

British Association for the Advancement  
of Science

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LEEDS MEETING, 1890

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SIXTH REPORT

ON THE

NORTH-WESTERN TRIBES OF CANADA

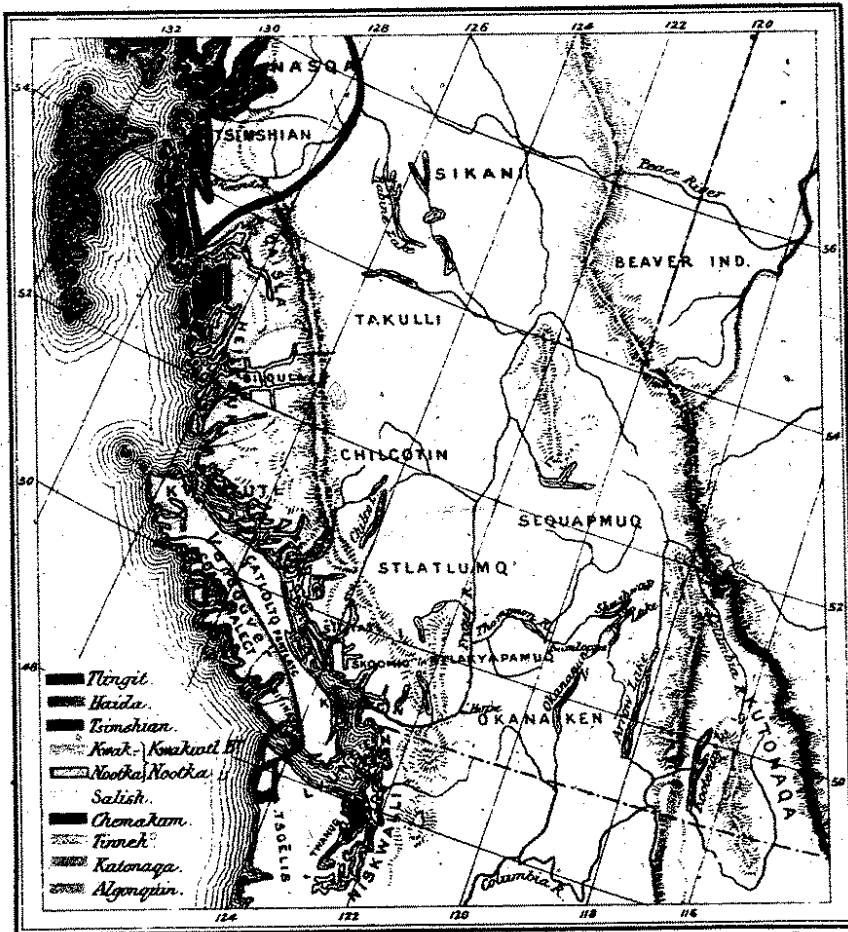
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WITH A MAP

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*Price Half-a-Crown*



LINGUISTIC MAP OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

NOTE.—The Tinneh are according to Dr. G. M. Dawson. Broad coloured lines denote limits of branches of one linguistic stock, thin coloured lines limits of more closely related dialects.

*Illustrating the Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada.*

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*Sixth Report of the Committee, consisting of Dr. E. B. TYLOR, Mr. W. BLOXAM, Sir DANIEL WILSON, Dr. G. M. DAWSON, General Sir H. LEFROY, and Mr. R. G. HALIBURTON, appointed to investigate the physical characters, languages, and industrial and social condition of the North-Western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada.*

[MAP.]

THE Committee have been able once more to secure the services of Dr. Boas, who has drawn up the bulk of the report on the tribes of British Columbia. This is accompanied by a linguistic map, and preceded by remarks on British Columbian ethnology by Mr. Horatio Hale. The grant made to the Committee was supplemented by 500 dollars from the Canadian Government, and the Committee suggest that each member of the Dominion Parliament should be supplied with one copy of the report. The Committee ask for reappointment, and for a grant of 200*l*.

*Remarks on the Ethnology of British Columbia: Introductory to the Second General Report of Dr. Franz Boas on the Indians of that Province. By HORATIO HALE.*

A reference to the map annexed to this report will show at a glance those striking characteristics of British Columbian ethnography which were described in my remarks prefixed to the report of 1889.<sup>1</sup> These peculiarities are the great number of linguistic stocks, or families of languages, which are found in this comparatively small territory, and the singular manner in which they are distributed, especially the surprising variety of stocks clustered along the coast, as contrasted with the 'wide sweep' (to use the apt words of Dr. G. M. Dawson) 'of the languages of the interior.' To this may be added the great number of dialects into which some of these stocks are divided. The whole of the interior east of the coast ranges, with a portion of the coast itself, is occupied by tribes belonging to three families—the Tinneh, the Salish (or Selish), and the Kootenay (or Kutonaqa). What is especially notable, moreover, is the fact that, according to the best evidence we possess, all the tribes of these three stocks are intruders, having penetrated into this region from the country east of the Rocky Mountains. In the third report of this Committee (1887) are given the grounds for concluding that the Kootenays formerly resided east of these mountains, and were driven across them by the Blackfoot tribes. In the fourth report

<sup>1</sup> It should be mentioned that this map has, on my suggestion, been framed on the plan of my 'Ethnographic Map of Oregon,' though necessarily on a smaller scale (see vol. vii. of the *United States Exploring Expedition under Wilkes: 'Ethnography and Philology,'* p. 197). The two maps are, in fact, complements of each other. Those who desire to study this subject thoroughly, however, should refer to the valuable maps of Mr. W. H. Dall and of Drs. Tolmie and Dawson, the former appended to the Report of Dr. George Gibbs to the Smithsonian Institution on the 'Tribes of Western Washington and North-Western Oregon,' in vol. i. of *Powell's Contributions to North American Ethnology* (1877), and the latter attached to their *Comparative Vocabularies of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia*, published by the Canadian Government (1884). These maps are on a much larger scale and supply many important details.

(1888) the connection between the Tinneh tribes east and west of the mountains is explained; and in the Smithsonian report of Dr. Gibbs on the West Washington tribes, that accomplished ethnologist has given his reasons for holding that the Salish formerly resided east of the mountains, and have made their way thence to the Pacific, driving before them or absorbing the original inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> To this intrusion and conquest are doubtless due the many Salish dialects, or rather 'dialect-languages,' differing widely in vocabulary and grammar, which have been evolved (like the Romanic languages of Southern Europe or the modern Aryan languages of Hindustan) in the process of this conquest and absorption.

A remarkable evidence is found in the case of the Bilhoola (Bilqula) tribe and language. This tribe, belonging to the Salish family, is wholly isolated from the other septs of that family, being completely surrounded by Kwakiutl tribes and Tinneh, into whose territory it has apparently pushed its way. As a result its speech has undergone so great a change that by some inquirers it was at first supposed to be a totally distinct language. A still more striking instance of a mixed language, though not belonging to the Salish family, is furnished by what is now termed the Kwakiutl-Nootka stock. Until Dr. Boas last year visited the Nootka people and carefully analysed their language, it had been supposed by all investigators, himself included, to be a separate stock, radically distinct from all others. The analysis now furnishes clear evidence of a connection between this idiom and the more widespread Kwakiutl. The connection, however, is so distant, and the differences in vocabulary and grammar are so important, that we are naturally led to suspect here also a conquest and an intermixture. The Nootka tribes who inhabit a portion of the west coast of Vancouver Island, and who were so named from a harbour on that coast, have been more lately styled by good authorities the 'Aht nation' from the syllable *ah* or *ath*, meaning 'people' or 'tribe,' with which all their tribal names terminate—Nitinaht, Toquaht, Hoyaht, Sesaht, Kayoquaht, &c. Their speech, though in certain points resembling the Kwakiutl, has yet, to a large extent, its own grammar and vocabulary. It seems probable that we see in it the case of an originally distinct stock, which at some early period has been overpowered and partially absorbed by another stock (the Kwakiutl), and yet has subsequently pursued its own special course of development. The comparison of the two languages, as now presented by Dr. Boas, offers, therefore, a particularly interesting subject of study.

All the languages of British Columbia of every stock have a peculiar phonology. Their pronunciation is singularly harsh and indistinct. The contrast in this respect between these languages and those immediately south of them is very remarkable and indeed surprising. As the point is one of much interest, I may venture to quote the remarks on this subject with which (in my work before cited) the account of the 'Languages of North-Western America' is prefaced:—

'The languages of the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains may be divided into two classes, which differ very strikingly in their vocal elements and pronunciation. These classes may be denominated the northern and southern, the latter being found chiefly south of the Columbia, and the former, with one or two exceptions, on the north of that river. To the northern belong the Tahkali-Umqua (or Tinneh),

<sup>1</sup> See page 224 of the report referred to in the preceding note.

the Salish, the Chinook, and the Iakon languages, with all on the north-west coast of which we have any knowledge. The southern division comprehends the Sahaptin, the Shoshoni, the Kalapuya, Shaste, Lutuami, and all the Californian idioms so far as we are acquainted with them. Those of the northern class are remarkable for their extraordinary harshness, which in some is so great as almost to surpass belief. The Chinooks, Chikailish, and Killamuks appear actually to labour in speaking; an illusion which proceeds no doubt from the effect produced on the ear of the listener by the harsh elements with which their languages abound, as well as the generally rough and dissonant style of pronunciation. The  $\chi$  is in these tongues a somewhat deeper guttural than the Spanish *jota*. The *q* is an extraordinary sound, resembling the hawking noise produced by an effort to expel phlegm from the throat.  $T\chi l$  is a combination uttered by forcing out the breath at the side of the mouth between the tongue and the palate. These languages are all indistinct as well as harsh. The same element in the Chinook and other tongues is heard at one time as a *v*, at another as a *b*, and again as an *m*, the latter being probably the most accurate representation. Similarly the *n* and *d* are in several dialects undistinguishable, and we were constantly in doubt whether certain short vowels should be written or omitted.

The southern languages are, on the other hand, no less distinguished for softness and harmony. The gutturals are found in two or three, into which they seem to have been introduced by communication with the northern tribes. The rest want this class of letters, and have in their place the labial *f*, the liquid *r*, and the nasal  $\tilde{n}$  (*ng*), all of which are unknown to the former. Difficult combinations of consonants rarely occur, and the many vowels make the pronunciation clear and sonorous. There is, however, a good deal of variety in this respect, some of the languages, as the Lutuami, Shaste, and Palaihuik, being smooth and agreeable to the ear, while the Shoshoni and Kalapuya, though soft, are nasal and indistinct.<sup>1</sup>

At the time when this description was written, I had formed no opinion as to the origin of these contrasted phonologies. I am now inclined to believe that the difference is due mainly to climatic influences. The harsh utterance extends from Alaska southward to the Columbia River, where it suddenly ceases, and gives place to softer sounds. This is exactly the point at which the coast ceases to be lined by that network of islands, straits, and friths, whose waters, abounding in fish, afford the main source of subsistence to the tribes of the northern region. The climate, except for a brief summer, is that of an almost perpetual April or October. This part of the coast is one of the rainiest regions of the earth, and the fishermen in their canoes are almost constantly exposed to the chilling moisture. Their pronunciation is that of a people whose vocal organs have for many generations been affected by continual coughs and catarrhs, thickening the mucous membrane and obstructing the air-passages. A strong confirmation of this view is found in *Tierra del*

<sup>1</sup> *Ethnography and Philology*, p. 533. The orthography here employed is somewhat different from that of Dr. Boas, who, by my advice, has avoided the use of Greek or other foreign characters, employing only English letters with various diacritical marks. This alphabet somewhat disguises to the eye the extreme difficulties of the pronunciation. The  $t\chi l$ , for example, is written by him simply *tl*, but the *l* is defined as an 'explosive *l*.' It is the combination so frequent in the Mexican (or Nahuatl) tongue.

Haiqo wā'tlēm̄s Nūtlēm̄gyila nēm̄ts'aqk'ē'alisē.  
That is the word of Nūtlēm̄gyila the only greatest one.

*I.e.*, It is said that we, the unimportant people, shall dance after him who is made the son of our only greatest chief.

What said Nūtlēm̄gyila ?

Thus spoke Nūtlēm̄gyila, the only greatest chief.

#### X. Tlē'qalaq.

Gyā'qen tlē'k'anōmtl tlēqtlek'ā'ita Wina'lagyilis.  
I come to name you named by all Wina'lagyilis.

Gyā'qen; k'am̄tēm̄ōltōlā'lagyilitsus Wina'lagyilis.  
I come; he throws a song out of Wina'lagyilis.  
boat on land

Gyā'qmēsēn; ha'nk'em̄lisasus Wina'lagyilis.  
I have come; it lands Wina'lagyilis.

Gyā'qen; kyaqotltā'lisaisus tsē'qēōēgyilis Wina'lagyilis.  
I come; he brings me out of boat his dancing cap Wina'lagyilis.

#### IV. THE SHUSHWAP.

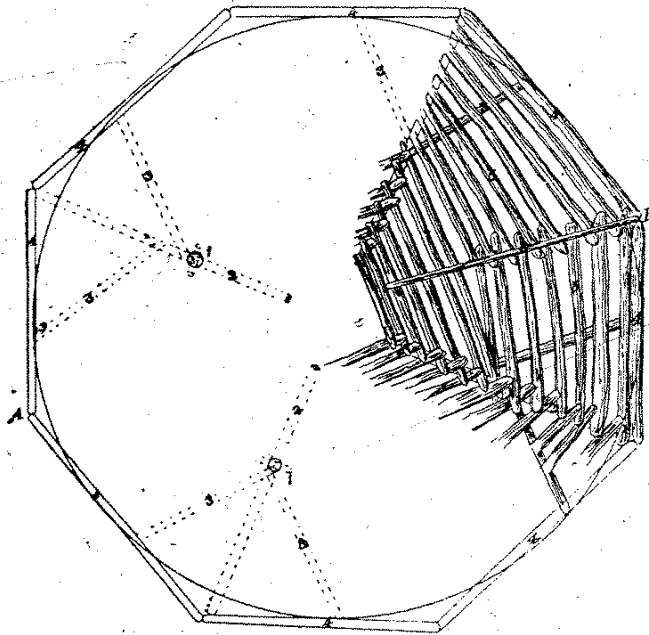
The ancient customs of the Salish tribes of the interior of the Province of British Columbia have almost entirely disappeared, as the natives have been christianised by the endeavours of Catholic missionaries. Only a very few still adhere to their former customs and usages; for instance, a group of families living in Nicola Valley and another on North Thompson River. I did not come into contact with any of these, and consequently the following remarks are founded entirely on inquiries. I selected the Shushwap as an example of the tribes of the interior. The customs of the Ntlakya'pamuq, Stlā'tliumq, and Okanā'k'ēn differ very slightly from those of the Shushwap, if at all. The information contained in the following chapter has been collected at Kamloops. The proper name of the Shushwap is Sū'quapmuq or Sequapmuq. The district they inhabit is indicated on the map accompanying this report. They call the Okanā'k'ēn Setswa'numq, the carriers Yū'nana, the Chilcotin Pesqā'qenem (Dentalia people), and the Kutonaqa Sk'ēsē'utlk'umq. The organisation of the tribe is similar to that of the southern branches of the Coast Salish, as described on p. 17; that is to say; the tribe is divided into a great number of septs, or, as we might say more properly, in the present case, village communities. While on Vancouver Island these septs bear still a limited similarity to the gentes of the northern coast tribes, this is no longer the case on the mainland. The Ntlakya'pamuq, Stlā'tliumq, Shushwap, and Okanā'k'ēn are subdivided in the same way; but besides this the tribes speaking the same language are comprised under one name. I shall not enumerate the villages of these tribes, as my lists are far from being complete.

#### HOUSES AND LODGES.

The characteristic dwelling of these Indians is the subterranean lodge, generally called in the Jargon 'keekwilee-house,' *i.e.*, low or under-

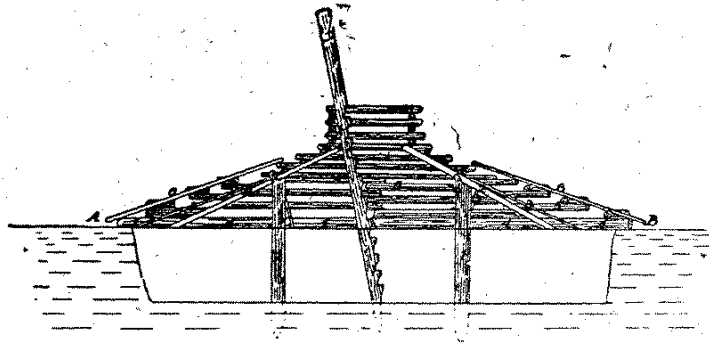
ground house. It was used by all the Salish tribes of the interior, and spreads as far down Fraser River as the mouth of Harrison River, where

FIG. 20.—Plan of Subterranean Lodge and Construction of Roof.



both the large wooden house of Vancouver Island and the subterranean lodge are in use. The latter is built in the following way. A pit, about

FIG. 21.—Elevation of Subterranean Lodge (Section A B).

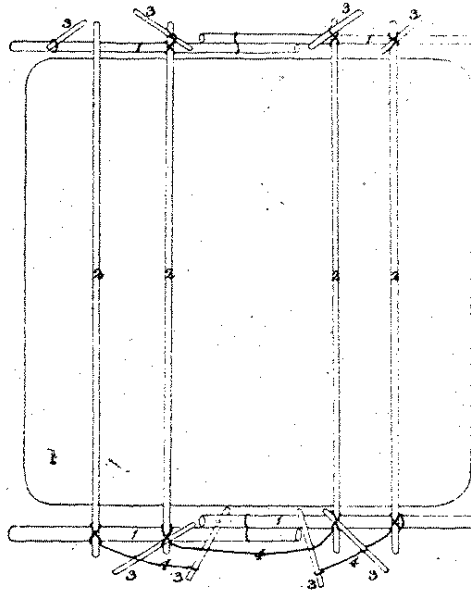


12 to 15 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep, is dug out. Heavy posts, forming a square, are planted in the bottom of the pit, about 4 feet from



its circumference. These posts (1, figs. 20, 21) are about 6 or 7 feet high, and have a fork formed by a branch at their top, in which slanting beams rest (2), running from the edge of the pit over the fork to the centre, which, however, they do not reach. These beams consist of trees split in halves, and support the roof. Next, poles are laid from the edge of the pit to these beams, one on each side (3). Then heavy timbers are laid all around the pit; they are to serve as a foundation for the roof and run from the beams along the slanting poles (4). Thus the whole building assumes approximately an octagonal form. On top of these timbers other timbers or poles are laid, the shorter the nearer they approach the centre of the pit and the higher parts of the beams (2) on which they rest. They are laid alternately on adjoining sides of the octagon, so

FIG. 22.—Plan of Winter Lodge.



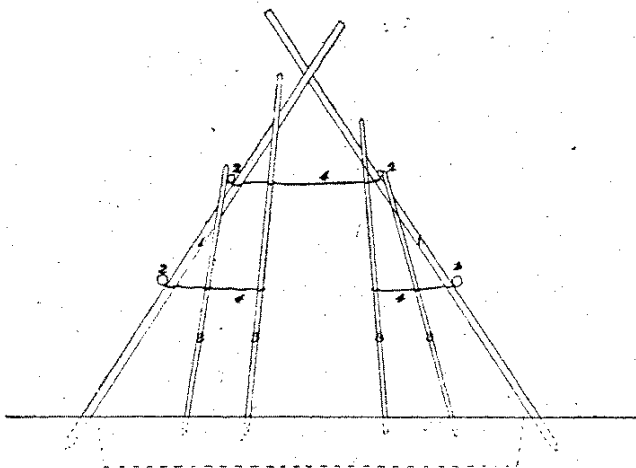
that the poles of one side always rest on the ends of those of the neighbouring sides. This framework is continued up to the ends of the beams (2). Here a square opening or entrance-way, of the form of a chimney, is built, the logs being placed on top of each other in the same way as those of a log cabin. The whole roof is covered with bundles of hay, which are kept in place by means of poles (6) laid on top of the roof, between the beams. Finally, the whole structure is covered with earth. A ladder cut out of a tree ascends into the entrance, the steps being cut out of one side and going down to the bottom of the pit. The upper extremity of the ladder is flattened at both sides and provided with a notch, which is used for tying the moccasins to it which are not taken inside the dwelling. The fire is right at the foot of the ladder; the beds are in the periphery of the dwelling, behind the posts (1).

Another kind of winter lodge is built on the following plan: A hole,

about 18 inches deep, is dug. It is about 12 feet long and 8 or 9 feet wide, with rounded corners. In the front and the rear—that is, at the narrower ends—pairs of converging poles are erected (1, figs. 22, 23). They are connected by two cross-bars on each side (2). In the front and the rear four or more slender poles are tied to the converging poles and planted into the ground, so that they form a slight curve in the front and in the rear of the lodge (3). They are steadied by means of wickers (4). The lower part of this structure is covered with bundles of hay, the upper part with a double layer of mats made of rushes. The ridge remains open and serves as a smoke-escape. In some instances the hut is covered with bark.

The temporary summer lodge consists merely of three or four converging poles, connected by wickers, and covered with mats made of bullrushes—much more usually a complete criss-cross of branches running

FIG. 23.—Front Elevation of Winter Lodge.



in two directions, six or eight sticks each way. It differs in no essential from sweat-houses used all over the northern interior of the continent.

The sweat-house is always used when a person has to undergo a process of ceremonial cleansing. It is built on the bank of a creek and consists of two stout willow branches, crossing each other, both ends being planted into the ground. It is covered with skins. The door is at the foot of one of these branches and can be closed by a piece of skin.

The principal method of fishing is by means of bag-nets. Platforms are built, projecting over the river. On these the fishermen stand, provided with a large bag-net. Salmon are also caught with the spear. The fish are dried on platforms, which are erected on the steep banks of the rivers, the lower side being supported by two pairs of converging poles, the upper resting on the ground. Venison is dried on platforms of a similar description. Provisions are stored, either in small sheds which stand on poles, about 6 feet above the ground, or in caches. If venison is to be dried very quickly it is hung up in the sweat-house (see below).

The clothing of the natives was made of furs or of deer-skin. I am unable to give a satisfactory description, as I have not seen any. Women wear dentalia in the perforated septum of the nose. Men and women wear ear-ornaments of shells or teeth all around the helix. Both men and women were tattooed, the designs consisting of one or three lines on each cheek and three lines on the chin. So far as I could make out there is no connection between this custom and the reaching of puberty. In dancing the face is painted with designs representing sun, moon, or stars, birds or animals. They may take any design they like. The hair is strewn with eagle down.

Deer-skins are prepared in the following way: The skin is soaked in a brook or in a river for a week. Then the hair is removed with a knife. The hind-feet are next tied to a stick, which the worker holds with his feet. Another stick is pushed through the fore-feet, which are also tied together, and the skin is wrung out and dried. When it is dry, water is made lukewarm, and the brains of a deer or any other animal are mixed with it. This mixture is spread over the dry skin, which is then wrung out once more, and worked with a stick, to the end of which a stone scraper is attached. Now a pit is dug, the bottom of which is filled with rotten wood. The latter is ignited, and both sides of the skin are smoked over the burning wood for a short time, the skin being stretched over the pit. Finally, it is washed in clear water and dried. It is believed that the smoking process has the effect of preventing the skin from becoming hard after getting wet. The skins of bucks and does are considered equally good; they are best in the autumn.

The Shushwap do not know the art of pottery, and do little, if any, carving in wood. Their household goods are made principally of basketry, in which they excel. Basketry of the Shushwap and Ntlakya-pamuq is sold extensively to the tribes of southern Vancouver Island. Their baskets are made of roots of the white pine. The roots are dyed black with an extract of fern root; and red with an extract of alder-bark or with oxide of iron. Very beautiful patterns are made in these three colours. Baskets are used for storing, carrying, and cooking provisions.

The Shushwap make mats of bulrushes, which are strung on threads of nettles, in the same way as the Lku'igen and their neighbours do. Mats are also plaited, threads made of nettles being braided across bulrushes.

Fire was obtained by means of the fire-drill, rotten willow roots being used for spunk. In travelling they carried glowing willow roots.

Canoes are made of cotton-wood, cedar, or in rare instances of bark. For working wood stone hammers, and wedges were used. In hunting expeditions they cross rivers on rafts made of rushes or on logs. In winter snow-shoes are used on hunting expeditions. There are two patterns, one imitating the shape of a bear's foot. The former consists of a frame of bent wood, with a cross-bar near its broad end. Thongs run from this bar to the front, like the toes of a bear's foot, and a network of thongs runs back from the bar, filling the hind part of the frame. The balls of the toes rest on the cross-bar. The other pattern consists of a long frame of bent wood, the point of which is turned up. There are two cross-bars near the centre in front of which the foot rests. The front and rear ends are filled with a network of sinews.

Deer were hunted with the help of dogs. In the autumn, when the

deer cross the lakes and rivers, they were driven by hunters and dogs to a certain point, where others lay in waiting with their canoes. As soon as the deer took to the water they were attacked by the canoe-men.

Dentalia and copper bracelets served as money. The former were obtained by trade from the Chilcotin, who for this reason had the name *Psqá'qenem*, i.e., dentalia people. In exchange, the Shushwap gave dressed deer-skins and, probably, in late times, horses. They traded the dentalia they had received from the Chilcotin to the Okanā'k'ēn for horses. Trade was also carried on with the northern Tinnēh tribes, especially the Carriers. There was no communication with the Lower Fraser River on account of the prevailing hostility between the tribes of these regions. Copper was obtained, partly by trade, but some was dug by the natives themselves. There was a digging at Kamloops Lake, which was worked up to the last generation, when a man was killed by a fall of rocks which buried the mine. Since that time it has never been worked.

Food was boiled in baskets, which were filled with water that was made to boil by throwing red-hot stones into it. Roots are cooked in the following way: A hole is made in the ground, and red-hot stones are thrown into it. These are covered with willow twigs and grass. A stick is placed upright in the centre of the pit and the roots are laid on top of the grass around the stick. They are covered with more grass and the hole is filled up with earth, so that part of the stick remains projecting out of it. Then water is poured out, so that it runs down the stick into the hole, and on touching the red-hot stones produces steam. Finally, a fire is built on top of the hole. The belief prevails that the roots must be cooked in this particular way by women only, and early in the morning, before they have taken any food, as else they could not be properly done. No man is allowed to come near the place when they are being steamed.

There is no fixed time for meals. Hunters who leave early in the morning take breakfast before leaving, their wives eating after they have gone.

The reports on social organisation which I obtained from my informants are very meagre. Each of the numerous tribes of the Shushwap had its own chief. The people are divided into nobility and common people. Common people can, on account of bravery or wealth, attain high rank, but cannot become noble, as nobility is hereditary. There is no indication of the existence of gentes. The family is 'paternal.' The chieftaincy is also hereditary. The chief is naturally a member of the nobility. At the death of the chief his eldest son or, if he has no son, his younger brother, succeeds him at once. The affairs of the whole tribe are governed by the chief and a council of the elders. Among the prerogatives of the chief I heard the following: When the first salmon of the season are caught, or when the first berries are picked or the first deer killed, no one must eat of it until it has been presented to the chief, who must pray over it and partake of it. It did not become quite clear from the statements of my informants whether this is entirely a religious function, or at the same time a tribute. It is certainly of interest to see that here, as well as among the Nootka, we find certain religious functions vested in the chief. At the time when the berries begin to ripen an overseer is set [by the chief?] over the various berry patches, whose duty it is to see that nobody begins picking until the berries are ripe. He announces when the time has come, and on the next morning the

whole tribe set out and begin to pick berries, the field being divided up among the tribe. After they are through picking, the berries are divided among the families of the tribe. The chief receives the greatest portion. In the same way an overseer is set over the salmon fisheries, and the catch is divided among the whole tribe. It seems that the various tribes of the Shushwap had no separate hunting grounds, but that they hunted over the whole territory, wherever they liked. I do not think, however, that the fisheries and berry patches belonged to the whole people in common. Disputes arising between members of the same tribe were generally settled by arbitration. For instance, where a number of men had driven deer into a lake and a dispute arose as to who had driven one particular deer, an arbitrator was appointed, who had to track it and whose decision was final. The old were well treated and respected. In some instances when a man believed himself slighted he would commit suicide.

The tribes and families had separate hunting grounds originally. The custom still holds to some extent among the Nicola Indians, but is now almost forgotten by the Kamloops people.

The chief was not leader in war, the war-chief being elected among the 'braves.' The hostile tribes would meet, but sometimes, instead of a battle between the whole parties taking place, the war-chiefs would fight a duel, the outcome of which settled the dispute. Their weapons were bow and arrow; a lance; a bone club with a sharp, sabre-like edge; a stone axe having a sharp point, the stone being fastened in a perforated handle; and a stone club, consisting of a pebble, sewed into a piece of hide, and attached to a thong, which was suspended from the wrist. They protected themselves with armours of the same kind as those used on the coast—coats made of strips of wood, which were lashed together, or jackets of a double layer of elk-skin, and a cap of the same material. In time of war a stockade was made near the huts of the village. A cache was made in it, and baskets filled with water were kept in it. When an attack of the enemy was feared, the whole population retired to the stockade, the walls of which were provided with loopholes. Captives made in war were enslaved. At the end of the war, captives were frequently exchanged.

The following tale of a war may be of interest. One summer, about eighty years ago, the Seká'umq, who live near the head waters of North Thompson River, stole two Shushwap women at Stlie'tlsuq (Barrière) on North Thompson River. Their brothers pursued the Seká'umq, but were unable to overtake them. In the fall, when the snow began to cover the country, they started out again and soon found the tracks of their enemies, who were travelling northward. One of the women wore, at the time when they were surprised by the enemies, a white-tail deer blanket. She had torn it to pieces and put them into split branches of trees, which she broke and turned in the direction in which they were travelling. The Shushwap found these, and knew at once that they were on the right track. Finally the Shushwap reached a camp which the Seká'umq had left on the same morning. They followed them cautiously. While they were travelling a troop of deer passed close by, and they wounded one of them with their arrows. Among the party of the Seká'umq was a blind old man, who was led by a boy, and, as he was not able to walk as fast as the others, followed them at some distance. The wounded deer ran past them and the boy observed the Shushwap arrow.

He cried: 'There is a deer that has been struck by a Shushwap arrow.' The old man at once despatched him to the main party, and told him to inform the chief of what he had seen. The boy obeyed, but the chief did not believe him. He merely made a gesture indicating that the Shushwap would not dare to show their backs in this country. (He closed the thumb and the third and fourth fingers of his right hand, bent the first and second fingers towards the thumb, holding them apart, the palm directed towards his face.) The two women heard what was going on. They thought that their brothers might have followed them, and at nightfall went back to see whether they might discover anyone. They met the Shushwap who instructed them to keep their husbands—for they had been married to two men of the Seká'umq—awake until early in the morning. They obeyed, and when the men had fallen asleep in the morning the Shushwap made an attack upon the camp and killed all but three, who had succeeded in putting their snow-shoes on and fled. The Shushwap pursued them, and one of the Seká'umq jumped into a hole formed by the melting of the snow around a tree. From his hiding place he wounded a Shushwap called Tá'leqān, when passing by. Two of the fleeing Seká'umq were killed, the third escaped. Tá'leqān died of his wound when they were returning homeward. His body was burnt and his bones taken along, to be buried in the burial ground of his native village.

## SIGN LANGUAGE.

On the coast of British Columbia the extensive use of the Chinook jargon has almost entirely superseded the use of the sign language; but there is little doubt that it has been in use in former times. The only instance of the use of signs—except in making tales more vivid and graphic—that came under my observation was when an old Haida, who did not understand Chinook, wanted to tell me that he could not speak the jargon. He introduced the first finger of his right hand into his mouth, acted as though he attempted to draw out something, and then shook his finger.

In the interior of the province the sign language is still used extensively. The following signs were collected among the Shushwap.

1. *All*.—Right hand held in front of breast, palm downward, moved around horizontally.

2. *Bear*.—Both fists held in front of breasts, knuckles upward, the thumbs touching the bent first fingers; fists pushed forward alternately in circular motions, imitating the movements of a bear.

3. *Bear's hole*.—Second, third and fourth fingers of both hands closed; thumbs and first fingers extended, points of both thumbs and of both first fingers touch, so that they form a circle.

4. *Beaver*.—Right hand drops, palm downward, between the extended thumb and first finger of left, so that the wrist rests on the interstice. Imitation of beaver's tail.

5. *Boy, about fifteen years of age*.—Open hand raised in front of breast to the height of the chin, palm turned toward face.

6. *Bush*.—Open hands placed against each other, so that both thumbs and both fourth fingers touch.

7. *Daylight*.—Hands half opened, first finger slightly extended held upward in front of body, palms inward at height of chin; hands then moved outward, describing circles.

8. *Deer*.—Hands held up on both sides of head, at height of ears, palms forward, open.

9. *Deer running*.—Fists held in front of breast, knuckles upward, striking out alternately and horizontally full length of arms.

10. *Doe*.—Hands brought up to ears, thumb, third and fourth fingers closed, first and second extended backward, touching one another, back of hand upward.

11. *Fish*.—Hand stretched out, held horizontally in front of breast, palm downward, moving in quick wandering motions in horizontal plane.

12. *Many fish*.—Both hands held in the same way as last, one above the other, but fingers slightly spread, both hands performing wandering motions.

13. *Girl*.—Both hands, half opened, held not far from shoulders, palms forward, then suddenly pulled back to shoulders.

14. *Horse*.—Thumb, third and fourth fingers closed, first and second extended horizontally, parallel to breast, touching one another.

15. *I do not understand*.—Palms clapped on ears, then hands taken off and shaken.

16. *Lake*.—Hands held before breast close together, fingers describe a wide circle forward and back to breast.

17. *Nightfall*.—Both hands held slightly bent in front of breast, palms downward, then moved downward.

18. *Noon*.—Right hand closed, first finger extended, held up in front of face.

19. *Old man*.—First finger of right hand held up, slightly bent, the other fingers being closed, indicating the bent back.

20. *Quick*.—Right arm pushed upward and forward, slightly to the right, at the same time left fist striking breast.

21. *Rider*.—First and second fingers of right hand straddling the first and second of the left, which is held in the position of 'horse.'

22. *Rock*.—Both fists held up in front of face, knuckles towards body, struck together and separated again.

23. *To run*.—Elbows close to body, lower arms held horizontally, hands closed.

24. *Stop*.—Hand raised, open palm forward, then shaken.

25. *Sunrise*.—Right hand half opened, first finger slightly extended upward, palm towards body, then moved upward.

26. *Sunset*.—First finger pointing downward in front of breast and moved downward.

27. *Trap*.—Both palms clapped together.

28. *Young man*.—As 'Boy,' but hands raised higher.

See also pp. 86, 87.

For indicating the direction in which a party travels, poles are planted into the ground, pointing in that direction, or twigs of brushes or trees are broken and pointed in the same way. A pole directed toward the part of the sky where the sun stands at a certain hour indicates at what time something is to be done or has been done. Figures of men drawn on the sand indicate how many have been killed by a war party. A number of hairs from a horse's mane indicate the number of horsemen that passed by. Such messages are left particularly at crossings of trails.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Fifth Report, p. 40.

Fires are used to give signals to distant parties.

A number of rock paintings are found on the shores of Kamloops Lake. I have not seen them, and do not know what they represent.

#### GAMES.

The games of the Shushwap are almost the same as those of the coast tribes. We find the game of dice played with beaver-teeth (see p. 19), and the well-known game of lehal. Children and women play 'cat's cradle.' A peculiar gambling game is played in the following way: A long pole is laid on the ground, about fifteen feet from the players; a ring, about one inch in diameter, to which four beads are attached at points dividing the circumference into four equal parts, is rolled towards the pole, and sticks are thrown after it, before it falls down on touching the pole. The four beads are red, white, blue, and black. The ring falls down on the stick that has been thrown after it, and, according to the colour of the bead which touches the stick, the player wins a number of points. Another gambling game is played with a series of sticks of maple wood, about four inches long, and painted with various marks. There are two players to the game, who sit opposite each other. A fisher-skin, which is nicely painted, is placed between them, bent in such a way as to present two faces, slanting down toward the players. Each of these takes a number of sticks which he covers with hay, shakes and throws down one after the other, on his side of the skin. The player who throws down the stick bearing a certain mark has lost.

Shooting matches are frequently arranged. An arrow is shot, and then the archers try to hit the arrow which has been shot first. Or a bundle of hay or a piece of bark is thrown as far as possible, and the men shoot at it. The following game of ball was described to me: The players stand in two opposite rows. A stake is driven into the ground on the left side of the players of one row, and another on the right side of the players of the other row. Two men stand in the centre between the two rows. One of these pitches the ball, the other tries to drive it to one of the stakes with a bat. Then both parties endeavour to drive the ball to the stake on the opposite side, and the party which succeeds in this has won the game.

#### CUSTOMS REGARDING BIRTH, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH.

My information regarding customs practised at the birth of a child is very meagre. The navel-string is cut with a stone knife. The child is washed immediately after birth. The custom of deforming certain parts of the body does not prevail. The mother must abstain from 'anything that bleeds,' and consequently must not eat fresh meat. There are no regulations as to the food or behaviour of the father. The cradle after being used is not thrown away, but hung to a tree in the woods. If a child should die, the next child is never put into the same cradle which was used for the dead child.

A girl on reaching maturity has to go through a great number of ceremonies. She must leave the village and live alone in a small hut on the mountains. She cooks her own food, and must not eat anything that bleeds. She is forbidden to touch her head, for which purpose she uses a comb with three points. Neither is she allowed to scratch her



body, except with a painted deer-bone. She wears the bone and the comb suspended from her belt. She drinks out of a painted cup of birch-bark, and neither more nor less than the quantity it holds. Every night she walks about her hut, and plants willow twigs, which she has painted, and to the ends of which she has attached pieces of cloth, into the ground. It is believed that thus she will become rich in later life. In order to become strong she should climb trees and try to break off their points. She plays with *lehal* sticks that her future husbands might have good luck when gambling.<sup>1</sup>

Women during their monthly periods are forbidden to eat fresh meat, but live principally on roots. They must not cook for their families, as it is believed that the food would be poisonous. During this time the husband must keep away from his wife, as else the bears would attack him when he goes hunting.

A man who intends to go out hunting must keep away from his wife, as else he would have bad luck. They do not believe that the wife's infidelity entails bad luck in hunting and other enterprises.

Women must never pass along the foot or head of a sleeping person, as this is unlucky.

Women who are with child must not touch food that has been touched by mice, or eat of a plate which a dog has licked off. If she should eat a bird that has been killed by an animal her child would be subject to dizziness.

The marriage ceremonies were described to me as follows: A young man who wishes to marry a girl takes a number of horses and other property that is considered valuable and offers it to the father of the girl he wishes to marry. The latter, before accepting the price offered, invites his whole family to a council and asks their consent. If they agree to accept the suitor and the price he has offered for the girl they tie the horses to their stable, and take the other goods into the house, as a sign of their willingness. After this the young man may take the girl without further ceremonies. After the marriage the bridegroom and his family go on a hunting expedition, and try to obtain as much game as possible, which is to be given to his father-in-law. The latter dresses the meat and invites the whole tribe to a feast. Then he and his family in their turn go hunting, and present the game they have obtained to the young man's father, who gives a feast to the whole tribe. At this time the girl's father returns all the payments he has received to the young man's father. For a number of days the couple live with the girl's family. When the young man goes to reside with his wife he asks all his friends to support him, and they give him presents of food and clothing. The latter he puts on, one suit on top of the other, goes to his father-in-law, and gives

<sup>1</sup> The following custom was described to me by Mr. J. W. Mackay, the Indian Agent for the Kamloops district. He heard it described at Yale, and therefore it probably belongs to the tribes of the Lower Fraser River. My inquiries at Kamloops regarding the custom were resultless. Mr. Mackay states that at the end of the puberty ceremonies the shaman led the girl back from her seclusion to the village in grand procession. He carried a dish called *taugtā'n*, which is carved out of slate, in one hand. The dish represents a woman giving birth to a child, along whose back a snake crawls. The child's back is hollowed out and serves as a receptacle for water. In the other hand the shaman carries certain herbs. When they returned to the village the herbs were put into the dish, and the girl was sprinkled with the water contained in the dish, the shaman praying at the same time for her to have many children.

him all the property he carries. The latter distributes this property among the whole tribe according to the contributions everyone has made. Then the young couple remove to the young man's family, and before leaving her father's house the bride is fitted out with presents in the same way as the young man was when he came to reside with her family. This is a present to the young man's father, who also distributes it among the tribe. Marriages between cousins were not forbidden.

When a person died at the village the body was tied up in sitting posture, the knees being bent to the chin, and the arms tied together. A grave was dug, and its sides were rubbed with thorn bushes. Then the body was buried, and a number of poles were erected over the grave in the shape of a conical hut. The sand inside and around the hut was carefully smoothed. If on one of the following days tracks were seen in the hut, the being—animal or man—to whom they belonged would be the next to die. If after a while the sand should be blown away, the bones were buried again. Wherever they find human bones they clean them and bury them thinking that others may do the same to their own relatives. When a person died far from home, for instance on a hunting expedition, the body was burnt, and the charred bones were carried home to be buried at the native village of the deceased. The report that the bones of the dead were washed regularly, which has been made by several travellers, seems to rest on these facts. No carved figures were placed over the graves, as was the custom on the Lower Thompson River. At the burial or the burning of the body, slaves, hounds, and horses of the deceased were killed. His favourite slaves were buried alive; the horses were eaten by the mourners, to whom a feast was spread on the grave. In some cases the uncle or nephew of the deceased would kill a number of his own slaves at the grave. Winter provisions, prepared by a woman before her death, were burnt. The clothes of a dead person must be washed before being used again.

A year after the death of a person his relatives collected a large amount of food and clothes, and gave a new feast on the grave. This was the end of the mourning period, and henceforth they tried to forget the deceased. At this feast his son adopted his name.

The relatives of a dead person during the mourning period must not eat deer, salmon, or berries, as else the deer and salmon would be driven away, and the berries would spoil. Their diet is confined to dried venison and fish. They cut their hair, and keep it short for one year, until the final feast is given. They must avoid touching their heads except with a stick or a comb. Names of deceased persons must not be mentioned during the mourning period. Men as well as women must go every morning to the river, wail, and bathe. When a man or a woman dies, the widow or widower is kept as a captive in the house of a brother-in-law. As soon as the mourning period, which in this case is particularly strict, is at an end, the widower must marry a sister or the nearest relative of his dead wife; the widow is married to her dead husband's brother, or to his nearest relative.<sup>1</sup>

Widows or widowers have to observe the following mourning regula-

<sup>1</sup> The mourning ceremonies of the Shushwap are evidently greatly influenced by those of their northern neighbours, the Carriers, which have been described by the Rev. A. G. Morice in the *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, 1889. The strictness of the levirate and the ceremonies celebrated at the grave are almost the same in both cases.

tions. They must build a sweat-house on a creek, sweat there all night, and bathe regularly in the creek, after which they must rub their bodies with spruce branches, the branches must be used only once, and are stuck into the ground all around the hut. The mourner uses a cup and cooking vessels by himself, and must not touch head nor body. No hunter must come near him, as his presence is unlucky. They must avoid letting their shadows fall upon a person, as the latter would fall sick at once. They use thorn bushes for pillow and bed, in order to keep away the ghost of the deceased. Thorn bushes are also laid all around their beds. A widower must not go hunting, as the grizzly bear would get his scent and attack him at once.

#### VARIOUS BELIEFS.

**TWINS.**—When twins are born, the mother must build a hut on the slope of the mountains, on the bank of a creek, and live there with her children until they begin to walk. They may be visited by their family, or any other who wishes to see them, but they must not go into the village, else her other children would die. Twins are called *skumku'mq-sisil*, i.e., young grizzly bears. It is believed that throughout their lives they are endowed with supernatural powers. They can make good and bad weather. In order to produce rain they take a small basket filled with water, which they spill into the air. For making clear weather they use a small stick, to the end of which a string is tied. A small flat piece of wood is attached to the end of the string, and this implement is shaken. Storm is produced by strewing down on the ends of spruce branches. While they are children their mother can see by their plays whether her husband, when he is out hunting, is successful or not. When the twins play about and feign to bite each other he will be successful; if they keep quiet he will return home empty-handed. If one of a couple of twins should die the other must clean himself in the sweat-house 'in order to remove the blood of the deceased out of his body.'

A decoction made of certain herbs, when used as hair-oil or mixed with the saliva of a person, acts as a love-charm.

To break eggs of the ptarmigan produces rain.

If one has a feeling as though someone was standing behind one's back, or if a sudden chill goes down one's back, it is a sign that someone will die. If one's leg twitches, someone is coming. When the ears ring, someone speaks ill of one. The owl cries *muk'tsūk* (he is dead), and calls the name of the person who will die.

One cannot make fire with the fire-drill after having eaten in the morning.

Hair that has been cut off must be buried or thrown into the river.

Beaver-bones (not those of the salmon, as is the custom on the coast) must be thrown into the river, else the beavers would not go into the traps any more. The same would happen if a dog should eat beaver-meat, or gnaw a beaver-bone.

When making bullets they mix wood that has been struck by lightning with the lead. They believe that the bullets thus become more deadly, as they will burn the deer's flesh.

They believe that the beaver, when constructing its dam, kills one of its young and buries it under the dam, that it may become firmer and not give way to floods.

## RELIGION AND SHAMANISM.

I received very scanty information only regarding the religious ideas of the Shushwap. Chiefs before smoking their pipes would turn them towards sunrise, noon, and sunset, after having them lighted, and thus offer a smoke to the sun, at the same time praying silently to him. The same custom is practised in British Columbia by the Kootenay. I did not find any other trace of sun-worship.

Souls do not return in newborn children.

When a person faints, it is a sign that a ghost pursues him.

The shaman is initiated by animals, who become his guardian spirits. The initiation ceremonies for warriors and shamans seem to be identical, the object of the initiation ceremonies being merely to obtain supernatural help for any object that appeared desirable. The young man, on reaching puberty, and before he had ever touched a woman, had to go out on the mountains and pass through a number of performances. He had to build a sweat-house, in which he stayed every night. In the morning he was allowed to return to the village. He had to clean himself in the sweat-house, to dance and to sing during the night. This was continued, sometimes for years, until he dreamt that the animal he desired for his guardian spirit appeared to him and promised him its help. As soon as it appeared the novice fell down in a swoon. 'He feels as though he were drunk, and does not know whether it is day or night, nor what he is doing.' The animal tells him to think of it if he should be in need of help, and gives him a certain song with which to summon him up. Therefore every shaman has his own song, which none else is allowed to sing, except when the attempt is made to discover a sorcerer (see p. 94). Sometimes the spirit comes down to the novice in the shape of a stroke of lightning. If an animal initiates the novice it teaches him its language. One shaman in Nicola Valley is said to speak the 'coyote language' in his incantations. Unfortunately, I did not learn the details of this language, so that I do not know whether it is a sacred language common to all shamans, or merely an individual invention. If the young man desires to become a successful gambler he must practise gambling while he is on the mountains. He throws the gambling sticks into the water while it is dark, and tries to pick them up again without looking. If he wishes to become a lightfooted runner he must practise running. It is said that one young man used to roll rocks down the slope of Paul's Peak, near Kamloops, and then ran after them until he was able to overtake the rocks, which leaped down the steep sides of the hill.

After a man has obtained a guardian spirit he is bullet and arrow proof. If an arrow or a bullet should strike him he does not bleed from the wound, but the blood all flows into his stomach. He spits it out, and is well again. 'Braves,' who have secured the help of spirits, are carried to the fighting ground. No woman must see them when on their way, as else they would lose their supernatural power. When an attack is going to be made on a village the guardian spirit of the warriors will warn them. In dreaming or in waking they see blood flying about, and this is a sign that someone will be murdered. Before going on a war expedition warriors would fast and abstain from sleep for a whole week, bathing frequently in streams. It was believed that this would make them nimble-footed.

Men could acquire more than one guardian spirit, and powerful

shamans had always more than one helper. The principal duty of the shaman was to cure the sick. Disease may be due to a foreign body entering the body of a person, to disobeying certain rules, to the temporary absence of the soul, or to witchcraft. In all of these cases the help of the shaman is needed. The most important among the paraphernalia of the shaman is a headdress made of a mat, which is worn in his incantations. The mat is about two yards long by one yard wide. The corners of one of the narrow ends are sewed together, and it is put on as a headdress, the whole length of the mat hanging down the back of the shaman. Before putting it on they blow on it and sprinkle it with water which had been poured over magic herbs. As soon as the shaman puts on the headdress he 'acts as though he was crazy,' *i.e.*, he puts himself into a trance by singing the song he had obtained from his guardian spirit at the time of his initiation. He dances until he perspires freely, and finally his spirit comes and speaks to him. Then he lies down next to the patient and sucks at the part of the body where the pain is. He is supposed to remove a thong or a feather from it, which was the cause of the disease. As soon as he has removed it he leaves the hut, takes off his mat, and blows upon the object he has removed from the body, which then disappears. It is stated that in his dances he sometimes sinks into the ground down to his knees.

If the disease is produced by witchcraft or by disobedience to certain regulations, the shaman, during his trance, goes into the lower world, *i.e.*, underground, in order to consult with his guardian spirits. After a while he returns to the upper world and announces the cause of the sickness, saying that a woman passed by the head of the patient, or that the shadow of a mourner fell upon him, or giving some other imaginary cause of sickness. The most elaborate performance is the bringing back of absent souls. The Shushwap believe that while a man is alive the shaman is able to see the soul. After death the soul becomes invisible, although its movements may be heard. Therefore the shaman will sometimes lie down, the ear on the ground, and listen. If he hears a noise of a passing soul without seeing anything he will say: 'So-and-so has died. I heard his soul, but did not see it passing by.' If he sees it, it is a sign that the person to whom the soul belongs is sick, but may recover if his soul is restored to him. Then the shaman puts on his mat and begins his incantation. As soon as he has succeeded in summoning his spirit he sets out with him in search of the lost soul. While he is unconscious he runs and jumps, and is heard to speak to his spirit. He will say, for instance, 'Here is a chasm; let us jump across it!' He actually gives a jump and says, 'Now we have passed it,' &c. Finally he meets the soul, and is seen to have a severe fight with it until it is finally overcome. Then he returns in company with his spirit to the upper world, and throws off his mat as soon as he comes back. He restores the soul to the sick person by laying it on the crown of his head.

Sickness due to witchcraft is treated in the following way: When a shaman hates any person and looks at him steadfastly, he sends the latter's soul underground, to sunrise or sunset. The anger of a shaman may be aroused, for instance, by a young man who prides himself of his courage, and in order to show his undaunted spirit paints his face with figures, representing stars, sun, moon, birds, or any other designs that are considered becoming to the most powerful men of the tribe. After the soul has left the body of the young man another friendly shaman is called. He begins at once to sing all the songs of the shamans of the tribe. It

is believed that as soon as he begins the song of the shaman who has bewitched the patient, the evil-doer will become crazy.

The shaman can also bewitch his enemy by throwing the cause of disease, *i.e.*, a feather or a thong, at him; or by putting magic herbs into his drink. Ground human bones, mixed with food, are believed to make the hair of the person who eats it fall out. If parts of the clothing of a person are placed in contact with a corpse the owner must die. It is believed that the shaman can in no way harm a white man.

The shaman also endeavours to obtain game in times of want. He begins his incantation and sends his soul in search of deer and other game. When he returns he tells the hunters to go to such and such a place in order to find the animals. When they find any they must bring the venison to the shaman. Nobody is allowed to eat of it until the shaman has eaten his share.

Frequently after a death has occurred the shaman is called by the relatives of the deceased. It is believed that the ghost of the dead person is eager to take one of his nearest relatives with him to the country of the souls. In order to drive the ghost away the shaman is called. He sees the ghost, and orders all the members of the mourning family to stay in the house, which the ghost cannot enter. Then he speaks to the ghost, asking him whom he wants, and telling him that he cannot have the person he wants. He appeases the ghost, who then leaves, and does not further trouble his relatives. The shaman is paid a high price for this service.

Contests between shamans, in order to ascertain who is the most powerful, are not rare. The one will take his charm first, blow on it, and throw it at the other. If the other is weaker he will fall on his back, and blood will flow from his mouth. Then the former blows on him and restores him by this means. They also practise jugglery. The shaman is tied, and he frees himself by the help of his spirit.

#### DEFORMED CRANIA FROM THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST.

In describing the customs of the Lku'ngen and of the Kwakiutl, mention has been made of the methods employed for deforming the cranium. It remains to say a few words regarding the effects of such deformations. So far as I am aware there exist three distinct types of intentional head deformation, which, however, are connected by intermediate types. These types may be designated as the Chinook, the Cowitchin, and the Koskimo, from the names of certain tribes practising these methods of deformation. The first is found in the region of Columbia River, principally among the Chinook and Cowlitz. Its northern limit is unknown to me. The second is practised on Puget Sound, by the Lku'ngen, Cowitchin, and Sk'qomic of British Columbia. The Catloltq form a gradual transition to the last type, which reaches its highest development at Kwatzino Sound, but extends southward along the coast of Vancouver Island and the mainland opposite to Toba Inlet and Comox. The Chinook cranium is excessively flattened (figs. 24 to 26), the forehead being depressed. The head is allowed to grow laterally. Consequently a compensatory growth takes place in this direction. The Cowitchin do not flatten the cranium, but rather shorten it by means of a strong pressure upon the region of the lambda and farther down. It appears that the subsequent flattening of the forehead is mainly due to growth under the altered conditions, after the compressing cushions have been removed.