian, and they wondered how such a poor hunter had suddenly become far superior to all the other people. Coyote said, "He has become a shaman, and has obtained some great guardian spirit."

One day, when the man was sweat-bathing alone, Coyote noticed that he had left his clothes and his quiver lying near his bed; and he said to himself, "I will examine them, and see if I can find out what his guardian spirit is." He searched the man's bed, and underneath his pillow, but could find no trace of any medicine-bag. The people told Coyote to desist, saying that he had no right to search another man's bed; but he paid no attention, and looked through Little-Leader's clothes. Now, the Wolf had told the man to hide the paint and feathers at the bottom of his quiver, and never to let any one see or touch them. Coyote, having looked in vain everywhere else, took Little-Leader's quiver and emptied out the arrows. At the bottom he found the paint and feathers, and said to the people, "Look here! These are his guardians. He paints his face, and ties these feathers to his hair, when he hunts, and thus he is successful. I will do likewise and go hunting."

The man in the sweat-house knew at once what had happened, and began to howl like a wolf. The wolves also knew, and came around the camp, howling. The man left the sweat-house, assumed the form of a wolf, and ran off and joined the wolves, with whom he disappeared, howling loudly. Then all the fat and meat, and even the bones and skins, in camp, came to life, assumed the forms of deer, ran away, and also disappeared, with the wolves baying behind them. Thus the people were left starving as before, and could not find game, for the wolves drove it all away. The man never returned; and it is said that thereafter he lived with the wolves, and became as one of them.

43. STORY OF THE MAN WHO MARRIED THE GRISLY BEAR.<sup>1</sup>

*(Fraser River and North Thompson Divisions.)*

One spring a man belonging to Big Bar went out hunting, and was attacked by a grisly bear, which tore off one of his arms. He managed to reach home, however, and by fall the wound had healed. Then he said, "I will go and seek the grisly bear."

Before he had gone very far, he came to where a grisly bear had been eating salmon on the banks of a stream. Following the tracks, he arrived at a thicket of service-berry bushes, where the bear had stopped to feed. He followed the tracks to a patch of soap-berries, where the bear had also been feeding, and farther on to a place where the bear had been digging

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<sup>1</sup> See Farrand, Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians, p. 23 of this volume.

hog-fennel roots and also cinquefoil roots,<sup>1</sup> and at last came in sight of a house from which smoke issued.

He entered, and saw a very nice-looking woman, who invited him to sit down. The only other occupant of the house was the woman's father, who was a very old man, and lay huddled up in a corner. The woman, who was making bark mats, arose and gave the man some salmon. While he was eating, she laughed at him because he had only one arm, and joked a great deal about it. When he had finished eating, she said to him, "I wish you to be my husband. Will you stay with me?" He consented, and she made a thick bed of mats, on which they lay down together. Then she pulled out a bundle from the head of the bed, opened it, and showed the man his arm. She put it in place, and at once it became the same as before, and he was glad. Soon the man wished to have connection with her; but she pushed him away, saying, "I am not like women of your kind. You cannot have intercourse with me. It is not my season."

On the following day she sent him to hunt black bear, and said, "If you see bear's tracks going through fallen logs of a gray color, do not follow them; but if they pass through fallen timber of a black color, then follow them, and you will be sure to find a black bear."<sup>2</sup> Before long the hunter saw tracks leading through black timber, followed them, and came to a black bear's house. He killed the bear, which was very fat, and carried the meat home. Four times he went hunting, and, following his wife's directions, he killed a fat black bear each time.

Then his wife said, "We have so much meat that we cannot possibly eat it. Let us give a feast to the people." She told her father to go and invite them. He put on a grisly-bear skin, and looked just like a bear. Soon he returned with many people, who looked just like grisly bears. Then the woman said to her husband, "Be not afraid when you see my people. They are my brothers and sisters. Sit close to me. If you run away, they will kill you."<sup>3</sup>

When the bears smelt the man, they made a great noise, pawed the earth, and tore the bark of the trees. Now the woman said to them, "Don't roar so loudly and act so terribly. You make your brother-in-law afraid." At last the bears finished their feast, and all dispersed.

The man staid with the woman all winter. When spring came, she gave him a grisly-bear's penis, and, taking him to the side of a small bank or knoll, they had connection after the manner of bears. In due time the woman bore two children; and when they were strong, she said to her

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<sup>1</sup> These are favorite foods of grisly bears.

<sup>2</sup> The Indians say that grisly bears prefer to walk through fallen timber which has been burnt and become gray or bleached by age; while black bears prefer to travel through fallen timber more recently burnt, which is black.

<sup>3</sup> The Indians believe that to run away from a grisly bear means almost certain death.

husband, "We will go to where the people live. Perhaps you would like to see your friends." When they arrived near the mouth of Big Bar Creek, where there is a large patch of service-berries,<sup>1</sup> the man visited his friends while his wife and children were picking berries. His relatives had all cut their hair, for they thought he was dead. They wondered at seeing him, and were astonished to find that his arm had grown on again.

While he was talking to them, some one came with the news that a grisly bear and two cubs were feeding in the berry-patch. The people said, "We will go and kill them." The man accompanied them; and when they came close to the bears, he said to them, "Sit down and watch me. I will go and kill them alone." When he reached them, the cubs ran out and played with him, and the old bear came up and embraced him. The people thought their behavior very strange, and, thinking that there was some mystery about it, they returned home. The man went away with his wife and children.

The wife said to him, "You did not see enough of your friends. Go and live with them for a while; but be very careful to avoid pubescent girls, menstruating women, and women who have recently given birth."<sup>2</sup>

Then he returned to the people, and lived with them. They moved camp to gather soap-berries; and before they had been there long, some one came with the tidings that a grisly bear and cubs were feeding in the soap-berry patch. The people went to kill them, and the man accompanied them. When they came in sight of the bears, he told the hunters to sit down, saying, "Watch me! I will go alone and kill the bears." When he drew near, the bears ran to meet him, and embraced and played with him. He went away with them, but returned again to the people.

Soon the people moved to dig hog-fennel roots, and the same thing happened. Then they moved to dig cinquefoil-roots, and the same bears were discovered feeding there. The man went out as before to meet them; but the cubs attacked him. Then the old bear attacked him, and they ate him up, for he had been defiled by a pubescent girl. The people could not kill the bears, but returned home, saying, "These are his wife and children."

#### 44. THE MAN WHO MARRIED THE SA'TUEN.

A lad was badly treated by the people, who always scolded him, gave him the worst food to eat, and old things to wear. He felt much grieved because of his treatment, and left his village. He wandered south along Fraser River, remained a little while in each village that he passed, and

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<sup>1</sup> This place is said to be a little above Phil Grinder's ranch.

<sup>2</sup> For this reason the Indians are very particular, when hunting, to avoid those persons in every way, because otherwise they fear they may invite attacks by grisly bears.

thus reached the Thompson River, where he remained some time. Then he continued his journey, passed beyond Columbia River, and eventually arrived in the country of the Sā'tuen.<sup>1</sup> There he came to many houses on a large grassy plain. He entered the first house, which was occupied by a very old man and his grand-daughter.<sup>2</sup> They asked him where he had come from, and what he was doing there. He answered, "I am a Shuswap. My country is far away to the north. I have wandered south to see the world." The old man said, "I know your country. We rest there every year going north." The young woman asked him to be her husband: so he staid with her all winter.

One day in the early spring she said to him, "In ten days all the people will make ready for their journey north. You will go with us and see your own country." The lad was glad to hear this. One morning the chiefs blew bone whistles,<sup>3</sup> and all the people put on their Crane dresses, and blew their whistles in imitation of the cries of Cranes. They flapped their wings, and then ascended and descended in the air. Thus they acted for four days, morning and evening. The woman said to her husband, "The people are now practising and making ready for the journey north." She had done the same as the other people. Then the man said to himself, "This numerous people, whose houses cover the plain, are, after all, the Cranes that I used to see pass my home every spring. I shall be deserted. They will all soon leave here, my wife among the rest." His wife knew his thoughts, and said, "We shall not leave you. We shall take you along."

On the following morning all the birds came, and each plucked a feather out of its body and out of one wing, and gave it to him. His wife fastened them to his body, and he was now able to fly. She also gave him a whistle made from the wing-bone of the Crane. For two days they trained themselves, flying up and down above the houses, and on the next morning they flew away on their northern journey. The man, his wife, and father-in-law followed a little behind the others. This is the reason why three birds are always seen flying behind the others.

When they reached the Shuswap country, the Cranes asked the young man where his home was. He named a place near Horse Lake, where his people were living at that time. The Crane people alighted and camped near there that night. This is the reason why the cranes always rest there on the passage north or south.

His wife said, "Go to your friends' camp and visit them, but return at daybreak." He spent the night there, told all his adventures, and heard all the news that they had to tell. At daylight he left, saying, "I am now going

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<sup>1</sup> A variety of crane or heron.

<sup>2</sup> Some say his daughter.

<sup>3</sup> The same kind of whistles as are used by Indian young men and women.

to join my wife." The people followed him, and saw him fly away with the Cranes, who were going far north to their breeding-grounds.

In the fall of the year, on their way back, they camped again near the people; and the man visited his friends, taking with him his wife and children. On the following morning they all flew away south, to the land of the Cranes. Thus the man visited his friends for many years on his passages north and south, until his relatives had all died, when he came no more. He staid in the land of the Cranes, and became as one of them. He had many children.

#### 45. THE MAN AND THE DWARFS.

Once a young man who was travelling about hunting could not find his way back. When he realized that he was lost, he wept. As he went along weeping, he came to a place where some dwarfs lived, and saw two of their women. They were very short, about two spans high, and had their hair done up in the manner of young girls. They asked him why he wept, and he answered, "Because I am lost, and will no more see home or friends." They laughed, and said, "Your house is not far. We will direct you to it. Go straight over to yonder knoll, and from it you will see your house. You must not tell any one that you saw us or that we helped you, (else evil will befall you <sup>1</sup>)."

The man went to the knoll, as directed, saw his house, and went home. The dwarfs had contracted the distance, so that it was only a short walk; but in reality the man had been a long distance from home. For a long time he told no one; but one day, describing his adventures at the time when he was lost, he said, "I never should have reached home had it not been for two dwarf women who showed me the way." Shortly after saying this, he died.

#### 46. THE WOMAN AND HER PARAMOUR.

A family was short of food, and journeyed toward a place where game and fish were plentiful. The husband shot small game as they travelled along, while his wife carried the provisions and most of the household effects in a large birch-bark basket.<sup>2</sup>

One morning the wife said to her husband, "You take the children and travel ahead. I cannot go fast, as my leg is sore. I will follow slowly." When the others were out of sight, a man appeared to the woman and tried to persuade her to desert her husband and live with him. He was the

<sup>1</sup> Some add this part.

<sup>2</sup> Called smi'mexs, — a large variety of birch-bark basket used by the Shuswap for carrying-purposes, especially when moving camp or going long distances.

woman's paramour. The woman refused to go with him, saying she would not leave her children. "But," she added, "you can come with me. I will carry you in the basket." So she hid him in the bottom of the basket. That night when they camped, she took provisions out of the basket and fed her family. Her husband, as yet, suspected nothing.

On the following morning the woman complained of her knee being lame, and staid behind as before. As soon as her husband and children were out of sight, the man came out of the basket and had connection with her. At night when they camped, she gave the last of the food out of the basket to her family. In the morning she complained of being lame and exhausted, therefore staid behind as usual.

Then the husband grew suspicious, and said to himself, "Her basket is heavy, and yet there is no food in it." That day he camped early, left the children, and went back, keeping himself concealed in the timber. From there he watched his wife, and saw the man come out of the basket and have connection with her. Then the husband returned to his children and fed them with small game that he had shot.

That night he said to his wife, "Your basket is still very heavy. Take some food out of it and give us to eat." She answered, "All the provisions are finished. I am now carrying our household effects only."

On the following morning the woman again pretended to be lame, and staid behind. It was now the fourth night. When his wife reached camp, her husband said to her, "What is in your basket, that it is so heavy?" And she answered, "Nothing much. Did I not tell you before?" The husband said, "There must be some food in it," and commenced to sharpen his knife. Going up to the basket, he shook it, and said, "It is indeed very heavy. I will find out what it contains." Then he stuck his knife through it, and the man jumped out. The husband stabbed him to death. Turning to his wife, he said, "That man whom I have just killed is your husband. You had better accompany him:" so, taking hold of his wife, he stabbed her to death also.

#### 47. THE WOMAN AND THE WATER-MYSTERY.

[This story is the same as the one told in Teit, "Traditions of the Thompson River Indians," pp. 83, 84, with the following exceptions. The water-mystery was half man, half fish, according to some; a kind of snake, according to others; and many say it was a kind of frog. — The woman always went to dig roots by the lake shore, but pretended to be too sick to get many. Therefore her basket was almost empty every night. One day the husband said, "I will take your place digging roots to-day, and will also get some medicine to make you well." — When the husband called Nukant'xa, the lake shook violently, and the water-mystery came to the surface. — When on top of him, the husband cut off his privates, and the "mystery" ran to the lake, streaming with blood. — The husband put the privates of the monster in the bottom of the basket, underneath the roots, and said to his wife. "You will find the medicine I gathered in the bottom of the basket."



She looked, and was startled to find the privates of the water-mystery. Then her husband said, "That is your husband," and stabbed her to death.]

#### 48. THE GAMBLER'S SON AND THE STAR-MAN.<sup>1</sup>

A wealthy man gambled and raced horses with the chief of a neighboring tribe until he lost his dogs, horses, and everything he had. His wife and son were much grieved because they had come to be so poor. The lad, in a fit of shame and discontent, left home and wandered over the country.

One day, as he was crossing a plain, he saw a star fall down ahead of him, and soon afterwards he saw a man walking towards him<sup>2</sup> from the spot. When the man met him, he said, "I know you are downcast, and I pity you. I have come to advise and help you. If you go to the far side of yonder hill, you will see a horse that will speak to you." The lad obeyed, and found the horse, which looked very thin and miserable. Now, this horse was none other than the Star-Man, who had disappeared, and transformed himself into a horse, which told the lad to mount, and said, "I will take you to the land of the chief who won your father's wealth, and there you will race me against his horses, and win back all your father's property."

The lad did as requested, and was carried to the hostile chief, whom he challenged to a race. The lad staked his clothes, horse, and all he had, against one of the chief's horses. The latter laughed at the idea of such a poor-looking animal winning a race: so he ran his worst horse against him. The lad won the race, and now put up the horse he had won against another of the chief's horses. The chief selected a better horse this time; but the lad won again. Then he staked the two horses, and continued enlarging his bet and winning races until he had won more than the value of what his father had lost. In the last race the chief was much nettled, and ran his very best horse. The lad's horse gave him a quirt and said to him, "If the chief's horse gets ahead of me, then whip me." When he whipped him, his steed ran like the wind, passed the other horse, reached the goal, and then met the chief's race-horse, and ran around him. The lad brought his horse in dancing. The chief then wanted to buy the horse, but the lad declined to sell it. He offered all his wealth for it; but the lad refused his offer. Then the lad returned with all the horses, dogs, and property he had won. When near home, his friend said, "Now I will leave you," and resumed the shape of a man. He bade the lad good-by, and ascended to the sky as if blown upward. When he got some distance away, the lad could only see a star, which finally reached the sky, and disappeared

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<sup>1</sup> I could not get the name of this lad. The Indians say they have forgotten it. He is the same person who afterwards had the adventures with Red-Cap. Some think he was Alamē'r; and others say his name was "Little-Man," but are not sure.

<sup>2</sup> Some think the star was his guardian.

among the others. The lad reached home, and his parents were very glad to have their wealth restored to them.

#### 49. THE GAMBLER'S SON AND RED-CAP.<sup>1</sup>

Some time after the gambler's son had won back his father's wealth, a stranger<sup>2</sup> wearing a red cap visited him, and proposed that they should play lehal and other games. They gambled until Red-Cap had won everything. At last they staked themselves. This time the lad won, and claimed Red-Cap as his slave. Almost immediately afterwards the stranger and all he had won vanished as if the ground had swallowed them up.<sup>3</sup> The lad was much vexed, and wandered about in the mountains.

At last he met a young woman, and asked her if she knew where Red-Cap lived. She did not know, and advised him to go where a young man lived. On reaching his place of abode, he asked the young man, but in turn was directed to go to an old woman, who answered that she did not know either, and sent him to an old man. This old man, who lived at the edge of a great lake, was Bald-Headed Eagle. In answer to the lad's query, he said, "Yes, I know where Red-Cap lives. My grandson, it is very far away and very hard to reach; but I will help you." He gave the boy four deer-hoofs filled with food, directed him to feed him whenever he seemed to become weak, and invited him to sit on his shoulders. Then he flew with the lad far out to the middle of the great lake. The lad fed the Eagle the contents of one hoof, and the bird ascended until he was as high as the mountain-tops. He began to weaken again, and fell back. The lad gave him the contents of another hoof, and he rose to the level of the lower clouds. Again the lad fed him, and he rose up to the highest clouds. The fourth time he fed him, the Eagle rose almost to the sky; and from here they were able to see the shores of the great lake.

On the east rose a high cliff; and beyond, in a level country, they could see Red-Cap's house. Now Bald-Headed Eagle flew with the boy to a place near Red-Cap's house, where he alighted, and advised the lad, saying, "Go and hide near the creek where the chief's daughters bathe every evening. The garter of the elder one is green; that of the younger one is red. Steal the green one, and return it to her if she will promise to help you. Then you will be successful. I will wait here for you six days, in case you should need my aid. If you do not appear within that time, I shall know that you are safe, and shall return home."

<sup>1</sup> See Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 26 of this volume. This story is also related to the tale of Asi'wa (Astiwa'l) of the Trimshian (see F. Boas, *Sagen*, etc. p. 285).

<sup>2</sup> This was Red-Cap, who, some say, was a chief of white people. Some Indians claim that he was the red-headed woodpecker, but most of them agree that he was the thunder.

<sup>3</sup> Some say they vanished, or became invisible; others say everything sank into the ground as raindrops, etc.

Then the lad dug a hole, and hid Bald-Headed Eagle in it. He erected a shade of brush over his head to protect him from the sun, for it was very hot in that country. In the evening the lad hid near the creek, and saw Red-Cap's daughters come down to bathe. When they were in the water, he rushed out and seized the garters of both. The girls squatted in the water, and the elder prayed him to give back their garters, promising that he should marry her younger sister. He returned the red garter to the younger one, but would not give back the other until the elder one promised to be his wife and to help him. At last she consented. Then he withdrew and let them dress. The girls informed him that their father's name was Red-Cap, that he was chief of that country, and that he was a cannibal. Many young men had come there to marry the sisters; but their father always put them through a number of tests, in which they had all failed, and thus had met their deaths. She also told him what the tests were, and asked him not to be afraid, for, if he thought constantly of her when in trouble, he would escape all dangers.

Then the lad entered Red-Cap's house and asked for the hand of his daughter. Red-Cap said that he might have his daughter if he proved himself worthy, and proficient in magic. The lad expressed his willingness to undergo anything for the sake of the girl: so Red-Cap ushered him into a den of bears,<sup>1</sup> and immediately the stone door shut behind him. Whenever he thought of the girl, the bears were tame, and remained quiet; but, as soon as his thoughts wandered to something else, they growled and made ready to attack him. He remained there four days, and the girl opened the door and fed him each night. At the end of the fourth day, Red-Cap opened the door, expecting to find that he had been devoured, and was surprised to see him as well as ever.

Then he put him into a cave full of excrement, and the stone entrance closed behind him. Here he remained four days; but he constantly thought of the girl, and the excrement neither harmed him, nor did he suffocate or notice any smell.

Next he was thrown into a cave full of needles, where there was no place to lie, sit, or stand without being pricked. For four days he remained there; but, by constantly thinking of the girl, the needles gave him no pain, nor drew any blood.

Then Red-Cap gave him the fourth and severest test. He placed him in a cave of cold and ice, expecting that he would freeze to death; but, by thinking of the girl, the temperature around him became warm, and he spent the four days in comfort. When Red-Cap found him still unharmed, he said, "You may have my daughter. You have proved yourself worthy, and great in magic power."

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<sup>1</sup> Some say hogs.

After this he lived with his wife, but liked neither the country nor his father-in-law. He told his wife that he wished to return to his own country, saying, "Bald-Headed Eagle brought me here; but now he has left, and I do not know how to go, for my country is so far away." His wife said, "We will take my father's horses. They can go like the wind, walk on ropes and hairs without falling off and on water without sinking." So they put food for the journey into four hoofs, and, rolling up four blankets, they went at night and took Red-Cap's two magic horses, one of which was all white and the other all black, and started on their journey.

On the following morning Red-Cap missed them, and gave chase mounted on what seemed like the lightning. When he had nearly overtaken them, they unrolled the red blanket and threw it behind them, thus creating a large tract of mud, knee-deep and very sticky. Red-Cap had much difficulty getting through this. At last, however, he drew near to them again, and they unrolled the green<sup>1</sup> blanket, and threw it behind them, creating a dense thicket of scrub-pine. After a while Red-Cap surmounted this obstacle also, and again gained on them fast. Then they unrolled the white blanket and threw it behind them, creating a wide tract of wet alkali-ground, very slippery.<sup>2</sup> As Red-Cap came close to them the fourth time, they unrolled the black<sup>3</sup> blanket and threw it behind them, creating a dense patch of hawthorn-bushes. Red-Cap had much trouble getting through, as the thorns tore his clothes and the skin of his horse, thus making it afraid and nervous. This gave the fugitives time to reach a lake, where the woman pulled a hair out of her head,<sup>4</sup> and, throwing it down, it formed a bridge on which the horses walked across. They had just gotten over when Red-Cap appeared on the opposite shore and followed them across the bridge. Now they told the hair to break when Red-Cap reached the middle, which it did, and thus he and his horse were thrown into the lake and were drowned. The lad reached his own country with his wife and horses, which made him very wealthy, for they ran much faster than any other horses, and thus he won all the races.

#### 50. STORY OF ALAMĒ'R.<sup>5</sup>

AlamĒ'r was the son of a chief who had many wives. Among them were two slave-women, who were not treated as the equals of the other wives, and lived in a house by themselves, close to that of their husband.

<sup>1</sup> Some say yellow.

<sup>2</sup> Some say ice.

<sup>3</sup> Some say blue.

<sup>4</sup> Some say the man did this.

<sup>5</sup> The narrator of this story, a man of sixty or more, said that although he had heard it told when he was a mere boy (and the story is said to have been current even before his time), he believed the story was probably learned by the old people from some of the first Hudson Bay Company's half-breeds, who lived in the country. The meaning of AlamĒ'r is unknown. The story belongs clearly to the cycle of European folk-tales.

One day Alamēr entered their house and wished to have connection with them; but they objected to his proposals; and one woman, seizing his robe, ran off with it and showed it to the chief, telling him of his son's actions. The chief was very angry, and said, "I will kill him." He locked up the women, and sent some of his men to capture his son, telling them to dig a grave, take the lad to it, then tomahawk him, and bring his heart to him to eat, and also as proof that they had fulfilled his commands. Now, Alamēr had a dog which never left his side. When the men brought him to the grave, they took pity on him, and said, "We will allow you to escape, and kill your dog in your stead and bury him. The chief will never know anything about it." So they did this, cut out the dog's heart, and took it to the chief, who ate it.

The lad travelled far away, and his clothes grew torn and ragged. One day, feeling hungry and tired, he lay down at the foot of a tree and cried himself to sleep. He was awakened by a young man of comely appearance, who said to him, "I see you are in distress. I will help you, and be your adviser and protector. I will be a helper to you. When you call on me, saying, 'Friend,' I will at once appear to you and give you aid. Don't forget me." Saying this, he vanished.

Alamēr travelled on, and before long reached a place where many people lived, who treated him hospitably. He staid with them some time, and learned that their chief was afraid of a cannibal who lived not far away. They related how the chief had been compelled to give his four daughters, one after another, to the cannibal, who wanted to marry them, and who ended by eating them. Three had thus been disposed of, and the cannibal had asked for the fourth and last one, who was to be given to him on the morrow; for the chief was afraid to refuse the cannibal's request. Even now the girl's mother was crying because of her daughter's approaching fate.

When Alamēr heard the mother's cries, and thought of the horrible fate that awaited the girl, he became sad and full of pity. He called up his helper, who advised him how to act, and gave him a long double-edged knife and two pictures painted on bark. Early the following morning he saw the chief start on horseback with his daughter, who rode a very large horse intended as a present to the cannibal. Alamēr stepped aside, and threw his pictures on the ground. At once the one became a white horse; and the other, a white dog. He mounted the horse and rode to the cannibal's house, which was situated on an open plain. There he waited until he saw the chief coming. As soon as the chief and his daughter appeared, the cannibal rode out on a black horse accompanied by a black dog to meet the chief and take the girl. Alamēr approached them when they met, and noticed that the girl was crying. The chief said to the cannibal, "I now give you my last daughter and the horse she rides."

Then Alamē'r interposed, saying, "No! that girl shall not be given to the cannibal." The latter became angry, and said, "Who are you that talks thus? I will eat you!" And immediately he attacked him. The horses and dogs also began to fight. The white horse killed the black horse; and the white dog, the black one; and then they helped Alamē'r to kill the cannibal. Alamē'r cut off his head and threw it down before the chief, saying, "Be no more afraid of this man."

The chief and his daughter were glad; and the former offered to give his daughter in marriage to Alamē'r; but he refused, saying, "If I become acquainted with women, I shall lose my powers. I wish to travel over many lands, and become wise."

He left that country and travelled about until his clothes were all ragged, and his moccasins worn out. At last he reached another people, and offered his services to their chief. He said, "I need food and clothes, and time to recover from the effects of my journey." Now, the chief of this tribe was also in trouble; for a red-haired chief of great mystery<sup>1</sup> had come there<sup>2</sup> some time previously, and had stolen his two nieces, taking them away to a distant country. The chief offered to give them in marriage to any man who would bring them back; and Alamē'r said to himself, "I will go and get them."

After a short rest, he started on his journey, and travelled many moons around the edge of a great lake. At last he reached the country of the red-haired chief, whose people were numerous, and dressed themselves in clothes made of sheep's wool, like those of white people. They were a very mysterious and powerful race, and their chief was very fierce and warlike. Here Alamē'r staid, and received food and some clothes for what work he did. He managed to talk to the two women without creating suspicion, and asked them if they wished to return to their own country. They were pining to see their country and friends again; but it was impossible for them to get back, as the chief who had stolen them had taken them across the great lake in a large canoe, and the voyage had taken many days.

Alamē'r told them he would take them back home. He called up his helper, who advised him how to act, and furnished a large canoe for him, which moved swiftly without paddles. When the girls went to wash in the creek at evening, as was their habit, Alamē'r was near, and they fled with him to the canoe.

When they had been out several days, they reached a small island which was situated in the centre of the lake, and here they tied up their canoe to refresh themselves. At this place they found another large canoe, which was travelling to the same country where they were going. On board

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<sup>1</sup> Some say he was the thunder.

<sup>2</sup> Some say he came on the war-path, or made a raid.

were two chiefs and many people, who were endowed with much magic. They said to the lad, "We will feast you and play games with you to-night."

The women were suspicious, and said to Alamē'r, "We fear these people. Take these presents and conceal them on your person. They will prove you to be our deliverer." One woman gave him a finger-ring with her name stamped on it; and the other, a silk handkerchief with her name embroidered in one corner. That night, while they were playing games, these people, through their magic, cast a deep sleep on Alamē'r. Then they broke his canoe and set it adrift, took the women, and left.

The chiefs learned the history of the women, and said, "We will take them to their uncle, claim them as our wives, and obtain a rich reward." This they did; but the girls said that these men were not their deliverers. Therefore the chief did not give his nieces to them, and told the men, that, if no other person came there within one year to claim them as their deliverer, he would give the girls to be their wives, and with them much property besides.

When Alamē'r awoke, he found himself deserted and his canoe gone. He lived on beaver-meat all winter, until at last he had killed all the beavers on the island. Then spring came, and many geese took up their abode there; and he lived on their eggs, and as summer advanced he lived on the goslings. When fall came, the geese all left, and, having nothing to eat, he began to starve. Owing to the spell that the strange people had thrown upon him, he had forgotten his powerful helper.<sup>1</sup>

One day Fox appeared to him, and said, "What are you doing here? I am surprised to see you remain here." Alamē'r answered, "I have no means of leaving this place, and I am starving." Fox said, "I will help you;" and thereupon he changed Alamē'r so that he became small and light, and then told him to jump on his back. Fox then plunged into the water and swam away. After swimming four days and four nights, he reached the shore, and on parting said to Alamē'r, "Why do you forget your helper? Remember your great friend and helper, and call on him." All his past history now came to his mind.

He travelled some distance, and came to the house of the chief whose nieces he had delivered. He claimed them; but the chief said, "Two other men also claim them. I will assemble the people and hold a council." All the people assembled, and the two chiefs told their story, and Alamē'r told his; and as he agreed with that told by the women, and since he also produced the ring and handkerchief as proofs, all the people said, "He has spoken the truth." The chief gave him the two women, while the two lying chiefs were seized and killed. Then Alamē'r went away, and told the chief that in four days he would return for his wives.

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<sup>1</sup> Some say also all former acts of his life.

He called his helper and said to him, "By your help I have obtained the chief's nieces as my wives. Now, as you have helped me so much, I give one of them to you to show my gratitude." His helper answered, "If I take a wife, I shall lose my power. I am very wise now. This is because I have not known women." Being pressed, however, he at last assented. On the fourth day Alamē'r's helper made two fine horses, and, putting on fine clothes, he and Alamē'r rode to the chief's house. Alamē'r told the chief that he would give one of his wives to his friend. The chief assented, and gave them the girls and a carriage to ride in. He also gave them harness and presents of money. Bidding good-by to the chief, they drove to Alamē'r's country, and arrived at his father's house. His father recognized him and was surprised. Alamē'r kissed his father and said, "You thought I was dead. It was my dog's heart you ate, and not mine." His father was ashamed, and also glad that his son was alive, for he had repented of his harshness towards him. Henceforth Alamē'r lived in his own country, and his helper lived there also. Their wives bore many children, and they all lived happily together. Alamē'r said, "I was foolish formerly, but by travelling I became wise."

#### 51. STORY OF BUTCETSA' AND WHITE-CHIEF.

Butcetsā'<sup>1</sup> was a lad who lived in a certain village. Far away in another country lived many people whose chief<sup>2</sup> was noted for his wisdom and magic. One day Butcetsā', who had great magical powers, told his friends that he intended to go and steal the wife of White-Chief; but his friends told him that White-Chief was possessed of great wisdom and magical powers, and would certainly discover and kill them. Butcetsā' asked the Wind for his help, and reached the far country very quickly. There he transformed himself into a pinto tom-cat, sat down at the chief's door, and mewed. The chief's wife saw him, and said, "Oh, what a nice cat! I must have it for a pet." She kept it and loved it very much.

Some time afterwards the people of a distant place invited the chief and his people to a great feast. White-Chief's wife refused to go, saying, "I must stay and look after my cat." When all the people had gone, Butcetsā' resumed his natural form, and induced the woman to run away with him.

When White-Chief returned, he followed their tracks, and soon gained on them. When they saw that he would overtake them, Butcetsā' caused a house to appear near the trail, in which they took up their abode. He also

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been an Indian. The meaning of his name is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Their chief was called White-Chief, and most Indians think that he and his people were probably whites.



changed the woman's appearance so that she had sunken eyes and was very small of stature. White-Chief asked the lad if he had seen a man and woman pass that way, and he answered, "No." White-Chief said, "The tracks of those I pursue end here. Have you any wife?" Butcetsā' answered, "Yes, I have a wife. She is inside the house." White-Chief went in to see her; but, as she bore no resemblance to his lost wife, he had no suspicions, and returned home. Butcetsā' took the woman to his own country.

After a time he heard that White-Chief had married again, so he determined to steal his new wife also. He assumed the shape of a rooster, appeared before White-Chief's house, and crowed. White-Chief's wife rushed out, saying, "Oh, what a fine bird! Its colors are so beautiful, and it crows so loudly! I must keep it for a pet." It crowed every morning. The chief's wife lived in a house apart, for she was menstruating. Then Butcetsā' assumed his natural form, and induced the woman to run off with him. On the following morning, when the rooster did not crow as usual, the chief visited his wife's lodge to see what was the matter. He found her gone, and followed her tracks. When the couple saw that they would be overtaken, Butcetsā' caused a house to appear near the trail, which he entered with the woman. He gave her the appearance of a very old woman with sore eyes. White-Chief came along, following the tracks. When he found that they ended at the house, he thought that they must be there, and determined to search for them. He asked the lad if there was any woman inside. Butcetsā' answered, "No, only my mother." The chief was unable to recognize the woman as his wife, and, since he found no one else there, he returned home. Butcetsā' took this woman to his own country also, and now he had two wives. He said, "The noted White-Chief has neither wisdom nor magic."

Now he resolved to steal the chief's horses. He went there at night, rounded them all up, and drove them away. On the following morning White-Chief missed them, and started in pursuit. When Butcetsā' saw that he would be overtaken, he caused a house to appear on the trail, and changed all the horses into those of white color. When White-Chief arrived, he saw a large band of white horses grazing near a house. Seeing that the tracks ended there, and thinking that these could not possibly be his horses, he turned back. Butcetsā' drove the horses to his own country, and shortly afterwards, when he heard that White-Chief had another band of horses, stole them in the same way. This time he transformed them all into piebalds, and the chief was unable to identify them. When White-Chief obtained more horses, Butcetsā' stole them again, changing them into "blacks." A fourth time when he stole his horses, he changed them into "buckskins."

Now White-Chief offered a great reward for the discovery of the horse-thief. As he could not be a great chief without having plenty of horses,

he made up his mind to spend the last of his money to buy some more. Then Butcetsā' drove all his buckskin, black, piebald, and white horses to White-Chief's country, and sold them to him.

White-Chief asked him how he had obtained so many fine horses; and Butcetsā' answered, "Why, that is easy. I go to the horse country and drive them away." White-Chief asked how to get there; and Butcetsā' said, "I will tell you, if you will promise to tell no one. I get a friend to take me out in a bark canoe to the middle of the large lake, where he puts me into a sack with a stone as a sinker, and, after tying a rope to the sack, he lowers me down. When I reach the bottom of the lake, I walk along until I reach the entrance to the country which is inhabited by horses.<sup>1</sup> It is a fine large country, and there they are very tame. I take as many as I want, and drive them along a trail which comes out through the earth at the bottom of a hill a long ways from here. Then I close up the hole, and return by a short cut, which is the lake route. I enter the sack, after taking away the sinker, and, giving a tug on the rope, my friend pulls me up into the canoe again. Afterwards, at my leisure, I travel around to where I left the horses, and drive them home. This is the way I get them."

White-Chief desired to get horses in the same manner, and asked him if he would accompany him in the canoe. Butcetsā' took him to the middle of the lake, where he put him into a sack with a stone for a sinker, and lowered him into the lake. Then he cut the rope, and the chief was drowned. Now Butcetsā' drove away the horses he had sold, and joined his two wives. White-Chief's people said they were glad that he had disappeared, for he was so foolish; and they elected another chief, who had more sense.

## 52. THE LAD AND THE CANNIBAL.<sup>2</sup>

A cannibal and his wife lived in a house on a mountain-top. He possessed a great light,<sup>3</sup> like the moon, which he put up at night; and it shone so brightly, and was so placed, that it could be seen from every part of the world.

In the neighboring country lived a lad who made up his mind to steal the cannibal's light. He took some iron on his back, and repaired to the cannibal's house, which he entered. The cannibal and his wife were of very ferocious appearance, and wore ear-rings of men's testicles. As soon as the lad came inside, the cannibal seized him, and was going to cut him up; but

<sup>1</sup> Some say also by cattle.

<sup>2</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, pp. 93, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Some say this cannibal was the moon, or the spirit controlling the moon. His light is said to have been the moon, which he hung up on a pole every night, so that her light was shed in every place. Some say the pole was used by him as a staff in the daytime.

his wife restrained him, saying, "He is too lean. Let him be for a time. We will eat him later on, when he gets softer and fatter."

The cannibal put him in a box, and fed him morning and evening. Each day, when he went out to hunt people, he instructed his wife not to open the box during his absence; but she paid no attention to his commands, and, as soon as he disappeared, she would open the lid of the box, and amuse herself by playing with the lad's testicles. Then the lad would have an erection, and say, "I am sick. My penis is sick." And she would say, "I will give you medicine. I will cure you." And thereupon she would have connection with him. Thus she acted every day, and finally she would give the lad his liberty during her husband's absence, locking him up again before his return.

The lad used this time to make a coffin of the iron that he had taken along, and the cannibal wondered that it was assuming a different form. He said to his wife, "That is a strange kind of material: it assumes a different shape and grows day by day." His wife said, "Yes. That is the mystery of the lad. It is his guardian power."

One night, after the lad had finished the coffin, the cannibal became very curious about the iron, and said, "There must be much magic about it." So he asked the lad what it was for, and what it could do. He answered, "That is a bed. Any one who lies in it becomes wise and wealthy, and also obtains the most pleasant and valuable of dreams." The cannibal said, "I will try it," and lay down inside. The lad put on the lid, which was also of iron, and locked the coffin, telling the cannibal that he would not be able to dream unless the lid was on.

The cannibal lay quiet, and the lad made a huge fire all around the coffin. When it became hot, the cannibal cried and struggled to get out; but the lad heated the box red hot, until the cannibal was burned to death. Then he killed his wife, and, burning their house, he returned home, taking the great light with him and the cannibal's magic fiddle.

## XV. — MYTHS OF THE NORTH THOMPSON SHUSWAP.

### 53. COYOTE TALES.

#### *Coyote and his Nephew.*<sup>1</sup>

Coyote was living with his nephew. Both were married. He took a fancy to his nephew's wife, and wished to have her for himself. He went to the top of a low cliff, where he defecated, and transformed his excrement into a nest of young eagles. Now he informed his nephew that he had discovered an eagle's eyry, and he proposed that the young man should climb up to get some eagle-feathers. He persuaded him to leave his clothes at the bottom of the cliff, saying, "You will get hot climbing, for it is warm weather, and it will be so much easier to climb without them. If I were young and active, I should go myself, but now I am old and stiff."

The young man soon approached the top of the cliff; for it was low, and easy of ascent. Then Coyote raised his eyelids, and the cliff increased in height. He did so again, and the cliff became very rough and high; but the young man kept on climbing. Twice more Coyote raised his eyelids, and the top of the cliff was almost out of sight. Coyote now gathered his loose, wrinkled skin into knots on his back, so that he should appear smooth and young, and, donning his nephew's clothes, went back to the camp, where he told his own wife that she was now a widow, as his uncle had fallen off the cliff while climbing to the eagle's eyry, and that his body had disappeared in a crevice. His nephew's wife would not believe him, however, and maintained that he was not her husband.<sup>2</sup>

Coyote's nephew had reached the top of the rock after it had ceased growing, and found that the eaglets and the eyry were Coyote's dung. Seeing no way of escape, he peered over the edge of the cliff, and far below saw Spider-Woman and Mouse-Woman gathering hemp-bark. Four times he called on them for aid; then they heard him. They began to sing, and the cliff decreased in height. Again they sang, and it decreased still more. At the end of the fourth song it had sunk down to its original height and appearance. Now Coyote's nephew climbed down and thanked the women for delivering him from his dangerous position. He examined the hemp they had gathered, and, seeing that it was of inferior quality, he plucked out some of his pubic hair, threw it on the ground, and a dense thicket of the

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 622.

<sup>2</sup> Some say she believed him, and lived with him as his wife.

finest quality of hemp-plants sprang up. This he gave the women as a reward for their kindness.<sup>1</sup> . . .

*Coyote and Grisly Bear make the Seasons, and Night and Day.*<sup>2</sup>

Coyote was living in an underground house with Grisly Bear.<sup>3</sup> One day Grisly Bear said, "I do not like so much daylight. I wish to have it night always." Coyote answered, "No, that would not do, people would not be able to see. I wish it to be light."<sup>4</sup> It was in the afternoon, and Grisly Bear commenced to sing his magic song, saying, "Tce'xa, tce'xa, I wish darkness to prevail always. I will beat you, Coyote: it shall never again be light." Soon darkness came, and Grisly Bear sang, "I beat you, Coyote: darkness has come, and will always remain." Now Coyote sang, saying, "Po'xa, po'xa, I wish light to come in the morning; may the night leave!" They sang all night, and towards dawn Grisly Bear sang, "See, Coyote! I have beaten you: never again will it be light, tce'xa, tce'xa." Then Coyote sang, and the daylight began to come. He said, "Po'xa, po'xa, see the light coming, Grisly Bear! I have beaten you: your powers are not equal to mine."

Again Grisly Bear addressed Coyote, saying, "The winters are not long enough: I wish them to last as many moons as there are feathers in the tail of the ruffed grouse." Coyote objected, saying, "That is far too many. You will have it always winter even if you wished for half the number." Grisly Bear believed Coyote, and said, "Very well, let winter be of that length." Coyote said, "Snow may fall as many moons as there are feathers in half the tail of the ruffed grouse," and Grisly Bear agreed. Thus it was ordained, and Coyote saved the people from having to live in continual darkness and everlasting winter.

*Coyote as the Sun.*<sup>5</sup>

The people were dissatisfied with the sun, and thought they would make a new one. They appointed Coyote to be the sun. He took up the duties, and went his rounds. Whenever he saw married women commit adultery or young women fornicate, he would call and let all the people know. This angered some of them very much. He also came so near the earth sometimes, that the people were almost burned. They deposed him, and put Red-Shafted Flicker in his place. Later on the latter laid an egg, which was changed into the present-day sun.

<sup>1</sup> The story continues in the same way as among the Fraser River Shuswap (see p. 623).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 625.

<sup>3</sup> Some say the black bear.

<sup>4</sup> Some say Coyote proposed there should be half day and half night, but Grisly Bear wanted it all night; so they tried their powers, and Coyote got the best of it.

<sup>5</sup> See F. Boas, *Sagen der Kootenay* (Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 161—172).

*Coyote and his Hosts.*<sup>1</sup>

One winter Coyote visited Kingfisher, but saw nothing in his house to eat. He thought to himself, "What will he offer me to eat? He is noted as a fisherman, but has no fish in his house." Kingfisher welcomed Coyote, and told him to warm himself while he went for some fish. Coyote thought, "How does he catch his fish at this season of the year? I must go and watch him." Kingfisher uttered his peculiar cry and flew into the bushes. Soon he came back bringing four small sticks, went to a hole in the ice, and dived in. After a short time he came out bringing a fish. He repeated this four times, and then went home with his fish. Now he cooked them and gave them to Coyote to eat.

After finishing his repast, Coyote left, and invited Kingfisher to visit him on the morrow. The next day Kingfisher went to the house of Coyote, who received him kindly and told him to warm himself while he went to get some fish. Kingfisher thought, "How can he catch fish? He does not know how to fish in the manner I do." So he followed and watched. Coyote gave a cry like the kingfisher, and, running into the bush, got four short sticks. With these he went to the water-hole and dived in; but his head stuck fast in the ice; and he would have drowned had not Kingfisher rushed up and pulled him out. Now Kingfisher addressed him with many sarcastic words, showing him the folly of thinking himself capable of doing everything.

Next Coyote visited Fish-Hawk<sup>2</sup> and Bald-Headed Eagle.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Coyote visited Beaver, who invited him to warm himself while he prepared some food. He produced some cambium of the cottonwood-tree, and, putting something with it which looked like grease, he set a dishful before Coyote to eat. The latter ate his fill, and upon leaving invited Beaver to visit him on the morrow.

When Beaver arrived, Coyote asked him to warm himself while he got some food. He went and gathered some cottonwood-bark in a dish, and, having no grease, nor anything similar to it, he took all the dried semen from under his prepuce and put it in the dish instead. Returning, he placed the mess before his guest, and asked him to eat. Beaver looked at it for a while, saying nothing; then he arose, emptied the contents of the dish into the fire, and took his departure.

Next Coyote visited Black Bear, who asked him to sit down and warm himself. Coyote looked around, but saw nothing in the house to eat. He thought, "Black Bear is noted for having plenty of fat, but I see nothing

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 627, 628.

<sup>2</sup> Here the same incidents are repeated.

that he could offer me." Presently Black Bear sat down with his back close to the fire, and toasted it until the grease began to run out. When it was cooked, he asked Coyote to come and take a bite. Coyote said, "Oh, no! if I take a bite, I shall kill you." Black Bear answered, "No fear, come and eat of my back-fat; it will not hurt me." Then Coyote took a bite, and it left no mark. He ate his fill, thinking it very fine. Upon leaving, he invited Black Bear to his house on the morrow.

Next day Black Bear visited Coyote, who, in his turn, sat down with his back to the fire. His hair commenced to singe, and filled the house with a strong odor. Black Bear said, "You will burn your back;" but Coyote persisted, saying, "Now the grease commences to come. It will soon be ready for you to eat." Presently he could stand the pain no longer, and, jumping away from the fire, rolled around in agony. Black Bear laughed very much, and then went home, leaving his groaning host to think over his foolishness.

But this lesson was not enough for Coyote, who afterwards did the same thing when he invited Grisly Bear. Then he visited the Caribou, and in turn the Elk, Moose, Buck-Deer, Antelope, Bighorn-Ram, and Buffalo; and when they paid back his visits, he tried to feed them in the same way they had fed him, and burned his back every time.

#### *Coyote and Grouse.*<sup>1</sup>

Coyote was travelling through the North Thompson country,<sup>2</sup> and, coming in sight of four lodges, thought he would visit them. He found them occupied by the children of Fool-Grouse, Prairie-Grouse, Ruffed-Grouse, and Blue-Grouse. He induced them to gather gum from the trees, and gummed their eyes.<sup>2</sup>...

The mothers returned later on, and, bent on revenge, passed ahead of him and hid, one beyond another, at a place where the trail passed along the edge of the cliff alongside of a cañon.<sup>2</sup>...

At last Blue-Grouse flew up, and startled him so much that he fell over the cliff into the river below. Coyote drifted down with the current until he reached the watering-place of the camp where his wife and daughter were staying. In the morning his daughter, who went to fetch water, saw his body lying on the bank of the river. She ran back and told her mother, saying, "Father is lying dead at the watering-place." Her mother would not believe her at first, but at last went down with her. They carried Coyote up to the camp, where his wife treated him until he became quite well again. After this, he remained for a long time in the Thompson Indian country, where he had drifted ashore.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 629.

<sup>2</sup> The incidents told on p. 629 are here repeated.

*Coyote and the Girls.*<sup>1</sup>

Coyote was travelling up Thompson River, conducting the salmon, which he first introduced into the country. He was carrying a small pack of salmon on his back, wrapped in brush. After some time he came to a place where two girls were bathing on the opposite side of the river. He shouted, "Do you want any iza'ii?" They asked each other, "What is that?" Again he asked them, and they said to each other, "Perhaps it is what he is carrying on his back." He shouted again, and they said to each other, "We better say yes, and find out what it is." When he asked the fourth time, they cried, "Yes!" and thereupon he put his penis into the water, and it floated across the river, making straight for the girls. One of them cried, "See, he has let go his bird!" and just as the other looked, it entered her vagina. At once she became sick, and her companion helped her ashore. Now they tried to cut Coyote's penis with a stone knife, for it was very long; but the knife would not cut. Then Coyote laughed, and shouted, "Cut it with swamp-grass!" They cut it off close to the girl's body. Then they dressed and went home. The girl took to bed.<sup>2</sup>...

*Coyote, the Yellow-Bellied Marmots, and Fox.*<sup>3</sup>

Coyote was travelling, and, while passing Yellow-Bellied Marmot's house, heard her children singing, "Hi-hi-hi-hi." Going up to the house, he found four children there alone. When they saw him, they stopped singing. He told them to sing as they were doing before. Four times he induced them to sing. Then he said, "You sing too much," and killed them all.

He took their bodies and carried them to a spot where there was plenty of fire-wood. Here he lighted a fire and cooked them on spits before it. While they were cooking, he sat down some distance away, where it was cool. Now Fox, coming along, saw Coyote sitting there, and made him stick to the ground. Then he went up and turned the meat before the fire until it was perfectly cooked. When the marmots were cool enough, he commenced to eat them. Coyote was helpless, and said, "Friend Fox, spare me three!" When the latter began to eat the second one, he called out, "Friend Fox, spare me two!" When the Fox was eating the third one, he

<sup>1</sup> See p. 630; also E. Sapir, *Wishram Text* (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. II, p. 11); F. Boas, *Traditions of the Tillamook* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. XI, pp. 140, 141).

<sup>2</sup> The rest of the story is exactly like that of the Thompson Indians, except that Coyote comes down the river in a canoe of horse-tail reeds. When the people rush to the sweat-house to catch him, Canada Jay is ahead, and as Coyote comes out he clutches his penis, but Coyote deals him a blow on the head which knocks him over. Since that time the head of the Canada jay has always had a whitish top (see James Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 28).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 633.



called, "Friend Fox, spare me one!" but the latter paid no attention, and commenced on the last one. Then Coyote said, "Friend Fox, spare me the entrails!" but Fox ate all, and then left. When he had gone away a good distance, he let Coyote loose; and the latter, being very angry, started in pursuit.

Fox felt sleepy after his heavy meal, and lay down in the grass to have a nap. Then Coyote set fire to the grass, intending to burn him. Owing to the heat of the fire, some horse-tail reeds burst near where Fox was; but, on account of the smoke, Coyote could not see what was happening. When he heard the noise, he said, "Now I am avenged. Those are Fox's eyes that are bursting." He went away; but Fox made good his escape, sat down some distance away, and laughed at him. Coyote chased him, and four times set fire to the grass, trying to burn him; but each time he escaped, and Coyote at last gave up the attempt.

*Story of Coyote and Fox quarrelling.<sup>1</sup>*

Coyote was lonely, and said, "I will go to see my friend Fox. I have not seen him for a long time." He travelled towards the locality where Fox lived, and met him on the way. Coyote had on a robe of magpie-skins, while Fox wore the finest robe in the whole country. It was made of the most beautiful silver-fox skins, and glistened in the sun; it was ornamented with eagle tail-feathers, and had many long tassels of colored hair. Coyote saluted Fox, and talked friendly to him; but he made no reply, and never seemed to notice Coyote, who accosted him four times. Now Coyote became angry, took Fox's robe away, and said, "Thus I treat people who will not talk to me." When Fox paid no heed, Coyote tore up his own robe, and put on that of Fox. He walked off with it, and strutted around, vain of his beautiful appearance. He prayed for wind, because he wished to admire the fluttering feathers. A little wind came, and he was delighted to see the feathers flutter. Now he climbed a hill, because he wished for more wind, but there was not enough to suit him. He asked for more, so that the tassels might flutter more strongly. Gradually the wind increased, but still he was not satisfied. He said, "I wish it would blow harder, that the feathers and tassels may stand out like streamers." Now a whirlwind came, which took Coyote up and turned him over and over. He clutched at everything in his way, and at last caught hold of a horse-tail reed, to which he clung. The whirlwind passed, leaving Coyote exhausted and naked. He looked, and saw it taking the robe over to where Fox was. When it reached him, Fox put his robe on, and it became calm.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 634.

Thus Fox got back his robe; and, as he was wearing it afterwards, when he was transformed into an animal, the silver-fox has the most valuable of all skins.

*Coyote and Salmon.*<sup>1</sup>

Coyote built an underground house on the Upper North Thompson River, at a place now called "Coyote's House." It was afterwards turned into rock, and may be seen there at the present day. He spent several winters at this place. One fall, salmon came up the river in great numbers; and he made up his mind to catch a large supply, saying, "I will dry very many, and then will invite all the people to a great feast." By the time the salmon ceased running, he had filled many sticks, and was delighted when he viewed the large amount of fish he had on hand. One day as he was passing underneath the sticks where they were hanging, his hair caught in one of them, and this made him angry. Four times this happened, and each time he became more angry. The last time he became very angry, saying, "Why can't I pass underneath these fish without their catching in my hair?" He tore down the offending salmon and threw it into the river. At once it came to life and swam away. Then all the salmon came down from the sticks and plunged into the river. In vain Coyote tried to stop them by catching them and clubbing them. In a short time they had all disappeared, and he was left without supplies for the winter, and had to give up the project of giving a feast. Now he gathered up all the slabs of wood which he had used for splitting salmon on, and all the poles on which they had been hanging. He took them up to his house, and said, "I will boil them in the winter-time and have fish-soup."

*Coyote and the Cannibal.*

Coyote was travelling, and came to a cañon through which flowed a river. Below, on the same side where he was, he saw a canoe drawn up on the shore. Presently three old cannibals and a young one approached from above. They were going to cross in the canoe that lay below. Coyote transformed himself into a log that stretched across the cañon. When the cannibals reached the spot, they said, "See! there is a log lying across the cañon. Why not cross on it instead of using our canoe? It will be so much easier." When they were on the middle of the log, Coyote turned over and precipitated the cannibals into the torrent below, where they were

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 637; also Kwakiutl (see Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, pp. 174, 209), Haida (see Swanton, *Haida Texts*, Vol. X of this series, pp. 304, 322), Tsimshian (see Boas *Tsimshian Texts*, p. 32).

all drowned excepting the young one, who got ashore quite exhausted. Coyote made him prisoner, and thought he would keep him as a slave for a while. Whenever the young cannibal followed Coyote, he would snap and bite at him; and when he was made to walk ahead, he would go in the wrong direction, and Coyote had much trouble with him. At last they arrived at a village of Cannibals; and here Coyote left him, saying to the people, "My slave is of great value, and you must take good care of him. I will leave him in your charge for a short time, while I go and meet my friend, whom I will bring here to camp with you to-night." That night, when all were asleep, Coyote returned, blew on the Cannibals, and thus killed them all.

*Coyote snowed in.*<sup>1</sup>

One fall Coyote was fishing at his fishing-place on the Upper North Thompson River, near his underground house. He caught a large number of salmon, and, after they were all dry, he carried them up to his house. When he had taken in the last ones, it began to snow, and continued until finally the snow was nearly as high as the trees all around Coyote's house. Coyote thought, "This is a very hard winter, the deer will all die, and I shall have much food in the spring." Many months passed, and Coyote became tired of the continued snow. His stock of dried fish was nearly exhausted. He said, "This is a very long winter." He went to the top of the ladder and looked around, but the snow nearly hid the trees all around his house. A snow-bird came and gave him a ripe berry, saying, "Why are you living here? It is summer-time." Coyote laughed, and said, "Oh, no! see the snow all around! It is still the middle of winter." Again a snow-bird came and gave him a ripe berry, saying, "See! the berries are ripe, and you are still in your winter house." Coyote answered, "You liar! How can the berries be ripe and the snow lie nearly as deep as the tree-tops?" Four times the snow-birds brought him ripe berries, and then he thought there was something wrong. He put on his snowshoes and climbed over the snowdrift. On the other side the snow rapidly decreased in depth. Soon he discarded his snowshoes, and in a short time came to bare ground. Then he arrived at a place where the trees were budding, and after a while he found some in leaf. Continuing his journey down the North Thompson valley, he passed many service-berry bushes in blossom, and before long came to some with ripe berries. At last he came to a large berry-patch, and while regaling himself there, he heard two women singing.

Now he changed himself into a boy, and called out, "Come here!"

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<sup>1</sup> See F. Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, pp. 216 et seq.

There are many ripe service-berries, very large!" The women hastened to the place, but Coyote hid himself. The women, seeing neither boy nor large ripe berries, returned to where they had been picking. Again he called them, and they went to the spot, without being able to find him. This was repeated four times. The fourth time he showed himself, and said, "The berries are near by, I will take you to them; but you must be very hot after walking to and fro so often; you had better take off your clothes and cool yourselves." As the women felt quite hot, and were not ashamed in the presence of a small naked boy, they took off their clothes and sat down on them. Coyote said, "While you are cooling yourselves, I will louse your heads." To this they assented; and Coyote, by lousing their heads, made them so sleepy that they eventually fell sound asleep. Then Coyote had connection with them, put on their clothes, and left them. When the women awoke, they were cold, for the sun had set. They searched for their clothes in vain, and had to go home naked<sup>1</sup> with their berries. They said, "That boy must have been Coyote."

*Coyote and his Wives.*

Coyote was living with a friend, who had a very pretty wife. He became enamored of her, and killed his friend, so that he might gain possession of her. When the woman refused to go with him, he said to her, "I have even killed my friend to gain you, then why should I spare you if you do not obey my wishes?" She became afraid and went with him. He said, "To-morrow I will hunt, that you may have fresh meat to eat." On the next morning he hunted, and in the evening returned with two fawns, — one for her, and one for himself, — but he ate them both. Then he said, "You are only my slave, and not my wife, I will seek a real wife," and killed her.

Soon afterwards he saw a man and his wife, and, after casting a spell over the man which put him to sleep, he killed him and took possession of the woman. He said to her, "To-morrow I will hunt, that you may have meat to eat." On the following morning he hunted, and brought back two fawns, which he ate himself. Now he told the woman that she was only his slave, and not his wife, and that he wanted a real wife. Then he killed her.

Again Coyote stole a wife by foul means (my informant had forgotten the exact manner in which he obtained her). He killed two fawns, which he ate himself. Then he said, "To-morrow we will shift camp;" but in the morning the woman had a swelled leg, and could not walk. Again he

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<sup>1</sup> Some say Coyote had a magpie robe, which he tore up before dressing in the women's skin clothes. The women found the feathers, and knew it must have been Coyote; others say they took the feathers and tied them in front of them; while still others say they made aprons of fir-brush.

hunted, and killed two fawns, but on the following morning the woman was still unable to walk. This happened four times; then he said to her, "You are my slave, and not my wife," and killed her.

Again Coyote got a wife by foul means, and killed her (my informant had forgotten this part of the story).

Now Coyote could find no more people, and at last made up his mind to take a corpse for his wife. He went to a graveyard and dug up the body of a woman. He opened her eyes, but they would shut again. Then he treated her as shamans treat sick people, and she moved a little. He continued to do so, and her eyes opened. He said, "There is sufficient life in her," and placed her in a sitting posture. He talked to her, and said, "I will go hunting and bring you food." He returned with two fawns, cooked them, and offered her some meat to eat. Now he made her lie down, saying, "To-morrow we will move camp." When day came, he said, "Arise, wife, we will shift camp," but she never moved. Again he said, "Make haste, wife, and arise, we must shift camp," and thus he addressed her four times, but she never moved. Now he got angry and struck her with his fist on the cheek, saying, "Thus I treat a disobedient wife." Again he struck her with his fist on the other cheek; but his hand slid off, taking off the rotten flesh, and exposing the bone.

#### 54. OLD-ONE.

In the beginning the Indians did not know anything about foreign lands, nor did they know that there were any other people in the world different from themselves. At that time there lived in the upper world<sup>1</sup> a great chief who was possessed of wonderful powers. He was an old man, and very good-hearted and wise. It is said that at that time people did not die, but that, owing to some cause not now remembered, the only son of the old chief died, and that since then people have died. One generation disappeared after another. The old chief was very sorrowful, and thought to himself, "Where has my son gone? He cannot really be dead, he has only left. He is not here. Where may he have gone to? There must be some land to which he has gone. I will seek that land and try to find him."

Then Old-One began to travel, and visited many lands. He came first to the Shuswap country, where he searched for his son. He saw that the people were very ignorant: so he taught them how to fell trees, make twine, sew clothes, make needles and awls, hunt game, trap, dig roots, and gather berries; and thus the condition of the people was much improved. He did not teach them how to catch salmon, for there were none of these in the

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<sup>1</sup> Some say in the Shuswap country.

Shuswap country: the Coyote introduced them at a later date, and taught the people how to fish for them.

After travelling all through the Shuswap country, Old-One, who was also known by the names of Spelkamu'lâx and Sēmô'mp,<sup>1</sup> disappeared. Upon his return, many years afterwards, it was learned that he had in the mean while travelled through six other lands in search of his son. He described these other lands to the Indians, who now for the first time learned that there were other countries, inhabited by beings different from themselves.

The first land he travelled through was inhabited by people who never slept as we do. When one of them fell asleep, the others thought he was dead, and buried him. He taught them<sup>1</sup> how to sleep. In the next land he visited, the men cut open the bellies of pregnant women, in this way killing the mothers while delivering the children. He taught them the natural method of delivery. Then he came to a country where the people were afraid of fish, but caught and ate frogs and toads, thinking they were fish. He taught them which were fish,<sup>2</sup> and how to catch and cook them. After that he came to a country<sup>3</sup> where people all looked alike, and where there was no proper distinction of sex.<sup>4</sup> He taught them the proper sexes. Next he arrived in a country where the people were cannibals and ate many curious kinds of food. They lived in high houses, had horses and wagons, and were divided into classes. Here he saw priests dressed in black robes, who told the people wonderful things. He taught these people not to be cannibals, and the priests were angry with him.<sup>5</sup> Finally he came to a country where the water was always warm, the sun very close to the ground, and the people were burned black. They were also cannibals, and lived in the water to escape the heat. He taught them the proper food to eat, and removed the sun farther away, so that they could live on land. He also made the water cool and refreshing.<sup>6</sup>

At last he returned to the Shuswap country, where he remained a long time. After telling the people that there was still much that was bad in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 651, 652.

<sup>2</sup> I obtained a few further details of this incident, which corresponds to the Lillooet story of the Frog people. Old-One came to a marsh where a number of men were hunting frogs. He watched them for a time; and after they had finished hunting and were going home loaded with meat and skins of frogs, he asked them what they intended to do with these. They answered, "The skins we use for clothing, and the meat we eat." He told them these things were not proper food and clothing for human beings, and said he would show them proper food. Next morning he brought some fish to their house and threw them down on a mat. When the people saw the fish, they all ran away in terror, but one old person was too decrepit to run. Old-One cooked the fish, and gave some to the cripple to eat, who, finding it good in taste, and experiencing no evil effects, helped Old-One to persuade the others to try it. Eventually they all ate of the new food, and then, feeling a disgust for the frog-meat, threw all of the latter away.

<sup>3</sup> Many Indians think that this must have been China.

<sup>4</sup> Some say the men were women, and the women men; while others assert that all were men who were addicted to sodomy.

<sup>5</sup> This is said to have been the country of the whites.

<sup>6</sup> This is said to have been the country of the negroes or of the Kanakas.

their country,<sup>1</sup> and that their lot could be improved considerably, he promised to send a great man (Coyote) to live among them, and to transform the evil features of the country, that they might live easier and happier. Then Old-One disappeared, saying he would return. Many say that he continued to travel in search of his son, and at last, after having visited every country, he went to the only remaining one, the land of the dead, where he found his son.<sup>2</sup>

#### 55. THE GOAT WOMAN.

A Goat who had his home in the high mountains visited the people, married a woman, and took her home with him. When they came to the bottom of the great cliff on top of which the Goats had their house, the woman was unable to climb it. The Goat said to her, "Your shoes are not of the right kind, I will give you good shoes for running on the cliffs, I will give you shoes of the Goat people." He then put goats' hoofs on the woman, and she became able to climb the cliffs.

In due time the woman bore a son, who grew very fast and was very clever. He begged of his parents to be taken to his grandparents, whom he was anxious to see. The Goat told his wife to take their son to her parents, and supplied them with many hoofs full of goat-meat and goat-skins. When they arrived among the people, they emptied out the hoofs; and the minute particles of goat-flesh and goat-skin that were contained in them assumed their natural proportions, and furnished the people with much meat and with skins for bedding. The woman and the Goat boy staid with the people a whole year, and then returned to the Goats. They never visited the people again, and were finally transformed into real goats.

#### 56. SKUNK AND PORCUPINE.

Porcupine saw Skunk approaching, and said to himself, "He might kill me. I will pretend I am dead." He lay down, pretending to be dead, and held in his breath. Skunk saw him, and said, "What kind of thing is this? It may be good to eat, but I am a little afraid of it. However, I will take it along, as it seems to be quite dead; and if it acts in any strange manner, I can easily let it go." He fastened a thong to one leg of Porcupine and carried him on his back. Soon Porcupine raised his quills and scratched Skunk's back. Skunk said, "That is strange!" Then Porcupine stung Skunk

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<sup>1</sup> Some say, "after telling them that many evil things would grow up."

<sup>2</sup> Some say that he remained there and became the chief of the dead. Others assert that he returned to the upper world. The story in its present form is evidently strongly influenced by Christian teachings and by the experiences of the tribe during the last century.

with his quills. Skunk dropped him and ran away, saying, "That indeed is a strange creature. He might kill me if I carried him far."

#### 57. THE WAR WITH THE SKY PEOPLE.<sup>1</sup>

Black Bear and Wolverine were great chiefs, the former of the Fish people, the latter of the Bird people. They assembled the warriors of all the fishes and birds of the earth to go on a war expedition against the people of the sky. All the men shot their arrows up towards the sky, but they fell back without hitting it. Last of all, Wren,<sup>2</sup> who was the smallest of all the birds, shot an arrow, which stuck in the sky. The next smallest bird shot an arrow, which hit the end of the first one; and thus they shot arrows; and one stuck in the end of the other, until there was a chain of arrows forming a ladder from earth to sky. On this all the warriors ascended, leaving the two chiefs to guard the bottom. Soon after all had reached the sky world, Wolverine and Black Bear began to laugh at each other's tails. Black Bear grew angry, chased Wolverine around the foot of the ladder, struck against it, and knocked it down.

Meanwhile the earth people had attacked the sky people, and at first were victorious; but afterwards the latter, gathering in great force, routed the earth people, who fled in great disorder towards the top of the ladder. By its fall their retreat was cut off; and many made a stand against the sky people, while others threw themselves down. The birds were able to reach the earth safely, for they could fly down; but many of the fishes, who tried to throw themselves into a large lake, were wounded. In their fall some missed the lake and dropped on rocks. Thus the skull of the sematsa'i came to be flattened, the kwa'ak broke its jaw, the tcoktci'tcin got a bloody mouth, and the sucker had all its bones scattered and broken, so that it died. The grandson of a man called Tceł gathered the bones, put them back into the body, and revived it. This is the reason why the sucker has now so many bones scattered through its flesh, why the sematsa'i has a flat head, the tcoktci'tcin<sup>3</sup> a red mouth, and why the mouth of the kwa'ak appears to be broken. The earth people who remained above were all slain, and transformed by the sky people into stars.

#### 58. SKUNK AND BADGER.<sup>4</sup>

Skunk and Badger lived together, with their two sons. The former said, "Our sons have been able to shoot well for a long time, and are now

<sup>1</sup> See Boas, *Indianische Sagen*, p. 17; also *Sagen der Kootenay* (Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 161-172).

<sup>2</sup> Some say Humming Bird, others Chickadee.

<sup>3</sup> The Shuswap in many parts of the country do not eat this fish.

<sup>4</sup> See Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 13.



old enough to learn to hunt. We will take them with us to-morrow when we go hunting." On the following day they took the lads out hunting; and when they found some deer, Skunk told his son to shoot them, as they were deer and the proper kind of meat to eat. Badger would not let his son shoot at them, saying, "These are not deer: they are people, and not fit for food." Soon afterwards they found some people, and Badger told his son to shoot them, saying they were deer; but Skunk would not let his son shoot at them, and told Badger he was wrong, for they were people. Badger would not believe him, however; and thenceforth when the young men hunted, the one always killed deer and ate their meat, while the other killed people and ate their pubes (skomí'ts). Almost every night the fathers quarrelled in their lodge about the propriety of killing and eating deer or men. This quarrel was taken up by their sons, who always hunted together.

One morning they went hunting, as usual, and coming to a crossing of two trails, at which they intended to separate, Skunk's son placed a small stone there, and said to his friend, "This stone will be a sign by which we shall know if the other has gone home. Whoever returns here first shall take away the stone. Then, when the other comes and sees it gone, he will know that he does not need to wait." Shortly after they had separated, Skunk's son, who was angry, returned to the cross-trails and put his guardian spirit into the stone. Towards evening Badger's son came along. The stone was still there, so he put it in his bosom, and said, "My friend will now know that I have gone home." Skunk's guardian spirit went straight into his heart, and he became violently ill. His father tried to cure him, and sucked the sickness out of his body. Then Skunk's guardian spirit entered his own heart; and soon both died.

#### 59. WATER-OUZEL AND THE GRISLY BEARS.<sup>1</sup>

Water-Ouzel<sup>2</sup> said to his grandmother, "Give me some food, grandmother. I am going to make a weir to catch salmon." His grandmother smiled, and said, "You are so small, you could not make a weir in many seasons. Even for your grandfathers, who were large, strong people, it required many days of hard work to make one." However, she gave him some food. He carried it to a creek running into the North Thompson River, and, after eating it, he lay down. He used his magic powers, and shouted, "Trees, cut yourselves down!" and at once they obeyed. Then he said, "Drag yourselves to the creek," and they obeyed. Next he ordered them to sharpen their ends, tie themselves together, and stretch themselves in position across the creek. By

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 678; also Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Some say Wren.

the time they had done all this, it was almost dark, and Water-Ouzel went home.

On the following morning he asked his grandmother for a lunch, as he was going to fix a place for drying salmon. She laughed at him, and said, "What use will that be, when you cannot catch salmon? You are so small, if you did catch one, it would run away with you." He went to the creek, lay down, and ordered the poles to cut themselves, to drag themselves down, and to stand up. At dusk the drying-frame was ready, and he returned home.

On the following morning he again asked his grandmother for some food, saying that he was going to catch salmon. When he reached the weir, he lay down and commanded the salmon to be caught, cut, and hung upon the drying-poles. At dusk he went home and informed his grandmother, who wondered very much, and on the following day went to see the fish.

There Water-Ouzel discovered that a grisly bear had eaten some of the salmon. His grandmother gave him a bow and arrow, and he lay in wait for the grisly bear. In the morning it came, and he shot it. When another bear came and ate some of the salmon, it met the fate of the first one. Thus he killed three grisly bears. The fourth one saw him, and shouted to Water-Ouzel, "Don't kill me!" Therefore he shot the arrow into the water. The grisly bear promised not to eat any more of the salmon: therefore Water-Ouzel gave the bodies of the other grisly bears to their friend, who revived them. Thenceforth the grisly bears troubled Water-Ouzel no more.

#### 60. WREN.<sup>1</sup>

Wren<sup>2</sup> met Bull-Elk, and asked him for a ride. He answered, "Jump on my back." When Wren was seated on his back, he commenced to scratch him, saying, "You have many wood-ticks, grandfather: I will pick them off for you." He had a very small knife, and stabbed Elk with it. The latter said, "You hurt me, grandchild;" but Wren answered, "I must hurt you a little, for your ticks have taken a deep hold, and are hard to pull out." Thus he continued to cut Elk, who often remonstrated, and at last fell down dead.

As Wren's knife was too small to cut up the carcass, he started for home to get a large arrowstone knife from his mother. He felt very happy, and sang as he went along, "I have killed Grandfather Elk with my little knife. He thought I scratched away his ticks. Now I have plenty of meat." Wolf<sup>3</sup> heard him singing, and knew that Wren must have killed something. She ran out and intercepted him. When they met, she asked Wren what

<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 76; Farrand, *Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Some say Chickadee.

<sup>3</sup> Some say a he-wolf, others a she-wolf.

he was singing about; and the latter answered, "I was singing about my rags hanging down." Wolf said, "You little liar, you were singing about some meat you had. If you do not tell me where it is, I will eat you." Wren asserted that he had sung about his rags, and if Wolf thought he had sung about meat, she must have misunderstood him. Wolf grew angry and swallowed Wren, who after some time emerged from her anus. Again Wolf questioned him, and Wren asserted that he had only sung of his rags. Once more Wolf swallowed him, but again Wren emerged from Wolf's anus. This happened four times. Then Wolf said, "You shall no longer escape. Next time I will chew you between my teeth before I swallow you." Now Wren told him that he had killed an elk, and revealed the place where the carcass lay, and which happened to be near Wolf's house. Wolf said, "I have a good knife, and will go and cut up the elk." Wren accompanied her; and when they reached the spot, he said, "As you cut off each piece, I will carry it to your children." Wolf agreed to this; and, as each piece was cut off, Wren carried it away. Instead of carrying it to Wolf's children, however, he took all the pieces to a ledge of a rock near by, which Wolf could not reach. When he had deposited all the good meat in the cliff, he did not return, but busied himself heating pebbles<sup>1</sup> on the ledge, with which to cook the meat, and called all the birds to a feast. Only the entrails, heart, and liver of the elk remained; and as Wren did not return to take these, Wolf went home in search of him. There she found that Wren had not taken any meat there; therefore she went to look for him, accompanied by her children. When they reached the cliff, they found Wren busy cooking the meat, and the other birds all assembled on the ledge. Wolf demanded her meat; and Wren said, "Open your mouth, and I will drop a piece down to you." Wolf opened her mouth, and Wren let drop the tripe, which was boiling hot. This burned Wolf's insides and killed her. Then Wolf's children said, "Give us the meat belonging to our mother," and Wren told them to open their mouths. They obeyed, and he dropped scraps of hot meat into each of their mouths, and thus killed them all. When the rest of the meat was cool, the birds had a great feast.

#### 61. SKUNK AND FISHER.

Two women were sent by their parents to marry Fisher, who lived in the same house with Skunk. Their friends warned them before they left, saying, "When you reach Fisher's house, you must not laugh at Skunk when he breaks wind, for that is natural to him. If you laugh at him, he will certainly take you for his wives." The women reached their destination,

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<sup>1</sup> Instead of stones of ordinary size, Wren used tiny pebbles for cooking.

while Fisher was away hunting. Skunk was splitting wood, and, as he broke wind with every blow, they could not contain their laughter. Skunk felt insulted, and threatened to kill them with his stench unless they consented to become his wives. Fisher returned home during the night, and found Skunk fast asleep, with a woman on each side. Fisher pinched the women and whispered in their ears, advising them what to do. Accordingly they arose, and put two blocks of wood in their places. Following Fisher, they went to a cliff overlooking Tcexpa'tkwaten Lake.<sup>1</sup> Skunk followed them. Seeing their reflection in the lake, he thought they were there, and discharged his obnoxious fluid on the water four times, thinking to kill them. They laughed at him from their retreat in the cliff above, and, on looking up, he saw them making faces at him. Then he felt very much ashamed, and hastened away.

#### 62. RED-HEADED WOODPECKER AND HIS WIVES.

Red-Headed Woodpecker had two wives, — the elder one, Grisly Bear; and the younger, Beaver. One day he accompanied his elder wife on a root-digging trip. He hunted all day without success, and at sunset returned to where his wife was. She said, "You are tired. Rest awhile, and I will louse your head." She caught the lice with snares, and nets like those set for woodpeckers at their holes in trees.<sup>2</sup>...

#### 63. SNA'NAZ AND SEVEN-HEADS.<sup>3</sup>

Sna'naz lived with his two brothers and his father. One day the latter sent him to buy a needle. When he had bought it, he noticed its eye. At once he filed it off with a stone, saying, "Of what use is a needle with an eye of that kind?" Before he had gone very far, he complained of the needle being too heavy. He saw two women gathering tules below the trail, stuck the needle into a stem of tule, and said to the women, "You are poor, and require a needle for sewing tule mats. Take this one."

When he arrived home, his father asked him for the needle. Sna'naz told what he had done with it, and his father became very angry. His brothers said, "Don't be angry with him, father! You know he is an idiot."

Another time his father sent him to buy fat. On his way back he complained of the fat being too heavy. He happened to see the bed of a small lake which had dried up. He said to himself, "The plants in the lake-bed look very dry and lean, they need fattening;" so he emptied all the fat among them. When he arrived home, his father asked him for the fat; and

<sup>1</sup> Pavilion Lake, in Marble Cañon. The name of the lake is taken from this incident, and appears to mean "place where some one broke wind over the water" (see Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 45).

<sup>2</sup> The rest of the story continues like the story on p. 681 of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 702. This and the following tales are derived from European folk-lore.

he answered, "I took pity on the plants in the little lake-bed, and gave them the fat, for they needed it." His father was very angry; but his brothers said, "Do not scold him, father! You know he is an idiot."

Still another time his father sent him to buy a kettle to boil meat in. He bought a four-legged iron pot, and on the way back complained of its being too heavy. He put it down and said, "Why should I carry you? You have legs of your own, and can walk." He told it to walk, and then said, "We will run;" but after running some distance, he looked behind, and saw the pot still standing where he had placed it. He returned, and said, "You are too slow. I believe you have too many legs. I will break one off, then you may be better able to run." He broke off a leg and started again; but, on looking back, he saw the pot still in the same place. He returned, broke off another leg, and thus continued until he had broken off all the legs. Then he left the pot, denouncing it as no good. His father got angry with him, as usual, and his brothers made sport of him.

Then he said to his father, "If you will give me a hunting-knife,<sup>1</sup> I will leave you, and you will not be troubled with my foolishness any more." His father granted his wish, and he left his home. He had not gone very far, before he met a girl who looked very sorrowful. He asked her where she was going; and she answered, "Alas! my father is afraid that Seven-Heads the cannibal will eat him, and therefore to pacify him he sends one of his children every year to be devoured by him. All my brothers and sisters have perished, and now my father orders me to go to Seven-Heads to meet my fate." She added further, "My father is a great chief; and to save me and himself, he has offered me in marriage as a reward to any man who will kill Seven-Heads, but all the young men are afraid." Sna'naz looked at the girl, and saw that she was very pretty, and he pitied her. He said, "I will accompany you to the cannibal's house." When they arrived, the girl hid outside while Sna'naz entered. Seven-Heads, who had a very ferocious aspect, asked the intruder what he desired; and Sna'naz answered, "I seek you." Seven-Heads answered, "It is not often that men seek me. How many mysteries do you possess?" Sna'naz said, "One only." The cannibal laughed, and said, "I possess seven. Now let us try our powers." He tried to kill Sna'naz by his shamanistic powers, but these had no effect. Then he tried to seize him; but Sna'naz struck him with his knife, cutting off one of his heads. The cannibal retired, saying, "That is enough." Sna'naz laughed, and said, "You do not seem to care for a long fight." Then he cut the tongue out of the head, went outside, and joined the girl, whom he accompanied to her house.

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<sup>1</sup> A short, heavy sword with one cutting-edge imported by the Hudson Bay Company, and used by the Indians for cutting brush, and in war. In early days the Indians had somewhat similar weapons made of stone, bone, wood, and antler.

The chief was surprised to see her return, and asked her if she had not been to Seven-Heads' house. She replied, "Yes, I was there; but he was not hungry to-day, and told me to return on the morrow."

The next day she again repaired to the cannibal's house, and Sna'naz accompanied her. She hid outside, and he entered. The monster addressed Sna'naz as on the first day, and afterwards they fought. Again Sna'naz cut off one of the heads of the cannibal, who retired. He cut out the tongue, joined the girl, and accompanied her home. Again her father questioned her; and she answered, "Seven-Heads was not hungry to-day, and told me to return to-morrow." Seven times Sna'naz accompanied the girl to the cannibal's house. Each day he cut off one of the cannibal's heads, and on the last day he killed him.

Now the chief thought, "It is very strange that Seven-Heads has not been hungry for the last seven days." Therefore he sent a slave boy to find out the reason. The slave peered into the cannibal's house, but he could neither see nor hear anything. At last he entered, and found the monster dead, with his seven heads severed from the body. Now it occurred to him that he would claim to have killed him, and that he would try to marry the chief's daughter. He put the seven heads in a sack, carried them before the chief, and told him that he had killed the cannibal. The chief examined the heads, and found that they had not all been cut off at the same time. Besides, the seven tongues were gone. Therefore he would not believe the slave. Another chief who was there said, "Ask your daughter: she may know something about the cannibal's death." He asked her, and she related the whole story truthfully. The chief inquired where the youth now was, but she did not know. Then the chief called all the young men, and ordered them to pass in front of his daughter, one after another, that she might identify the one who had vanquished Seven-Heads. They all passed by, but the girl told her father he was not among them.

Then some one said to the chief, "There is an ugly, poorly clad stranger sitting in your kitchen." The chief asked that he be brought in. When he appeared before the girl, she at once recognized him; and when he produced the seven tongues in support of her declaration, the chief accepted him as his son-in-law, and gave him his daughter and seven very valuable presents. Sna'naz had many more adventures after killing Seven-Heads, and became a wealthy chief.

#### 64. LHEPASKEN AND LEXHEKST.

The chief of a certain locality<sup>1</sup> had a very pretty daughter, with whom many men had fallen in love; but all her suitors had been killed by her

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<sup>1</sup> Some say of a foreign people.

father because they had failed to accomplish the tasks that he had imposed on them. Now, two young men,<sup>1</sup> called Lhepasken and Lexhekst, agreed that they would try to obtain the girl. They had trained until they had succeeded in obtaining great mysterious power. They knew the tasks that the chief would impose on them. Lexhekst had the wind and water as his chief protectors; while Lhepasken, who was very fleet of foot, had secured the help of the Antelope and the Buffalo. Before starting they asked for the help of the lko'kena-Duck and of the Ant, who promised to accompany and help them. They concealed the Ant and the Duck in a small basket, boarded their bark canoe, and paddled to the other side of the lake, where the chief lived.

As soon as they arrived, they repaired to the chief's house, and Lhepasken at once asked for the hand of the girl. The chief replied, "If you can vanquish me by your mysterious powers, you can have my daughter, but not otherwise. If you fail in any of the tests that I shall arrange, you will be in my power, and I will kill both of you. First of all, run a race with me."

Lhepasken made himself ready, and ran a race with the chief. After two steps he was far ahead, and lay down to sleep. The chief passed him, and yet he slept. Then Lexhekst shot an arrow at his friend, which, glancing off his cheek, awoke him. Looking around, he saw the chief far ahead; but in two bounds he passed him, and reached the goal first.

Now the chief gave Lhepasken a large basket full of very small beads of four colors, all mixed together, and told him he must sort them out and string them, each color by itself, and return them arranged before sunset. The two strangers carried the beads away, and took the Ant from their canoe, who separated and strung the beads in a very short time;<sup>2</sup> and the young men carried them back to the chief.

Now the chief took a piece of silver,<sup>3</sup> threw it far out on the deep waters of the lake, and told them to bring it back to him before sunrise the next morning. Now the men took the Duck from their canoe at dusk, and he dived for the silver. The fourth time he dived he found it, and before sunrise they took the silver to the chief. Now the chief gave them his daughter, and they embarked with her in their canoe and paddled home.

The chief was very angry because he had lost his daughter, and said to his young men, "Let us pursue them." The chief's canoe was very swift. It was of coiled basketry, and had a stone keel. It was propelled by double-bladed paddles, with a rounded blade at each end. Before long the chief

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<sup>1</sup> Many say they were brothers.

<sup>2</sup> Some say that the Spider, who was also in their canoe, spun threads for the beads, and strung them while the Ant sorted them out.

<sup>3</sup> Some say copper.

overtook the two men, and he felt sure he would kill them. Then Lexhekst raised a gale, which drove back the pursuers to the point from which they had started. When the wind fell, the chief resumed the pursuit, and before long caught up with the fugitives; but again Lexhekst caused a gale to rise behind him, which drove back the pursuers. Each gale was worse than the preceding one; and when the chief started the fourth time in pursuit, his canoe was engulfed by the waves, and he and all his crew were drowned. Lhepasken reached his home with his bride, and she afterwards bore several children to him.

#### 65. THE LADS AND THE CANNIBALS.<sup>1</sup>

A cannibal lived in a house with his wife and two daughters. One day two lads came along and wished to spend the night there. The woman told them that if they staid, her husband would eat them; but since they insisted, she hid them. When her husband came home, he said, "I smell deer." Although his wife tried to convince him that he was mistaken, he made a search, and soon found the boys. "Ah!" he said, "here are two nice deer." His wife said, "You must not eat them: they will make husbands for our daughters." The cannibal let them go, but made up his mind to kill them that night. At bed-time he put them to sleep with his daughters, giving two blankets to each couple to sleep in. He put red caps on the boys, and white caps on the girls, and made the lads lie down, one on the left side of each daughter. Some time after dark, when the girls were asleep, the lads moved to the right sides of the girls and changed the caps, putting the white ones on themselves. Soon afterwards the cannibal came in and cut off his daughters' heads with a sword; then, returning to his couch, he said, "In the morning I will have a good meal of fresh meat," for he thought he had killed the lads. At daylight he told his wife to go to his daughters' bed and bring the two deer that he had killed in the night, adding, "You must cut them up and put them in the kettle to boil." The woman went, and found her two daughters with their heads off, and the lads gone. They had taken along the blankets.

The cannibal started in pursuit, and soon overtook them. When the boys saw him coming, they threw behind them one of the blankets, which was transformed into a dense thicket, which retarded the cannibal's progress. Again he overtook them, and they threw behind them another blanket, which changed into a mass of fallen timber. The third time he caught up with them they threw another blanket behind, and it changed into a tract of rough boulders, through which their pursuer made slow progress. After he

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<sup>1</sup> See Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 93.



had passed over the bowlders, they threw the last blanket behind them, and it changed into a tract of thorny bushes. The cannibal surmounted this obstacle also, and drew near again, although he was by this time much exhausted. Then the lads hid in some tall grass. They caused the sun to shine hot, until the cannibal, who was overcome with fatigue, lay down in the shade of a tree, and soon fell fast asleep.<sup>1</sup> Now the lads stole up to him, took away his magic sword, with which he killed people; his magic cap, which gave him wonderful knowledge; and his magic shoes, which helped him to travel very fast. Thus they rendered him completely harmless. When he awoke and found his mysterious power gone, he gave up the chase and returned home.

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<sup>1</sup> Some say they threw a sleep on him.

## APPENDIX.

### NOTES ON THE CHILCOTIN INDIANS.

INTRODUCTORY. — The subjoined notes on the Chilcotin Indians were mostly gathered in the summer of 1900, when, at the direction of Dr. Boas, I visited the tribe for the purpose of making a collection of basketry and obtaining explanations of basketry designs. As the main object of my work that season was to study the Shuswap of Fraser River, I could spare only about two weeks among the Chilcotin, which time I spent in visiting several of their main camps in quest of specimens; and consequently on such a hurried trip, spent mostly in travelling, I had little opportunity of gaining very full information regarding their old-time customs. A little additional information I have gathered from time to time when on trips through the Chilcotin country, hunting large game. The old life of the tribe is already known to some extent through the researches of Father Morice and Dr. Livingston Farrand.

HABITAT. — The Chilcotin ("the people of the Chilco River")<sup>1</sup> form the extreme southern extension of the territorially connected tribes composing the main body of the Déné or Athapascan family. From the Chilcotin north to the neighborhood of the Arctic Ocean, where the Eskimo are encountered, none but Athapascan tribes are found. The tribe is called "Dentalia people" by the interior Salish, who obtained their supplies of dentalium-shells from them. Their habitat is in the central, interior of British Columbia,<sup>2</sup> from latitude 51° to 52°30' north, and between the Fraser River on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The western parts of this region towards the coast, and the southern district along Upper Bridge River, are exceedingly mountainous and rugged. There are several passes, however, leading through the Coast Range to inlets of the Pacific. Immediately east of the Coast Range, and around the head waters of the Chilcotin River, north towards the Blackwater River, the country is mostly a forested plateau of considerable altitude. Farther east and south, near the Lower Chilcotin River and towards Fraser River, the plateau, although still about four thousand feet in height, becomes in most places open and grassy, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Chilco is the native name of the Chilcotin River. The whites apply this name to the branch of it which issues from Chilco Lake only. See also Maurice, Notes on the Western Dénés (Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Session 1892-93, pp. 22, 23).

<sup>2</sup> See map, p. 450.

climate is much drier. The valley of the Chilcotin River itself is much lower than the plateaus on either side. The snowfall and rainfall, however, are not very great in any part of the Chilcotin country excepting on the high mountains.

The neighbors of the tribe on the north are their congeners, the Carrier; on the east, the Shuswap; southeast, the Lillooet; and southwest and west, a number of coast tribes, — the Sishiatl, Comox, Kwakiutl, and Bella Coola.

The Chilcotin are, or were formerly, divided into three or four septs,<sup>1</sup> of which the people of Nacoontloon<sup>2</sup> Lake seem to have formed one; the people inhabiting the district around Puntzee and Chezikut Lakes, east to Alexis Creek, another; the people south of Chilcotin River, a third; and probably those living around Tatla Lake, a fourth. At the present day the whites generally divide the tribe into three divisions, named according to their habitat, — first, the Lower Chilcotin; second, the Stone Chilcotin, or Stonies; and, third, the Stick or Upper Chilcotin. The first-named consist of three bands, originally emigrants from Nacoontloon Lake and neighborhood. One of these, called the Anahem, live in a village on the north side of the Chilcotin Valley, about eight miles west of Hanceville, where they have reserves; the second band, called the Toozeys,<sup>3</sup> live really within the Shuswap territory, on Riskie Creek, not far from Fraser River; and the remaining band have located at Alexandria, within the Carrier territory. The Stone Chilcotin make their winter headquarters on a reserve on the south side of the Chilcotin Valley, about four miles west of Hanceville. The Stick Chilcotin live in small scattered communities around Chezikut Lake, Puntzee Lake, Anahem or Nacoontloon Lake, Tatla Lake, Chilco Lake, etc. Both they and the Stonies are much more nomadic than the Anahem and other bands, and roam during the greater part of the year over their hunting-grounds to the west and south. The population of the whole tribe at the present day is probably about 550 souls. The returns of the Indian Department for 1903 give the population of the whole tribe at the present day as about that number. Of these, the Anahem band has 223 souls; the Toozey band, 63; the Stony band, 108. The number of the Alexandria band is given as 65, of whom probably about 40 or less are Chilcotin, the remainder being Carrier, Shuswap, and persons of mixed parentage. It seems that the other bands of the tribe are not under any agency, but their number is probably about 100 or slightly over. According to white and Indian

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<sup>1</sup> Father Morice (see Notes on the Western Dénés, p. 23) gives Chilcotin names for some of the present-day bands.

<sup>2</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> The names Anahem and Toozey are said to be derived from names of Chilcotin chiefs of bands. The former gives rise to several place-names; as Anahem Creek, Anahem Lake, Anahem Park, etc. Alexis Creek is also named after a Chilcotin chief who was known to the whites by that name.

testimony, the tribe at one time must have had nearly three times its present number. They were decimated by small-pox in 1862, and afterwards for many years gradually decreased. At present, most of the bands seem to be about holding their own. The Indian Department credits the Anahem band with an increase of five for the twelve months prior to their report, the Stony band is credited with an increase of two, and the Toozey band is stated to be stationary.

Until about thirty-five or forty years ago, nearly two-thirds of the whole tribe lived in the valley which skirts the eastern flanks of the Coast Range from Chilco Lake north to near the bend of Salmon River. Most of them were located in the northern part of the valley, at Anahem or Nacoontloon Lake, just east of the territory of the Bella Coola, who at that time were a numerous tribe, and had settlements far up the Bella Coola River. Smaller bands had headquarters around Chilco and Tatla Lakes, and some families wintered along Chilco and Chilanco Rivers. Other people, probably belonging to a different sept, lived farther east, at Puntzee and Chezikut Lakes, some of them occasionally wintering in the Chilcotin Valley as far east as Alexis Creek. The band now called the Stonies seem to have wintered on the south side of the Chilcotin River at points considerably farther west than their present headquarters, many of them probably on the lower part of the Chilco River. The country from a little below Hanceville, or at least all of it east of Big or Deer Creek, was looked upon strictly as Shuswap territory; and the Chilcotin never wintered within even a number of miles west of this line, for fear of attack by the Shuswap and other war-parties from the east or south. Sometimes a few of them wintered below the Chilcotin Cañon with their friends, the Cañon Division of the Shuswap, in whose houses they dwelt, and by whom they were protected. At this time, trading was carried on mostly with the Bella Coola, with whom the Chilcotin were generally on the best of terms. Their western frontier was the safest one to dwell on, for none of the coast tribes ever attacked them. The latter seldom ventured far from their homes on the seacoast or on the lower reaches of the rivers, and seem to have had a great awe of entering the forbidden and unknown fastnesses of the mountains.

About 1865 several causes led to a gradual eastward movement of the tribe. The discovery of gold on Fraser River, and the subsequent settlement of the surrounding country by whites, opened up trading facilities and industrial opportunities hitherto not existing in this quarter. It also showed the Indians the possibilities of deriving an existence from agriculture. The practical extermination by small-pox of the Shuswap bands living west of Fraser River, and the removal of the few survivors to other places, left this fine tract of country practically unoccupied except as a Shuswap hunting-ground, and gave the Chilcotin a chance to settle in a country much superior

to their own from every point of view. The introduction and enforcement of white man's laws, recognizing no Indian tribal boundaries, reduced the dangers of such settlement to a minimum; also, after the Chilcotin trouble of 1864, the British Columbia Government appears to have been anxious to induce the tribe to take up agriculture and settle in a part of the country where the influences of civilization were greater, and where they could be more easily watched and controlled. Accordingly one band, the Toozeys, were given a reserve on Riskie Creek, within Shuswap territory; and the main portion of the tribe were settled on the present Anahem reserve, west of Hanceville. Later a reserve was laid off for the Stony band, where they now make their winter headquarters; and a small body that had encroached on Carrier territory settled in the Fraser Valley near Alexandria, where they could engage in agriculture under more favorable conditions. Thus, by 1870 or thereabouts, Nacoontloon Lake had become practically deserted.

About this time, or later, the Indians of Chezikut and Puntzee Lakes also became restless, and many of them settled in the main Chilcotin Valley, near the mouth of Alexis Creek, where they could farm to better advantage. Eventually they were turned away from this place by the Government; and I believe a reserve has now been laid out for them at Redstone Flats, much farther west, on one of the trails to Tatla Lake. Probably not over one-fifth of the tribe now live in their old habitat; and some of them have of late years occupied part of the old territory of the Bella Coola, spending a large part of their time in the upper Bella Coola Valley. Here they have small plots of potatoes and catch salmon, the high plateau of their own country being too cold for the successful cultivation of potatoes, which vegetable at the present day very few Indians care to be without. Since the Chilcotin have learned that white men's laws allow the hunting of game in every place, and since the partial depletion of game in their own country, they have hunted extensively in Shuswap territory, just west of Fraser River, from Churn Creek down to Watson Bar Creek. This has engendered much ill feeling among the Shuswap and whites of that locality, as these inroads have had the effect of reducing the game to a very great extent.

I have failed to obtain from the Chilcotin any tradition of a migration of their people to the southeast or to the Nicola-Similkameen region, where a small tribe, rather closely related linguistically to the Chilcotin, formerly lived.

Until forty years ago the Chilcotin had more frequent intercourse with the Bella Coola than any other tribe. They also had considerable intercourse with the Shuswap of Chilcotin Cañon, and with the nearest bands of Carrier inhabiting the country, from the Salmon River east to the sources of the Blackwater. These people belong to the sept of the Lower Carrier called Nutca'tenne by Father Morice.<sup>1</sup> The tribe also had some intercourse with the Comox

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<sup>1</sup> See Notes on the Western Dénés, p. 25.

and Kwakiutl of the coast, and with the Lillooet. Intermarriage was rather frequent with the upper bands of the Bella Coola, and not infrequent with the above-mentioned Nutca'tenne, especially with those living at Klooshkis Lake and Elkatsho, the latter of whom were themselves much mixed with Bella Coola.<sup>1</sup> Intermarriage with the Bella Coola seems to have been fairly common in this region when Mackenzie passed through in 1793.<sup>2</sup> Also at one time many intermarriages took place with the Shuswap of the Cañon, who, in 1855 are said to have been nearly half Chilcotin in blood. Intermarriage with other tribes than those above mentioned appears to have been rather rare. A very few marriages with the Lillooet are on record, and women of that tribe have occasionally been held as slaves by Chilcotin to whom they bore children. Simon Fraser, in 1808, mentions seeing a Chilcotin, probably a slave, living among the Lillooet.<sup>3</sup> He says, "Here we became acquainted with a man of the Chilcotin tribe, who had left his own country when a boy, but still retained a little of the mother tongue." The Chilcotin also had slave women occasionally from various coast peoples, and no doubt some of them would leave descendants in the tribe.

At the present day there is hardly any intermarriage with other tribes. Some of the people settled at Alexandria have intermarried with Carrier of that place and with Shuswap, and there continue to be occasional marriages with the Klooshkis Lake people. The amount of mixture with whites has been very slight, and very few half-breeds are met with. Before white women immigrated, the pioneer settlers of the Chilcotin region had wives mostly from the Shuswap and Lillooet tribes. There has been no intermarriage with negroes and Chinese.

The Chilcotin had a bad reputation at one time, and were noted as a rather turbulent and roguish people, inclined to take advantage of strangers, and hard to deal with. There is no doubt they were of a bolder and more restless disposition than the Carrier. Like the latter, they are very receptive, but until very lately were not considered so progressive, honest, cleanly, and industrious as the Shuswap. The Chilcotin language is most closely related to that of the Lower Carrier.

MANUFACTURES. — Knives, spear-points, arrow-heads, and adzes were made of stone chipped and flaked in the same manner as among the Carrier, Shuswap, and other tribes. The most common stones used were basalt and obsidian. Chert and glassy basalt, similar to the common arrowstone of the Shuswap, was procured from the neighborhood of Puntzee Lake; and dark gray and black obsidian were obtained from Anahem Peak and vicinity, northwest of Nacoontloon Lake, where it occurs *in situ* as well as scattered

<sup>1</sup> See Notes on the Western Dénés, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See Journal of a Voyage, etc., p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> See Voyages from Montreal, etc., p. 279.

around in boulders. Adzes are hafted in the same way as among the Shuswap. Stakes in weirs are sometimes driven with stones lashed with withes to short wooden handles. Trees were felled with chisels of caribou and elk antler driven with hand-hammers of stone, which resembled the common types found among the Shuswap and Thompson Indians. Another type of Chilcotin hammer-stone has been described by Father Morice.<sup>1</sup> Skin-scrapers of stone and bone, similar to those of the Shuswap, are used; and the whole process of tanning and dressing skins appears to be the same in both tribes.

The Chilcotin use at their camps large cylindrical baskets of black-pine and spruce bark for soaking skins in. They are roughly stitched with wallup, and range from 80 cm. to 100 cm. in height, and about the same in diameter.<sup>2</sup>



Fig. 258 ( $\frac{8\frac{1}{2}}{25}$ ). Birch-Bark Basket. Height, 21.5 cm.

The beams or scraping-posts and frames used in dressing skins are the same as those found among the Shuswap, and the manner of wringing and smoking is also the same. After the skin is entirely freed of flesh and hair, it is soaked in water with soap or with birch-leaves. Before stretching on the frame, four thin rods are inserted through slits in the edges of the skin, and the lashing is fastened to these instead of to the skin itself or to a cord, as is the usual method of the Thompson Indians.

Dressed skins were frequently dyed with alder-bark, and are still so treated occasionally. Utensils were seldom painted. Berry-juices and the fruit of *Chenopodium capitatum* were used as dyes and stains. Alder-bark was most commonly used as a dye, and wolf-moss (*Evernia vulpina*) was also sometimes used. Quills and horsehair for ornamentation were frequently dyed.

**BASKETRY.** — Great numbers of birch-bark vessels of superior workmanship were made. All the types of baskets and trays in use among the Shuswap and Carrier<sup>3</sup> were in vogue, and most kinds are still made in considerable numbers. The rims of birch-bark baskets are often ornamented with stitches or wrappings of wallup, cherry-bark, and swan and goose quills cut open and flattened. Dyed horsehair and silk do not appear to be used for this purpose, as among the Shuswap. Pictographs and designs, such as the net, mountain, snake, and arrow-head patterns, are sometimes incised on the sides of baskets (Fig. 258).

<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 496.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 477 et seq., 496 et seq.

Baskets woven of spruce-root are also made of the coiled type, similar in manufacture to those of the Shuswap and Lillooet, although inferior in regularity of stitch to the best workmanship of the latter tribe. This may be accounted for, perhaps, by the difference of material; the Lillooet using cedar-roots, which are straighter and split more evenly than spruce-roots.

The Chilcotin woven baskets differ considerably in size. They are very much alike in shape. Most of them are somewhat rectangular in cross-section, but so much rounded that no sharp edges are formed. Among the specimens here illustrated, only Figs. 260-262 have somewhat sharper edges. Almost all of them are a little higher on the short ends than in the middle of the wide ends, like some birch-bark baskets. The last coil is always finished off near one of the rounded corners, after having been carried along the short side. The only exception to this rule is shown in Fig. 262, in which the end is placed on the short side a little distance beyond where the last coil has turned the corner. The greater height of the ends seems to be due to the greater thickness of the coils at the short ends. The coiling is done very evenly, as was described in discussing the Shuswap baskets.<sup>1</sup> All baskets are provided with a strengthening-hoop of willow, — in some cases of wire, — which is stitched on on the outside a little below the rim. A few baskets have two hoops instead of one. No baskets with flat coils of split sap-wood, like those of the Lillooet,<sup>2</sup> are made.

The method of ornamentation is the same as that applied by the Klickitat, Lower Thompson, and Lillooet. It is done essentially by imbrication, the material used being grass-stems and cherry-bark in their natural colors. It is worth remarking that the bottom of a few baskets shows the characteristic ornamentation of some coiled basketry of the Lillooet, grass being woven in under the stitches. This mode of ornamentation occurs, for instance, at the bottom of the baskets shown in Figs. 261, 263, 265, and 266.

The arrangement of the ornamentation is quite characteristic of the Chilcotin baskets. It has been pointed out before<sup>3</sup> that the Thompson River baskets are treated as a single ornamental field, while most of the Lillooet baskets have the ornamentation confined to the upper part of the basket. All Chilcotin baskets are divided into four fields, — an upper and a lower imbricated band, which run all round the basket under the hoop, and which are divided by a field the background of which is not imbricated, although it sometimes bears some designs in lighter color. Only in one specimen (Fig. 269) is this middle field also covered with imbrication in white grass. The hoop is sewed on over one or two coils, which are left without ornamentation; and the part of the basket above the hoop forms the fourth narrow band.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 205, 206, of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 206.



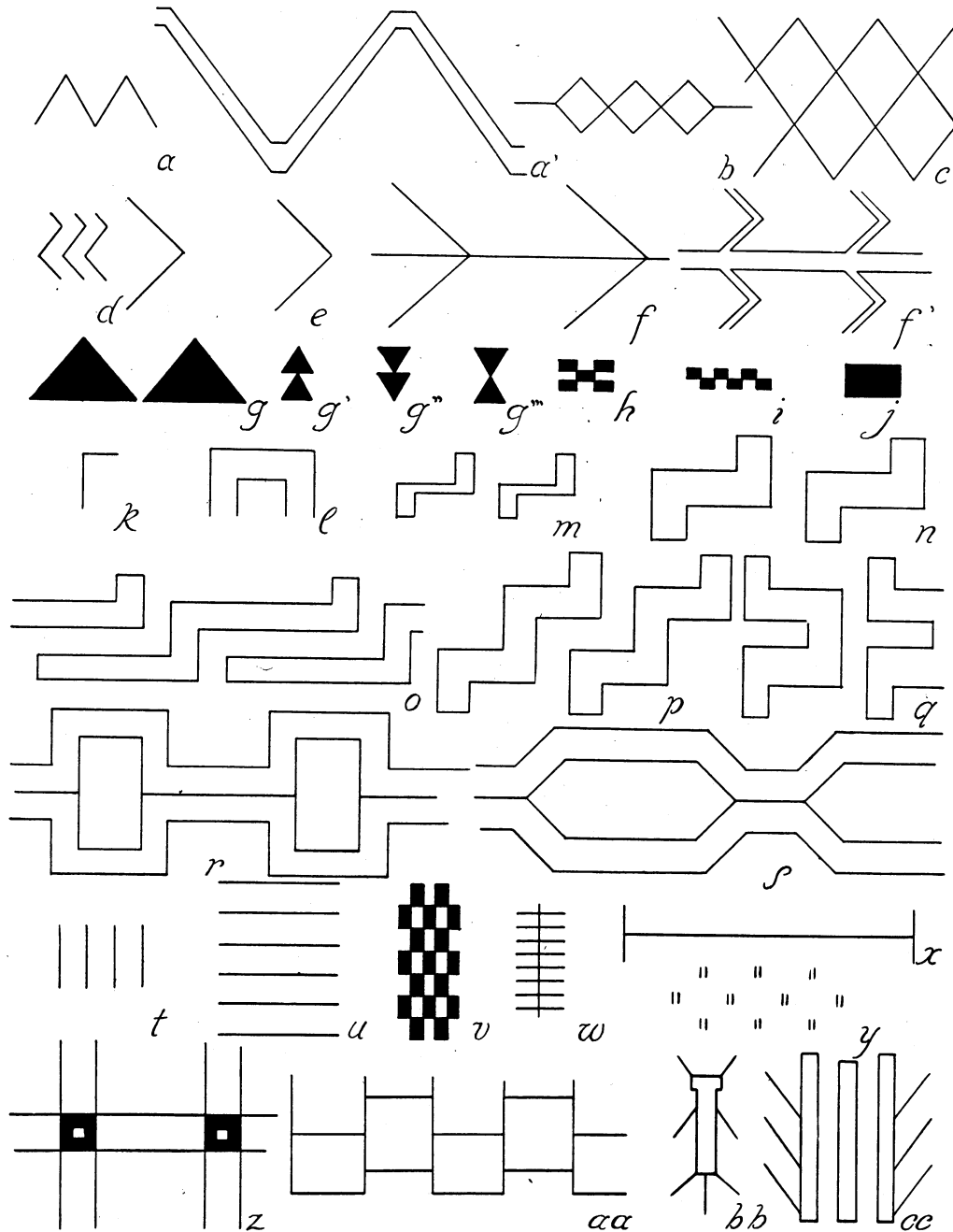


Fig. 259. Designs on Chilcotin Baskets.

*a, a'*, Snake or snake-fence. Probably the former significance of this design was snake or mountains; *b*, Lakes and streams; *c*, Net; *d*, Fish-ribs; *e*, Ribs; *f, f'*, Ribs and backbone; *g, g', g'', g'''*, Arrow-heads; *h*, Beaver; *i*, Meaning unknown; *j*, Playing-card. The former significance of this design was probably a stone; *k*, Maker's mark, representing horse-brand; *l*, Not explained; *m*, Ducks; *n*, Beaver-trails; *o*, Unexplained; *p*, Mountains or snakes; *q*, Sacks; *r*, Unexplained; *s*, Lakes and streams; *t*, Ribs of mammals; *u*, Ribs or fish; *v*, Beaver-tails; *w*, Backbone of fish; *x*, Unexplained; *y*, Unexplained; *z*, Beaver-trails; *aa*, Stones; *bb*, Mink; *cc*, Tree.

The designs are nearly all geometric; and style, interpretation, and form differ considerably from those used by the Lillooet and Thompson. Fig. 259 contains a series of the most characteristic designs.

[The designs of the four bands are not necessarily related. In some cases, as in Figs. 264 and 269, the four fields show each a distinct pattern; while in others the first and third bands from below may be identical or symmetrical, as in Figs. 262 and 266. An examination of the designs shows clearly that the fundamental endeavor of the maker is to arrange the patterns in bands and to have the pattern in each band occupy exactly the same number of coils. This accounts for the peculiar distortions that may be observed, for instance, in Fig. 260. Similar distortions occur in almost all

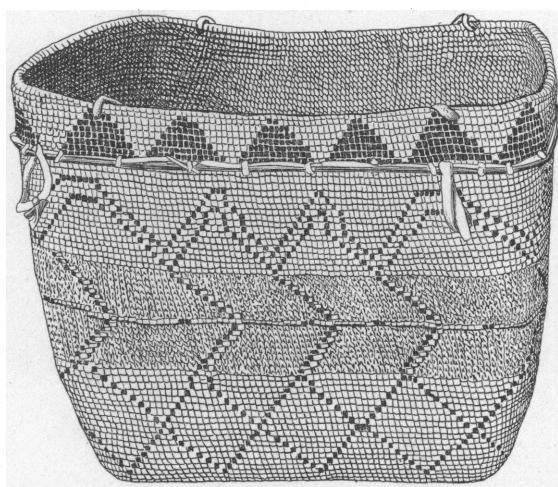


Fig. 260 ( $\frac{3}{8} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8}$ ). Coiled Basket. Chilcotin. Height, 26 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, net design; 2d row, ribs or ribs and backbone; 3d row, snake or snake-fence; top row, arrow-heads.

the other specimens. A close examination of the baskets will show that the points of intersection of the diagonal lines and the apices and bases of triangles fall always on the same coils. It seems that in every case the making of the design is begun in the lower left-hand corner of one of the long sides, just under the point where the lowest coil terminates.

In Fig. 260 the method of work can be followed out in considerable detail. After having completed two coils imbricated in white, the maker must have planned the

lower ornamental band to be seventeen coils wide, and the distances of the first stitches were taken accordingly approximately at fifteen units. When the distance was not correctly taken, this necessitated irregularities in the diagonal lines or an addition of connecting dark stitches where the diagonals did not cross on the proper coil. On the corners these difficulties were considerably increased on account of the larger number of additional stitches required by the widening of the basket. The difficulties of adjustment that present themselves in the top row of the lowest band were overcome in the same manner. The middle band, the diagonal lines of which were carried up as continuations of the lines of the lowest band, presented no difficulties. When the maker began the third ornamental band, she intended to continue her diagonal lines in the double zigzag band of the third row. She seems to have seen very soon that this led into difficulties on account of the short distances between the three diagonals on the middle of the long side, which on the opposite side of the basket were even nearer together than on the

front; and for this reason it would seem that the attempt to correlate the zigzag bands of the third row with slanting lines of the middle band could not be carried out, and was given up; for this reason the designs on these two bands run quite independently. The irregularity of the distances between the diagonal lines of the middle band, and the necessity of keeping the top of the zigzag band on the same coil, necessitated the peculiar irregularities shown in Fig. 260.

The attempt to adjust the design to the number of stitches and coils of the basket can also easily be traced in Fig. 261. After seven coils of plain white imbrication, the meandric pattern of the lowest band begins, and is carried around the basket fairly regularly until the place is nearly reached where the first ornamented coil ends. In the illustration this place is on the



Fig. 261 ( $\frac{816}{8888}$ ). Coiled basket. Chilcotin. Height, 24 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, sacks; 2d row, no design; 3d row, arrow-heads; top row, ducks.

right-hand side of the back of the basket, where the meandric bands become much more condensed. While on the faces of the basket there are two white stitches between the dark lines at the corners where the width of the basket increases, the number of these lines increases upwards from two to three. The middle band is entirely undecorated. The triangles on the third band are all one stitch apart until the end of the first coil is reached, which is begun on the back of the basket on the right-hand side.

The triangles did not come out right, and, in order to adjust the band, the basal width of the last triangles is very much increased, their sides are flattened so as not to increase the number of coils occupied by them, and finally a space of eight white stitches is left between. Great irregularities also occur in the angles of the top row, which cannot be explained by technical considerations.

The basket shown in Fig. 262 has the outer four rows of the bottom decorated with interwoven grass, as is common in Lillooet basketry. The three lowest rows on the sides are treated in the same way. The imbrication begins at the right-hand front corner. In the first imbricated row every fourteenth stitch, and farther on every thirteenth stitch, is dark; while the others are white. These were evidently intended to begin the net design. When, however, the first coil was completed, it was found that the distance between the last dark point and the first one was not sufficient. Furthermore, the imbrication in the beginning is made with a very narrow strip of grass and bark, and does not completely cover the coil. Presumably for these

reasons the maker discarded the first stitch and closed her net design entirely independently in the next coil; so that in the basket as it appears at present a number of dark stitches at equal intervals appear quite independently of the net design. The fourth of these stitches coincides with the proper position of the lower corner of a net-mesh; and from there on, the stitches are used in the net design. It will be noticed that the net design shows very strong distortion at the points of intersection where the maker did not succeed in bringing the intersections together properly. The "arrow-point" designs alternate in the lower row in the form of two triangles, one suspended from the other, and of two triangles, one standing on top of the other, while in the third band from below a number of triangles are found turned tip to tip and forming hourglass-shaped designs. There seems to be no regularity in their distribution.

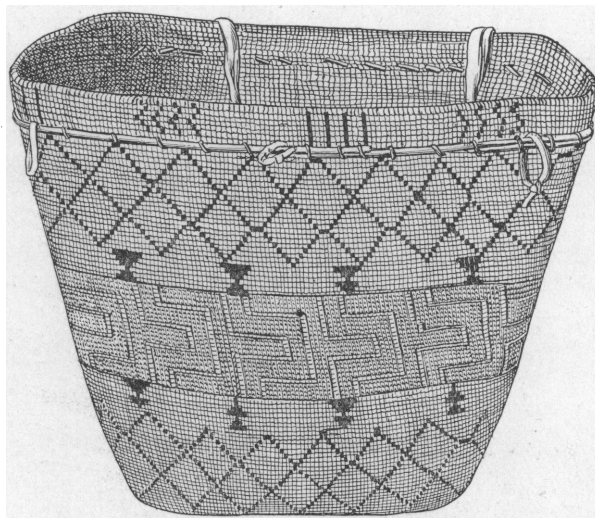


Fig. 262 ( $\frac{16}{8808}$ ). Coiled Basket. Chilcotin. Height, 39 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, net design surmounted by arrow-head design; 2d row, sacks; 3d row, arrow-heads under net design; top row, ribs (the straight lines are called ribs of mammals; the zigzag lines, fish-ribs).



Fig. 263 ( $\frac{16}{8884}$ ). Coiled Basket. Chilcotin. Height, 28 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, nets, and minks or fishers between the nets, surmounted by a row of beavers represented by black stitches; 2d row, beaver-trails, beavers, and nets; 3d row, snake-fence; top row either arrow-heads or private mark of maker.

under the mink, fourteen stitches to the right another dark stitch, and eight stitches farther to the right again a dark stitch, each in the middle of a net-

The design of the basket shown in Fig. 263 is very complicated. It would seem that here also the maker attempted to lay out the places for the minks and nets by dots placed in the lowest ornamented coil. Beginning with the first ornamental stitch in the lower left-hand corner of the illustration, we find this stitch immediately

mesh. Fourteen stitches farther to the right is again a dark stitch under the mink; but from this point on the regularity of the placing of these stitches is lost, and the general impression that the specimen conveys is, that the maker did not succeed in laying out the plan properly, but proceeded independently of the first stitches in the laying-out of the design when she once began to make the figures. The whole basket is surrounded by five minks alternating with five nets. In the top row the effort may be observed again to keep the zigzag lines exactly between the same coils. In the lowest coil of the top band appear also a number of dark stitches, apparently unrelated to the design, which give the impression that a mistake had also been made in laying out the general design.

In the basket illustrated in Fig. 264 the ornamentation begins at the right-hand back lower corner with two dark stitches, forming the basis of

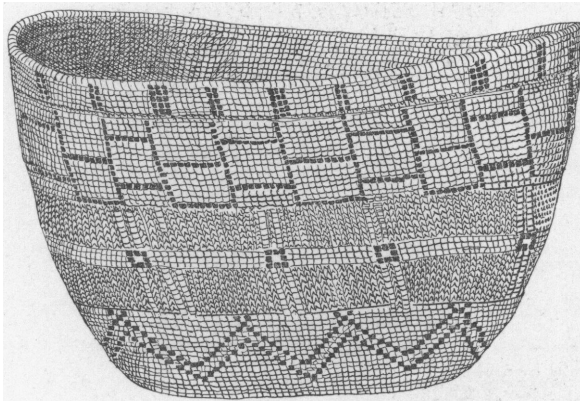


Fig. 264 ( $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{2}$ ). Coiled Basket. Chilcotin. Height, 22 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, mountains, snake or snake-fence; 2d row, beaver-trails; 3d row, stones; top row, ribs or fish-bones.

the zigzag line, and between twelve and fourteen stitches apart. After passing around the basket and reaching the right-hand front corner, the maker evidently did not see her way clear to fill this space regularly with two zigzags, and put in one zigzag line with broad flat head, which occupies the whole short side of the basket. Perhaps the attempt to make the short side appear symmetrical was a further inducement for using this method of ornamentation. In consequence of this arrangement

the single dark stitch which was introduced in the lowest coil came to be so near the first stitch, that in the next coil it could not be fitted into the design, and occupies now quite an irregular position. Attention may also be called to the single points at the apices of the zigzag line, which, wherever the top is flattened, retain their relative position and are not carried on as a continuation of the upper diagonal lines. A very peculiar feature of the basket is the irregularity in the middle band which is shown on the left-hand side, and which must be intentional, since it is carried out by imbrication. The bars in the top band begin regularly as two-stitch bars, while on the back three and two stitch bars alternate quite irregularly.

In Fig. 265 attention may be called to the peculiar breaks in the line design at the upper part of the lower band. The illustration shows two of these breaks, while on the opposite side of the basket there is another break towards the right-hand side. The break in the upper line, which will

be seen on the left-hand side of the illustration, is due to the overlapping of the coils.

The basket shown in Fig. 266 has a number of peculiarities, in that the zigzag lines are not as strictly limited by the same coils as in all the other baskets. In the present specimen the design begins on the right-hand lower side on the back of the basket, and is carried around at regular intervals. The zigzag lines, instead of having distorted angles, are continued with considerable regularity, and terminate accordingly at different levels, the apex of the lowest being four coils under the apex of the highest triangle. Similar irregularities are repeated on the upper zigzag line, although they are not so marked there.

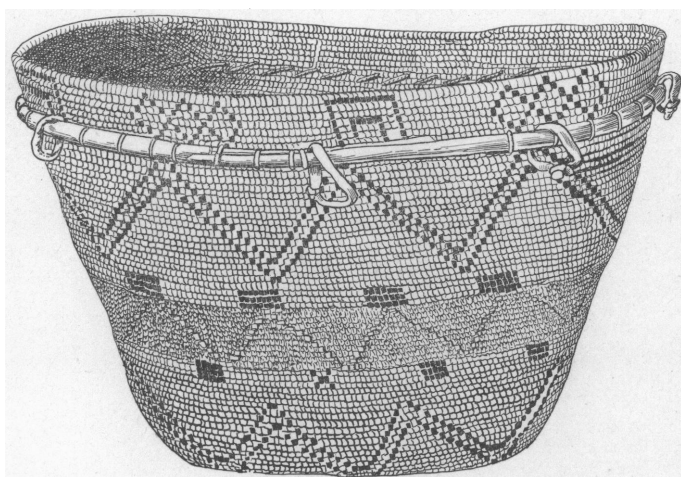


Fig. 266 ( $\frac{16}{8885}$ ). Coiled Basket. Chilcotin. Height, 58 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, snake-fence surmounted by cards represented by black squares, and beaver or beaver-tail represented by diagonal cross; 2d row, snake-fence; 3d row, snake-fence over cards; top row, unexplained. The middle part of the 3d row on the opposite side of the basket, containing the maker's mark in the form of a right angle, is shown in Fig. 271.

line coincide with them. On the other hand, the squares in the upper border have been placed accurately over the apices of the zigzag line. The border

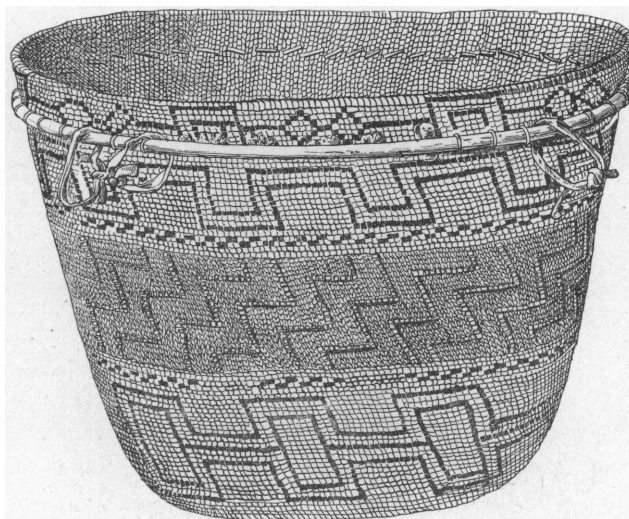


Fig. 265 ( $\frac{16}{8884}$ ). Coiled Basket. Chilcotin. Height, 30 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, uncertain; 2d row, mountains or snakes; 3d row, meander line, sacks; top row, interpreted by some people as lakes and streams, claimed by others to be identical with the lowest row.

The squares and crosses at the upper border of the lowest ornamental row alternate regularly on the back of the basket, while at the right-hand side of the illustration three black squares are followed by two crosses. The distances between these crosses and squares are fairly regular; but the maker has not made any attempt to correlate the zigzag line in the middle unimbricated part of the basket with these designs, probably on account of the difficulty of making a regular zigzag





begins, like all the others, at the point shown on the left-hand side of Fig. 268. After having carried the design around the basket, the maker found the distance from the last double cross to the beginning of the design too long, and therefore inserted two single crosses. The oblong designs in the third row show also considerable irregularity. The distances between the three bars in the upper border are long on the long sides of the basket, short on the short sides.

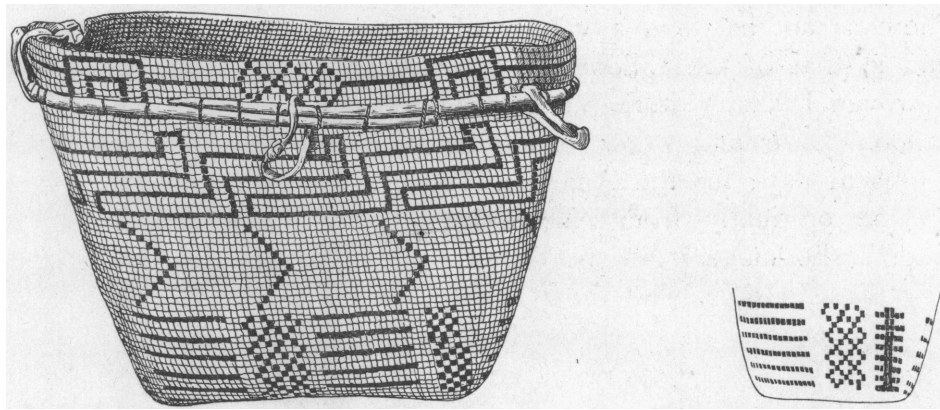


Fig. 269 ( $\frac{18}{8805}$ ). Coiled basket. Chilcotin. Height, 23 cm. Designs (from bottom upward): lowest row, ribs or fish, represented by straight horizontal lines; between the ribs, beaver-tails; the single design on the short end stated by some to be backbone of a fish; 2d row, ribs; 3d row, unknown; top row, the same as in Fig. 265.

Fig. 269 differs from all the other baskets in having the whole middle decorative field imbricated. The lowest border does not show a regular alternation of the bar and checker design, but has on one short side the arrangement shown in the illustration; while on the opposite side there are two bar designs and a design consisting of a central double line with spurs on each side, which also occurs on the opposite short side. The lengths of the single elements of the band design in the third field from the bottom of this basket are quite irregular.

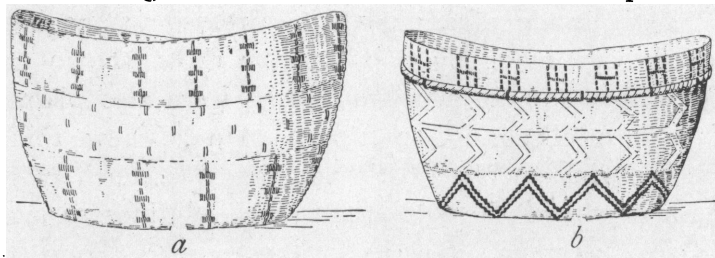


Fig. 270. Sketches of Chilcotin Baskets. *a*, Designs on bottom and top band, probably ribs; middle strip unimbricated, decorated with white grass. *b*, Design on lowest band, snake-track; on unimbricated band, rib design; over the hoop, probably maker's mark.

Fig. 270 represents two baskets which Mr.

Teit saw among the Indians at Chizikut Lake. Both differ in style from all the other baskets, — the former in not having the narrow ornamental band over the hoop; the other in having only one imbricated band under the hoop, the middle unimbricated band reaching right up to the hoop. — EDITOR.

It is said that the designs on basketry of the Chilco Lake band are, or



were until very recently, all realistic, and not geometric, most of them being representations of animals. The only basket I ever saw from there was of the ordinary Chilcotin type, with pictures of horses and dogs all around it. Another basket I saw at the mouth of the Chilco was covered entirely with a design exactly like that of Fig. 4, Plate XXII, in Vol. I of this series, and is the only one of its kind I ever saw in the tribe. The Indians did not know where it had been made. It had changed hands several times, but I think it must have been of Salish manufacture.

There is not as great a variety of design in Chilcotin basketry as is to be found in that of the Lillooet or Thompson. The people who make most of the woven basketry were the Stonies and the Chezikut Lake band. The Nacoontloon Lake and other bands made hardly any, and this holds good at the present day; for the Anahem, Tooze, and Alexandria bands, most of whom came originally from Nacoontloon Lake, make very little basketry. The chief basket-makers are the Stony band, with headquarters at the Stony Reserve; the Chezikut band, now mostly located at the Redstone Flats; and



Fig. 271 ( $\frac{16}{8885}$ ). Maker's Mark.

some families around Chilco Lake. Many basket-weavers have private marks on their baskets; in several cases these are copies of the horse-brands of their husbands (Fig. 271; see also Fig. 270, *b*).

Mats, generally of small size, are made by the Chilcotin, although it is said that they were never used so extensively as among the Shuswap. They were made of elæagnus-bark or of rushes, and on rare occasions of cedar-bark. Tent-mats were not made. The manner of weaving was the same as that used by the Thompson Indians.<sup>1</sup> According to Father Morice, the Carrier and Sekanai did not make mats.<sup>2</sup>

Bags made of animal skins dressed in the hair were very common; and woven bags made by twining, like those shown in Fig. 131, *i* (p. 189), and Figs. 149, 150 (p. 202), of Vol. I, were also plentiful. The latter were made of rushes, elæagnus-bark, bark twine, sinew thread, and spun goat's-wool. The weaving in the goat's-wool bags is much closer than that of the others. Some bags had the warp and woof of different materials, such as bark thread and wool thread, and bark and sinew. Some bags were woven of rushes in checker weaving. A specimen in the Museum ( $\frac{16}{8885}$ ) seems to have been made in the following way. The woof-strands were bent over in the middle and hung over a batten. Over each warp-strand the end of a woof-strand was tied in next to the batten by twining first on one side, then on the other; and then woof and warp were interwoven as diagonal checker-work.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 131, *e* and *f* (p. 189), and Fig. 133 (p. 191).

<sup>2</sup> See Notes on the Western Dénés, p. 157.

The width of the bag decreases somewhat towards the opening. The loose ends of the warp and woof, about three inches from the opening of the bag, were turned down and held together by twining. The mouth of the bag is formed by a strip of skin, which is sewed on to the twined portion. The bottom is strengthened by sewing a piece of skin or cloth on the outer side.

Ornamentation of bags at the present day is generally done by working in colored yarn bought from the whites; but formerly strands of varying natural tints, or others dyed with berries, were used in bark bags, as in Figs. 149, 150, of Vol. I. Threads of goat's-wool dyed were wrought in for ornament in wool bags, or strands of the same were introduced in bark bags in the same manner as bought yarn is used now.

One woollen bag ( $\frac{16}{8310}$ ) is made in very close twining. The background is white, on which a band ornamentation in black, red, and yellow is applied. The unornamented bands are made in two-ply twining over single threads, while the ornamented bands are made in twilled two-ply twining, in which two strands of the warp are used in the twilling. Vertical-bar patterns are made in this way by twining the same colors around the same pairs of warp-strands. Diagonal lines are made by alternating the pairs of warp-strands which are twined together. Zigzag lines are made by using in the upper half of the pattern the diagonal mode of twining just described, while in the lower half the same pairs of warp-strands are twined together in such a way that the successive lines form a checker-work of colors.

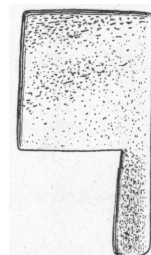


Fig. 272 ( $\frac{16}{8310}$ ). Mesh-Stick.  
Length, 7 cm.

Thread and twine were made from fibre of nettle, *elæagnus*-bark, and sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as the caribou, elk, and deer. Hemp-bark was obtained occasionally from the Shuswap and Lillooet.

Awls were generally made from the fibula of the bear, caribou, and deer. Blankets of goat's-wool were woven probably in the manner described by Father Morice;<sup>1</sup> and other blankets, woven of twisted strips of rabbit-skins and of lynx-skins,<sup>2</sup> are still made and used a good deal. Belts and tump-lines of yarn are made. Nets for fishing-purposes were made of bark twine of varying thickness, the size of mesh being regulated with a mesh-stick (Fig. 272).

HOUSES AND FURNISHINGS. — The winter dwellings of many families, especially in the eastern part of the country, were underground houses, built exactly like those of the Shuswap. They were seldom of very large size, and some of them were made very small to accommodate single families only. It seems, however, that the majority of the tribe never adopted the

<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Western Dénés, pp. 156 and 157.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Fig. 131, g, p. 189.

underground house, but lived in square and oblong lodges made of logs or poles, and roofed with bark or brush. Most of these were earth-covered, excepting the gables, which were generally filled in with bark and brush. Mats were sometimes used as dust-coverings, although old skins were perhaps more common. In the summer-time, bark lodges similar to those of the Shuswap were used by some families; but perhaps the majority of the people, in the fair season and when on hunting-trips, were content with simple shelters of bark or brush, open on one side. It appears that conical lodges were not made, nor were mats and skins used as lodge coverings. It is said that some of the people around Nacoontloon Lake or northwest of there had adopted a plank house with bark roof, after the style of those used by some of the Carrier.<sup>1</sup> At the present day the tribe lives in log-cabins roofed with shakes, bark, or earth; and in the summer or when travelling they use tents of cotton drilling. However, some of the Stone and Stick Chilcotin use shelters only, as in the olden time. Caches under ground and on scaffolds were similar to those of the Shuswap. Sometimes they were made

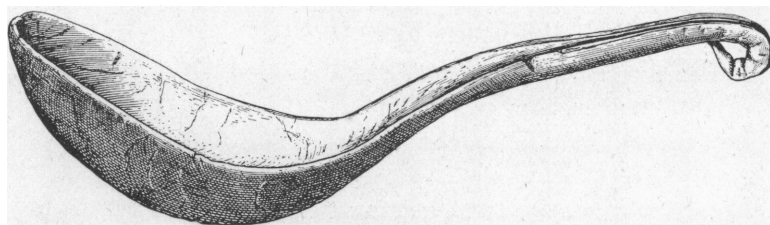


Fig. 273 (1885). Horn Spoon. Length, 46 cm.

on trees, or of logs built on the ground. Sweat-houses were of the same type as those of the Shuswap. The Chilcotin, however, never sweat-bathed to the same extent as the Shuswap.

Household utensils included birch-bark and woven baskets used for the same purposes as among other adjoining tribes. No circular baskets were used for boiling food in, as among the Shuswap, Thompson Indians, and Lillooet. Oblong and "nut"-shaped baskets with lids were not made or used. In the extreme western part of the country, small wooden boxes, probably procured from the Bella Coola, were sometimes used. Bags and wallets of skin and woven material, already described, were much in use. The larger bags were almost invariably of skin. It seems that many kinds of bags found among the Shuswap were unknown to the Chilcotin, such as those shown in Figs. 149, 150, and 151, pp. 202, 203, of Vol. I. Floors of lodges were strewn with the small ends of fir and balsam branches, and occasionally with grass or rushes. Mats were used for eating from, and bedding consisted entirely of skins and robes.

Mortars were not made or used. Cups were made of birch-bark. Trays for holding fish were generally made of birch-bark; but wooden ones, like

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Chap. XI.

those of the Bella Coola, were occasionally used in the western part of the country. Spoons were mostly of mountain-sheep horn (Fig. 273). Some were very large and oval, with short handles; and others, smaller and round, with longer handles. Some wooden spoons were also used.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS. — The most common dress of the Chilcotin men consisted of moccasins, long leggings, breech-cloth, belt, robe, and cap. Shirts were seldom worn except by women. The common dress of the latter consisted of moccasins, short leggings, kilt, robe, and head-band or cap. Younger and wealthy women often substituted a long buckskin shirt for the kilt. Caps and head-bands worn by men were made of various animal skins dressed in the hair. Some caps had the animal's ears and sometimes the tail attached. Head-bands were not ornamented lavishly with feathers, as among the Shuswap and Thompson. Cedar-bark head-bands were sometimes used in dances. Caps and head-bands of women were generally made of caribou-skin. Leggings were of dressed caribou and buckskin, sometimes dyed red and fringed. Moccasins were also of dressed caribou and buckskins, made in two styles without trailers. One kind had cross-cut toe and a tongue-piece, generally square. The other style was like Fig. 170, p. 210, of Vol. I. In the winter-time, double moccasins were often used, the inside ones of softened caribou or other skin worn hair-side in.

Trousers, or combined trousers and breech-cloths, were sometimes used. Breech-cloths consisted of a rather wide piece of dressed caribou or buckskin cut short, and without fringes. Some were made of skins dressed with or without the hair. Kilts were generally made of dressed caribou-skin fringed, or of marmot-skin and various furs. Capes and ponchos of cedar-bark were used by a few people in the western part of the country, probably in wet weather only. Robes were in universal use, and worn by both sexes, from the youngest to the oldest. The most common kinds were of marmot-skins sewed together, and of woven rabbit-skins. Woven lynx-skin robes were also common, and woven goat's-hair blankets like those of the Lillooet were in use. Dressed beaver-skins sewed together were also much used before the advent of the white fur-traders. It seems that coats, jackets, and vests or half-shirts, of skin, were seldom or never worn. Clothing was not painted, and was seldom ornamented to any great extent. Moccasins and leggings were occasionally embroidered with quills; and tassels of dyed goat's-wool were sometimes attached to belts, leggings, and women's shirts. Women's caps and head-bands were frequently embroidered with dentalia.

Ear-ornaments of dentalia were much used, and generally attached to holes bored around the helix, as illustrated by Father Morice.<sup>1</sup> Nose-

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<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 156.

ornaments of dentalia, with tufts of the red-headed woodpecker's scalp, were similar to those used by the Shuswap and Carrier.<sup>1</sup> Nose-rods and nose-rings of copper were also used by some. Abelone-shells procured from the coast were occasionally used as ear-ornaments and as pendants to necklaces. The latter were made of dentalium-shells strung on thongs, and were much in use. Some men wore necklaces of grisly-bear claws, beaver-claws, and wolf's teeth. In later days, colored glass beads were much used. Labrets were unknown. Combs were cut out of a single piece of birch-wood or juniper-wood, and sometimes had incised patterns on them (Fig. 274). Tweezers were made

of two pieces of caribou-antler tied at one end with sinew, or of copper in a single piece. No doubt they were similar to those used by the Carrier<sup>2</sup> and Shuswap.

Women generally dressed their hair in two braids, the ends of which they tied at the back. Young people wore their hair loose or tied in a knot at the ear. Some people cut their hair across the brow, and many men cut theirs across the neck. There seems to have been less attention paid to the hair, and there were fewer styles of dressing it, than among the Shuswap and Thompson Indians. At the present day most Chilcotin take much less care of the hair than the Carrier and Shuswap, and many of the Stonies seem but seldom even to wash their faces. There seems also to have been less variety in face-painting than among the Shuswap and Thompson tribe. Red paint was that most used, and was obtained from the Shuswap and Bella Coöla.

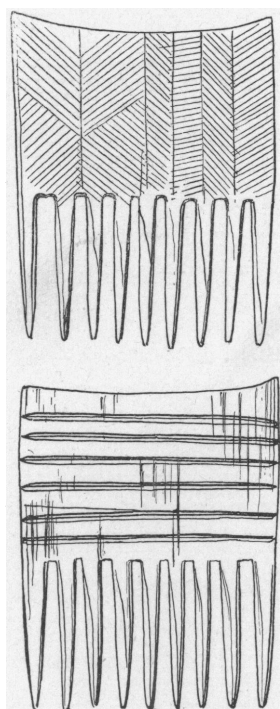


Fig. 274 ( $\frac{18}{83\frac{1}{2}}$ ). Comb, front and back views. Width, 75 mm.

Tattooing was very common, especially among females, and was done with charcoal at the age of puberty. I failed to obtain any explanation of several designs of face-tattooing that I observed among the tribe. One man had a pair of horizontal lines tattooed close to each corner of the mouth. Another one had a line running from one ear over the bridge of the nose to the other ear, and also two divergent lines running from the under lip over the chin, beginning approximately at the canine teeth. A third man had two parallel horizontal lines close together on each cheek-bone. A woman had a cross like a multiplication-sign on each cheek-bone, and three almost parallel lines close together running downward and outward from each corner of the mouth. Another one had two crosses like multiplication-signs on each cheek-bone, —

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Figs. 124 and 125.

one just in front of the ear; the other a little farther forward, towards the nose. A more complicated design used by a woman consisted of three vertical lines close together rising on the forehead over the nose. Two sets of three lines ran down over the cheeks from under the eyes towards the angles of the lower jaw, ending in about the middle of the cheek. A set of three slightly divergent lines ran outward from each corner of the mouth, and three parallel lines close together ran down the chin from the under lip. Another woman had a design similar to the one just described. There were the same three lines on the forehead. In addition to these, there were two short horizontal lines close together across the nose from eye to eye, which were continued from the outer corners of the eyes horizontally over the temples towards the ears. At each corner of the mouth there were two sets, each consisting of three nearly parallel lines, one set rising from the mouth towards the ear, the other one sloping outward and downward. Both sets were rather short. A pair of divergent lines ran down from under the lower lip at the point of the canine teeth over the chin. One woman had a simple horizontal line across the chin. Another one had a set of seven lines distributed over the chin from one corner of the mouth to the other, all beginning at the lower lip. The same woman had four bands tattooed over the back of her wrist. Her face was painted red, the whole cheek to a point near the nose being daubed over with ochre, the eyebrows and the strip connecting the two eyebrows being painted in the same way.

SUBSISTENCE. — The main food-supply of the Chilcotin consisted of fish, game, roots, and berries, as among other tribes. Some salmon were caught and cured by them, but the bulk of their supply was procured from the Bella Coola and the Shuswap. Bag-nets were not much used in olden times, but at the present day are extensively in use along the main Chilcotin River. They are of the same kind as those of the Shuswap. Weirs and traps are employed for catching salmon about the mouth of the Chilco River. Trout and small fish were caught in great numbers with large nets and traps set in the streams and lakes. Nearly all the kinds of fish-traps used by the Carrier and Shuswap were also utilized by the Chilcotin. Fish-spears were not used so much as among the Lillooet and some other tribes. They had two or three prongs, like those commonly used by the Shuswap.<sup>1</sup> It seems that single-pronged spears were not used. The tips of fish-spears were made of bone, antler, or copper. Fish-hooks were like those of the Carrier<sup>2</sup> and Shuswap. When fishing through holes in the ice, small decoys in the form of fish-fry, made of bone or caribou-antler, were used, as among those tribes. A Chilcotin specimen in the collections of the Museum is very rudely carved,

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I of this series, Figs. 231, 232, pp. 251, 252.

<sup>2</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Figs. 59, 60.

with a slight notch indicating the mouth of the fish, and a flattened tail with a notch. There is a slit in the back; and apparently the decoy was tied to the fish-line, being wound around with sinew or thread passing through this notch. The principal method of catching fish at the present day is by trapping.

Roots are dug and cooked in the same manner as among the Shuswap. They do not form as large a part of the food-supply as among the Thompson Indians, for instance; nor are edible roots found in such variety as in the country of the latter tribe. Root-diggers are made of service-berry wood and of caribou-antler (see Fig. 234, p. 513). No root-digger handles of mountain-

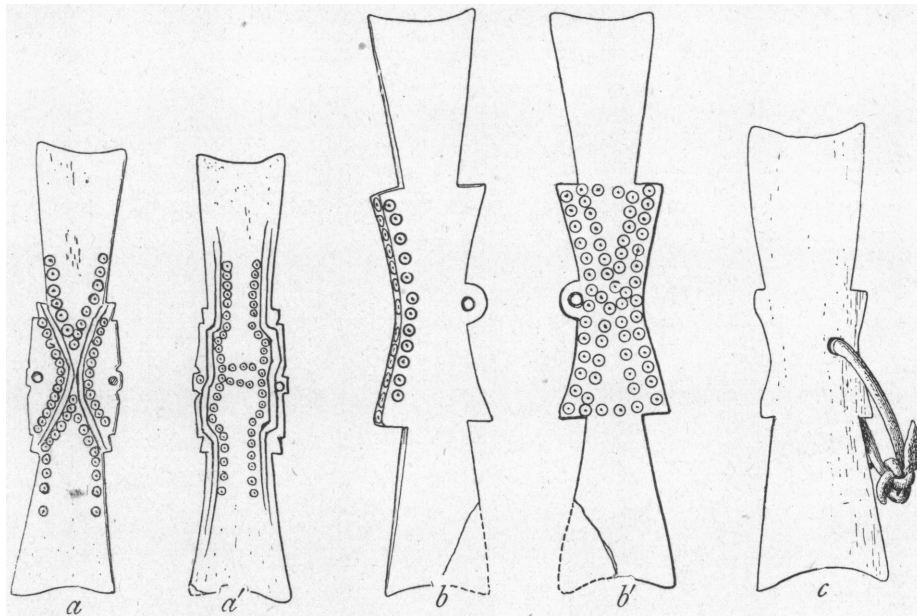


Fig. 275, *aa'* (T881), *bb'* (T883), *c* (8824). Sap-Scrapers. *a'*, *b'*, back views.  $\frac{2}{3}$  nat size.

sheep horn were used. Woven baskets were most employed for gathering roots, and birch-bark baskets for berrying. The roots of the following plants were used as food: *Claytonia* sp., hog-fennel (*Peucedanum macrocarpum*), *Lilium Columbianum*, wild onion (*Allium* sp.), *Erythronium grandiflorum*, Indian rice (*Fritillaria lanceolata*), fern-root. Several other kinds are also used, but I had no chance to identify them. The principal fruits gathered were service-berries and soap-berries, both of which were cured in the same manner as among the Shuswap. Large quantities of these berries were dried in cakes and sold to the Bella Coola. Frames for drying berries, similar to that shown in Fig. 215, p. 235, of Vol. I of this series, were sometimes used. Bark trays (see Fig. 206, p. 482) were used for collecting soap-berries, the branch being shaken above them. Most other berries indigenous to the country were eaten, such as two or three kinds of cranberries, two or three varieties of blueberries, raspberries, strawberries, black currants, wild cherries,

bear-berries, and also the fruit of *Chenopodium macrocarpum*. The growing shoots of the cow-parsnip and the fireweed or willow-herb are peeled and eaten as among the Shuswap. The cambium layer of the black pine is much relished. Sap-scrapers used for gathering it were made of caribou-antler, and were usually double-ended (Fig. 275). Many of them were ornamented with incised lines, circles, etc. Bark-peelers of caribou-antler were also used (see Fig. 235, *a*, *b*, p. 516). Black moss was also utilized as food.<sup>1</sup>

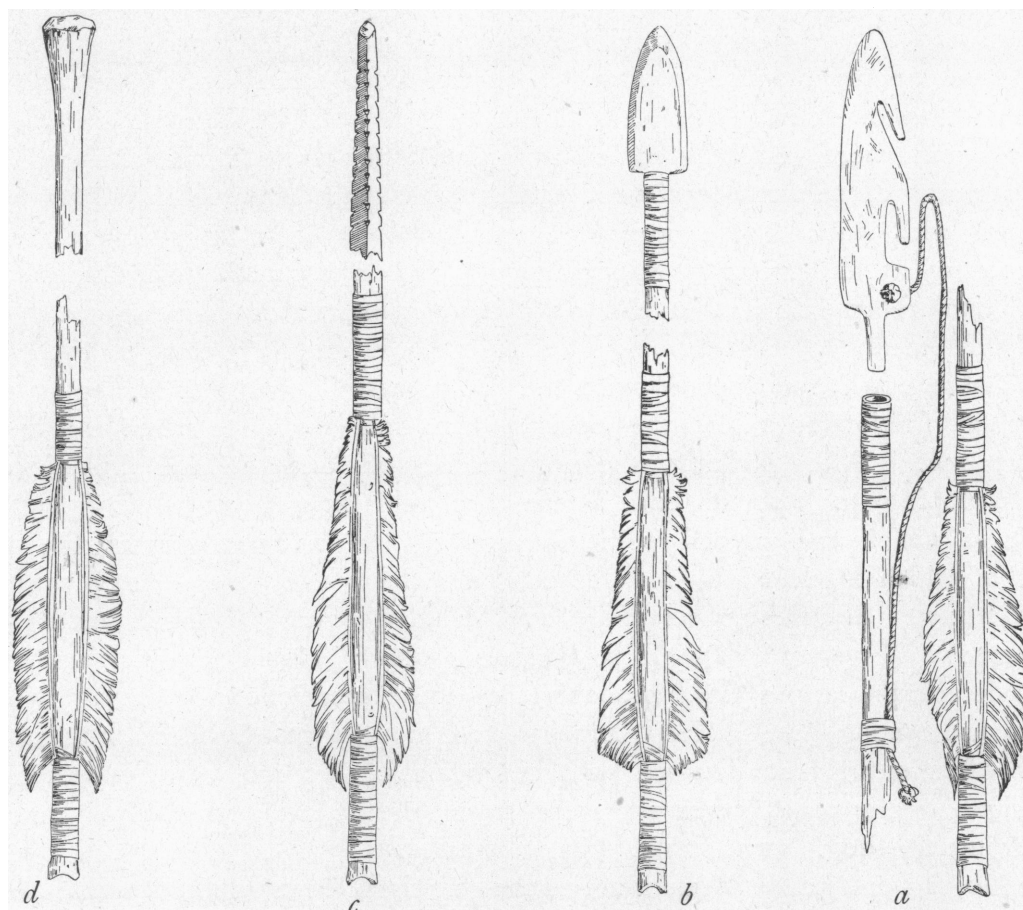


Fig. 276. Arrows. *a* ( $\frac{16}{8848}$ ), *b* ( $\frac{16}{8849}$ ), Rabbit-arrows; *c* ( $\frac{16}{8851}$ ), Squirrel-arrow; *d* ( $\frac{16}{8850}$ ), Bird-arrow. Total lengths, 64 cm., 61 cm., 56 cm., 59 cm.

The Chilcotin were great hunters and trappers, and the Stone and Stick Chilcotin still continue to depend largely on hunting and trapping for a living. Large game was very plentiful formerly, and wild fowl were numerous in most of the lakes. Anahem and Chezikut Lakes especially, still teem with ducks and geese in the fall, and swans and pelicans are not uncommon.

<sup>1</sup> An account of some of the roots, etc., used by the Chilcotin, and the tribal names for the lunar months, are given by Father Morice in his Notes on the Western Dénés, pp. 106, 116.



Grouse of seven or more varieties were plentiful. The Stick Chilcotin hunt caribou, marmots, goats, and bears; the Stone Chilcotin hunt deer, sheep, marmots, and goats; while the rest of the tribe hunt principally deer. Occasionally some of the Anahem band go northwest in the fall, and hunt caribou in the Itcha Range and in the Caribou Hills. As among the Carrier, the meat of rabbits formed a not unimportant part of the food-supply of most bands.

Bows were made of juniper-wood, and were strung with sinew. They were of the same length as the "flat bows" of the Shuswap, and similar in shape: and all the best ones had sinew glued on the back to a considerable thickness. Some practice-bows and boys' bows had strings of twisted caribou-hide instead of sinew.

Arrows were generally somewhat shorter than those of the Shuswap, and were made of service-berry wood tipped with stone and antler. They were winged with duck, goose, and grouse feathers. Practice-arrows were merely sharpened at the point. Rabbit-arrows (Fig. 276, *a*, *b*) had antler tips. The one represented in *a* has a barbed point, which is attached to the shaft by means of a wrapping of sinew. The line by means of which the detachable point is connected with the shaft passes under this wrapping with sufficient friction to allow the point to be held in place when the line is drawn taut. After striking, the point comes off, and the line slips through the wrapping to near its end, where it is held by a knot. The tip of the shaft in which the barbed point is inserted has a deep groove, the open side of which is closed by a flattened quill, the whole being firmly wrapped with sinew. Squirrel-arrows (Fig. 276, *c*) had square, notched heads; and bird-arrows (Fig. 276, *d*), thick, rounded, blunt points. Some war-arrows had detachable antler tips,<sup>1</sup> probably like those mentioned by Father Morice as in use among the Carrier. Arrows were not poisoned. Bows and arrows were often entirely stained red with berry-juices. No arrows with detachable foreshafts were used. Quivers\* were made of the skins of various animals, including the dog, fawn, fisher, and wolverene.

Dogs were used in hunting, some of them being specially trained for bear, beaver, deer, and other animals. Probably all the kinds of traps employed by the Carrier were also used by the Chilcotin. Snaring of rabbits and muskrats was a woman's occupation, the men giving attention to the capture of larger animals, such as the beaver, otter, marten, and bear. Two or three kinds of rabbit-snares were used.

TRAVEL AND TRADE. — The canoes used by the Chilcotin were formerly of bark, most of them probably the same in type as those of the Carrier.<sup>2</sup> It seems, however, that two or three styles were found, one of them

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 114.

approximating to the "sturgeon-nose" canoe used by the Shuswap. Canoes roughly dug out of balsam-poplar trees<sup>1</sup> were made use of; and after the introduction of steel axes, these and log rafts entirely displaced the old types of bark canoes.

The Chilcotin frequently bridged streams of considerable size with constructions on the cantilever principle. As among other tribes, goods were transported on the back with tump-lines. Most of these were made of dressed skin, but some were woven of goat-wool and bark thread, and others of *elæagnus*-bark (Fig. 277).

Dogs were used for packing, as among the Shuswap and Carrier, and were also employed in the winter-time for drawing sleds. The latter were practically the same as those still used by the Carrier. Snowshoes were much used, and were of two or three types, similar to those of the Carrier.<sup>2</sup> The ground sticks were generally of mountain-maple wood; and the fillings, of caribou babiche. Webbed walking-sticks like those of the Carrier<sup>3</sup> and Shuswap were also used in the winter-time.

Horses were introduced at a much later date than among the Shuswap, and probably not before 1870 had they become common.

At the present day the eastern bands of the Chilcotin are well supplied with horses, and the Anahem Indians do much teaming for the whites.

Trade was carried on chiefly with the Bella Coola and the Cañon division of the Shuswap. From the former the tribe procured principally dried salmon, salmon and olachen oil, dentalium and abalone shells, paint, some copper, a few goat-wool blankets, a little cedar-bark, and occasionally cedar-wood boxes and dishes. In later days they also received some iron and iron tools. In exchange they gave cakes of service-berries, cakes of soap-berries, snowshoes, dressed caribou and deer skins, goat-skins, and furs. From the Shuswap the tribe obtained dried salmon, said to be superior to that procured from the Bella Coola, salmon-oil, red paint, deer and elk skins, some bark thread, and in later days tobacco and horses; also part of the Chilcotin supply of copper and iron seems to have been obtained from the Shuswap. They gave the latter in return dentalium-shells, goat's-wool blankets, woven rabbit and lynx skin blankets, dressed caribou-skin, raw marmot-skins. With

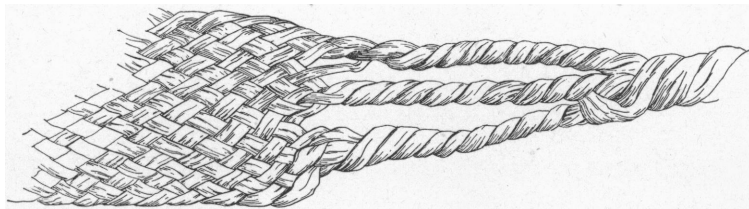


Fig. 277 ( $\frac{18}{8814}$ ). Tump-Line. Width of middle piece, 65 mm.

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, Notes on the Western Dénés, Fig. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Figs. 141, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Fig. 144.

the Carrier and Lillooet the tribe seems to have traded very little. They had four routes to the coast south of Bella Coola, leading to Knight Inlet, Bute Inlet, Toba Inlet, and Jervis Inlet respectively. The last of these, however, was seldom used; and, on the whole, comparatively little trading was carried on with the tribes occupying these inlets, who seem to have been suspicious of the Chilcotin, whom they considered guilty of sometimes murdering their hunters and stealing women.

The Chilcotin appear to have procured their first articles of white man's manufacture from the Bella Coola, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. After the establishment of trading-posts in the Carrier country in the early part of the nineteenth century, they procured many things through the Carrier, and at a somewhat later date also through the Shuswap. About the middle of the last century they had a sub-trading post of the Hudson Bay Company in their midst for several years. It was located on the north bank of the Chilcotin River, a little above the mouth of the Chilco.

WARFARE. — In warfare large expeditions appear to have been the exception. To judge from tradition, most wars were waged with the Carrier of Fraser and Nechaco Rivers; and in these fights the Chilcotin claim that they generally were victorious, although the enemy sometimes retaliated with varying success. There are traditions of the Chilcotin attacking the Carrier of Alexandria twice; and Father Morice mentions their war of about 1745, when they practically exterminated the inhabitants of the Carrier village of Chinlac at the mouth of Stuart River.<sup>1</sup> There is also a tradition of their attacking and burning a village of the Coast Indians on one of the inlets south of Bella Coola, when they killed many people and took a large number of slaves.

It seems that the tribe never fought with the Bella Coola, and their fighting with the Lillooet and Shuswap consisted principally of affrays between hunting-parties. The Carrier of Fraser and Nechaco Rivers, the Shuswap, and on one occasion the Lillooet, appear to have been the only tribes who ever attacked the Chilcotin. The Coast Indians never did. About 1748 a large number of Chilcotin were killed by the Carrier in revenge for the Chinlac massacre.<sup>1</sup>

On a little flat below a cliff on the north side of the Chilcotin River, a little east of the mouth of the Chilco, may be seen a number of boulders, which, according to tradition, are the transformed bodies of Alexandria warriors who strayed over the cliff in the dark while on the way to attack a camp of Chilcotin who lived in the vicinity.

In 1864 trouble started with the whites, some members of the tribe having an idea that the latter had purposely sent the small-pox among them

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<sup>1</sup> See Morice, *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, pp. 15—19.

to kill them off. However, this in itself would probably not have led to hostilities, which, in reality, were precipitated by a party of white men engaged in making a road at the head of Bute Inlet, intended to be continued across the Chilcotin plateau to Alexandria. According to report, some of the men commenced to bother the women of a party of Chilcotin who were camped near there at the time, and their cook is said to have thrown some boiling water on a boy who had gotten into the habit of hanging around the camp. The following night the Chilcotin attacked the camp, killing fourteen out of the seventeen men; while the others, although wounded, managed to escape. After this they captured a pack-train which crossed their country, killed all the men except one, and committed other depredations. The Government sent a military expedition to punish them, which, after losing one of their scouts and being unable to inflict any punishment on the Indians, at last enticed a small band of them to lay down their arms under a promise of pardon, which promise they at once disregarded and hung five of them to satisfy justice.<sup>1</sup>

In war, besides bows and arrows and daggers, the Chilcotin used spears with stone and antler points, and clubs with stone heads, like those of the Shuswap. In later days, arrow and spear heads and knives were made of iron. Cuirasses of wood, and thick elk-hide shirts, were worn by some warriors. I did not hear of any forts or fortified camps being in use.

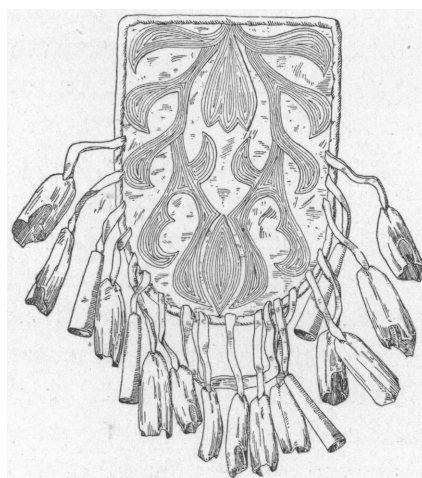


Fig. 278 (8818). Knuckle-Cover for Game of Leha'l. Width, 6 cm.

GAMES AND PASTIMES. — Like all the neighboring Indian tribes, the Chilcotin were fond of gambling, and had various games of chance, some of which they are still fond of playing. One of their favorite games was leha'l, which they played in the same way as the Shuswap. The bones used were generally larger than among the latter. Knuckle-covers (Fig. 278) similar to those of the Shuswap were worn in playing the game. Some of these had beaver-claws attached to make a rattling noise. It is said that parties of Chilcotin have been known to become so engrossed and fascinated with this game, that they have left a dead relative unburied for several days while they engaged in it. Other games in vogue were the gambling-stick game and the beaver-tooth dice game.<sup>1</sup>

Signs were left at camps and on trails similar to those used by the

<sup>1</sup> See Morice, *History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, pp. 307—313.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, pp. 272, 273.

Carrier and Shuswap; but I did not hear of any sign language, although it seems likely that a certain number of signs have been or may even yet be in use.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. — From the assertion of the Shuswap, and from what little information I managed to gather from the Chilcotin themselves, it appears certain that the tribe was organized in a manner similar to that of the Coast tribes. They seem to have had three classes, — nobles, common people, and slaves. A clan system also prevailed, and there are traces of numerous societies. These are probably the same as the honorific totems spoken of by Father Morice as occurring among the Carrier, or similar to them. It seems that the child belonged to both the father's and the mother's families. The societies and groups of the Shuswap, which have been described before,<sup>1</sup> were quite similar to the corresponding groups among the Chilcotin from which tribe these customs were borrowed. It seems probable that part, at least, of the organization of the Chilcotin, was not borrowed directly from the coast, but rather from the Carrier, who obtained it from the Tsimshian tribes of Skeena River.

The Raven seems to have been a strong clan among the Chilcotin. Nobles took their rank according to the amount of wealth they were able to distribute at potlatches. If one man gave a greater potlatch than another, he ranked higher, and the same seems to have been true of clans. As among the western Shuswap, the clans gave no explanation of their origin in traditions, and thus there are no clan traditions in Chilcotin mythology. Father Morice states the same to be true of the Carrier clans, and further says that the system had not been borrowed in its entirety by all the Carrier at the time of the arrival of the first whites.<sup>2</sup> This agrees with the statements of the Shuswap regarding the comparatively recent introduction of the system among them.

It seems that some bands of the tribe had hereditary chiefs, and others had none.

It is said that the Chilcotin did not smoke at one time; but, at least as early as the beginning of the last century, some of them had adopted the custom from the Shuswap, from whom they sometimes procured wild tobacco and pipes. They also procured pipe-stone themselves from the banks of the Chilcotin River below Hanceville, and fashioned therefrom pipes<sup>3</sup> like those of the Shuswap. Some of them were ornamented with incised patterns. One of these in the collections of the Museum is similar to the one shown in Fig. 306, Vol. I of this series, except that the bowl has more nearly the form of a Dutch clay pipe. Along the rim and down the middle line in the

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 575 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> See Morice, *Carrier Sociology*, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> See also Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, Figs. 1, 2.

front and back of the bowl is a chevron design representing ribs (the same as the chevron design in Fig. 308, *b*, of Vol. I). The stem end of the pipe is provided with a simple brass ferrule. At the present day smoking is indulged in a good deal by both sexes, wooden pipes bought at stores being used, and white man's tobacco, which is generally used without kinnikinnik.

Drums and rattles were formerly used at dances.

Carved posts from six to twelve feet in height were erected in front of some of the houses at the old Nacoontloon village, and in a few other places. They were carved to represent human and animal figures, and very likely were totem-poles or representations of the clan totem.

CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, DEATH. — The Chilcotin cradle was, and is still, made of willow-wands or sapling firs woven with spruce-root into a form somewhat resembling the common birch-bark carriers of the Shuswap. The

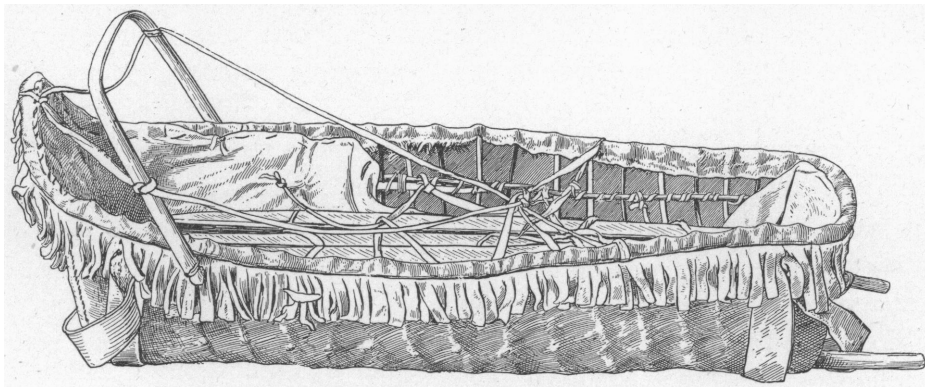


Fig. 279 ( $\frac{88\frac{1}{2}}{41}$ ). Cradle. Length, 63 cm.

whole framework was covered on the outside with dressed caribou or buckskin, sometimes dyed red. Canvas or cloth is often used instead at the present day. The cradle is provided with a hoop like that of the Shuswap baby-carrier, on which designs are sometimes incised, burned, or painted. A removable frame, made of sticks tied together, a piece of bark, or a board, is placed in the bottom of the cradle. Most cradles are also provided with birch-bark conduits to run off moisture from the infant. These conduits are generally closely stitched with spruce-root at the end to be placed next the child, in the manner of rims of birch-bark baskets. Tin conduits are sometimes used at the present day. Birch-bark carriers like those of the Shuswap were used by a very few of the Chilcotin. The head part of the cradle terminates in a point.

Both boys and girls had to go through a certain amount of training at the age of puberty, conforming largely to that customary among the Shuswap. Girls were secluded at this time, and had to wear masks of fir-brush when they travelled abroad. They also carried wipers of bark, drinking-tubes of

swan-bone, single or double pointed scratchers of bone or wood, and small combs of bone or wood, all of which they wore on a string around the neck. It seems that bone whistles were not used. Tattooing and boring of the ears were generally performed at puberty.

Pubescent lads wore head-bands of cedar-bark. Women lived apart during their periods of menstruation. A person's body was buried wherever the death occurred, and no attempt seems to have been made until of recent years to collect the dead in graveyards. A rude log-fence was generally erected around the grave; and some of the deceased's property was sacrificed by being buried with the corpse or placed on the grave. Short poles were also sometimes erected. Frequently, instead of a log-fence, logs were placed alongside of each other on the grave, so as to cover it completely, or brush and stones were heaped over it. If a person died in the winter-time, the body was buried in the snow, and a pile of brush was heaped on the top. Occasionally bodies of wealthy or influential persons were burned, as among the Carrier. When a noble died, his clan gave a large funeral feast, and distributed part or all of his property, afterwards erecting a carved pole or mortuary column at his grave, which was generally rudely carved to represent the totem of the clan to which he belonged. A very few graves were covered with boxes or small houses of wood, as was the custom of some of the Carrier.

RELIGION. — What scant information I was able to obtain regarding the religious conceptions of the Chilcotin, seems to show that they were much influenced by their neighbors. Some idea of their beliefs may be gathered from their mythology, the bulk of which has been collected by Dr. Livingston Farrand.<sup>1</sup> Their mythological tales, however, show much evidence of borrowing from the Coast tribes and from the Shuswap. The earth and its inhabitants were given their present form partly by transformers such as *Iendix'tcux*, and the Raven. Fire, water, and daylight were stolen from other people who possessed them, and then liberated. Thunder is a bird with large wings. Giants and cannibals are said to have inhabited the country formerly. The stars are transformed beings. The land of shades is said by some to be on an island in the west. It was believed by some that the spirit land was divided up, each clan — or perhaps sept — having its special place in it. It seems that the Ghost dance of the Shuswap had penetrated to the eastern bands of the Chilcotin, who held dances occasionally after the Shuswap style. Many of the people wore head-bands, belts, and necklaces of cedar-bark, as the Coast Indians do in most dances. It appears, however, that this dance had not been fully adopted by the tribe, nor did they understand the proper meaning of it, as there seems to have been no belief in the return of the souls to earth, nor was there any conception of

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, Part I, of this series.

the deity called by the Shuswap the "Chief of the Dead," or the "Old One." Prayers were probably offered more to animals as guardian spirits than to natural phenomena.

Skulls of bears were invariably elevated on poles.

All the men of the tribe had guardian spirits, which they obtained in the same manner as among the neighboring interior tribes. These seem

to have been hereditary in some cases. One man informed me that the Raven had been a guardian spirit in his family for three generations.

Men, when going to war, generally painted their faces half black and half red. When a warrior killed an enemy, he blackened his whole face.

I did not hear of any war ceremonies or dances, as among the Thompson Indians.

The Chilcotin believe in ghosts; but I obtained no particulars regarding them, excepting that they were like dead people. Shamanism flourished, patients being treated in a manner similar to that of the Shuswap. Some shamans used rattles like those of the Coast tribes. There were several women shamans. Witchcraft was believed in strongly. At the present day shamanism is hardly believed in, although it has not disappeared to such an extent as among the Shuswap.

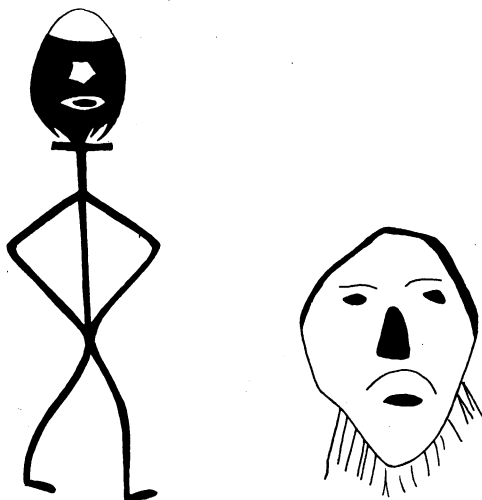


Fig. 281. Carvings on Trees in Anahem Lake.  
a, Height, about 160 cm.; b, Height, about 60 cm.

Most members of the tribe are nominally Catholics, but they do not appear to be imbued with Christianity to the same extent as the Shuswap and Carrier. This may be accounted for by the fact that the last-named tribes have had Catholic missionaries resident among them for many years, whereas the Chilcotin are only visited once or twice annually. There are three or four small churches in the tribe which cannot at all compare with the large and fine edifices to be seen among the Shuswap.

Rock-paintings (Fig. 280) appear to be very scarce in the Chilcotin country, but carvings on the bark of trees may frequently be seen (Fig. 281). Those which I have seen differ a good deal in style from those of the Shuswap.

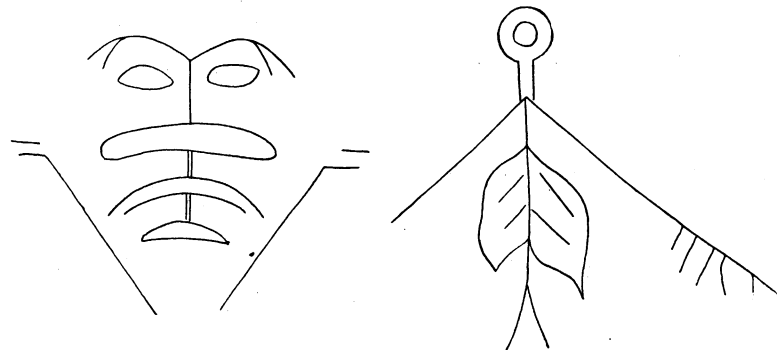


Fig. 280. Rock Paintings from a Boulder South of Anahem Lake. Height, about 160 cm.





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