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British Association for the Advancement of Science

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REPORT ON THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY  
OF CANADA

15636

*Ethnological Survey of Canada.—Report of the Committee, consisting of Professor D. P. PENHALLOW (Chairman), Dr. GEORGE M. DAWSON (Secretary), Mr. E. W. BRABROOK, Professor A. C. HADDON, Mr. E. S. HARTLAND, Sir J. G. BOURINOT, Abbé CUOQ, Mr. B. SULTE, Abbé TANGUAY, Mr. C. HILL-TOUT, Mr. DAVID BOYLE, Rev. Dr. SCADDING, Rev. Dr. J. MACLEAN, Dr. MERÉE BEAUCHEMIN, Mr. C. N. BELL, Professor E. B. TYLOR, Hon. G. W. ROSS, Professor J. MAVOR, Mr. A. F. HUNTER, and Dr. W. F. GANONG.*

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THE work of the past year has furnished conspicuous evidence of the great importance of securing ethnological data with as little delay as possible. While this is eminently true with respect to the white population, which is experiencing new and marked changes almost every year, in consequence of the introduction of foreign elements, often in large numbers, it is more particularly true with respect to the native Indian population. In many localities the original blood has become so diluted by intermarriage with whites that it is often a matter of great difficulty to find an Indian of pure blood. Proximity to settlements of white people has resulted in a more or less profound impress upon the social life and tribal customs, which are fast becoming obsolete and forgotten. The old chiefs who have served as the repertoires of traditionary knowledge are rapidly passing away, and with their death there disappears the last possibility of securing reliable data of the greatest value. Conspicuous instances of this kind have been brought to notice during the past year, especially in the case of the British Columbia Indians, whose ethnology is of the greatest interest and importance in consequence of their possible connection with the people of Eastern Asia. At present the great difficulty of securing competent and willing investigators is one of the most serious obstacles to be contended with, and it is believed that the often considerable expense involved in the prosecution of such work is largely accountable for this condition of affairs.

It is gratifying to note that the Department of Education for Ontario has lately taken a very practical and active interest in ethnological studies in that province, and that it provides for the publication of the results of research in its annual reports. During the past year Mr. A. F. Hunter, of Barrie—a member of this committee—has thus published the results of important studies relating to the archæology of the township of Tay. A *résumé* of this work shows that much light has been thrown upon the extent, characteristics, and condition of the Indian population in prehistoric times. Evidence has latterly been accumulating to indicate the presence at one time of numerous aboriginal settlements in localities which were

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very sparsely inhabited when first visited by the white explorers. One of the most fruitful fields in Ontario for the archæologist is afforded by the sites of the numerous Indian villages which abound in the northern portions of Simcoe County, more especially in the townships of Tiny and Tay. A very interesting report on the subject was issued last year by Mr. Andrew F. Hunter, M.A., relating to the Huron Indian relics found in the *former* township, which has just been supplemented by a similar publication in regard to the discoveries in the adjoining municipality of Tay, both being issued as appendices to the Educational Report. A special interest attaches to the investigations made in Tiny, as it includes the spot where Champlain and the early missionaries landed on their arrival in the Huron country, the researches of Mr. Hunter being carried on with a view to the identification of those villages described by these pioneers of civilisation and Christianity. In the territory identified as occupied by the Bear nation, belonging to the Huron confederacy, which embraces Tiny and a portion of Tay township, there were no fewer than forty-nine villages, and twenty-four bone-pits or aboriginal burying-places, have been unearthed. The villages, however, were not all occupied at the same time. Thirty-nine of the number bear evidences that the inhabitants had had some contact with Europeans. A detailed description is given of the various village sites and bone-pits, and the more interesting and valuable of the relics discovered, with numerous illustrations. A site to which particular importance attaches is the ruins of the second fortified Jesuit mission of St. Marie, on Christian Island, with the remains of an extensive Huron village surrounding it. The population is estimated to have been from 6,000 to 8,000 in the winter of 1649-50, when it was decimated by famine and disease.

Considerable difference of opinion has prevailed as to the spot where the early missionaries Brebeuf and Lallemand were tortured and burned by the Iroquois during the war which almost exterminated the Hurons, and those interested will find many facts bearing upon the controversy in the report dealing with the township of Tay. Mr. Hunter's own view, after a painstaking survey of all the evidence obtainable, is that the site of St. Louis II., where the missionaries were captured when the village was burned, is on the farm of John McDermitt, lot 15, concession IV., where extensive ash-beds have been found mixed with relics. The identity of the village appears to be established by its size, as indicated by the ground, and its location as described by the old writers. Mr. Hunter is inclined to regard the site on the farm of Charles E. Newton, lot 11, concession VI., as that of St. Ignace II., the village to which the captured priests were taken, and where their martyrdom, so powerfully described by Parkman, took place. It has been known locally as the "Jesuits' Field" for many years, and there are the usual traditions of buried treasure which gain currency wherever relics of the past are brought to light. Much interesting information with regard to less notable sites and the frequent discoveries of Indian remains throughout the township are also embodied in this work.

In Appendix I. Mr. B. Sulte continues his study of the early French settlers in Canada, covering the period 1632-66. He traces the origin of these immigrants from different parts of France, and it thus becomes possible to establish with great accuracy the relative importance of the various stocks from which the present large French population of Canada is derived. These studies will form an important basis for more

detailed investigations respecting the effect of environment upon succeeding generations.

In Appendix II. Mr. Hill-Tout follows up his very careful study of the N'tlaka'pamuq, appended to last year's report, with a similar close investigation of another and markedly different division of the Salish-stock in British Columbia, the Sk'gō'mic. These people previously inhabited Howe Sound and Burrard Inlet in large numbers, but they are now much reduced, and appear to be rapidly passing away. Over ninety villages at one time inhabited are enumerated. Much attention has been given to the language, which had not heretofore been seriously investigated, and which shows numerous grammatical and other peculiarities. Mr. Hill-Tout's work, in fact, constitutes a very important local contribution to the ethnology of the native races of the west coast.

This report is accompanied by nineteen photographs of Indians, taken by Mr. Hill-Tout, partly of the Sk'gō'mic and partly of neighbouring tribes, in which he is now further pursuing his investigations.

The ancient settlement of Huron Indians at Lorette, near Quebec, has always been an object of great interest to the ethnologist, although prolonged and intimate contact with the whites of the neighbourhood has resulted in marked alterations of a physical and social character. These alterations have progressed so far as to make trustworthy studies an exceptionally difficult matter, but the Committee felt that no opportunity to secure such data as might yet be available should be lost, and in Appendix III. Mr. L. Gérin presents the results of a very careful investigation into the actual social condition of these Indians. He brings this into comparison with their original condition, tracing out the influences which have produced great changes among them during their prolonged residence in the province of Quebec, subsequent to the abandonment of their old home. The condition of this community of Hurons offers a marked contrast to that of the originally similar Iroquois community near Montreal, their evolution in modern times having been almost in opposite directions; a circumstance explained by their environment in the two cases. The report is accompanied by photographs showing the present conditions of village life, which will be kept on file for future reference.

## APPENDIX I.

### *Early French Settlers in Canada.* By B. SULTE.

Following my statement of last year, I beg to submit, first, the result of my observations respecting the number of actual settlers in 1632-66.

In 1632 there were twenty-nine men<sup>1</sup> in the colony, who were either married or who married soon after, and became heads of families. These are the roots of the Canadian tree. A few Frenchmen engaged in the fur trade formed a distinct group outside of the scope of this paper.

In 1640 the 'habitants' numbered 375,<sup>1</sup> distributed as follows:

Married men, 64; married women (three born in Canada), 64; widower, 1; widows, 4; unmarried men, 35; boys (30 born in Canada), 58; girls (24 born in Canada), 48; nuns, 6; Jesuits, 29; other Frenchmen, 66; total, 375.

<sup>1</sup> I have published a biographical sketch of each of them.

According to my calculations, the 'habitants' did not exceed 600 in 1650, besides 40 Jesuits, 40 Jesuits' servants, and 20 other Frenchmen.

The population in 1653 appears to have been distributed in three groups: Quebec, 400; Three Rivers, 175; Montreal, 100; total, 675.

We must add the usual contingent of French traders, which was very small at that time on account of the war of the Iroquois.

It is mentioned in letters dated from Canada, 1661-63, that the entire population (inhabitants, Jesuits, and others) did not exceed 2,500. This embraces the large immigrations of 1662, 1663, which mark a new departure in the whole affairs of Canada.

The reader is referred to the statement in the last Report, covering the period of 1608-1645, with regard to the origin of the 122 men who first settled in the colony. I will now show the origin of 475 more during 1646-1666. These are men who came from France, were already married or married in Canada, and founded families in the colony:—

*North-west of France.*—Bretagne, 20; Maine, 22; Normandie, 136; Picardie, 10; Ile-de-France, 25; Touraine, 8; Anjou, 18; total, 239.

*South-west of France.*—Poitou, 60; Rochelle, 138; Bordeaux, 14; total, 212.

*East of France.*—Champagne, 6; Nivernais, 2; Berry, 3; Dauphiné, 4; Auvergne, 5; Lyonnais, 4; total, 24.

During the same period, 1646-1666, I find 100 marriages without any mention of the origin of the contracting parties; but we may safely infer, from the synopsis just given, that they must be added to the 475 whose origins are known, and distributed according to the relative proportions of that statistic.

Therefore from 1608 to 1666 we have examined 697 men who came from France with their wives, or marrying once settled in the colony.

Until about 1645 the greatest number of them came from the north of river Loire; after that the south-western provinces gradually balanced the emigration from the north—

1646-1666. North of Loire, 231; south of Loire, 220.

Immigrants from Touraine, Poitou, Rochelle, Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois, Bordeaux, found their way to Canada after 1650, so that the Normandy influence was absolute until about 1660, when Poitou and Rochelle came in for a large share.

The first official census was taken in 1666, and considered imperfect at that time. It gives 3,215 souls for all the New France.

The census (nominal) of 1667 says 3,918 souls. These last figures represent the 697 heads of families above mentioned. The following statement is a *résumé* of that valuable document:—

Families, 668; males, 2,406; females, 1,512; married (625), 1,250; widowers, 20; widows, 26; boys, 1,762; girls, 860.

*Ages of the People.*

Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.
0-1	223	5-6	122	11-15	241	51-60	156
1-2	186	6-7	100	16-20	250	61-70	78
2-3	154	7-8	104	21-30	925	71-80	9
3-4	143	8-9	84	31-40	582	81-90	9
4-5	148	9-10	103	41-50	281	Not given	20

*Ages in Relation to Conjugal Condition.*

Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.	Years	No.
0-10	0	21-30	403	51-60	96	81-90	4
11-15	2	31-40	409	61-70	49	91-100	
16-20	66	41-50	215	71-80	6		

The number of arpents under cultivation was 11,448, with cattle 3,107, and sheep 85. No horses yet in the colony. All the sheep were run on at River St. Charles, near Quebec.

The land under cultivation shows an average of seventeen arpents per family. The census of 1681 has the same small proportion.

## APPENDIX II.

*Notes on the Sk-qō'mic of British Columbia, a Branch of the great Salish Stock of North America. By C. HILL-TOU.*

The following notes on the Sk-qō'mic, a division of the Salish stock of British Columbia, are a summary of the writer's studies of this tribe. While he has sought to make them as comprehensive and complete as possible, he is fully conscious that they are far from being exhaustive. There are, indeed, insuperable difficulties in the way of making really exhaustive reports on any of our tribes at the present time. There are, in the first place, many invincible prejudices to be overcome. Then there is the difficulty of communication, and when these have been partially overcome there yet remains the difficulty of finding natives who possess the knowledge you are seeking. Not every Indian is an *Iagoo*, a story-teller; and only the older men and women remember the old practices, customs, manners, and beliefs of the tribe, and even these have forgotten much that is important to know. These and other difficulties stand in the way of complete and exhaustive investigation; and I cannot better illustrate the need of pushing on our work among these interesting peoples without further delay than by stating that since my last report was sent in my principal informant among the N'tlaka'pamuq, Chief Mischelle, from whom I secured so much valuable information a year or so ago, has passed away, and can render us no further aid. In a few years, all those who lived under the old conditions in præ-missionary days, and who now alone possess the knowledge we desire to gather, will have passed away, and our chances of obtaining any further reliable information of the past will have gone with them.

In my work among the Sk-qō'mic I have been more than usually fortunate, and have been able to bring together much interesting matter not previously known or recorded.

*Ethnography.*

The Sk-qō'mic constitute a distinct division of the Salish of British Columbia and both in language and customs differ considerably from the coast tribes on the one hand, and the interior tribes on the other. The structural differences of their speech are so great as to shut them off from free intercourse with the contiguous Salish tribes. The tribe to-day numbers less than two hundred souls, I believe. Formerly they were a



strong and populous tribe, numbering, when white men first came into contact with them, many thousands. Some of their larger *ō'kwamūq*, or villages, contained as many as seven hundred people, and that less than fifty years ago. We gather this from the early white settlers themselves.

The original home and territory of the Sk'q'ō'mic seems to have been on the banks of the river which gives them their tribal name, and along the shores of Howe Sound, into which the Skuamish runs. Their settlements on the river extended for upwards of thirty miles along the banks. Their northern neighbours were the Lillooets or Stlatlumh tribe and the Tcikōtin division of the Déné stock. Their southern neighbours were the Lower Fraser tribes. According to one of my informants the Indian villages that used to exist on English Bay, Burrard Inlet, and False Creek were not originally true Sk'q'ō'mic. They were said to be allied by speech and blood to the Lower Fraser tribes. How far this is correct seems impossible now to say. Sk'q'ō'mic is everywhere spoken throughout this territory, and has been as far back as our knowledge of it goes; and the Sk'q'ō'mic villages, according to my informants, extend to and include *Mā'li*, at the mouth of the Fraser, which place Dr. Boas was informed by the River Indians belonged to them, and which he has accordingly, included in their territory. It was probably the dividing line, and, like Spuzzum, farther up the river, was composed partly of the one division and partly of the other.

Our first knowledge of the Sk'q'ō'mic dates back to rather less than a century ago. The first white man to sail into English Bay and Howe Sound and come into contact with them was Captain Vancouver. He recorded briefly his impressions of them in the diary of his voyage to this coast, a short extract from which may be of interest in this first formal account of the tribe. He writes thus:—

Friday, June 15, 1792.<sup>1</sup>

'But for this circumstance we might too hastily have concluded that this part of the Gulf was uninhabited. In the morning we were visited by nearly forty of the natives, on whose approach from the very material alteration that had now taken place in the face of the country we expected to find some difference in their general character. This conjecture was, however, premature, as they varied in no respect whatever, but in possessing a more ardent desire for commercial transactions, into the spirit of which they entered with infinitely more avidity than any of our former acquaintances, not only bartering amongst themselves the different valuables they had obtained from us, but when that trade became slack in exchanging those articles again with our people, in which traffic they always took care to gain some advantage, and would frequently exult on this occasion. Some fish, their garments, spears, bows and arrows, to which these people wisely added their copper garments, comprised their general stock-in-trade. Iron in all forms they judiciously preferred to any other article we had to offer.'

They have not altered much in these points of their character since Vancouver's visit, and many of them have to-day, I am told, snug little sums judiciously invested by their good friend and spiritual director, the late Bishop Durieu, in safe paying concerns. It is only fair to say, however, that they deserve to be prosperous. They are probably the most

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 305.

industrious and orderly band of Indians in the whole province, and reflect great credit upon the Roman Mission established in their midst.

I obtained the following list of old village sites, not 10 per cent. of which are now inhabited. The list is not perfectly complete. There were a few more villages at the upper end of Burrard Inlet which have been long abandoned, and whose names my informants could not recall. My enumeration contains in all some ninety-three villages, each of which, according to Chief Thomas of Qé'qíōs and others, was formerly a genuine Sk'qō'míc *ó'kwumúg*, containing from fifty to several hundred inhabitants.

## ON SK'QŌ'MIC RIVER.

*Right Bank.*

Có'tais.  
N'cái'tc.  
T'k takai' = vine-maple.  
Sqáqai'ek.  
Kwána'ken = hollow in mountain.  
Yú'kuts.  
Stó'toi' = leaning over (a cliff).  
Kómps.  
Slókoí.  
N'k'u'kapatc = canoes transformed to stone (see story of Qais).  
K'wo'lán = ear.  
Kau'ten.  
Qé'qíōs.  
Sié'tcEM = sandy.  
N'pók'wis.  
Ék'úks.  
Tciá'kamic (on creek of that name).  
Tóktá'kamai = place of thimble-berries.

Spápa'k'.  
Étlé'úq.  
'Skau'can.  
Póia'm.

*Left Bank.*

S'k'lau' = beaver.  
Stá'mis.  
Smók'.  
Qá'k'siné (on Ma'mukum Creek).  
K'áke'n.  
Ikwo'psum.  
QEK'wai'akin.  
Ítl'óq.  
Pó'kaió'sum = slide.  
Sk'úmi'n = keekwilee-house.  
Cémps.  
Tcimai'.  
Tcuk'tcuk'ts.

## HOWE SOUND.

*West Side.*

Tcé'was.  
Swí'at.  
(é'tuksEM.  
Qé'túsum.  
Kwi'tetenEM.  
K'é'kelun.  
K'óé'kói.  
Stcink' (Gibson's Landing).

*East Side.*

K'úkutwó'm = waterfall.  
Cé'tsáken.

Cicai'óqoi  
Qé'íkētōs = painted.  
Sk'u'tuksEN = promontory.  
Ku'latsEN.  
N'pá'puk'.  
TumtIs = paint.  
Tcákqai.  
St'ó'ktoks.  
Stcilks = sling.  
Ké'tlals'm = nipping grass, so called because deer come here in spring to eat the fresh grass.  
Ské'awatsut (Point Atkinson).

## ISLANDS IN SOUND.

Tlá'qóm (Anvil Island).  
Tcá'lkunts (Gambier Island).  
Qólé'laqóm (Bowen Island).

Sau'qtitc (Hat Island).  
Mí'tlmetlé'ltc (Passage Island).

## ENGLISH BAY, THE NARROWS, BURRARD INLET, AND FALSE CREEK.

*From Coal Harbour to Mouth of North Arm of the Fraser.*

cetcé'lmen.  
ekó'altc.

Pápiák' (lighthouse).

Qoiqoi = masks.

Suntz.

Sk'e'akunts.

Tcānts.	
Sqēlc = standing up ('Siwash rock').	<i>North Side from Point Atkinson, through the Narrows, up the Inlet.</i>
Stētūqk.	
Hēlcen = sandy beach; <i>verbatim</i> , soft to the foot.	St'k'qē'l.
Snauc (False Creek).	Smēlā'kōā.
Sk'ōātcaī's = deep hole in water.	K'tcā'm.
Sk'waī'ns.	Swai'wi.
Ja'imuc (Jericho).	Hōmū'ltcison (Capilano Creek) (former headquarters of supreme chief of the Sk'qō'mic).
Qapqapētlp = place of cedar (Point Grey).	Tlāstlēmauc = Saltwater Creek.
U'lk's'n = point ( <i>cf.</i> radical for nose).	St'lāu'n
Te'atlum.	Qotl'skaim = serpent pond.
Teitcīl'ēk.	Qōā'ltca (Linn Creek).
Ku'laqEn.	Teētēqōk (Seymour Creek).
Humēlsom.	K'nāken = palisade, a fenced village.
Māli.	

### *Social Organisation.*

The social organisation of the Sk'qō'mic has been so much broken up and modified by missionary and white influence that it is difficult now to learn any details about it. The tribe appears to have been divided, like the N'tlaka'pamuq, into a number of *ōkwumūq*, or village communities, each of which was governed by its own local chief. I could gather nothing of their beliefs with regard to the origin of their different villages: they seem to have none or else to have lost or forgotten them. Of the origin of the tribe as a whole and some of the chief events of their existence I gathered an account a few years ago from an ancient member of the tribe, who was born a year or so after Captain Vancouver's visit to them in 1792. This was published in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada,' 1897-98. Briefly it tells how the first Sk'qō'mic man came into existence; how later the tribe was overwhelmed by a flood, and only one man and his wife escaped in their canoe, which landed on the mountains contiguous to the present Sk'qō'mic territory; and how later again a severe and prolonged snowstorm caused, by cold and famine, the death of the whole tribe save one man and his daughter. From these two the Sk'qō'mic trace their tribal descent.

The people were divided into the usual threefold division of chiefs, nobles, and common people. The lines, however, between these classes were not absolutely rigid. According to my informants a member of the lower class, if a woman, could rise to the class above her by marriage with a member of that class, the wife usually taking the rank of her husband if not a slave. But a man of the lower rank, even if, he succeeded in marrying a woman of the middle class, could only become a member of that class by undergoing a long and severe training, in which daily washings and scrubbing of the body played an important part. This was evidently a form of initiation the further particulars of which I could not learn. As a rule the chiefs and their families and immediate relatives formed a class or caste apart, the title of chief or headman descending from father to son, patriarchy prevailing among the Sk'qō'mic. Consequently a chief usually married a chief's daughter or daughters. But this rule was sometimes broken, and a woman of a lower class was taken to wife. In these cases the chieftainship would properly descend to one of the chief's brothers or his son, and not to his own son. This was the rule. But it was possible to break this also and transmit the headship of the tribe to his own son by giving many 'potlatch' feasts,

and thus securing the goodwill of the tribe in his son's favour. The son, too, upon his father's death, would also give a feast and make handsome presents to all the influential men of the tribe, the result of which would be that he would be elected to the rank of chief, and be allowed to succeed his father in the chieftaincy of the tribe. From this it would seem that children took their social rank from their mother rather than from their father, which looks like a trace of matriarchate, or mother-right. It is clear from their folk-tales, however, that these class divisions were not hard and fast, but that members of a lower caste could by the performance of certain acts pass into that above it. Of secret societies I was unable to obtain any information whatever, and whether such formerly existed among the Sk'qó'mic—of which I am extremely doubtful—it seems impossible now to say. Among the chiefs there were some of higher rank than the others, as among the N'tlaka'pamuq. The supreme *siám* of the tribe was known by the title *TE K'ápi'lá'nóa*, and had his headquarters at the mouth of the Hóm'ultcison Creek, now called Capilano by the whites. He was local chief also of the Hóm'ultcison sept. Next in rank to him came one of the Skuamish River chiefs. He likewise had a proper title, being known as *TE Qátsilá'nóa*.<sup>1</sup> I was unable to learn what special signification these titles had. It is possible we may see in them the special names of two powerful gentes. The gentile system of the Sk'qó'mic, if such existed, is not at all clear. The distinction between what might be regarded as a gens, or a sept, or a mere tribal division is very difficult to determine.

I could gather nothing satisfactory from any of my informants on this head. Heraldic and totemic symbols, according to some of them, were never used in the old days; but yet I was informed by others that some of the old houses had carved posts or columns, and that the figure of a bird or some other animal would sometimes be placed on a pole in front of the house or fastened to one of the gable ends. They also, sometimes at least, used masks in certain of their dances, if we may rely upon the information on these points in their folk-tales. The tribe, as my ethnographical notes show, was formerly divided into a number of subdivisions, or *ó'kwumúq*. Whether each of these should be regarded simply as a tribal subdivision, as among the N'tlaka'pamuq, or as a gens, as among the northern tribes, is doubtful. Each division had its proper name—in every instance, I think, a geographical one—derived from some local physical peculiarity, exactly as among the N'tlaka'pamuq. In every *ó'kwumúq* there existed the same threefold division of the people into three classes, and in some instances the total number of souls in each village would amount to several hundreds. Generally speaking, each community would be made up of several families or clans. The members of these clans were not bound together, as the gentes of the northern

<sup>1</sup>The distinctive part of this title bears a remarkable resemblance to the esoteric term by which one of the Nootka deities was invoked by the chiefs of that tribe. Dr. Boas has recorded the name of this being under the form *Ká'tsé*. The two forms so clearly resemble each other as to suggest some connection between them; and in this connection I may remark that the more I extend my studies of the Salish and Kwakiutl-Nootka, the stronger is the conviction forced upon me that between these two stocks there is a deeper underlying racial connection than the structural differences of their language would seem to indicate. Morphologically speaking, they seem to have little in common; but that little steadily increases with our larger analytical knowledge of their languages, and their vocabulary resemblances are many and far-reaching.

tribes, by common totems or crests. They comprised the blood relatives of any given family on both sides of the house for six generations. After the sixth generation the kinship ceases to hold good and the clanship is broken. Under this arrangement an individual's relatives were legion, and he would often have family connection in a score or more different *ō'kwumūq*. Among the present Sk-qō'mic almost all of them are related in this way to one another, and their cousinships are endless and even perplexing to themselves. Marriage within the family or clan as thus constituted was prohibited, but members of different clans in the same village could intermarry with each other. If each village community is to be regarded as a separate gens having a common origin from some common ancestor—which I think is extremely doubtful—then marriage among the Sk-qō'mic was not forbidden to members of the same gens. For my own part I am disposed to regard these separate communities as mere subdivisions of the tribe which were effected at different periods in their tribal existence, and generally; probably, from the same causes which have all over the world led to the founding of new homes and new settlements, viz., increase and stress of population. The evidence in favour of regarding these divisions as distinct gentes having each a separate origin and springing from a separate ancestor, as among the northern tribes, is scanty and doubtful. This view is strengthened by the traditional origin of the tribe, which makes them all spring from a common pair. I do not desire to be understood as asserting that totemic gentes did not formerly exist among the Sk-qō'mic, as Dr. Boas seems to hold. All I say is that after diligent inquiry from several of the chiefs and others I could myself find no evidence of it. I could not learn that any particular group or family bore names peculiar to that group or family, or possessed privileges not shared by the others other than the right to certain dances and their accompanying songs, the origin and source of which was some personal dream, or vision, or experience of their own or their parents. But the ownership of these dances differed in no way from the ownership of a canoe or any other piece of property, and constituted no kind of bond or union between the owner of them and others of the tribe or *ō'kwumūq*.

The only peculiar name that I could learn other than those of the supreme chiefs was that borne by the offspring of female slaves by their masters. This was the term *s'tā'cem*, and was a word of reproach.

Polygamy was commonly practised among the Sk-qō'mic, the number of a man's wives being limited only by his rank and wealth. A chief would frequently have four or five wives. Each wife had her own quarters in the house, which included a fire and a bed of her own. A favourite wife would rank first. She would be regarded in consequence with jealousy and hatred by the others. The husband would sometimes eat with one, sometimes with another. Infidelity in wives was punished by cutting the soles of their feet, or, in some instances, by stoning them to death.

#### *Mortuary Customs.*

The burial customs of the modern Sk-qō'mic are now commonly conducted in the same way as our own, few, if any, of the older ceremonies, which are discountenanced by the priests, being observed. In former days the following customs were universally practised:—When life had left the body the corpse was taken out of the house and washed by some

elderly friends of the family. It was then doubled up and placed in a box coffin before it had grown rigid. In the case of chiefs the body was sometimes placed in a canoe instead of a box. It was then taken to the burial-ground whether it were day or night. If it were night-time torches would be used. The box containing the corpse was then placed in a roughly constructed cedar-slab shed, after which everybody returned home. The immediate relatives of the deceased followed the corpse, accompanied by the other members of the family or clan, together with all their friends, and a band of special mourners, who are engaged for the occasion. All those who followed the corpse to the graveyard must paint the breasts of their garments with red paint. If this were not done a scarcity of fish would be the result at the next salmon run. The mourners are of both sexes, and all cry aloud. The period of mourning lasted generally about a month. If, however, the deceased were very dear to the survivors, the mourning would be kept up longer. When a chief died the whole community turned out to mourn, and almost everybody followed the corpse. The hired mourners are paid for their services with blankets or skins. If the friends of the deceased are wealthy a feast is held immediately after the disposal of the body, and the mourners are then paid. If, however, the relatives of the deceased are poor, then no feast is given at the time, and the payment of the mourners is also deferred until such occasion as a sufficient number of blankets and skins has been collected, and they are in a position to hold the feast. It was customary to choose the occasion of some big 'potlatch' gathering, when everybody would be present.

When the relatives of the deceased have returned from the graveyard they burn cedar (*Thuja gigantea*) and salal-berry (*Gaultheria Shallon*) branches and whip the whole dwelling with boughs, particularly that part where the body lay, to drive away the presence of death, sickness, and ghosts, all of which are supposed to linger there.

Some three or four days after the burial it was not unusual for the witches and wizards of the tribe to declare that the ghost of the dead had returned from the land of spirits for something to eat. The relatives of the deceased are informed, and they immediately gather all the best food they can procure, and take it, sometimes to the burial ground and sometimes into the woods, and spread it out on a big blanket made from the wool of the mountain sheep or goat. The witches and medicine-men now invite the shade of the dead to eat. Presently they assure the relatives that the spirit is satisfied. The food is then either distributed to the poor and old, or else it is consumed in a fire built for the occasion.

The customs to be observed by the immediate survivors of the deceased differ somewhat according to sex. If a woman had lost her husband she must fast for one whole day. At the close of the day a neighbour would bring in a large piece of dried fish. The widow must now bite four mouthfuls from this piece of fish, while it is held in the neighbour's hands, without touching it herself except with her mouth. After she had eaten her four mouthfuls of fish she might partake of other food, but must be careful to abstain from eating it before her children. Should the food be eaten in the presence of the children it was believed that they would all shortly die, the act being regarded as equivalent to 'eating up their life.' This rule must be strictly observed for the space of a month. For the same period she must bathe the first thing every morning and scrub her body with boughs, after which she must blow on

the tips of her fingers four times successively if she desired to get stout or fat, and if she wanted to become thin she must suck in the air from the tips of her fingers the same number of times. Another practice she must observe was to place *tsutzēlcai'ē* (spruce-boughs) under her bed, and also hang some at the head of it.<sup>1</sup> She must also eat her food off these boughs for at least a month. The widow always accompanied the corpse of her husband to the burial-place. Her blanket is painted for the occasion with streaks of red paint, as is also the crown of her head. Excessive weeping sometimes made her so weak that she had to support herself with a staff (*l'icātc*) while walking to and from the graveyard. The customs to be observed by the widower were simpler. He must likewise bathe every morning at daybreak, and must also abstain from eating before his children for the space of a month; but his head was not painted, only his blanket; and he puts the *tsutzēlcai'ē* only at the head of his bed, and not under it. Some three or four days after the burial all the relatives of the deceased, except the widow or the widower, must cut their hair. The severed hair is always carefully collected and buried. After the ceremony of hair-cutting is over all those who have attended the funeral go in a line to the river or the inlet, according to the locality, and walk down into the water till it is up to their breasts; then at a word they all dip together once and come out again. If they are wearing blankets at the time they cast these aside, but otherwise do not trouble to disrobe.

It was customary for widows and orphans some time during the mortuary rites to take a small white pebble and roll it in their mouths four times. This was supposed to prevent the teeth from decaying.

#### *Birth Customs.*

It was customary among the Sk'qō'mic women to retire to the woods when they were about to give birth to their children. Usually a woman went quite alone or accompanied only by her husband. Midwives were called in for the first child, but afterwards only in cases of difficulty or when the labour was unduly prolonged. Usually the woman would fulfil her daily duties to within an hour of the child's birth, and be ready to take them up again a few hours afterwards. In the case of first children parents of standing would engage three or four midwives or experienced women for the occasion. Each had her own special duties to perform. These were prescribed by long-established custom. It was the office of one to sever the umbilical cord and dispose of the after-birth; of another to watch and care for the baby; and of another to 'cook the milk' and generally look after the mother. They were paid for their services immediately after the event by the husband with gifts of blankets. This honorarium was also prescribed by usage, the number of blankets given on the occasion depending on the husband's social position. Immediately after the birth of the child it is washed all over in cold water and then wrapped in the softest *sō'wi* (inner bark of the cedar—*Thuja gigantea*—beaten till soft and fine) and placed in a cradle of cedar-wood. This cradle was constructed in the following manner:—A piece of cedar-wood about thirty inches long and ten or twelve inches wide, was first taken; a second, and shorter, but considerably broader, piece was then bent over this in the form of an arch, and fastened in this position to the longitudinal edges of the other, thus forming a kind of pocket. The lower piece,

<sup>1</sup> The object of this was to preserve her from her husband's sickness.

or bed of the cradle, extended about four inches beyond the other at the foot, and about six inches at the head. The extension at the foot was bent upwards till it reached an angle of thirty or forty degrees, and fastened in this position to the upper piece by lacing. This formed a kind of foot-board, the object of which was to keep the baby from slipping down out of the cradle and allow at the same time the liquids to escape. The head of the cradle was left open. The child passed the first year of its life in this receptacle, never leaving it except to be washed twice daily. It was both fed and dandled in its cradle. If the mother had outside work to do, the cradle was usually slung to her shoulder or to a swing pole. In carrying it the weight was borne on the hip. It was during this cradle existence of the child that the cranial deformation formerly practised by this tribe took place. This was effected by frontal pressure, pads or bands of *slō'wi* being tied across the anterior part of the cranium and held there by thongs fastened to the bottom of the cradle. A pad was also tied across the top of the head about the line of the coronal suture to prevent the head from rising to a ridge here, as was common among the Siciatl tribe, the Sk'qō'mic regarding this as ugly and unsightly. The immediate effect of this pressure was threefold. It caused a flattening of the occipital region by contact with the cradle-board; it gave a peculiarly receding sweep to the frontal bone, a line of beauty in Sk'qō'mic eyes; and it produced a compensatory bulge of the head laterally; the general effect of all which was to make the head appear abnormally short and the face unusually broad. This practice of cranial deformation has now, I believe, been wholly given up by the Sk'qō'mic, though the infant still passes the greater part of the first year of its existence in a cradle as formerly. On one of my visits to the Sk'qō'mic I observed an Indian mother nursing her baby in a rush-made cradle with open top. This, I was informed, was the style now commonly used. Should the birth take place in the winter, or when it was not convenient for the mother to retire to the woods, a temporary screen of reed mats would be put up in the general dwelling, behind which the woman would give birth to her child. A very peculiar custom obtained among the Sk'qō'mic in the case of first-born children. The mother might not feed the child from the breast for four days. Her breasts must first be steamed with a decoction of the rind of the elderberry (*Sambucus racemosa*), and then covered with poultices of the same material. This was kept up for four days, its object being to 'cook' the mother's milk. The process, called in the Sk'qō'mic *wi'ukwai mīukwum*—'cooking the breast,' was sometimes repeated at the birth of the second child, only on this occasion the infant was not deprived of the breast. It was thought that the mother's milk was harmful to the child before the fourth day and before it had been 'cooked.' This strange custom amongst others may perhaps have had something to do with the high death-rate among the old time children. In earlier days, before contact with the whites, it was not at all uncommon for a mother to give birth to a dozen children; but there were few households which contained a family of children of more than half of that number. It is true female children were commonly strangled at birth if there were too many girls in the family. This unnatural practice was effected by the parents themselves—usually by the mother—by stopping the nostrils and placing a gag of *slō'wi* in the child's mouth. My informant was herself doomed to this fate at her birth, and was only spared at the earnest solicitations of an elder sister.

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After the birth of the child, when the woman had passed the after-birth, she was taken or went down to the river or inlet and bathed in the icy-cold water, no matter what time of year or what kind of weather it was. My informant stated that she had been thus taken to the river and washed all over after the birth of her first child in the month of January, when the water was covered with ice and the ground with snow. Ablutive ceremonies played a very important part in the lives of the old-time Sk-q'omic, as we may easily gather from their old customs. Men, women, and children bathed constantly. Among the young men it formed an important feature in their training. Each sex had its own special bathing place, men and women, or boys and girls, after childhood never bathing together.

The birth of twins was a very special event, twins always possessing, it was believed, supernormal powers, the commonest of which was control of the wind. It would seem that the birth of twins was usually presaged by dreams on the part of both parents. In these dreams minute instructions would be given to the parents as to the course they must pursue in the care and up-bringing of the children. These they must follow implicitly in every particular. If they were neglected it was thought and believed that the twins would die. If the event took place in winter a fire must be built in the woods, but the husband must on no account touch or have anything to do with it.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the birth both husband and wife must bathe in cold water, using the tips of spruce, fir, and cedar branches to scrub themselves with. After this they must remain in seclusion, apart from the rest of the tribe, for a month. Any breach of this rule was regarded as a grave offence, which was bound to bring severe punishment upon the offenders. The hair of twins was supposed never to be cut. If for any reason this rule was departed from, great care had to be taken to bury all that had been cut off. Neglect of this, it was believed, would bring about a severe winter. Throughout the whole childhood of the twins the greatest care had to be taken of them. If at any time wind was desired for sailing, the bodies of the twins would be rubbed with oil or grease, after which, it is said, the wind would immediately rise. The *tsai'anük*, a kind of small fish which I was unable to identify, and which periodically visits the Sk-q'omic River in large numbers, are said to be descended from a pair of twins (see the story of the origin of the *tsai'anük* below, under 'Folk-lore').

When a woman desired to give birth to a son she would place during her pregnancy a bow and arrows under her bed. If a daughter were desired a needle and some of the utensils used in weaving would take the place of the bow and arrows. Another custom to ensure the same end was for the woman to chew, in the early days of her pregnancy, the leaves of certain kinds of willow and other shrubs. These leaves were distinguished as 'male' and 'female' leaves.

#### *Customs practised to prevent Pregnancy.*

When a woman desired to bear no more children she adopted one or more of the following practices. She would get out of bed immediately after giving birth to her child and stand for some time up to her armpits in the icy cold water of the inlet, or river, or sound, according to her locality; or she would bury the after-birth on the beach at ebb-tide just

<sup>1</sup> If the husband built the fire a very cold period would follow.

at the line of land and water. Another practice was to hang the after-birth on the branch of a tree and keep it there for a twelvemonth. Still another was to turn round three times and kick the after-birth before it was disposed of. Usually the mode of disposing of the after-birth was by burying it secretly in the ground. Among the Sk-qō'mic it was never burned, as among some tribes. It was believed that the mother would 'swell up' and die if the after-birth were burned. It is said that a woman once destroyed the after-birth in this manner with this melancholy result; hence its disposal in this way was ever afterwards most carefully avoided.

*Marriage Customs.*

Formerly, when a young man took a fancy to a girl and desired to make her his wife, the custom was for him to go to the house of the girl's parents and squat down with his blanket wrapped about him just inside the door. Here he was supposed to remain for four days and nights without eating or drinking. During this period no one of the girl's family takes the slightest notice of him. The only difference his presence makes in the house is to cause the parents to keep a bright fire burning all night. This is done that they may readily perceive that he takes no advantage of his proximity to the girl to make love to her or otherwise molest her during the night. On the fourth day, if the suitor is acceptable to the parents, the mother of the girl asks some neighbour to acquaint the youth that they are willing to accept him as their son-in-law, and give him the girl. To himself they still say nothing, nor in any way take the slightest notice of him; and as no communication of any kind can take place between the girl's people and the young man at this stage of the proceedings, this neighbour now cooks a meal for the fasting lover and informs him at the same time that his suit is acceptable to the family, and that the girl will be given to him in the usual way.

After the young man's acceptance by the girl's parents in the manner described the youth would then return home, and in a few days come back for his bride, accompanied by all his friends and relatives. If he were just an ordinary young man of the tribe, of no particular standing, he would bring with him one canoe-load of blankets; but if he were a person of rank, such as a chief's son, he would bring two canoe-loads of blankets with him. These he would distribute to the bride's relatives. He and his friends are now entertained for the rest of the day by his prospective father-in-law, and accommodation is afforded them for the night, the inmates of the house sleeping on one side of the building and the visitors on the other. On the following morning, after a good meal has been indulged in, all go down to the beach to where the bridegroom's canoe is moored, the parents of the bride taking with them a number of blankets, which they put in the canoe. If the bride is a person of rank the whole course from the house to the beach is covered with a line of blankets for her to walk upon, and two old women, as maids-of-honour, lead her down to the canoe. The bride is dressed for the occasion in all the bravery of bright-coloured blankets and what other ornaments she may possess. Over her head, completely enveloping her, a blanket is thrown as a kind of bridal veil. Behind her come the female slaves of her father's household, carrying all her personal belongings, such as mats, baskets, blankets, wooden platters, spoons, &c. The bridesmaids now place the bride in the bow of the canoe, after which etiquette demands

that the bridegroom shall reward them for their services by a gift of one or more blankets each. When this has been done the parties separate, the girl's family and friends going back to the village, and the youth with his bride and friends returning home. If the girl were the daughter of ordinary parents she would have to dispense with some of these ceremonies, such as the walking on blankets, &c. Some days later the bride and bridegroom and his friends return to the bride's old home, where a feast is held. After the feast is over they separate again, and some time later the girl's parents and friends pay a return visit to her husband's home, bringing with them blankets and other presents equal in number and value to those bestowed upon themselves. These are distributed to the son-in-law and his friends, after which all partake of a second feast, which closes the marriage ceremonies, and thereafter the girl and youth are regarded by all as man and wife.

Sometimes the suitor is not acceptable to the girl's parents, and after a family council has been held he is rejected. A friendly neighbour is called in as before to act as intermediary and convey to him the decision of the parents, only on this occasion she provides no meal for him. If the youth has set his heart on the girl he will now try and induce her to elope with him. If she refuses to do this, he has perforce to give her up and seek a wife elsewhere. If, however, she consents, he seizes the first opportunity that offers and carries her off to the woods with him, where they remain together for several days. If the objection to the young man on the part of the girl's parents is not deep-rooted, he is now permitted to keep the girl as his wife on payment to them of a certain number of blankets. If, however, they object even now to have him as a son-in-law, they take the girl from him, and it is understood on both sides that he is to trouble her or them no further.

With regard to the suitor's fast of four days and nights I questioned my informant whether the old-time youths of the tribe really and truly abstained from food and drink on these occasions. He assured me they undoubtedly did, and that it was a matter of honour with them to eat or drink nothing during the whole period, the significance of their abstinence being that they were now men, and could readily endure the hardships and privations incident to manhood. Apropos of this custom he related to me an instance of what befell a certain luckless youth who sought surreptitiously to break his fast. The family of the girl whom he sought to take as wife had all gone out on the third day, leaving him squatting in his place by the door. They had gone across the inlet to pay a visit to a village on the other side. The absence of the whole family tempted the famishing youth to take advantage of his temporary opportunities to satisfy the cravings of his stomach. So he left his post and ran down to the beach and hastily dug up some clams. As he was in the act of eating these a little girl told him that the family was returning on the water. In his haste to eat the clams he had prepared he swallowed one whole, and it stuck, in his throat and choked him so that he died. His melancholy end was regarded by everybody as richly deserved, and his fate was held up thereafter as a warning to succeeding generations of young men.

These customs are no longer kept up among the great body of the Sk'qō'mic. Marriages among them are now conducted very much after the manner of the whites and solemnised by the priest. A few of the heathen Sk'qō'mic, who still hold by their old tribal customs, continue to

marry their daughters in this way ; but these are few in number, and, generally speaking, the marriage customs as here described are only a tradition in the tribe.

#### Naming.

A child usually received no name in babyhood, but when about three years old the elders of the child's family or clan would choose a name for it from among those of its ancestors. This name it would bear through life if a girl, but if a boy, and the son of some person of rank and wealth, some years later his parents would give a 'potlatch,' and then he would receive a new name. This was quite commonly that of his own father or of his paternal grandfather, whether they were alive or dead.

The names of dead people were tabooed. That is to say, it was a breach of custom and good manners to mention the name of a dead person in the presence of the deceased's relatives or connections. This custom gave rise to inconvenience at times. It was quite common for men to be called by the name of some implement or utensil. An individual once bore the name of Sk'u'mel = 'paddle.' When he died, as they might not use this term before his relatives, they had to make use of the term *qautlucus* when they wished to say 'paddle.' I did not get the signification of this new term. Another person bore the name *Shuk'cen* = 'moccasin.' When he died a new word had to be coined, and to-day both terms are in common use for moccasin.

The stories give us examples of the names used formerly. I append a few specimens of these here :—

Tcia'tmuq = owl.  
 Qoitcitá'l.  
 Á'tsaian.  
 Sia'tlmeq = rain-man.  
 Tculq.

Cauk = skull.  
 Sqéils = copper.  
 Cukçuklakló's.  
 Tétke'tsen.

#### Puberty Customs.

When a girl arrived at puberty she would call her mother's attention to her condition. The mother at once informed the father, who calls the family and relatives together. They discuss the matter and arrange what course the girl is to follow.<sup>1</sup> First of all they take two strands of the wool of the mountain sheep or goat and tie them to her hair, one on each side of her forehead. This is a public notification of the girl's condition, which everybody understands. She is now set to 'pull' wool or hair without food or drink for the space of four days. She was kept without water during this period, because it was believed that if she drank water when in this condition she would spoil her teeth. She must abstain from washing or bathing, and must never go near the fire during the four days.<sup>2</sup> When in this condition her mother, or grandmother, or some other woman would pull out all the irregular hairs from the edges of her eyebrows so as to make them fine and even. The denuded parts were always rubbed with the girl's saliva to prevent the hairs growing again. When the four days were up some old women would take her in hand, and bathe her head and body in hot water, and scrub her with

<sup>1</sup> From this statement it would seem that no two girls necessarily followed the same procedure.

<sup>2</sup> It was believed that if she sat near the fire during her menses her skin would become red, and ever after remain in that condition.

branches till her skin was almost torn off and her body was sore and covered from head to foot with scratches from the severe treatment she had received. The prickly brambles of the trailing blackberry (*Rubus sp.*) were often employed for this purpose, and my informant told me that it was no uncommon thing for a girl to toss and turn in agony the night following this bath, unable to close her eyes in sleep for the pain and smarting of her body.

If she were the daughter of a chief or a noble she would be bathed by the *sqō'm'ten* or *siū* (medicine man or woman). These would be paid for their services with gifts of blankets or skins.

The object of these heroic measures was to make the girl 'bright and smart.' After the bath she was given food and drink and permitted to come to the fire. Sometimes a friend of the family would mark the occasion by putting a nice new blanket over the girl's shoulders. After her meal her face would be painted with streaks of red paint, and the girl would then go to the forest and pull down the branches of all the cedar and spruce trees she passed and rub her face and body with their tips, and then let them spring up again. The object of this practice was to make her charming and attractive in the eyes of men. She would also take a quantity of fern-roots of the edible kind (*Pteris aquilina*) and offer them to the biggest trees she could find. This was supposed to give her a generous nature and keep her from becoming stingy and mean.

After a girl had arrived at puberty she was never allowed to play or mingle with the boys. She was kept indoors at work all day long. The lot of a girl among the Sk-qō'mic in the olden days does not appear to have been an enviable one.

A girl or woman during her monthly periods was 'bad medicine;' that is, she was supposed to carry ill-luck with her. If she entered a sick-room the invalid was sure to get worse; and if she crossed the path of a hunter or a fisher he would get no luck that trip.

When people were sick they were rubbed with dog-fish oil.

When the screech owl (*cai'u*) was heard hooting around a house it was regarded as a sure sign that some of the inmates would shortly die. *Cai'u* signifies 'ghost,' or 'shade.'

#### Dwellings.

The dwellings of the old Sk-qō'mic were of the communal kind, whether they were the ordinary slab and cedar-board structure or whether they were the winter keekwilee-house. As far as I have been able to gather, only the upper tribes on the Sk qō'mic River used the *sk'umi'n*, or keekwilee-house. That this structure was known to them is clear from the name of one of their villages, which signifies in English 'keekwilee-house.' The lower tribes commonly used the cedar structure all the year round. Each village contained one and sometimes two of these placed at right angles to one another, or in parallel lines according to the local peculiarities of the village site. Some of them, in the more populous villages, were of enormous length, extending in an unbroken line for upwards of 600 feet. Houses of two or three hundred feet in length were very ordinary dwellings. In width they varied from 20 to 40 feet. The walls, too, were of variable height, ranging from 8 to 15 feet when the roofs were gabled. If the roof contained but one slope, when the higher side would rise to 25 or even 30 feet. Both sides and roof were built of cedar boards or slabs split with hammer and wedges

from the cedar trunk. The cedar (*Thuja gigantea*) of British Columbia lends itself readily to operations of this kind, and the task is not as difficult as might be imagined. The white settlers almost everywhere build their houses, stables, fences, and barns of cedar split by themselves in this way. I have seen boards split out as smooth and uniform as if they had been cut out with a saw and planed. In the native dwellings the boards were held in place by withes or ropes made from young cedars or from the branches of older ones. There were no windows in these buildings; sunlight and air came in through the doors or by the roof, a part of which was pulled down a few feet to let the smoke out and the air and light in during the day in fine weather. These structures are open from end to end without partitions or divisions of any kind. The chief quite commonly occupied the centre of the dwelling. Next to him, on either side, came his brothers and other notabilities, and beyond these the baser folk. Each family had its own allotted space at the side of the dwelling and its own fire. This space was commonly just ample enough to allow of the beds of the family being arranged around three sides of a square with an open front towards the fire and centre of the room

thus . The bed was raised by a kind of platform or bed-stand about two feet from the ground. In the space beneath were stored roots and such-like commodities. Above and over the beds shelves were hung. On these were stored the dried fish and utensils of the family. If the family were one of position and wealth, several large cedar boxes would be found lying about. These would contain the blankets and skins and other valuables of the owners. To separate the beds of one family from another, hanging curtains of grass and reeds were suspended on either side, but the front was left open. The beds of the Sk'qō'mic consisted of reed mats and *stō'wi*, i.e., the inner bark of the cedar beaten till fine and soft. Rolls of the same material formed their pillows. Their coverings were, for the poorer class, mats of the same materials. For the wealthy these were supplemented by mountain goat blankets and dressed deer-skins. The Sk'qō'mic husband and wife did not sleep side by side, but feet to feet. If the bed space was confined the feet of one would reach to the head of the other; but usually this was not the case, plenty of room being allowed.

In winter it was customary to keep the fires burning all night, large logs being placed upon them for the purpose. On the occasion of feasts and dances the hanging mats about the beds would all be taken down, the beds themselves serving for seats or platforms for the drummers and spectators.

#### *Household Utensils.*

The Sk'qō'mic housekeeper possessed cooking pots of both cedar and basketry. Food was served in large shallow cedar troughs or dishes. Smaller platters of the same material were also in use, likewise spoons, though these were also made of horn. When eating they sat on mats or squatted on their haunches. Of baskets they had a great variety. Some of these were made from the split roots of young cedar, spruce, or fir trees, others from the bark of the alder and birch.

#### *Dress.*

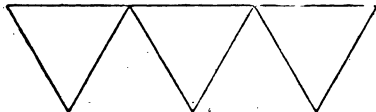
The dress of the Sk'qō'mic in pre-trading days did not differ materially from that of other tribes of this region. The men commonly wore high

leggings and waist-cloth. Over their shoulders, when they were not actively engaged, they wore, toga-fashion, a native blanket. The women of the nobler class wore a dressed deer-skin shroud or smock, which reached from the shoulders to below their knees; inferior women wore only short petticoats of woven *sló'wi*. Moccasins were worn at times by both sexes. The women sometimes covered their heads with a plaited conical hat with broad sloping brim. This served also as a receptacle for berries and other small things if no basket were at hand. The exterior of these hats was commonly figured in red and black paints or dyes. Some of the older women may still be occasionally seen wearing them, but they have gone out of use generally.

#### *Tattooing and Painting.*

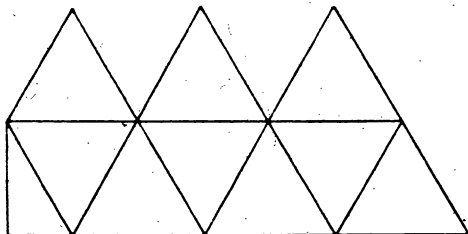
In earlier days the men used to paint themselves for dancing and other ceremonies. I could not learn that the men ever tattooed their bodies. A favourite decoration was that effected by sprinkling particles of mica over their faces and bodies upon a groundwork of grease. This gave

Markings on right arm above back of the hand.

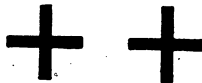


Colour blue.

Markings on left arm above back of the hand.



Colour blue.



their bodies a glistening appearance. They obtained the mica for this purpose from disintegrated granite. The women commonly employed a kind of red clay for facial decoration. This they smeared over their cheeks, chins, and foreheads. When confined only to the cheeks and not too lavishly put on the effect was not displeasing to the eye. It gave them a ruddy, comely appearance. The old women of pagan habits still decorate themselves in this way. The women were accustomed to tattoo themselves on the arm or wrist and lower leg. The markings were always simple and generally crude, bearing no resemblance whatever to the elaborate and fanciful designs of the Haida and other northern Indians. A copy of the markings on the arms of one of my informants. is given above.

#### *Games.*

The Sk'qó'mic had a variety of games. I obtained some information on some of these. The commonest and most popular were the ball games.

Of these they had two called *k'ē'k'qua* and *tcqui'la*. The former was a kind of lacrosse, and the ball was caught and thrown with an instrument similar to the lacrosse stick. The other was a kind of football. They played also a game called *tckwīē*. This was a kind of shuttlecock and battledore, and a favourite pastime of the girls. They were acquainted also with '*qauwī'ts*,' or the 'cat's-cradle' game. But dancing and dramatic impersonations of animals were their favourite pastimes, and these played an important part in the tribal festivities in earlier days.

#### Dances.

The Skqō'mic had three kinds of dances, called respectively *mē'tla*, *kō'uk's*, and *skaip*. The first was the common dance, which any one could perform; the second was characterised by spasmodic shakings of the head on the part of the dancer; the third had for its distinguishing feature a shaking or violent trembling of the hand, which was held aloft in the air during the dance. In this dance the dancer spits much blood, or something which has the appearance of blood. I have not myself seen a dance of this kind, so cannot say whether it is really blood or not. As they appear to be none the worse after the dancing is over they probably do not spit blood. When dancing they invariably sing. These dance-songs are private property. No one can use another person's song unless permission has been given, or unless it belongs jointly to more than one person. These dance-songs are acquired by inheritance or they are learnt in dreams. Dreams or visions are the original source of all their dances. A person dreams of a certain dance, and on the next occasion introduces it. Not every one is a dancer; only those who are by mental temperament fitted for the part ever become noted dancers. The reason of this is simple. A dancer during the performance of his dance is not in a normal condition of mind. He or she is practically in a hypnotic trance state. On the occasion of a dance the dancers come forward as they are moved or prompted by self-suggestion or the mental suggestion of the waiting audience. They sit passive waiting for the 'psychological moment,' just precisely as do the sitters in a 'mediumistic circle.' The monotonous beating of cedar boards on all sides, which is their dance music, has the effect of sending some of them into hypnotic trances. First one and then another heaves a deep sigh, or utters sounds indicative of mental disorder; some swoon outright, and have to be brought to a dancing condition by the dashing of cold water over them; and some start off in a kind of frenzy, and dance from fire to fire all round the building till they fall exhausted from their exertions.

Dancers had to undergo a certain training. When young men or women desired to become dancers they had first to subject themselves to a four days' fast. In this condition it was easy for them to pass into the hypnotic state. In the case of the girls in particular they would invariably swoon away on the fourth night, when the dance would be held, and the *sqōm'ten* and the *sīū* would work upon them to restore them to consciousness. Presently a girl would come out of her swoon with a deep sigh and begin singing, and then start off dancing for half an hour. This dance she is supposed to have learnt in her trance. When she has finished her performance she is driven out into the forest among the trees. The purpose of this is that she may learn a new dance from the bushes and trees, which they think are able to hold communication with the neophyte in her present state and impart to her some of their know-



ledge. After a while she returns to the building again and performs a new dance. When a novice performs his or her first dance it is called their *hansūlkitl*. Nearly all the spectators of the dances beat time with sticks on loose cedar boards placed on the beds. The movements of the dancers are various, agility and endurance being more aimed at than what we should call grace. Prancing like a high-stepping horse is a noted feature in some of the men's dances. An old resident of the district, Mr. Jonathan Miller, now postmaster of Vancouver City, but who formerly had much to do with the Indians in his capacity of provincial constable, informed me that at the close of one of their dances, which took place about thirty-eight years ago at the village of Qoiqoi (=masks), in Stanley Park, which then had a population of 700, and now contains but one family, a noted medicine-man, or *suóm'ten*, gave a performance. He came into the circle with a small living dog in his teeth. As he danced he devoured the creature piecemeal. He bit the skin from its nose and tore it backwards with his teeth till he reached the throat. Hé then tore off piece after piece of the flesh and danced round the building, devouring it as he went. This dance was known as the 'dog-dance.' This is no longer practised even by the pagan bands, as far as I can learn.

There was a custom among the Sk'q'óm'ic of 'bringing out' a girl, not altogether unlike the custom among ourselves. In the case of a girl who had lost her mother when she had reached the age of puberty she was publicly 'brought out' at the next dance, and sang and danced her mother's song and dance before the whole community. She was attired for the occasion in a special garment or head-dress. When the people were assembled for the dancing an elderly man of the girl's family would proclaim aloud that So and-so was going to dance and sing her mother's song. Her brothers or her cousins would now prepare and robe her. This ceremony was called *só'yūmaitl*, and consisted in placing upon her head a kind of veil composed of tails made from the wool of the mountain-goat, which hung down all round her person, and bobbed and swayed as she moved. The garment was called *só'yūmen*. If the girl were a good industrious sister the brothers would show their esteem and regard for her by seating her on a pile of blankets, afterwards to be given away to mark the occasion. Usually the ceremony took place in the house, but sometimes a platform would be erected on several canoes joined together on the water, and the dance would take place there. When the announcement would be made of the dance all the people would show their pleasure by clapping their hands much as a white audience does. In earlier times the girl danced on a blanket, which was afterwards *sqáls*, or scrambled for by the onlookers, each wildly endeavouring to get a piece of it. Every one who secured a grip of the blanket was entitled to cut off all he held in his hand. These pieces of blanket were not prized as mere souvenirs of the occasion, as might be thought, but rather as precious material to be rewoven into another blanket. That is the reason why blankets at potlatches and other feasts were cut into pieces if there were not enough whole ones to go round among the guests. Mountain-goat wool was a valuable commodity, and not easy to secure; hence the value of even a small piece of blanket. This *sqáls*, or scrambling, was always an exciting scene, and because of an accident that happened on one of these occasions to the *débutante* by the over-eagerness of the crowd to get at the blanket, it was afterwards

always suspended over the girl's head while she danced, and when she had finished it was taken down and thrown to the audience, who literally cut and tore it to pieces. In later times, after the introduction of Hudson's Bay blankets, the pieces secured from the *saq̄ls* of these were sewn together to make baby blankets of.

#### *Potlatches.*

The Sk'q̄mic in common with other tribes of this region were given to holding 'potlatches.' These have been so often described that it is unnecessary to give an account of them here. They were the occasion of great gatherings. Whole tribes from long distances would be invited sometimes. Representatives from Lytton and Kamloops in the interior, and from the upper coast and Vancouver's Island, were present on one occasion at Qoiqoi. Over 2,000 in all sat down to the feast. An immense quantity of property was distributed on this occasion, estimated by Mr. J. Miller, who was present, to be worth over \$5,000. On another and later occasion chief Semela'no, the head of one of the confederated bands at the mouth of the Fraser, gave away \$3,000 in silver and 2,000 blankets.

#### *Wars.*

The Sk'q̄mic would sometimes wage war with their northern neighbours the Slatlum̄ or Lillooets. They had also to defend themselves from marauding bands of Chilcotins, but their most dreaded enemies were the U'keltaws, a band of the Kwakiutl tribe. These latter were long the scourge of the coast from the northern end of Vancouver's Island to the Columbia, and from the mouth of the Fraser up to Yale. There is not a tribe on the Fraser that has not memories of evil times and bitter losses caused by the visits of this band. Only on one occasion is it recorded that the Sk'q̄mic got the better of their foes, and that since the white man's time and the advent of firearms. It is told that the Sk'q̄mic scouts brought timely warning of the approach of two war canoes of U'keltaws. The Sk'q̄mic at that time had a courageous and resourceful leader in their head chief K̄ipila'noq. He assembled a number of the bravest men and best shots of the tribe and hid them in a log hut built for the purpose at the mouth of the narrows leading into Burrard Inlet. On the flats immediately in front of the hut he placed some of the women and children, who were to pretend to be gathering drift wood. When the U'keltaws came into the narrows they at once perceived the women and children, and, thinking to secure these for slaves in the apparent absence of the men, they landed. The women and children now fled towards the woods, drawing their pursuers after them close to the hut. The hidden Sk'q̄mic now opened fire upon the U'keltaws and killed every one without harm to themselves. The very name of this band was a terror to the other tribes, and the mothers would frighten their children into silence and quiet by saying the U'keltaws were coming for them. In most of the villages they had palisaded enclosures to retire into when hard pressed by this enemy.

#### *Food.*

The principal and staple food of the Sk'q̄mic was salmon. These, fresh in season and dried out of season, were to them what bread is to the European and rice to the Oriental, and great was the distress and famine

if the salmon catch was poor. Their traditions tell of troubles of this kind occasionally. They also hunted the deer with dogs, and occasionally secured a mountain-goat or two. In hunting the deer they did not shoot or trap them. The dogs were trained to drive them into the water, where they were easily despatched by men in canoes. Some of the men were skilful with the bow and arrow, and secured by this means many duck, &c., but it was in fishing the tribe excelled. Fruits and roots of various kinds were also eaten by them. This we may gather for ourselves from their folk-tales. I was unable to secure the native names of many of these. Such of those as I did get will be found in my vocabulary of Sk'qō'mic terms below, with their botanical equivalents. I could not learn that any family or village had exclusive rights over fishing, hunting, or berry and root grounds. These seemed to be common to all alike. Neither could I hear anything of 'First Fruits' ceremonies as among the N'tlaka'pamuq and River Indians. The chiefs used formerly to pray for the tribe or village to Te tētl siā'm, the upper chief, but I could learn no particulars of these prayers. They have been in contact, more or less close, with white men for over two generations, and this intercourse, with the influence of the missionaries, has broken down and thrust aside many of their old pagan beliefs and practices, many of which are not known at all by the younger men and women, and almost forgotten by the older ones. Like the other tribes of this region they were fond of fish-oils, and particularly salmon-oil. They extracted oil from the sturgeon, the seal the salmon, and the dog-fish. They stored these oils away in bottles made from the sounds, or air-bladders, of certain fish. They used this oil for a variety of purposes besides food. One of these was the anointing of the bodies of sick persons and also the bodies of twins when wind was desired.

#### *Physical Characteristics.*

With the exception of about a score of photographs of men and boys of the Sk'qō'mic I regret to say that I can add no new material to our knowledge of the physical characteristics of this tribe. Dr. Boas's earlier work along these lines among them so prejudiced their minds against anything of the kind that I found it impossible to do anything with them, more particularly after the death of the late Bishop Durieu, who had a great influence over them. The good Bishop had made an appointment with me just before his death sickness, and had promised to exercise his influence in my behalf, and I was sorely disappointed to learn of his death. He told me himself that on the occasion of Dr. Boas's visit many of the Indians ran away and hid themselves in the woods rather than submit to the examinations. I made an effort, however, and chief George 'rounded' me up a score or so of children of all ages, but the mothers of them came upon us before I had measured the first boy's head and dragged them all off. After this I gave up the attempt to do anything with them in this way. I may say, however, that, like the N'tlaka'pamuq, they are clearly a mixed race. We find two distinct facial types among them, one of which is distinctly and markedly Mongolic. I regret being unable to secure a good specimen of this type among my photographs.

#### *Archæology.*

Archæological investigation carried on within the territory of the Sk'qō'mic has resulted in revealing to us, among other things, one fact of

special importance. This is that the shores and bays of Burrard Inlet and English Bay have been occupied by rude communities of people for a very considerable period of time. The midden heaps here—the chief monuments of the past in this region—are of two kinds or classes, and clearly belong to two distinct periods. There is the class represented by the refuse heaps seen in the vicinity of every camp site on the coast, and which, generally speaking, are composed almost wholly of the shells of various bivalves, mostly of the clam and mussel kind, and which are clearly of modern or comparatively modern date; and there is the class composed of fewer shells, which are mostly fractured and partially decomposed, numbers of calcined stones and large quantities of ashes and other earthy matter. The latter accumulations bear every characteristic of age, and are undoubtedly of ancient date. I believe these two classes of middens are to be found everywhere on this coast. Wherever I have gone I have always met with them; and Dr. G. M. Dawson has also mentioned them as occurring on the Queen Charlotte Islands in his paper on the Haidas. At all events they are particularly characteristic of this region, and are perhaps the most interesting feature of its archæology. Evidence of an anatomical kind has been secured from the middens of this older class in the neighbouring district of the Fraser, which leads us to believe that a pre-Salishan race once occupied these shores and bays and formed these heaps. Crania, of a type wholly different from those recovered from the burial-grounds of the modern tribes, have been dug up in some of these older heaps. The Sk'qō'mic territory is particularly rich in these evidences of a distant past. On both shores of Burrard Inlet, on English Bay, and around False Creek, the remains of many of these ancient middens are to be found. In some instances they have been partially washed away by the tides, owing to a subsidence in the land since the heaps were formed. In some places the decaying stumps of old cedar and fir trees of immense size are seen embedded in the midden mass. There can be no doubt that many of these stumps are over half a millennium old. They are the remains of what is locally known as the first forest. In numerous instances I have found them and the middens overlying the glacial gravels and clays with no intervening mould or soil between them, while all around in the same vicinity the vegetable mould covers both the gravel and the middens themselves to a depth of from six to twelve inches. Indeed the presence of these old camp sites can often only be discovered by examining the strata of the banks facing the tides.

There is a second reason which leads me to regard these older heaps as pre-Salishan formations. They are not included by the Sk'qō'mic among their old camp sites in the enumeration of their ancient *ō'k'wumūg*, or villages. There is nothing in the Sk'qō'mic traditions which indicates that they were ever occupied by members of the Sk'qō'mic tribe. In my own mind there is no doubt whatever that they are centuries older than the oldest known Sk'qō'mic refuse heaps or camp sites, and were formed by a preceding race. The relics recovered from these ancient middens are not, however, distinguished in any marked manner from those found elsewhere on more modern sites. They represent the usual specimens of bone and stone weapons and utensils, rough and crude specimens being found side by side with finely wrought and polished ones. But if they do not differ in any special manner from known Sk'qō'mic specimens neither do they, for the matter of that, except in the kind of stone

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employed, from the remains of ancient peoples elsewhere. Many stone arrow and spear points have been picked up on the beach adjacent to the heaps, from which they have been obviously washed by the action of the tides, which have at some points almost demolished the midden piles. Jade or nephrite adzes, axes, and chisels have also been picked up in the same vicinity; and large numbers of spear and arrow heads 'in the rough' are unearthed from time to time. These latter were apparently hoards or magazines. They can be picked up on the northern shore of Stanley Park at low tide by the score. They are not to be confounded with the waste chips of the arrow maker's workshop so characteristic of some prehistoric camp sites. They are clearly the raw material of the spear and arrow point maker, all showing evidence of having been skilfully broken for the purpose from water-worn boulders of dark basalt. No one could mistake their purpose—their outlines are too obvious. In form, material, and colour they differ radically from the ordinary pebbles and stones of the beach.

As these old middens in the Sk'qō'mic territory resemble in most of their features, except extent and mass, the great middens of the Lower Fraser, I would refer those who desire to learn more of them to my paper on 'Prehistoric Man in British Columbia,' published in the 'Transactions' of the Royal Society of Canada for 1896, in which I have treated of these middens at some length. 1895

Since the Sk'qō'mic have come under the influence of the missionaries they have not only buried their dead in proper graveyards, but have also gathered up and interred in the same place such remains of their dead as could be recovered from their former burial-places. It is difficult, therefore, to secure anatomical material from this region. Some ten or twelve years ago, when the Vancouver City authorities were making the road which now runs round the edge of the peninsula which constitutes Stanley Park, they opened one of the larger of the later or Salish middens, utilising the material for the road bed. A considerable number of skeletons was disinterred from the midden mass during the operation, the larger bones and crania of which were gathered up and placed in boxes which were afterwards hidden in the forest where I discovered them a few years later. The crania had then fallen to pieces. A boxful of these bones I shipped later to the Dom. Geol. Survey Museum at Ottawa. From the fact of these bones being found thus inhumated as well as from the recovery of a skeleton in a fair state of preservation in the same heap by myself, it would seem to appear that burial by inhumation sometimes took place in former times even by the Sk'qō'mic themselves, though this was not the prevailing custom when we first came into contact with them. There is, however, no record of burials of this kind in the tribal recollection that I could learn, the traditional method of burial being that already described in my mortuary notes, and it is quite possible these burials in the midden mass were due to the presence of some pestilence or epidemic such as their traditions speak of, and such as we know on good testimony caused the inhumation of a large number of corpses in the Hammond midden on the Fraser a few generations ago. The tribe inhabiting this district was almost decimated by small-pox. So terrible was the scourge that they abandoned their village site after burying all their dead in a big hole. In digging the foundations of his house, the rancher who now owns this spot came upon this pit of bones, and in consequence chose another site for his

dwelling. In the traditional history of the Sk-qó'mic we learn of some terrible sickness which killed off whole villages and caused the abandonment of many *ó'kwumúqs*. The presence of these human remains in the midden in the park may be due to this or some similar cause. No relics, as far as I could learn from the man who had charge of the road making, were found with the bodies; which fact would seem to indicate that they had not been buried in the usual way. I have never discovered or heard of any mounds or tumuli within the territories of the Sk-qó'mic such as are found on the banks of the Lower Fraser and elsewhere. It is extremely doubtful if any such exist among them. Of the old weapons or utensils the stone pestle-hammer is the only one now found among them. I have frequently seen the older men using this tool; indeed they prefer it to our hammers. I once showed some of the younger men some stone arrow and spear points. They did not know what they were or what they had been used for. They had a very ingenious way of keeping their wedges from splitting under the repeated blows of the hammer when splitting cedar boards, &c. They bound the head of the wedge in a most skilful manner with a ring of twisted fibres or split cedar-root which answered the same purpose and almost as effectively as the iron ring on our mallets and chisels. Besides wooden wedges they also used horn ones. Several of their modern tools are fashioned after the pattern of the ancient ones, notably the steel adze they employ in canoe-making and the women's salmon knife. The latter is of the half-moon shape, and generally formed from a piece of a saw, and corresponds in everything but material to the prehistoric slate knives of the middens.

There is a point in canoe-making which the Sk-qó'mic share in common with the other coast tribes of this region to which I cannot recall that any previous writer has drawn attention, but which very aptly illustrates the skill and judgment displayed by our British Columbia Indians in their adaptation of means to ends, and upon which a few remarks will not be out of place here. In shaping the canoe from the solid log the outlines marked out by the builder are very different from those the canoe takes when finished. When looked at from the side just before the steaming process preparatory to spreading the beam has been effected it is seen to have distinctly convex gunwales which rise gradually in the centre six or eight inches above the line of the bow and stern, while the bottom of the canoe is correspondingly concave. The object of this is to insure the gunwales having the proper sweep and curve from bow to stern after the spreading process has taken place, and to prevent the bottom bellying out in the centre, from the same cause. The greater the beam is spread the higher must the gunwales rise at the centre, and the greater must be the concavity of the bottom. In large canoes where the beam is six or seven feet, and the log originally perhaps less than five feet through, to allow of this spread of two feet or so, a very considerable convexity in the gunwales and a proportionate concavity in the bottom of the vessel are necessary. This spreading of the canoe is in itself a very nice task, calling for much judgment and care. It is effected by partially filling it with water and then dropping in heated stones till the water is at boiling heat. On the outside of the canoe, and in close proximity to its sides, fires are also kept up, care being exercised that the sides of the canoe are not burnt in the process. The heat of the fires and the

steaming and soaking give a certain degree of elasticity to the cedar, and prevent the thin sides of the canoe from splitting or cracking under the strain of the spreading. The sides are kept apart and in the proper position by fixed narrow thwart. The native canoe-builder knows to a nicety just what convexity and concavity to allow respectively to the sides and bottom in every instance, and rarely errs in his calculations. Not every Indian is a canoe-builder of the first order, the art requiring nice judgment and an experienced eye, and our admiration may well be excited by the ingenious method the canoe-builders adopt in overcoming the difficulties imposed upon them by the narrowness of the log. In the hollowing out of the log the canoe-builder again shows his skill and nice judgment. The thickness of the sides and bottom of a canoe is generally under an inch. To the onlooker nothing seems easier than to miscalculate this thickness, and pare off too much or too little in places. Yet the native canoe-builder never does this, but chips out his canoe as uniformly as if it had been turned out of a mould, his only aid being his finger-tips. He *feels* the sides and bottom from time to time as he goes along by the tips of his fingers, placing a hand on each side of his work. By this means he can tell to a nicety the exact thickness of the shell. The Sk-q'omic have five different canoes, each called by a special term. One at least of these, the Chinook canoe, is a borrowed form. I cannot say if the others originated with themselves. They have of late years added a sixth to their number. This new one is a racing canoe, built on the lines of our four-oared outrigger. I saw one of these at the Mission across Burrard Inlet, the beautiful, graceful lines of which would do no discredit to a first-class yacht-builder. It was hollowed from a cedar log in the usual way, and outriggered like a regular shell, and was altogether a splendid piece of native workmanship.

### LINGUISTICS.

The following notes on the languages of the Sk-q'omic will be the more welcome inasmuch as they constitute the first serious attempt, as far as the writer has been able to learn, to give the peculiarities of the structure of this dialect. While the Sk-q'omic possesses many of the characteristics common to the Salish tongue, its dialectal differences are so many and great as to mark it off into a distinct class of its own. It shows resemblance to both the Alkom'lem dialects of the Lower Fraser on the one hand and to the dialects of the tribes of the interior on the other, but is quite distinct from any of these, and possesses a grammatical formation, character, and vocabulary wholly its own, which renders it impossible for its speakers to hold extended converse with the neighbouring tribes without the aid of the trade jargon. Though my studies of this tongue have extended more or less over the whole period of my residence in these parts, it is only during the past year that I have given anything like connected thought to the work. Having found an intelligent helper this spring in my studies in the person of a half-breed named Annie Carrasco, I have taken advantage of her assistance to gather a fairly extensive list of phrases and sentences illustrative of the laws and structure of the language. From these and from the story of the Smal'etl, which I have written in the original Sk-q'omic, a fair knowledge of this dialect may now, with the aid of my notes, be obtained.

My method of working was to supplement the services of Mrs. Carrasco with those of one or more full-blooded Sk-q'omic. These were generally a woman named Annie Rivers and Chief Thomas of Kuk'ai's. My notes, therefore, will, I trust, be free from those errors which sometimes creep into our studies of the native tongues when only the services of half-breeds, with limited and imperfect knowledge of the language, are employed. There are many ways of expressing the same thoughts and ideas in Sk-q'omic as in other tongues. I have, however, in my grammar notes sought to record at all times the correct or 'classic' forms. Colloquialisms and

'slangey' phrases are quite common, and these are active factors of change in the Skq'omic language as in others. Chief Thomas and others of the older men informed me that the language had changed considerably during the past fifty years, and that every generation of speakers brought in new phrases and expressions, some of which die out and are forgotten, while others are perpetuated and in time become 'classic' or correct forms of speech. It is clear, therefore, that precisely the same laws prevail in the speech of barbarous, unlettered peoples like the Skq'omic as in the language of cultivated and literary stocks.

## PHONETICS.

## VOWELS.

<i>a</i> as in English <i>hat</i>	<i>i</i> as in English <i>pique</i>
<i>ā</i> " " <i>father</i>	<i>o</i> " " <i>pond</i>
<i>â</i> " " <i>all</i>	<i>ō</i> " " <i>tone</i>
<i>e</i> " " <i>pen</i>	<i>u</i> " " <i>but</i>
<i>ē</i> " " <i>they</i>	<i>ū</i> " " <i>boot</i>
<i>ɛ</i> " " <i>flower</i>	<i>ai</i> " " <i>aisle</i>
<i>i</i> " " <i>pin</i>	<i>au</i> " " <i>cow</i>
	<i>oi</i> " " <i>boil</i>

The vowel sounds in Skq'omic are even more indeterminate than in the N'tlaka'pamuq. The long vowels are in this respect more at fault than the short ones: *ē* and *ai* final I found particularly troublesome, and at first I was constantly changing from the one to the other, no two Indians uttering them exactly alike. A similar trouble is found in dealing with *au* and *o*. So marked is this characteristic of the Skq'omic vowel that the vocabularies of different collectors would be found to agree but rarely, no matter how carefully they might work.

## CONSONANTS.

*t* as in English. Throughout my studies of the Skq'omic tongue I have been unable to detect the corresponding sonant *ḏ*. Indeed, I am inclined to think that sonants, as distinct from surds, are altogether wanting in Skq'omic. In looking through my collection of terms I find but one single example of *g*, and that the harsh form, which at best is only a surd-sonant; no *b* at all and no true *z*, though I have sometimes written this sonant; and in looking over the short vocabulary of the Skq'omic tongue given in the Comparative Vocabulary in the Sixth Report on the N.W. Tribes of Canada, by Dr. Boas, I find that it does not contain a single term with a sonant in it.

*k*, as in English.

*k*, approximately like the final *k* in the word *kick*, uttered forcibly.

*g*, rare. In sound it differs little from *k*.

*q*, as in the German *ch* in *Bach*.

*q*, approximately like our *wh*, but with more force.

*h*, as in German *ch* in *ich*.

*h*, *y*, *w*, *m*, *n*, *l*, *s*, as in English; *p* sometimes as in English, sometimes with a suspicion of the corresponding sonant about it; a quality of sound impossible to render by any written symbol; *c* as in English *ch*; *tc* as in English *ch* in the word *church*; *ts*, *tz*, as uttered in English; *tl* an explosive *l* approximately like the Welsh *ll*; *sl* somewhat as in English, but easily mistaken for *tl* as uttered by some natives; *kl* as in English; *ç* as in English *th*, as in the word *thin*. In uttering *s* some of the natives show a tendency to convert it into *ts*, these two sounds being practically interchangeable in Skq'omic. The character of the consonants is not nearly so indeterminate as the vowels. The commonest interchanges are:—*k*, *k*; *k*, *q*; *q*, *q*; *q*, *h*; *h*, *h*. To mark the hiatus which occurs in certain words I have employed the apostrophical sign; as *ts'qants* = *sap*

## ACCENT AND TONE.

Accentuation is a marked feature of the Skq'omic. Every word that contains more than one syllable has, according to its length, one or more accented syllables. The importance of the accent is seen in such words as have a common form or sound but different meaning. For example, the word *sk'o'mai* with the accent on the first



syllable signifies 'hair,' but with the accent on the final syllable, *sa sk'umai'*, it means 'dog.' It seems impossible to lay down any general rule for the position of the accent. In words of two syllables the accent is perhaps oftener placed upon the former than upon the latter syllable; but the exceptions to this usage are so many that it hardly constitutes a rule. Speaking generally, the place of the accent may be said to depend upon the composition of the word. If the word be composed of different radicals having special or independent signification, then the accent will be found on the most important element or radical in the synthesis; as *stEntlānaio'tl* = girls, where the accented syllable signifies 'youth,' the idea to be brought out in the compound. If we want to say 'women' instead of 'girls' this final syllable is wanting, and the accent falls on the second syllable: as *stEntlā'nai*. But there are many exceptions to this rule also, for in the compounds *sūa-tci'ca* = step-mother and *sūa-ma'n* = step-father we have the accent on 'mother' and 'father' respectively, and not, as by the rule we should expect to find it, on the first syllable *sūa* = step, as in English. An analysis of the 550 words, more or less, of my vocabulary of the Sk'q'omic seems to show also that syllables containing a long vowel oftener take the accent than syllables containing a short vowel; but whether this is a mere coincidence or due to the superior importance of the syllable in question I am unable to determine.

## TONE.

In monosyllabic terms a tonic accent is at times plainly discernible. It resembles one of the rising tones in Chinese. Father Morice has pointed out the same peculiarity in several of the dialects of the Déné. There, however, the function of tone is the same as in Chinese and marks a difference of meaning in words of the same form and sound; but in Sk'q'omic this is not so. What purpose this tonic accent subserves in the Sk'q'omic dialect is not at present clear to me.

## NUMBER.

The Sk'q'omic contains no true plural: its place is supplied by a distributive formed as in N'tlaka'pamuq by amplification of the stem, either by reduplication, epenthesis, or diæresis. Reduplication in the Sk'q'omic is not so strong a feature as in N'tlaka'pamuq, epenthesis and diæresis occurring oftener. The plurals of both nouns and adjectives are formed in this way; as—

horse	st'kai'ū.	horses	st'ktekai'ū.
house	lām.	houses	lélām.
dog	sk'umai.	dogs	sk'umkumai'.
mountain	smā'nēt.	mountains	smEmā'nēt.
hill	stcē'tlōs.	hills	stcētltcē'tlōs.
grandparent	sēla.	grandparents	silsē'l.
grandchild	ē'muts.	grandchildren	umē'muts.
old man	stlmōt.	old men	stltlmōt.
youngest (sing.)	saut.	youngest (plur.)	sEsaut.
bad (sing.)	k'ai.	bad (plur.)	k'ai'ak'ai.
beautiful (sing.)	nEtcē'm.	beautiful (plur.)	nEtcnatcē'm.
term of relationship (sing.)	kūē'was.	term of relationship (plur.)	skūikūēwas.
her or him	mEnitl.	them	mEnEni'tl.

It is observable that the vowel in the reduplicated syllable is invariably shortened if long in the singular form. This is a very constant rule in Sk'q'omic. We find the verb stem is also sometimes amplified by reduplication, though not in any instance with which I am familiar, for the purpose of expressing number, the reduplicated forms being found in the singular as well as in the plural, thus *sqai'agai*, to laugh; *tcētōcm*, to swim; *k'ōk'ōt*, to strike; *tlētlem*, to rain; *pīpī'tōtl*, to hunt; *tas-tas*, to do, to make. Here the function of the reduplication is clearly to mark repetition of the action expressed by the verbal stem, and in this respect it agrees with the N'tlaka'pamuq.

But besides the above functions it has also an augmentative use; thus, *tsō'tlum* = cold, but *tsōtsō'tlum* = very cold; *stū'qais* = a cliff, but *stātū'qais* = a very high cliff. I find that the numerals two and ten undergo modification in certain phrases. For example in the sentence 'I have ten horses,' *ōpən* = ten is thus modified *ō'ōpən*;

but in the sentence 'I have ten houses,' the numeral takes the common form *ō'pən*. It is the same with two = *ā'nōs*, which is amplified in the same way by the reduplication of the initial vowel. I could not learn that this modification took place with other than the word horses, though it is possible my informant's memory may have been at fault. It is quite clear, however, that these modified forms are not commonly used.

#### INSTRUMENTAL NOUNS.

We find the same suffix *-tən* employed in the Sk'qō'mic to mark instrumentality as in the N'tlaka'pamuq, though not always applied to corresponding expressions; thus—

tlā'tc- <i>tən</i> , knife, <i>i. e.</i> , cutting thing.	tłEkqai'ts- <i>tən</i> , platter.
pa'tc- <i>tən</i> , needle, <i>i. e.</i> , piercing thing.	sē'- <i>tən</i> , basket.
tlī'tc- <i>tən</i> , saw.	nuqyi'm- <i>tən</i> , belt.
Qē'itc- <i>tən</i> , salmon-knife.	n'ku'p- <i>tən</i> , door.
tca'msu- <i>tən</i> , matting needle.	tsētsipē'tl- <i>tən</i> , nest.
Qok'ō'ls- <i>tən</i> , herb or root basket.	k'wē'Ek- <i>tən</i> , fur.
tsē'is- <i>tən</i> , horn.	cūpa'lē- <i>tən</i> , iron.
nukwiye'utl- <i>tən</i> , ashes.	nūknē'tcūm- <i>tən</i> , voice.
hu'm- <i>tən</i> , a covering.	tzu'mk'- <i>tən</i> , scissors.
sqō'm'- <i>tən</i> , medicine-man.	taqu'n- <i>tən</i> , arm.

These terms are very interesting and instructive, throwing much light upon the method of noun formation which is extremely simple in Sk'qō'mic.

#### AGENT NOUNS.

These nouns are differently formed from the corresponding class in the N'tlaka'pamuq, which takes a suffix in *-utl*. Here we find the particle prefixed and quite different in form; as—

nūqskōi'lec, a shooter,	from kōilac, to shoot
nūqspipi'atōtl, a hunter,	„ pia'tōtl or pipi'a'tōtl, to hunt
nūqstekw'un'p, a digger,	„ tēkwu'n'p, to dig
nūqtzē'tzap, a worker,	„ tzē'tzap, to work
nūqtē'tcēm, a swimmer,	„ tē'tcēm, to swim
nūqsk'ā'tzut, a runner,	„ sk'ātzut, to run
nūqslu'lō, a singer,	„ slu'lō, to sing
nūqsqai'aqai, a laugher,	„ sqai'aqai, to laugh
nūqcā'm, a crier,	„ hām, to cry
nūqsmē'tla, a dancer,	„ mē'tla, to dance

#### COMPOUND NOUNS.

While there are numerous instances of compound terms in the Sk'qō'mic vocabulary, the composite connotive noun is not a distinguishing feature of the language. An analysis of my collection of words shows that a preponderating number of them are of the simple, denotive class of monosyllabic or dissyllabic form. Incorporation or polysyntheticism scarcely finds a place in Sk'qō'mic, the compound forms partaking rather of the character of the Greek and Latin compound terms in English than the ponderous syntheses of the Déné and Algonkin. The new compound term employed by the Sk'qō'mic to express the idea of a garden is a fair example of the formation of their composite terms. Formerly they had no gardens of their own, and so had to coin a word when they took up horticulture. This term is *ne-pən-ma'i*, which is formed by the juxtaposition of these independent monosyllabic radicals which signify respectively 'where' 'get,' 'fruit' or 'vegetables,' and the whole thus means 'the place where one gets fruit or vegetables.'

Other examples may be seen in the terms employed to express the seasons of the year, where we have the same simple juxtaposition of independent radicals. The analysis of the composite terms in Sk'qō'mic is, therefore, relatively an easy task. For example, the word *sēnilqōyato*, meaning 'thumb,' is thus resolved: *sēnil* = first or oldest; *qō* = finger; *yato* = the composite form for 'hand.' This last element is necessary in the synthesis to distinguish the word from 'big-toe,' which would be thus written, *sēnil-qō-cin*, *cin* signifying 'foot.' And so with the word for 'little finger,' *saut-qō-yato*, where *saut* = 'youngest' or 'last.' Again, the word expressive of the

noise made by people talking, which is *sná'-nsut*, is thus resolved into two independent radicals: *sná'* = 'name' or 'word,' and *nsut* = 'noise' or 'sound.' Compare with this the word *icé'ansut*, which means 'noise' as made by children playing together. Numerous other examples may be found in the vocabulary.

## GENDER.

Grammatical gender is not entirely wanting in the Sk'qó'mic as amongst the N'tlaka'pamuq. The article and the personal pronoun of the third person singular (which, strictly speaking, is rather a demonstrative than a true pronoun) and the possessive pronoun of the first person singular have distinct masculine and feminine forms. Thus *té*, 'a' or 'the' (masc.), *tlé*, 'a' or 'the' (fem.); *tai* or *té*, 'he'; *á'tli*, 'she'; *tén*, 'my' (masc.); *tlén*, 'my' (fem.). These possessives, monosyllabic though they be, are compound forms derived from the articles *té* and *tlé* and *n*, the characteristic element of the first personal pronoun. It is the same *n* or *en* = 'my,' as we find in N'tlaka'pamuq, and which appears so constantly in the irregular verbal forms of the first person singular in all our Salish dialects. The usage of these pronouns is interesting. The function of gender is peculiar. As gender is wanting to the Sk'qó'mic substantive, there can be no agreement between the possessive and the thing possessed, as in the classic tongues. The gender of the pronoun in any given sentence depends entirely upon the sex of the speaker. A woman must always say *tlén*, and a man *tén*. Thus, *tlén lám*, 'my house,' by the woman, and *tén lám* by the man. This is the general usage of the two forms. Even in such instances as when the speaker uses terms which are applied exclusively to males or females, such as 'husband,' 'wife,' 'father,' 'mother,' 'brother,' 'sister,' &c., where the distinct form gives a kind of gender to the word, the possessive does not agree in gender with the substantive, as might, on the analogy of classic usage, be expected. It would be impossible for a man to say '*tlén* *té'wa'c*,' 'my wife,' or a woman to say '*tén* *skó'*,' 'my husband;' the combination would be ridiculous. There is, however, an interesting exception to this general rule. Whenever a general term expressive alike of 'male' and 'female' is employed, then both men and women place *tlén* before the word when they are speaking of a female, and *tén* when they are referring to a male, thus: *tlén mén*, 'my daughter,' and *tén mén*, 'my son,' the function of the possessive here being to give the gender to the noun.

The function of the article is quite different from that of the pronoun, the form employed in any given expression depending in no way upon the sex of the speaker. It conforms rather to classic usage, and its gender is 'governed' by the gender of the noun it is qualifying. But, as I have already stated, as there is no grammatical gender of the noun in Sk'qó'mic, the division into masculine and feminine terms is rather a mental than a formal process. Of neuter forms there are none, the distinction being impossible to the Indian mind. In his conception every object in nature, animate and inanimate, is a sentient being, possessing a character and individuality of its own, and has therefore male or female attributes. The Sk'qó'mic child learns to distinguish in his mind masculine 'ideas' from feminine ones just in the same unconscious way as he learns his mother's tongue, and in ordinary discourse has no more trouble over his article than a French child has over his. Indeed, in the matter of concord the use of the article in the Sk'qó'mic and French closely agrees, but in Sk'qó'mic the article has usages peculiar to the language, being used in a variety of ways unfamiliar to us in the French. For example we find it in such sentences as the following: '*nétl té* Harry,' 'it is Harry'; '*nétl tlé* Mary,' 'it is Mary.' It is also employed with the personal pronouns in certain expressions where it seems to have a prepositional force, thus: '*haug mékauq haua tlé uns?*' (or *té uns*, according as the 'me' is male or female), 'Will you not come with me?' and also with the personal and possessive pronouns generally (see under 'Pronouns'). It is also invariably placed before proper and tribal names, closely resembling in this respect in form and function the usage of the article in Polynesian. Besides these grammatical distinctions of pronominal and demonstrative gender we find the ordinary distinctions of separate words to denote male and female objects. thus.—

*sué'ka*, man;  
*sué'kaotl*, boy;  
*sué'wóló's*, youth;  
*mama*, father;  
*sé'saé*, uncle;

*stlá'nai*, woman;  
*stlánaio'tl*, girl;  
*k'á'mai*, maiden;  
*tcí'ca*, mother;  
*tzá'ata*, aunt.



tcap-ûâ-tlê's-tum, he loves you.  
 (nE-)ê'ûq-tlêš, he loves them all.  
 (nE-)tlê'sêš (tai), he loves him.  
 tcûq-tlê'sts, thou lovest me.  
 tcûq-tlê-stô'mutl, thou lovest us.

tcap-tlê'sts, you love me  
 tcap-tlê-stô'mutl, you love us.  
 tlê'sts-ax-ê'tsi-wêt, they love me.  
 tea'p-ûâ-tlê'stum, they love you.

The Skqômic, in common with most of our native tongues, is rich in synonyms and synonymous expressions. Nearly every one of the above pronominal expressions can be otherwise rendered. I append a few of these:—

'n-tlêš-tcap, I love you; or, again, tcin-tletcap, I love you;  
 wût-tlêšâš, he loves me; tcûq-ûâ-tlê stum tE êtsi-wêt, they love thee  
 tlê-stô'mi-tcan-wit, I love you; tlêš-tcan-wêt, I love thee.  
 tum-tlê-êtsi-tlê-nêmûl, they love us.

It will be observed that when the object is in the third person no incorporation takes place. This is the same as in the N'tlaka'pamuq and other dialects. This is due to the fact that the personal pronouns for this person are yet scarcely differentiated from the demonstratives from which they are derived. This is plainly seen in the absence of a distinct and independent subject pronoun for the third person in the pronominal inflections of the verbs. The Salish dialects are just at that stage of development when the formation of distinct pronominal forms for the third person takes place. The N'tlaka'pamuq has a partially developed subject-pronoun for its transitive verbs, and is thus a stage in advance of the Skqômic, but neither has distinct forms for the third person for the *verbum substantivum* or for intransitive verbs.

It will be seen in the above incorporative nouns that the synthetic forms differ less from the independent forms in the Skqômic than in N'tlaka'pamuq, and this holds good of all the nouns. A few are derived from different roots, which it is interesting to note are often those which belong to independent forms in others of the Salish dialects. The Skqômic incorporative noun is generally an attenuated form of the independent noun. It is interesting to note that in the 'face' synthesis we have the root as it appears in the N'tlaka'pamuq compound. It is only in compounds that this radical appears in Skqômic, and the same may be said of many others. As I observed in my remarks on N'tlaka'pamuq, this preference for one synonymous form over another in the various divisions is one of the chief causes of the lexicographical dissimilarity in the Salish dialects. If we compare, for example, the words for 'house' in Skqômic and N'tlaka'pamuq, we find the vocabulary form in the former is *lâm*, and in the latter *tcî'tûq*, of which the essential root is *tûq*. I cannot say if *lâm* appears in any form in N'tlaka'pamuq, but *tûq* certainly does in various compounds in Skqômic, thus making it perfectly clear that this is one of the primitive Salish roots expressive of 'house.' Thus, we have it as the suffix in the class numerals when counting houses: *samp-tûq*, 'two houses'; *tcanau-tûq*, 'three houses,' &c.; also in the compound signifying 'potlatch-house,' *tlâ'anukautûq*. Again, a house with carving in or upon it is called *stcu'tûq*. It is seen also in the compound for window and other words. I have dwelt upon this point rather because it confirms my contention that the only way to institute comparisons in American tongues is by the resolution of compound terms into their constituent primitive radicals. Till this is done we can never know what tongues are really related and what are not.

#### PRONOUNS.

The independent personal pronouns are:

uns, I;	nê'mutl, we.
tE nô, thou.	nû'yâp, you.
tai, he.	tši or ê'tsi, they.
â'tli, she.	

All of these may be used objectively as well as subjectively. There is another form for the third persons. I have found it only as an objective, thus:—

TÈ menî'tl, he; â'tli menî'tl, she; êtsi mEneni'tl, them. Besides these there is an 'absent' form, thus:—

Kûâ, he; q'tlâ, she. These latter forms appear in such sentences as the following: *q'tlâ nûa zak'q'i na tE qôau'tûq*. 'She is ill at the hospital, or sick-house.' This

is not a common form, and the regular method of marking the absence of the third person is by prefixing the particle *ne* (see below).

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

Singular	{	te-n (masc.), tie-n (fem.), my.	Plural	{	te . . . -tcit, our.
		te, thy..			te . . . -yáp, your.
		te . . . -s, his or hers.			te . . . -swét, their.

The distinction in the possessive, marking the absence or presence of the object seen in N'tlaka'pamuq, is wanting in the Sk'qó'mic. In the latter dialect there is but the one common form, but it possesses a masculine and a feminine for the first person singular, which is unknown in N'tlaka'pamuq. The function of this gender I have already dealt with on p. 499. Besides TEN and TLEN we find for this person two other forms used alike by males and females. These are *sen* and *kōen*. According to my informants they can be used almost in any expression in the place of the regular TEN and TLEN forms. I found them in such expressions as *ne-qōi-nuq-úds sen sk'umai*, 'he killed my dog'; *kōen menmen*, 'my sons.'

In conjunction with the *verbum substantivum* and a demonstrative, they are thus expressed:—

nētl 'n lāmti, this is my house; nētl s'ó'tl lām ti, this is our house.  
 „ u-lām ti, „ thy „ „ ti lām-yáp, this is your house.  
 „ lām-s ti, „ his „ „ „ lām s-wēt, this is their house.

## SUBSTANTIVE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

These forms are used in answer to such questions as 'Whose is this?'

nētl 'n-swā, it is mine; nētl s'ó'tl, it is ours.  
 „ u-swā, „ thine; „ u-swáyap, „ yours.  
 „ swā-s (tai) „ his; }  
 „ swā-s (á'tli) „ hers; } „ swā-s-wēt, „ theirs.

## INFLECTIONAL SUBJECTIVE PRONOUNS.

Singular	{	tcin-, I.	Plural	{	tcit-, we.
		tcūq-, tauq-, auq-, thou.			tcap-, you.
		— he, she (present). nE „ (absent).			wēt, etsi, they (present). nEWēt, „ (absent).

In the perfect and future tenses and in certain other constructions the tcin and tcit of the first person singular and plural undergo a modification and change to tcan and tcat respectively.

There are modifications of all the pronominal forms in the conditional, dubitative, desiderative, and other moods of the verb. For these irregular forms see under 'Verbs.'

## CONSTRUCTION OF PRONOUNS WITH VERBS.

The transitive verb forms are not in Sk'qó'mic distinct from the intransitive and *verbum substantivum* forms as in N'tlaka'pamuq. The only difference between the two forms is in the third person, which takes the characteristic terminal -s or -ss in both numbers, and this only in the past and future tenses, thus: *ne-k'ó'k'ót-ss*, he struck (it); *ne-k'ó'k'ót-es-wét*, they struck (it).

It will be observed that the pronoun in Sk'qó'mic precedes the verb in regular constructions; in N'tlaka'pamuq it follows it. In certain constructions the pronoun is placed after the verb in Sk'qó'mic. When so placed a different sense is given to the expression, thus: 'Nám-tcin tla town' means 'I am going to town,' but 'tcin-nám tla town' means, on the contrary, 'I have been to town,' or, 'I am going back from town.' Again, in answering a question, it is usually suffixed; thus in answer to the question, 'ótcuq Esk'ó'i?' 'are you sick?' the answer would be *á'á-tcan esk'ó'i*, or shortly *á'á-tcan*. In such instances the vowel is always changed to *a*. This applies equally to the plural form.

## INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN.

(Singular) Sút? who { súat kúē ne-tas ti? who made or did that?  
 { súat ti? or súat kúē'tsi? who is that?

(Plural) Sôwat? who? sôwat kûé'tsi? who are those?  
 stâm? what? Stâm kûé'-ûâ-qôistanq? what are you eating?  
 which? u'ntca? netl u'ntca kôéé' lâm? which is your house?

## REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

nômôt,	self.
tcin-k'ók-nômôt,	I struck myself.
nE-k'ók-nômôt,	he " himself.
tcit-k'ók-nômôt,	we " ourselves.

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

te. (masc.), the.	tle (fem.), the.
ti, this, that.	tsi or é'tsi, these, those.

In Sk'qô'mic there is no difference between 'this' and 'that,' these' and 'those,' as in N'tlaka'pamuq.

hâtl ti lâm, that or this house is good.  
 ti ûâ lâm hâtl, this or that is a good house.  
 habâ'tl é'tsi siwé'eka, these or those men are good.

Dr. Boas has recorded the form *nîtl* as 'this,' ntl or nêtl, as I write it, is a compound term, and signifies 'it is' or 'this is,' or 'that is,' nê being a form of the *verbum substantivum*. He has also recorded in his short vocabulary of the Sk'qô'mic in the Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, 1890, masculine and feminine forms for 'that,' *tô'nîtl* (masc.), *qô'nîtl* (fem.). I have been unable to discover these myself in the Sk'qô'mic.

## NUMERALS.

## CARDINALS.

Of these there are several classes as in N'tlaka'pamuq, but they are differently formed. The common cardinal numbers are:—

1. 'ntcô	The 'teens' follow regularly.
2. á'nôs	20. Qôtlc
3. tcá'nit	21. " ikwl'ntcô
4. qau'ÉtsEn	The others follow regularly.
5. tsé'atcis	30. sau'qaca, tlô'qca
6. t'á'qatc	40. qau'ÉtsEnca
7. t'á'qôsatc	50. suk'tca'ca, tlu'k'ca
8. t'qatc	60. taqmu'tlca
9. tsses	70. tsukô'lca
10. ó'pen	80. t'ku'tcica
11. ó'pen ikwl'ntcô	90. tssáw'itc
12. " " á'nôs	100. natcáwite

## ORDINALS.

With the exception of 'first' and 'last' the ordinals do not in Sk'qô'mic differ in form from the cardinals. For 'first' they say *yáwun'a*, and for 'last' they use the term *dant* or *ant*.

## CLASS NUMERALS.

The following forms are employed when counting houses though not exclusively so; and it would appear that the younger people use the independent forms as often as the composite.

1 house	ná'tcatuq.
2 houses	sámptuq (a shortened form of sámpanuq).
3	tcanautuq.
4	qauÉtsenautuq.

For counting trees they use the following:—

- 1 tree 'ntcé'wā.  
 2 trees ānōsē'wā.  
 3 „ tcanētē'wā.

When counting canoes the following may be employed:—

- 1 canoe natcākōitl.  
 2 canoes Sāmākōitl.  
 3 „ tcanākōitl.

It will be observed that the method of forming the class numerals in the Sk'q'omic differs considerably from that employed in N'tlaka'pamuq. I find no instance of reduplication of the stem.

It will also be observed that 'two,' &c., is sometimes expressed by ā'nōs and sometimes by sāmā' or tsāmā'. The former of these terms is peculiar to the Sk'q'omic and their northern neighbours the Stlatumh, according to Dr. Boas's Salish Comparative Vocabulary. The latter is found in the Sequa'pmuq of the interior, and also among the Coast Salish. I could find no trace of either in N'tlaka'pamuq, where *cai'a* is uniformly employed to express 'two' &c.

#### NUMERAL ADVERBS.

These are not so regularly formed as in the N'tlaka'pamuq, though we find the same characteristic suffix '-atl' in both, thus:—

once natcauq.	9 times tssesa'tl.
twice tsāmā'.	10 „ ō'pEnatl.
thrice tEnauq.	11 „ ssa'ma'tl.
4 times qauEtsna'tl.	12 „ ā'nōs tEslems.
5 „ tsī'ētea'tl.	13 „ tcanit tE slems.
6 „ t'a'qatca'tl.	14 „ qauEtsEn tE slems.
7 „ t'a'qōsa'tcatl.	20 „ qōitcatl.
8 „ t'q'a'tcatl.	

'Eleven' appears under a strange form here.

#### ADJECTIVES.

The regular position of the adjective is *before* the word it qualifies, thus: *tōlau* tE tik'aic, 'bright the moon; 'hāhā'thē'tsi siwē'Eka 'good are those men, 'hāl ā'tl siwē'Eka ē'tse, 'good are these men. In such phrases as 'this house is good' and 'this is a good house,' they mark the difference thus: hātł ti ūā lām = 'this house is good; 'ti ūā lām hātł = 'this is a good house.'

The adjective invariably agrees in number with the qualified word, as in the examples above. Comparison of the adjective is effected in the following manner:—

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
hātł, good	{ yāwo'n hātł, or āsa'tc hātł, } more good	nāo'n hatł, best

The superlative is also expressed by tone, the speaker drawing out the positive forms on a rising note much as little children do with us in English.

Of the two forms in the comparative the former is clearly the same term as 'first' in the ordinals; the latter is a preposition signifying 'above,' 'over,' &c.

#### ADVERBS.

The function and position of the adverb are much the same as in N'tlaka'pamuq. When it expresses 'time' it is invariably placed before the verb, thus:—

*Tc'atl* i'mē tcē'Ek tE tik'aic, 'the moon will rise soon; 'tcī'atl tcin-1-nām, 'I must go soon; 'natcauq kūisE's mē tEn lām, 'he came to my house once; 'tlē'ak-t tcin-t-ū'ā-nām, 'often I used to go.'



## VERBS.

The inflexion of the verb in Sk'qó'mic is effected partly by affixing particles and partly by auxiliary verbs. These, in such sentences as we form in English with the *verbum substantivum* and a noun or adjective, are: present tense, *ū'a*; past indefinite, *t-ū'a*; perfect, *t-i-ū'a*; future, *sk*.

## VERBUM SUBSTANTIVUM.

The Sk'qó'mic employ the regular verb of being characteristic of the Salish dialects, the simplest and most constant form of which is *ū'a* (see below under the verbal inflexions); but besides this regular form we find three others, *ē, nē* or *nētl*, and *i* (this latter is also seen in the Kwakiutl). Thus: *ē-tcin-ask'ó'i*, 'I am sick'; *ē ask'ó'i*, 'he is sick'; *nētl tē Harry*, 'it is Harry'; *nētl 'n lām ti*, 'this is my house'; *ens-i*, 'it is I,' in answer to question 'Who is that?' *ens-i nē tās*, or simply *ens-i*, 'I did,' or more literally, 'it is I,' in answer to question 'Who did it?'

## INTRANSITIVE VERBS.

sick = *ask'ó'i*, or *sk'ó'i*.

## PRESENT TENSE.

	<i>ē-tcin-ūā Esk'ó'i</i> , I am sick.
	<i>ē-tcūq-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , thou art sick.
Singular	<i>ē-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> (tai), he is sick (present).
	<i>ē-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> (ā'tli), she is sick (present).
	<i>nē-ē-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , he is sick (absent).
Plural	<i>ē-tcit-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-ūēk'ó'i</i> , we are sick.
	<i>ē-tcap-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-ūēk'ó'i</i> , you are sick.
	<i>ē-wēt-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-ūēk'ó'i</i> , they are sick (present).
	<i>nē-wēt-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-ūēk'ó'i</i> , they are sick (absent).
	or <i>nē-ē-wēt-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-ūēk'ó'i</i> , they are sick (absent).

In ordinary speech the adjective or noun is not usually reduplicated for the plural. In formal speech, however, the plural forms must never be omitted.

These forms may be called the regular or classic forms. It is quite common, however, in ordinary speech to omit one or other or both of the auxiliary verbs *ē* and *ū'a*, placing the pronoun and adjective in simple juxtaposition, thus: *tcin-Esk'ó'i* and *tcūq-Esk'ó'i*, &c.

In the third person of both numbers the form *nó'a* or *nau'a* is quite commonly used, thus: *nó'a Esk'ó'i*, 'he or she is sick'; *nó'a yé'Ek*, 'it is snowing'; *nó'a sátsauq-wēt*, 'they are happy' (see other examples below).

## PAST INDEFINITE TENSE. I.

	<i>ē-tcin-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , I was sick.
	<i>ē-tcūq-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , thou wast sick.
Singular	<i>ē-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> (tai), he was sick (present).
	<i>ē-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> (ā'tli), she was sick (present).
	<i>nē-ē-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> (tai), he was sick (absent).
	<i>nē-ē-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> (ā'tli), she was sick (absent).
Plural	<i>ē-tcit-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-wēk'ó'i</i> , we were sick.
	<i>ē-tcap-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-wēk'ó'i</i> , you were sick.
	<i>ē-t-wēt-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-wēk'ó'i</i> , they were sick (present).
	<i>nē-wēt-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i</i> , or <i>sk-wēk'ó'i</i> , they were sick (absent).

## PAST INDEFINITE TENSE. II.

*nē-tcin-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i*, I was sick, *nē-tcit-t-ūā-Esk'ó'i*, we were sick.

The other persons follow regularly.

The difference between these two tenses is that the former merely makes a statement of a past sickness without implying anything of the present condition of the patient, while the latter signifies that the person was sick but has since recovered, and is now well.

## PERFECT TENSE.

Singular	{	ê-tcin-t-î-nâ Esk'ô'i, I have been sick.
		ê-tcûq-t-î-nâ Esk'ô'i, thou hast been sick.
		ê-t-î-nâ Esk'ô'i (tai), he has been sick.
		ê-t-î-nâ Esk'ô'i a'tli, she has been sick.
Plural	{	ê-tcit-t-î-nâ Esk'ô'i, or sk'ûêk'ô'i, we have been sick.
		ê-tcap-t-î-nâ Esk'ô'i, or sk'ûêk'ô'i, you have been sick.
		ê-t-wêt-t-î-nâ Esk'ô'i, or sk'ûêk'ô'i, they have been sick.

It is not clear to me wherein this form differs in signification from the 'tîa forms. It is the regular perfect of transitive verbs.

## FUTURE TENSE.

Esk'ô'i-tcan-Ek, or tcan-Ek-Esk'ô'i, I shall be sick.

Esk'ô'i-tcat-Ek, or tcat-Ek-Esk'ô'i, we shall be sick.

The other persons follow regularly in like manner.

## PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE.

ens-ko'lûân Esk'ô'i-En-Ek, I think I am going to be sick.

tcin-êpâ'qotl Esk'ô'i-En-Ek, I am afraid I shall be sick.

## DUBITATIVE FORMS.

êwai'eti Ek 'sk'ô'i-En, I may or perhaps I may be sick.

" " 'sk'ô'i-auq, thou mayest be sick, &c.

" " 'sk'ô'i-Es, he may be sick, &c.

" " 'sk'ô'i-at, we may be sick.

" " 'sk'ô'i-ap, you may be sick, &c.

" " 'sk'ô'i-ES-wêt, they may be sick, &c.

## CONDITIONAL FORMS.

Hen-nâ-Esk'ô'i, if I am or should be sick.

Hat-ûâ-Esk'ô'i, or sk'ûêk'ô'i, if we are or should be sick.

Kûens ê-nâ-Esk'ô'i, when I am sick.

Kûes ê-nâ-Esk'ô'i, when thou art sick.

## INTERROGATIVE FORMS AND REPLIES.

ô-tcûq-Esk'ô'i? are you sick? (singular).

tcan-ûân-Esk'ô'i, or simply tcan-ûân, I am.

ô-tcûq-t-ûâ-Esk'ô'i? have you been sick?

tcan-t-ûâ-Esk'ô'i, or simply ne-tcan, I have

## NEGATIVE FORMS.

hauq Enslé'as kûens Esk'ô'i, I don't want to be sick

hauq Enslé'as kûens,nâm, I don't want to go.

hauq ôq-nâm, don't go.

hauq ôq-nam skô tai, don't go with him.

## MISCELLANEOUS FORMS

nêtl ens-nâm, I am going (in answer to question 'are you going?' it would be nâm-tcan).

haua men nâm-tcan, I shall (determination) go.

nâm tcan Ek, I shall go (future).

nâmêtl, go on.

nâm tuml', go away.

tcin-t-nâm, I went.

ne-t-nâm, he went.

tcan-tq-nâm, or tcan-th-nam, I have gone.

tcan-tékH-nám, I had gone.  
 ēwai'Éti ek nám-En, perhaps I shall go.  
 'n slē kŭENS nám, I should like to go.  
 nám-tcin haua tla-nó. I will go with you.  
 hauók méauq haua tla uns, will you not come with me ?  
 nE-tsót kŭENS náms-é'uk, he said he was going with me.  
 tcin-tsót kŭENS nám-é'uk, I said I was going.  
 nE-tsót kŭENS k'a'le sue'eka, he said I was a bad man.  
 nE-tsót kauq MEN nám, he said you (sing.) ought to go.

## TRANSITIVE VERBS.

The principal tense signs of the transitive verb are: past indefinite, *ne*; perfect, *ē*; future, *ek*.

## TRANSITIVE VERB.

to strike (it) k'ók'ótes.

Singular	{ tcin-k'ók'ót, I strike (it). tcúq-k'ók'ót, thou strikest (it). (tai)k'ók'ót, he strikes (it) (á'tli) k'ók'ót, she " "	Plural	{ tcit-k'ók'ót, we strike (it). tcap-k'ók'ót, you " " k'ók'ót-ē'tsi, they " "
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This tense is quite frequently employed to express a past action, the context marking the time quite clearly.

## PAST INDEFINITE TENSE.

Singular	{ nE tcan-k'ók'ót, I struck (it). nE tcúq-k'ók'ót, thou struck (it). nE k'ók'ótes, he (present) struck (it). nE k'ók'Enúquás, he (absent) struck (it).		
		Plural	{ nE tcat-k'ók'ót, we struck (it). nE tcap-k'ók'ót, you struck (it). nE k'ók'óteswét, they (present) struck (it). nE k'ók'Enúquáswét, they (absent) struck (it).

## PERFECT TENSE.

tcan-I-k'ók'ót, I have struck (it).  
 tcat-I-k'ók'ót, we have struck (it).

The other persons follow regularly.

## FUTURE TENSE.

Singular	{ k'ók'ót-tcan-ek, I shall strike (it). k'ók'ót-tcúq-ek, thou wilt strike (it). ek-k'ók'ótes, he will strike (it).		
		Plural	{ k'ók'ót-tcat-ek, we shall strike (it). k'ók'ót-tcap-ek, you will strike (it). k'ók'ótes-wét-ek, they will strike (it).

## IMPERATIVE MOOD.

k'ók'ótka, strike it (singular)      k'ók'ótka'wit, strike it (plural).  
 mēn-k'ók'ót-tcan-ek, I must strike (it).  
 mēn-k'ók'ótka, you must strike (it).  
 mēn-k'ók'ót-tcat-ek, we must strike (it).  
 k'ók'ótska, strike me.      k'ók'ót-tómetka, strike us.

## PRESENT CONTINUOUS ACTION.

ē-tcin-ūā-k'ók'ót, I am striking (it).  
 ē-tcúq-ūā-k'ók'ót, thou art striking (it).  
 ē-ūā-k'ók'ót, he (present) is striking (it).  
 nō'a-k'ók'ótes, he " " "  
 nE-ūā-k'ók'ót, he (absent) " " "

The plural follows regularly.

## PAST CONTINUOUS ACTION

tcan-t-ūā-k'ō'k'ōt, I was striking (it).  
tcat-t-ūā-k'ō'k'ōt, we were striking (it).

The other persons follow regularly.

## PERFECT CONTINUOUS ACTION.

nE-tcan-t-ūā-k'ōk'ōt, I have been striking (it).  
nE-tcat-t-ūā-k'ōk'ōt, we have been striking (it).

The other persons follow regularly.

## NEGATIVE FORMS.

haq Hunk'ōk'ōt, I did not strike (it).  
hau-Ek' Hunk'ōk'ōt, I will not strike (it).  
hau-it Hat-k'ōk'ōr, we did not strike (it).  
haq auq-k'ōk'ōt, don't strike (it).  
haq auq-k'ōk'ōts (ens), don't strike me.

## PASSIVE FORMS.

tcin-k'ō'k', I am struck.                      tcit-k'ō'k', we are struck.

The other persons follow regularly.

ēwai'eti Ek' k'ōk'-nān, I may be struck.  
" " k'ōk'-nāt, we may be struck.

The other persons follow regularly.

tcin-t-k'ōk', I have been struck.                      tcit-t-k'ōk', we have been struck.

The other persons follow regularly.

k'ōk'-nōmōt-tcan-Ek', I shall be struck.  
k'ōk'-nōmōt-tcat-Ek', we shall be struck.

The other persons follow regularly.

## CONDITIONAL ACTION.

Hun-k'ōk'ōt, if I strike (it).                      Hat-k'ōk'ōt, if we strike (it).  
k'auq-k'ōk'ōt, if you strike (it).                      Hun-k'ōk'ō'tem, if I am struck.

## REFLEXIVE FORMS.

tcin-k'ōk'-nō'mōt. I struck myself.                      tcit-k'ōk'-nō'mōt, we struck ourselves.  
The other persons follow regularly.  
k'ōk'-nō'mōt-tcauq-Ek', you will strike yourself.

## ADDITIONAL FORMS.

mEn-k'ōk'ōt-tcan-Ek', I must strike (it).  
hātl kūs ēuq tcat-k'ōk'ōt, let us all strike (it).  
nēmūtl-ka-k'ōk'ōt, let us strike (it).  
uns-ka-k'ōk'ōt, let me strike (it).  
nE-k'ōk'-ōtsis, he struck me with a stick (purposely).  
nE-k'ōk'-numcis, he struck me with a stick (accidentally).  
k'ō'k'ōt-ō-tcin? can I strike it?  
ēwai'eti Ek' k'ōk'ō't-en, I may strike it.

To bring out further the grammatical structure and peculiarities of the Sk'qō'mit  
I append a list of general expressions:—

Enslē-l kwē stauq, I should like some water.  
En-slē-l kwē ē'tien, I should like some food.  
En-slē küens penaquān kwē st'kai'ū, I should like to have a horse.

tcin-kōas-nūq, I burnt it; tcin-yēntl-nūq, I burnt it up, *i.e.*, consumed it entirely by fire.

tcin-kōas-atc, I burnt my hand; tcin-kōaskōas, I am burnt.

tcī'atl' i'-mē tcēEK tE tlc'aitc, the moon will rise soon.

tcī'atl' i'-tlēEK, he will come soon.

tcī'atl' tcin-i-nām, I must go soon.

ens-ku'lūān unkū esk'ō'i, I think I am sick.

ens-ku'lūān e-k'ō'i-En-Ek, I think I am going to be sick.

tcin-maql, I am hurt; tcin-ti-maql, I have been hurt.

nētl Esūā st'kai'ū, this or that is your horse.

hau'ōq or hau'ōk' tētcEM-auq? can you swim?

sūat kūē nE tās ti? who made that?

ensi' nE tās, I made it, or shortly, ensi', or mEn uns, or nētl uns, I did.

tcin-tsa-nūq tEN k'ōmōqkCEN, I hurt my ankle (done by self).

'n-tsa tEN k'ōmōqkCEN, I hurt my ankle (done by some one else).

nE i-qōi-nūq-ūās, he has killed it.

nE qōi-nūq-ūās sEN sk-umaī', he has killed my dog.

nE hōi-nūq-ūās, he has finished it.

nE-hōi-nūq-ūās-wēt-Ek', they will finish it.

nētl-sī nāo'n hātł, this is the best one.

hauq E'sūā sE st'kai'ū, this is not your horse.

tcin-qō'i-nūq tE mEni'tł, I killed him (ā'tli mEni'tł = her).

tcin-qō'i-nūq ē'tsi mEnEni'tł, I killed them.

'ntcauq kūES mē tEN lām, once he came to my house.

'ntcauq kūES nE mē tEN lām, once you came to my house.

tlē'Ek't ū'ā-tlē'Ek tEN lām, he often used to come to my house.

tlē'Ek't tcin-t-ūā nām, or tlē'Ek't kūENS ū'ā nām, I often used to go.

nō'a or nau'a qēaqaiEM, he or she is laughing.

nō'a qEM, he or she is crying.

nō'a lō'LEM or yūwē'nEM, he or she is singing.

pEnaq-ūās tE ā skūā'EWan, she is sad; *verbatim*, she has a sore heart.

tcin-pEna-nūq tE ā skūā'EWan, I am sad; *verbatim*, I have just got a sore heart.

tcin-ē'apis tE ā skūā'EWan, I am always sad; *verbatim*, I am holding a sore heart.

ē-tci't-t-ūā lō'LEM, we have been singing.

nō'a sātsauq-wēt, they are happy.

nētl tE Mary, it is Mary.

nētl tE Harry, it is Harry.

mē'ska tlen yā'siauk, give me my hat.

nō'wēt yū'tł, they are making a fire.

yū'tłkāā', make up the fire.

hauq mēk'auq hau'a tE uns? will you come with me? (woman speaking).

nE-t-ūā tletLEMōq, it has been raining.

ō-tcūq-ūā-kūilic tE sqēcen? did you shoot a deer?

nuk tleK' kwē, it is dark.

nō'a tē'Ek, or tē'kūaik, it is cold.

nuk qE'qEM or EsqE'qEN, it is frosty.

yē yEk', it is snowing.

nE mEn tlā'tlum kūi tci'lāqtl, it rained all yesterday. (In speaking the first syllable of tlā'tlum is drawn out to mark continuity of action.)

stām kūē'-ūā qoistaug? or stām kūā qoistaug? what are you eating?

tcin-kūātc-nūq kwikwōkwent, or kōkwentł unkuātc-nūq-ūā-n, I saw him a long time ago.

nE u'ntca kōEtl nō'ā nā' or pānā'? where do you live?

qElētEN tai, he is a white man.

pEk stłānai, she is a white woman.

yūtl-ka, light a fire.

yākūctcp-ka, make up the fire.

hau'Ek hauq sōm-nūq? can you smell it?

(N.B.—It will be noticed in all these questions that the Sk qō'mic invariably use negative forms 'can you not,' &c.)

tcin-stcūāt kūē lō'LEM, I know how to sing.

k'eq tEN slēl, I have some blankets; *verbatim*, plenty my blankets.

ā'anōs tēn st'kai'ū, I have two horses, *verbatim*, two my horses.  
 hauq Ensūas 'n snūküi'tl, this is not my can e.  
 tōitēntsōt-teuq kūēs ē-ūā-sk ō'i, or hātl kūēs tōitēntsōt kūēs ē'ūā-sk-ō'i, when you are sick you should take medicine, or it is good to take medicine when you are sick.

ō-tcūq-Esk-ō'i? are you sick?  
 ūā-tcan, I am.  
 ō-Esk-ō'i? is he sick?  
 ō-tcūq kōa'si? are you warm?  
 k qātLES kūēs kūāil Ek kūāiles nām-tcit-Ek-pi'atūtl, or pipia'tūtl, if it is fine to-morrow we will go out hunting.

kauq-flēEk saticit-tōmi-tcin, if you come I will give it to you.  
 Esk-ō'i-tcan-k HENhōis ti, if I eat this I shall be sick.  
 ōk-hauq kūātl tē ninā'? is your father dead? *verbatim*, is not he-who-cared-for-you gone by?

ōk hauq k'sitl ā'tli ninā'? is your mother dead? *verbatim*, is not she-who-loved-you gone by?  
 ūā-sūat lām ti? whose house is that? (N.B.—If house be distant from speaker, he adds ēna = yonder.)

ōk ōEMē' or ōtlē'tlEk? is he coming?  
 ē-ōk-tlētlem-uq? art thou coming?  
 tlē'Ek-t tcin-ūā Esk-ō'i, I am often sick.  
 ōis-ka (from preposition ōis = in), go in.  
 kūēns-e-ōis nE Esqai'ts tE suē'ka na tE slauē'n, when I came in the man was lying on the bed.

kūēns nE-nām ōtsk-ē'kuē tcinkūāto-nūq nE tai, when I went out I saw him there.  
 'nslē kūēs nām, I want to go.

mē'ka, come along.  
 tcin-ūā skō tēn etlāt, I live or stay with my parents.  
 tcin-ūā ē tlen (or tēn) tsā'ata, I stay here with my aunt.  
 tcin-ūā nE tlen tsāata, I stay there with my aunt.  
 hauq nētlēs Ensūa 'n skapitē'ūq, this is not my knife (carving).  
 tsē tlen sōk-ōi na tēn lām, I have some fish in the house.  
 tsē tlen (fem.) smēts, I have some meat.

ō'pēn tē lām nE tanū'k-ūā-n, I have built ten houses.  
 Hōiska tcatūi'tl, let us make a canoe.

Hōiska nāmnām, let us go.  
 Hōi kētl, all right.  
 Hōi-ka Hōis tsi, let us eat it.  
 Hōi-sk-it-ētlEk-cēn, let us make moccasins.  
 tōtau tē tik'aitc, the moon is bright.  
 tcin-ētlskais tē stēlmūq, I know that person.

mē-ka tē st'kai'ū, give me the horse.  
 ō'tcūq tsō'tlēm? are you cold?  
 ō'tcūq k-ōi or kōak-ōi? are you hungry?  
 tcin-ētlskais kūē sk-ō'tūt, I know how to run.

QEN- or HEN-ētlskais kēs ūntca tcin-k-sā'tcit-tōmī, if I knew where it was would give it to you.

QES or HES tlā'tlumq hauq ūā-n-nām, if it rains I shall not go.  
 Hō'iska tē sō'k ōi, eat some fish.

mē'katī, come here.  
 mēauka, come.  
 sūat tōūq? who are you?  
 nE-tcan-kwōits or nE tcan-kwētlen, I have eaten my dinner.

tEmī', go away.  
 mē'ka ō'is, come in.  
 amō'etka, sit down.  
 m'ēka ō'is, tēn lām, come into the house.  
 tcin-kwātē-nūq tē sk'umai', I saw the dog.  
 mē'ka tcā'tla ō'is tēnlām, come into the house for a little while.  
 hau'q nām, don't go.  
 hau'q mē, don't come.

tcin-k-ō'k-ōt na tē smōs, I struck him on the head.  
 kōk-ūēn Etlen kwātē-nūqūān ā'tli, I saw her a long time ago.

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'n slé kùens nám, I want to go.  
 hauq kunslé'as kùens nám, I don't want to go.  
 nEtI untca kôéé' st'kai'ú? which is your horse?  
 tcin-TEM-CEN, I cut my foot (with axe).  
 tcin-tlatc-CEN, I cut my foot (with glass, &c.)  
 tcinā'tli, I hurt myself.  
 tcin-maqtI, I am hurt.  
 tcin-i-é'tlEens, I made him eat it.  
 tcin-i-kwi'at, I made him stop.  
 tcin-mEN-tcIsEN, I made him go.  
 tcin-i-ém kùENS nE wëuk tEN, I made him tell me.

## PARTICLES.

Of the various particles which enter into verbal syntheses, there are two in particular which deserve special mention. These are *ne* and *nūq*. The former has an independent existence as an adverb of place, meaning 'there.' The latter I have not found apart from the verb. The functions of *ne* are various, and at the outset of my studies I found it very perplexing. It marks, like *tlum* in the N'tlaka'pamuq, the absence of the thing spoken of; it marks absence in the third persons when they are the subjects of conversation, and it marks absence in time also, both past and future. As may be seen from the paradigms of the verbs, it is the regular sign of the past indefinite. It occurs also in such phrases as 'next morning' = *ne-k ōū'il*. *Nūq* was also a source of trouble to me at first. In writing down phrases to bring out the inflections of the transitive verb, I found that the verb 'to strike' (*k'ōk'ōtēs*) was sometimes given to me as *k'ō'k'ōt*, and sometimes as *k'ō'k'ēnūq*. The explanation given me by one of my informants only misled me. She did not understand it herself. After further study and comparison it became perfectly clear. I found that *nūq* could be affixed to every transitive verb. Its functions are exceedingly interesting. Primarily it is employed by the speaker to inform you that the action spoken of took place without his knowledge or observation if done by yourself, and if done by some one or something else without your knowledge or observation as well. For example, I may desire to tell you that I have hurt my face when doing something. If you are present at the time and observed the accident I should use the form *ē-tcin-maqtIos*, but if you had not observed it or were not present when it happened and I wished to tell you of it, I must then say, *ē-tcin-nūq-maqtI-os*. Again if I desired to tell you that I killed ten deer yesterday when you were absent, I must say *tcin-kwi-nūq tE ōPEN*, &c. Or, again, I have just been told, it may be, that some one dear to me is dead of whose sickness or condition I was unaware. I am sad in consequence. If I am questioned as to my sad looks I must reply *tcin-pēna-nūq tE ā skūa'lēwan*, which literally rendered means, 'I have just become possessed of a sore heart.' If my sadness had been of long standing, the cause of which was known, I should answer *tcin-ē-apis tE ā skūa'lēwan*, which signifies that 'I am holding all the while a sore heart.' Other interesting examples may be seen in the story of the Smai'lEtI, given below, page 512, in the Sk'q'omic text. In the paragraph where we are told that the girl saw the following morning that the slave bore the imprints of her painted hands upon his shoulders, the *ne-kwatc-nūq-ūa-s* form is employed to express the surprise of the girl in learning that it was the slave's back she had painted. She had placed her hands knowingly on her ravisher's shoulders in the dark without knowing who he was, hence *nūq* was necessary here to mark her surprise. Another good instance is seen in the paragraph which tells of the chief's perception of his daughter's condition; *nūq* bei g necessary here to show that up to this time he had been unaware of what had taken place. A somewhat different function is given to it in the concluding paragraph of the story, where the descendants of the pair are said to be very keen-scented, the term *nūq-ē'ēks-nēt* here literally meaning that they are able to smell things before they can see them or otherwise know of their presence. One of my informants gave me to understand that the '*k'ōk'ōt*' form signified an accidental striking, and that '*k'ōk'ēnūq*' implied intentional or purposive action. I doubt much if this is correct, as the language contains regular purposive and accidental particles. For example, if I desire to say that I have been purposely struck by some one, I must use the following form of expression: 'ntsa-ānsās, 'he struck me with intention.' If accidentally struck then I say 'ntsa-nuncis, 'he accidentally struck me.' Again, 'he struck me with a stick intentionally' is rendered by *ne k'ōk'ōtsis*; but 'he struck me with a stick by accident'

by NE k'ok-numcis. Another interesting distinction between accidental hurt to myself by my own action and intentional hurt by the action of some one else is thus marked. If I want to say I have accidentally struck my eye and hurt it, I say tcin-tsa TEN k-ulóm, but if I want to say some one else has purposely struck my eye I must use the expression n'tsa TEN k-ulóm. The difference of action is here brought out by the use of different pronouns. *mkn* appended to a verb stem signifies duty or necessity = our 'must' or 'ought.' Before leaving the particles it will be of interest to point out that *hō'i*, the regular sign of the future in the N'tlaka'pamuq, is seen in the Sk'q'omic dialect only in exhortative forms, while the Sk'q'omic future *ek'* is, as far as I am aware, wholly absent in the N'tlaka'pamuq.

#### PREPOSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES.

On the beach, *na TE ai'utlk*.  
Near the house, *tcēt TE lām*.  
In bed, *na TE slauwēn*.  
On a stone, *na TE smant*.  
Put him to bed, *nām-ka aqē'ts*; *verbatim*, send him to lie down.  
Put it in the box, *nūEnka TE kua'kua*  
Under a stone, *lus'iwēt TE smant*.  
Across the water, *TE ē'tlaka TE stauq*.  
On the other side of the waier, *TE ē'tlaka mins TE stauq*.  
Far over the water, *NE-qa'tsa TE stauq*.  
Up in the sky, *TE tcēt skwai'yil*.  
I found it near the house, *tcin-ya'kenūq tcēt TE lām*.  
Sit on the ground, *āmō'etka na TE TE'muq*.  
Come to me, *mē'ka tla uns*.  
Go in the house, *oiska TE lām*.  
Go in, *ō'is-ka*.

#### CONJUNCTIONS AND CONJUNCTIVE ADVERBS.

and, *ī*; *ikwē*, and, plus; *ēkrina*, then; *yātlis*, so, therefore; *nētlmutl*, therefore; *smkn*, so then; *kūESE's*, when.

TE Smai'letl Sōqwiā'm.

(The wild-people story.)

'ntco siā'm NE ā'tli-mens nānā' TE skwiō'ts. TE skwiō'ts nōā-Esqai'ts  
One chief once daughter his lived (and) a slave. The slave he is lying  
ustā'tk na TE watcens ā'tli-kā'mai. TE skwiō'ts nō'a-nām ekqē'ts. Nām  
crosswise at the foot-hers maiden. The slave he-is-going to-ravish-her. He goes to  
ā'tli kā'mai. NE-pena'q-ūā-s TE sē'aqotl. Hauq-wetl sk'ē'stes kūES TE skwiō'ts  
maiden. She-conceived a child. Not yet she-knows that the slave  
ē-ūā-tlē'Ek unt. NE-kwa'tc-nūq ūā-s TE siām kūESE's esk'ō'i ā'tli-mens.  
had-been-coming-to-her. He perceived it the chief when sick daughter-his.  
ē'kwina pena'q-ūā-s TES ē'aqi. Sēs kūES tel-NEK-ūā-s-EK sūā'tes  
Then he-gets-it the-his shame. She-desires that she-will-find-out who-it-is  
kūā-hemēnit. Yātlis qē'l-tās TE nāqtē TE spē'ltēn.  
that-may-have-been-coming-to-her. So she-makes-paint-on the hands the paint.  
Nē'tlmntl kūESE's kū'atlē'Ek ē'kwina. kā'ātctantes nok'qē'l TE  
Therefore, when he-may-come then she-puts-her-arms-about-him marking the  
staites. NE-kōā'il NE-kwa'tc-nūq-ūā-s kūES nētl TE skwiō'ts NE-sqoqē'l  
back-his. Next-morning she-perceived that it is the slave she had marked  
TE staites. KūESE's tēln'Ek-ūā-s TE tcētē ē'kwina ō'iyntltes TE snukū'itl  
on the back-his. When he-finds-out the father then he-takes-into the canoe  
TE mēs i TE skwiō'ts. ē'kwina .ē'sōn-wēt. Smen-tsē'auq TE  
the daughter-his and the slave. Then they paddle-off. So-then-they-arrive-at a



stātā'qais. ē'kwina k'ōm-stum-wēt. SmEn-tō'EntEm. Hauq sūāt Eskai's  
 very-lofty-cliff. Then he-landed-them. So-then he-left-them. Not anyone knows  
 Qaswitca'nEm ē'kwina wēt-k'qai. SmEn-nām-wēt ē'mac. SmEn-  
 in-what-manner then they-got-up. So-then-they-went-on walking. So-then-  
 tsē'auq-wēt tē qā'tcō. SmEn-tāstās-wēt tē lām-swēt. ē mē koqā'i  
 they-arrived-at a lake. So-then-they-made a house-their. Here came many  
 tē mEmE'n-s-wēt. Mē'cōi. ē'kwina mEn-pēt wai'-wēt. ē'kwina Esme'nwēt.  
 the children-their. They-grow-up. Then they intermarry. Then they-have-children.  
 ē'kwina k'qai'-wēt ō'kwumūq. Eskōai' kūēs Qēs tē snē'tcEm-s-wēt. Sk'qō'mic  
 Then they-become a village. Never. is lost the language-their. Sk'qō'misk  
 kūēs ūā-snē'tcEm. Hiye'siwē'Eka. nūq-ēē'Ekswet. ē'auq nok'wē'ak'tEn  
 it is they-spoke. Very tall men. Very-keen-scented-are-they. They-wear undressed-fur  
 tē yekwai-s-wēt. Tēmā-wetl sūā'ō tē sna-s-wēt Sma'l'El. l.  
 the garments-their. Hence thus the name-their wild-people.

VOCABULARY.

man	suē'ka.	grandchildren	umē'muts.
men	siwē'Eka or sēwēEka	aunt	tzā'ata (if mother or father be dead then the aunt is termed sai'ūq or wutl- sai'ūqatl, but when both parents and aunt are dead then the aunt is spoken of again by the term tzā'ara; the same applies to uncle also).
woman	stlā'nai.		
women	stlintlā'nai. [kaō'tl]		
boy	suekaō t'l or skuē- )		
youth	suē'wolōs		
maiden	k'ā'mai.		
girl	stlānaiō'tl.		
little boy	āam'.		
„ girl	āa'mc'n.		
infant	sk'ā'k'El.		
child	stāō'tl (sē'aqōtl pre- natal term).	uncle	sē'sac.
children	stūtāō'tl.	step-father	sūā-ma'n.
middle-aged person	nuk ē'YE.	step-son	sūā-me'n (tEn).
old man	(tai) sēūūōqwa, stlmōt (plu stilmōt).	step-daughter	sūā-mEn (tlEn).
„ woman	(ā'tli) sēūūōqwa, stlmōt (plu. stilt- mōt).	son-in-law	sāq.
very old man	kā'ēlEn, kaiē'lmūq.	father-in-law	sāq.
mother	tci'ca, kē'ia, tā'a.	son-in-law-elect	stūta'tl.
father	ma ma, tcētct.	daughter-in-law	sāq.
son	mEn' (tEn = my).	mother-in-law	„
sons	mEnmEn (tEn = my).		
daughter	mEn (tlEn = my).	uncle's wife	sūā-tcica (= step- mother).
daughters	mEnmEn (tlEn = my).	aunt's husband	sūā-man (= step- father).
sons and daughters (collectively)	mEmEn.	elder brother	kō'pits.
husband	kwoto'mps, skō', when called by wife nō'ā.	elder sister	„
wife	tcūwa'c.	elder cousin	„
several wives of one	tcūtū'wac.	younger brother	sk āk.
husband		„ sister	„
wife when called by		„ cousins	„
husband is termed	nau'.		
parents	Etltā'tc.		
grandfather	sē'la, sll, tēē'El (tai).		
grandmother	„ „ „ (ā'tli).		
grandparents	silē'l.		
grandson	ē'muts.	brother's or sister's stai'atl, changed to child	sōmāi'tl if mother or father be dead.
granddaughter	„		

N.B.—This term sāk is changed to *sēak'wai'tl* if relationship be broken by death of son or daughter.

N.B.—If aunt and uncle are older than parents, then cousins are termed *kō'pits*; if they are younger than parents, *sk'āk*.

brother's or sister's stai'atl, changed to child *sōmāi'tl* if mother or father be dead.

brother-in-law	tcima'c (plu. tcimtcima'c).	eldest child or first-born	sēntl.
sister-in-law	tcima'c (plu. tcimtcima'c).	second child	u'nōntitc.
		third "	unwi'tl.
		youngest or last	saut.

N.B.—This term is applied alike to wife's or husband's brothers, sisters, and cousins, but when the connection is broken by death they are no longer called *tcima'c* but *tcāi'ē* (plu. *tcitcāi'ē*).

The relatives of sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law and cousins-in-law are termed *kūē'was* (plu. *skūikūē'was*), but when connection is broken by death of intermediate relative they are then called *kūintlūaq'im*, which signifies that both sides are crying or grieving.

widow	siā'ātEn (ā'tli).
widower	" (tai).
orphan	wā'nim (ā'tli or tai, according to sex).
lover	si'yā,

N.B.—The term *unwi'tl* is applied generally to the middle children, the plural form being *ununwi'tl*. The younger ones are also spoken of collectively as *sē saut*.

darling  
s'kō'nuk (term of endearment used by mothers in addressing their children 't'lan s'kō'nuk' = my pet or darling).  
s'tā'cēm (term borne by children of a female slave by her master; also a term of reproach)

Children of one father by different mothers are known by term *sintcō'itl*. One half brother or sister would say of another, in speaking of him, he is my *sintcō'itl*.

Children of first cousins are all regarded as nephews and nieces, and first cousins' children's children are consequently regarded as grandchildren. Relational ties extend with the Sk'qō'mic to six generations on both sides of the family. These are known under the following terms:—

mEn	child.	jaw, chin	sk'wawa'ctek.
man	father.	top of the head	nukai' tsiek.
tcī'ca	mother.	side "	nukmiyē'wāEn.
tsēEl	grandfather	or back "	staiā'psum.
	grandmother.	tooth	yena's.
stcā'mēnk'	great-grandfather	or nose	mu'k'sEn.
	great-grandmother.	bridge of nose	nukāu'kūts, n'cauk's.
tsū'piyuk'	great-great-grandfather	or ear	kwo'lun.
	great-great-grandmother.	tongue	mEkā'luçettl.
	great-great-grandfather	or eye	kulō'm.
hau'qkwīēuk'	great-great-great-grandfather	or mouth	tsōtsin.
	great-great-great-grandmother.	upper-lip	smē'tsans.
	great-great-great-grandmother.	lower-lip	stcēts.
smknā'tl	princess (a title commonly given to chief's daughters and also applied to other girls as a term of honour and praise if they were good and industrious).	eye-brow	slusts or tlusts.
		eye-lashes	sō'mun.
		skin (human)	tsē'Eptlen.
		" (of animals)	k'uolan'.
		throat	k'wē'ken.
		neck	qōmntl.
		back of the neck	ku'nauq.
		back	sukā'psum.
		chest	staitc.
Indian person	stE'lmūq.	breast	sē'lenns.
people	"	teat	sk'em.
chief	tE'lstE'lmūq.	bosom	saiks (= point).
village	siā'm.	stomach	stelkwām.
head	tE'ō'kwumūq.	navel	kōEl.
face	s'mōs.	body	mō'qwia.
hair (of head)	tsā'tsus.	liver	slā'lau.
" (on body)	sk'ō'mai.	marrow	tluk'tEn.
" (of animals)	skē'nus.	arm	nEkwō'cin.
beard	tā'nin.	hand	taon'tEn, naqtC.
for head	sk'ūē'intz.	elbow	tcīē'pūtc, naqtC.
	stōktcūs	shoulder	tsai'ksai.
			ci'lliā'met.

finger	nēaqō' Etc or nēaqō-'dawn yāt.	ma'tciēk (= light coming).
finger-nail	qōiqōi' Etc. morning	nātl.
thumb	s ē n t l q o y a t evening (= eldest finger). day	nā'net.
first finger	tauqō'stēn (= 'the night pointer'). sunset	skō'ēil or skwai'yil.
second "	su'nawitlō'la = (one twilight before the middle noon one). rain	nā. kūnp. tia'ci. tuk skwai'yil. stlumōh.
third "	unawi'tl (= 'the snow middle one'). hail	mā'k'a. qōqō's. sēō'kēn.
little "	sant-kō'la. or sant-ice qō'yāt (= young- frost est finger). water	Hu'qun. stāk' or stauk'. kōtlkq, squn.
thigh	smū'kwālp.	hī'yē stauk' (= big water).
leg	stcē'psen.	qā'tcū.
knee	kwinē'ukcin.	swāl.
ankle	kwo'mōk'cin.	temē'q.
foot	sqen.	spēhē'm.
sole of foot	nūkū'ācin.	smā'nēt.
heel	sai'k'cin.	cē'tlōs or stcē'tlōs.
toe	stcēpkūō'cin.	smānt.
toe-nail	quō'quōcin.	tsūk'.
skull	cauk'.	yā'utl.
fat, oil	squs.	tsuk'tsuk'.
guts	k'aiya'q.	stcō'tla.
grease	Qus.	ts'qā'nts.
heart	tsā'li, sk um.	st'kā'tcū.
heart (as seat of the affections)	skuā'lawān.	Qēqōlā'tcoq.
blood	stsā'tsien.	slai, 'puli.
mind	skwā'lawān.	t'kwā'mianq.
breath	tlā'k'ōm.	sāqwai.
dream	sElu'li.	sk'wolā'm.
canoe	snē'kūitl.	smēts.
paddle	sk'um'l.	slē'uk'.
house	lām.	tsē'istēn.
'potlatch-house'	tlāanukautu'q.	tō'qoatc.
a house with carving upon it	stcu'tuq.	s'maal.
fire	yēutl.	tlās'tlēm.
cinders	pē'tcit.	tlak'a.
ashes	nukwiyē'utl-tēn.	tē.watsōmtl'.
smoke	spō'tlam.	tē sīs or tsīs.
flame	slē'itsum.	tē tci'lāqtl.
soot	kwai'tcup.	nē k'ōā'il.
fire-making imple- ments	stcē'tcup.	tsk'k'ōā'les.
sky	skwai'yil.	kōi 'ntcō' tik'aite.
sun	snū'k'um.	kōit pā'nō.
moon	tlk'ai'tc.	kōi 'ntcō' selā'num
full-moon	nu'qkutc tē tlk'ai'tc.	hōimētlā'tl.
half-moon	nu'qsetkutc tē	t'qai'ūs.
star	tlk'ai'tc.	ēulnyā'qēn.
clouds	kō'sen.	snā.
light (of day)	sk ātl.	tō'it.
" (of moon)	kōa'kēl.	sqōm'tēn.
" (of stars)	astlkai'tc.	sōk'ōeti, siēl.
" (of torch, &c.)	askō'sen.	pēk'u'lwit.
" (opposite of dark)	aswātci.	hu'mtēn.
dark	tō'tau.	sk'wo'tcum.
	tlēk'.	sqōm
		"
		k'wEpē'tcin.
		▲***-7

hunger	ahā'nōm.	ghost	cai'u (= screech-owl, see under 'Beliefs.')
shame	ē'aji.	life	ai'nuq.
love	instlē.	soul, spirit	taqatlai'nuq.
shadow	kēnkēnHu'na.	God	tētl siā'm (= upper or above chief).
wisdom	nekaiē'les.		tēē'ansut.
help	tcau'letn.	noise (made by chil- dren)	snā'-nsut.
work	sitsā'p.	noise (of talking)	tzu'mk'tēn.
swamp	mā'kwom.	scissors	tca'msutēn.
spoon	tcau'ai.	needle (weaving)	piā'kō.
soup	stlōm.	alder-bark basket	shōkwētēcin.
sorrow	sē'sulkQ.	net	stlwāmts.
joy	tsā'tsauq.	tent (of mats)	sūu' or syū.
rope	Qē'lem.	witch	tsē'unk.
platter	tlek'ai'tstēn.	fruit of the elder	kō'min.
potato (native)	skauē'setl.	sound	tli'tamēn
(cultivated)	skants.	fish-rake	sk'u'tuksēn.
spear (salmon)	sēnā'm.	promontory (cf. ra- dical for nose)	skulq.
snow-shoe	k'la'cin.	clam-digger	Qohai't.
strawberry	s'tcē'i.	chisel	scum.
wing	ye'lāēn.	cedar kettle	Qāpiyōitl.
valley	nūkle-sā'm.	cedar-platters	māte.
tears	nēkwō'ōs.	barbed spear-point	tōēa'k' or telak.
sweat	yā'kwom.	salmon-trap	klāa'cēn
tail	skwō'kūts.	feast	tlatcēn.
voice	nūknē'tcimtēn.	knife	patcēn.
staff (walking)	t'tcātē.	needle	tlitcēn.
a whistle	sk'wō'kelēm.	saw	Qē'itcēn.
maple-tree	k'u'mēlai.	salmon-knife	tsētsipē'tlētēn.
willow-tree	qai'yai.	nest	kwi'yā'm.
cedar-tree	Qāpaiyai.	moss	tsēk.
cedar	Qāpai.	mud	kwē'ltlai.
cedar-platter	Qāpiyō'itl.	log	stilkwē'm.
alder-tree	klō'lai.	milk	alu'k'cin (also mū- kōcin).
elderberry bush	tsē'wok'ai.	moccasin	slai'.
salmonberry bush	yittwā'nai.	friend	k'wē'Ek'tēn.
basket (general term)	sētēn.	fur	mē'sēn.
basket (big, for gathering herbs, &c.)	Qok'ō'lstēn.	gall	cūpa'letēn.
bag	tlāpāt.	iron	tilu'tanitic.
bay	sā'tsēnutc.	east	tiltē'wit.
dew	stlēm'tēm.	west	sō'tic.
drum	mēnā'tsi.	north	tēm'tca'uq.
belt	nuqyi'mtēn.	south	cē'citc.
eggs	auQōs.	round	tōē'n.
bed	sīauwē'n.	raw	tsā'stauq.
box	kōa'kōa.	happy	Estsā's.
beach	ai'utlk.	poor	tcintsā's.
spring of the year	kōa'kōēsi (= grow- ing warm).	slow	ō'yōm.
summer time	tēm kōa'skōa's, tēm lē's I am poor (= hot season).	sharp	ē'yōts.
autumn	tetakiwi (getting cold).	long	tlak'it.
winter	tēm tēq (= cold sea- son).	short	ātliē'm.
time or season	tēm.	strong	lē'm.
down	nē'ak'ō'mai (= soft hair, cf. hair).	sweet	kā'tēm.
feathers	sl'pā'lkēm.	broad	tlekā't.
door	n'ku ptēn.	thin, narrow	Ek'ōās.
window	kwotcōēnau'tq.	lean	tēti'ts.
garden	nē-pēnmai'.	new	qans.
fern	sōtluk.	white	pek.
		black	k'ēk'ai'q.
		red	kwō'mkēm.

owl, efs.)	yellow	tltc.	to strike	k'ók'ót.
	green	tlEstlēs.	.. go	nām.
	large, big	hiyé'. eya'.	.. talk	sné'tcEm.
per or	small, little	utse'm.	.. boil	wotkEm.
	strong	éyé'm.	.. spoil, waste	kElkElé'l.
	weak	kulé'm.	.. fight	kwé'tEn.
	sore	a.	.. fight in battle	kai'Ek'entwai.
	dead	k'ó'i.	.. see, perceive	koáte or kwátc.
	sick	Esk'ó'i.	.. bruise	sanq. pét.
	dry	tcéq.	.. burn	koas.
	good	hätl.	.. burn up	yé'utl.
	bad	k'ai (plu. k'ai'ak'ai).	.. hurt	tsa, maqtl.
	beautiful	nEtce'm (plu. nEtce- natce'm.	.. sit	amo'et.
	cold	téq.	.. cut	tlatc, tEm.
	warm, hot	kōas.	.. want, desire	slé.
	all	éq.	.. kill	kó'i, qó'i.
	some	kōen.	.. love, like	tlé, stlé.
	much, many	k'ai, k'eq.	.. build	fa'nük.
	yes	é, eh.	.. know	Etlskai's, Eskai's
	no	hau.	.. give	sa'tcit.
	not	hauq.	.. smell	sóm.
	never	hau'tcin.	.. get, have, hold	pé'naq.
	rotten	ts úq.	.. finish	hó'i.
	above	tcitl.	.. make	tás, tá'stás.
	below	kúElus.	.. think	ku'lwán.
	far	qu'ta.	.. lie down	Ésq'a'its.
	near	tcét.	.. find out	tE'lnEk.
	this	ti.	.. paint	qé'l, qé'ltás.
	that	..	.. paddle	són.
	these	é'tsi.	.. arrive	tsfanq.
	those	..	.. land	k'óm.
	the	tE (masc.), tLE (fem.)	.. walk	é'mac.
	anybody	swat.	.. speak	sné'tcEm.
	who	swat.	.. leave, quit	tó'EntEm.
	which	u'ntcakōē.	.. lose	qēs.
mü-	then	é'kwina.	.. agree to, consent	ánó'tl.
	thus, so	sūá'ō.	animals (as a class)	sóq'qé'muq.
	therefore	yátsi's.	tr g	wá'qus.
	at, on	na.	duck (generic)	qé'lé'Ek.
	when	kūēsE's.	eagle	yaqé'la.
	where	nE.	wren	qit.
	to cry	hám.	humming-bird	tite-titcents.
	.. dance	mé'tla.	rat	hauwait.
	.. eat	kwó'ts, kwó'tlen,	mouse	qóá'tEn.
	.. come	é'tlen. Hóis.	lea	tó'tlum.
	.. gamble	mékát, tlé'Ek, mé.	louse	me'tcin.
	.. call	g'á'g Eluq.	nit	qu'ta'n.
	.. dig	kaiEtEn, ó'tka.	house-fly	á'q'ai (plu. oqá'q'ai).
	.. find	tEkwon'p.	mosquito	k'wané'mac.
	.. hunt	yá'kEn.	dog	sk'umai'.
	.. shoot	pi'atótl.	horse	st'kai'n.
	.. work	kwila'c.	bear (black)	mí'aqutl.
	.. swim	zétza'p or 'sitsáp.	.. (brown)	k'tlatum.
	.. run	tcé'tcEm.	.. (grizzly)	tlat'la'lEm.
	.. sing	ská'tzut.	deer	sqé'cen.
	.. laugh	slu'ló, ló'lEm, yá- wé'nEm.	wolf	t'k'ai'á or tskaiyá.
	.. point at	qai'hEm, sqai'aqai.	beaver	sk'eló', or sk'Elaa.
	.. whistle	tau'qós.	elk	k'ia'tc.
	.. whisper	có'pEn.	moose	kwá'ta.
	.. vomit	tlá'kEm.	woodpecker	'skéEks.
	I am sick	yla't.	screech-owl	cai'n.
		tcin, la't.	loon	swá'kwil.
			goose	Eqa. tlaukqun.

gull	k waič'tEk.	salmon ('steel-head')	skē'uq.
fish	sō'kōč, ōtsō'k'ōi.	salmon-trout	stū'ūiqkō'lō.
crow	k'lā'k'a.	brook	tlē'tlēukōai'.
owl	tcī'atmuq.	codfish (black)	ai'ēt.
squirrel	smEmBō'tsin.	" (rock)	tsācilē'uk.
snipe	spEpElā'tc.	" (red)	tūk'tō'q.
seal	āskQ.	'tommie-cod'	tsu'p'kōā.
robin	'skwEkā'k.	sturgeon	sk'ōā'wato.
rabbit	sō'hōpēt	oolican or candle-fish	stūwas.
porcupine	kwō'kwosEm.	whiting	kuē'lātsun.
pigeon	insāqā'qEm.	flounder	po'ai.
partridge	mō'antEm.	herrings	slaut.
mink	tcitcē'Ek'En.	smelts	s't ā'k'um.
grasshopper	insatsā'sētqun.	oyster	tlauqtlaug (cf. tlaug
kingfisher	ts'tcē'l.		= hard).
spider	šHōHōk wē'tcīn =	mussel	tlau'akum.
	net - maker, cf.	crab	qai'Eq.
	šHōkwē'tcīn = net.	eel (conger)	n'satc'cauEm.
swan	'swō'ken.	'bull-head'	se'nai.
worm	tsukQ	clam (generic)	tsā'qūā.
bee	sisamai'.	" (large kind)	sqām.
ant	tsitsamō'tcīn (name	" (small " )	sk'unts.
	has reference to	cockle	stlō'um.
	its slender waist)	sea-eggs	skōē'tsai.
bat	kapkapsai'tl (=	star-nsh	tō'mukt.
	the smotherer, so	sea-cucumber	Ela's.
	called because the	'devil-fish' (octopus)	siloqts, skē'amūq.
	Indians believed	whale	kwini's.
	it would settle		
	upon the mouth		
	and nostrils of a	big canoes, common-	k'qō'EtI.
	sleeping person	ly called Chinook	
	and smother him).	canoe	
<i>Marine Terms.</i>			
salmon ('spring')	kōs.	medium-sized canoe	sni'tc'l'p.
" ('sockeye')	tsu'k'ai.	small	pElā'tcEm.
" ('coho')	tsā'win.	common	snukū'i'tl.
" ('humpback')	tlau'ētcin.	old	sk'aiō'ūitl.
" ('dog-salmon')	kōā'k'Enis.	new	k'ōqū'i'tl.

*Canoes.*

## FOLK-LORE.

*Qais.*

Once there were four brothers<sup>1</sup> named *Qais* who went about the country doing wonderful things. It was very long ago, when the animals were human beings.<sup>2</sup> They usually travelled on the water in a canoe. This canoe was not an ordinary vessel. It was the youngest of the brothers transformed to this shape for the accommodation of the others. One day they came upon Deer, who was filing a bone to make an arrow point. They watch him at work for some time without speaking. Presently they ask him why he is filing the bone. Deer replies: 'I am making a sharp arrow point to kill a chief that lives some little way off.' From this answer the brothers perceive that he is a wicked person and deserving of punishment. So they straightway seize him and pull at his

<sup>1</sup> The name *Qais* in the story seems sometimes to be applied to the four brothers collectively and sometimes to the eldest only.

<sup>2</sup> According to the traditions of the Sk'qō'mic the earliest beings were animals with human or semi-human characteristics. In course of time the 'Great Spirit' brought the first true man into being, from whom are descended through many generations all the Sk'qō'mic people (see the writer's paper on 'The Coamogony and History of the Skuamish,' *Trans. Roy. Soc. Can.*, Section II. 1897-98).

ears till they become long and pointed, and at his arms till they equal his legs in length. They then take the pointed bone he had been at work upon and thrust it into one of his feet, in consequence of which this bone (*smumk'æen*) is found in the feet of all his bestial descendants to this day. After this they clap their hands and make a noise like a deer, and he instantly loses his original form and becomes a deer, with antlers springing from his forehead. Thus did Qais create the deer for the Sk-qō mic. The creature starts off in fear and runs from them with the swiftness of the wind. When he had gone some distance he stopped and looked back, whereupon Qais beckoned to him to return. Said the eldest: 'He runs too fast; the people who come after us will never be able to catch him. We must make him go slower.' When the deer comes back to them they take him by the hind legs and knock his hoofs together several times. They then clap their hands again and send him off a second time. On this occasion he does not run so fast. 'That will do,' said they; 'he is all right now.' From here they paddle on till they come to an old man who appears to be fishing for salmon with a long double pronged fish-spear. He carries also a big basket with him. The Qais stop and watch his proceedings. They find that he does not spear the salmon, but merely feels for them and rubs his spear against them, bringing away each time a little of the slime from their bodies. This he wipes off with some moss into the basket. When they see what he is doing they go up to him and take his spear away from him. From their pockets they then produce a *mi'âté* (a barbed spear-point) and put it on the spear, saying as they do so: 'See, grandfather, this is the proper way to fish.' And as they speak Qais feels in the water with the blunt end of the spear for the salmon, and when he touches one he turns the spear quickly about and plunges it into the salmon. They then return the old man his spear and tell him to catch his salmon as they had shown him. The old man gets angry and says: 'I don't want you to tell me what I ought to do. I like my own method best, and I prefer the slime to the fish.' When he makes this strange statement they are convinced that he must be a person of a very undesirable character, who ought to be checked in his evil ways. They therefore take his spear from him and break it in two. The two halves they set against his legs one on each side. The point of the spear they push up his nose. They then pull at his head till his neck is much elongated, after which they clap their hands and utter the cries of a crane, and the old man is immediately turned into a bird of that species and flies away. Thus did Qais bring the crane into being.

They continue their journeyings till they come to a high bluff on the sea shore. Here they land, and the youngest resumes his own form. They now build a house for themselves and propose to stay a while there. When the house was completed the eldest suggests the making of a trap to catch the Sun. Said he: 'I will make a trap and snare the Sun. I want to have a talk with him.' He then transforms his youngest brother into a salmon, and secures him to the shore by a line; the salmon sports about in the water and looks a very fine fish. Presently Snu'k'um (sun) perceives the bait set for him, and descending in the form of an eagle pounces upon it and carries it off, breaking the line which held the salmon to the shore as he did so. The three brothers were unconscious of what was occurring, having been cast by Snu'k'um into a deep trance. When they awakened from their trance their youngest brother had disappeared. Qais was not to be beaten by Snu'k'um in this way, so he now transforms

the third brother into a whale and secures him in the same manner as the salmon had been fastened, only with a stouter line. No very long time after this Snu k'um seeing the whale in the water came down and seized it as he had the salmon. Again the two remaining brothers are cast into a deep sleep. When the Sun had got up as far as the line permitted he was jerked back again to the water screaming. This continued till the brothers presently awoke. The eagle could not get away from the whale now because his claws had become entangled in the skin. So the two brothers pull on the line and bring the whale to the shore. Qais now said to the Sun: 'Don't try to get away, I want to have a talk with you; that is why I set those traps for you.' When the Sun perceived that he had been outwitted by Qais he consents to stay a little while and talk with them. Qais now questions him concerning the place where the salmon come from. Snu k'um points across the water and tells them the home of the salmon is a long, long way off in that direction. Qais tells him that he wants to go to the salmon country, and asks what he must take with him on the journey. The Sun instructs him to gather a great quantity of 'medicine,' and take that with him and all would be well. Qais now releases the Sun, who flies off into the clouds. Qais then set about gathering herbs for the 'medicine' which Snu k'um had said was necessary for him to take, after which he and many of his people set out in their canoes for the salmon country. For many days they paddle in the direction pointed out by Snu k'um and finally come to an island. This they are prevented from approaching by enormous quantities of floating charcoal which block the progress of the canoes. One of the young men, thinking the charcoal is compact enough to sustain him, jumps out of the canoe upon it, but instantly sinks through and is drowned. After much trouble they get away from the obstruction and paddle round to the other side of the island. Here they perceive what looks like a settlement. They see smoke of all the colours of the rainbow rising into the clouds. This is the country they are seeking, the home of the salmon people. They draw into the beach, which is very broad and smooth, and leaving their canoe go forward towards the settlement, Qais taking with him his medicine. When they arrived at the village Qais presented the chief, whose name was *Kōs* (spring salmon), with some of the medicine. Now at the back of the village was a creek in which *Kōs* kept a *tcēa'k* (salmon trap), and just before Qais and his followers landed *Kōs* had bidden four of his young people, two youths and two maidens, to go into the water and swim round and enter the salmon trap. Obeying, they walked into the sea with their blankets drawn up over their heads, and as soon as the water reached their faces they became salmon and leaped and sported together just as the salmon do in the running season, making their way in their frolics towards the trap in the creek. When, therefore, Qais and his followers had landed and met the salmon chief, he ordered some more of his people to go to the trap and take out the salmon and cook them for his guests. This they did, cutting them open and spreading them on a kind of wooden gridiron to roast.<sup>1</sup> When the fish

<sup>1</sup> This gridiron was formed as follows: A shallow trench was dug about twenty inches wide, the length varying with the number of fish to be roasted, in which a fire of dry wood was kindled. On either side of the trench stakes were driven in at intervals. These were about three feet high. On the top of these, and parallel with the trench, were then fastened slender poles, and across these again directly over the flames other transverse ones. On these latter the split salmon were laid and roasted.

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were ready Kōs invited his guests to partake of them, begging them at the same time to set the bones carefully aside and not lose or destroy any. The visitors accepted the invitation and soon disposed of the cooked salmon. After they had finished their meal some of Kōs's people came and carefully gathered the salmon bones together, which each of those who had eaten of the fish had piled in a little heap by his side, and took them down and threw them into the sea; whereupon the bones were immediately transformed back into the four young people again, who presently came up out of the water and joined the others. The salmon chief entertained his visitors with salmon-feasts for four successive days. Now the care which Kōs took over the salmon bones excited the curiosity of one of Qais's followers, who, on the second day, stealthily hid and kept back some of the head bones of the salmon he was eating. After the meal was over the bones were gathered up as before and cast into the water, but when the four young people came out of the water this time it was observed that one of the youths was covering his face with his hands. This youth went up to Kōs and told him that all the bones had not been thrown into the water, and that he was in consequence lacking the bones of his cheek and nose. When Kōs heard this he inquired among his guests if they had thrown away any of the fish bones while eating, and pointed out to them the condition of his young man's face. The youth who had kept back the bones, alarmed at the consequence of his act, now brought them forward, pretending to have just picked them up from the ground. The day following the seagulls were seen to be gathering in great numbers about some object that was floating on the water a little distance from the land. Kōs sends some of his young men to see what the attraction is. They presently discover it to be the corpse of a young man. When Kōs is informed of the nature of the floating object he asks Qais if any of his party had been drowned; Qais answers that one of his young men had fallen into the water on the other side of the island and been drowned. Upon hearing this, Kōs bids his young men bring the floating corpse ashore with ropes. This they do, and Qais discovers that the seagulls have pecked out its eyes. Now although Qais had power to restore the corpse to life, he had no power to replace the lost eyeballs. So when he observes their absence, he asks the salmon chief if he could supply him with new ones. Kōs answers that he can, and offers him a pair of *Tsuk'ai*-salmon eyes. Qais tries these and finds them too small. Kōs then offers him a pair of *Tsūrin*-salmon eyes. But these also are too small. The chief then hands him a pair of *Kō'k-enis*-salmon eyes, and these are found to be just the right size. Qais now sprinkles the corpse with some of his medicine, and the young man is immediately restored to life. On the fourth day Kōs makes a great *Klā acen* (feast), and gives to every one of his people a little of the medicine which Qais had presented to him. They were overjoyed to receive it, having seen its virtue exercised upon the corpse of the drowned man. During the feast Qais spoke thus with Kōs: 'I have come to visit you for the purpose of asking you to let some of your people come to mine. They are very poor and wretched, and have scarcely anything to eat.' 'Very good,' replied Kōs, 'I will do as you request, only you must take care of them and be careful not to allow any of their bones to come near a corpse.' Qais promised compliance with this request, and next day set out with his followers on his return. To Qais the time spent with the salmon people seemed only four days, but it was really a whole

year. As he was leaving Kōs said, 'I and my tribe will visit you first in the season.' 'After Kōs,' said the *tsuk'ai* (popularly known as the sockeye), 'I will come.' 'And after the *tsuk'ai* I will arrive,' said the *tsōwin* (coho). 'I will follow next,' said the *kōāk'enis* (dog-salmon). 'I will come last of all,' cried the *tlau'ic'in* (humpback), 'and I shall not come regularly like the others, but just now and again.'

Hence, according to Indian belief, the irregularity of the runs of the last-named species.

When Qais got back he assembled a great concourse of people and told them that for the future they would have plenty to eat; that the Salmon had promised to come to them every year. After this he recalls that his youngest brother had been carried off by Snu'k'um and seeks to learn from those present if any of them could climb up beyond the clouds to Snu'k'um's house. They all reply that no one could climb so far. But among them was one cleverer and smarter than the rest, named *Tu'mtum* (Wren?). He possessed a fine bow and many arrows. He now comes forward and says to Qais, 'I can shoot up there and make a chain of my arrows.' Qais was delighted with the plan, and bade him begin at once. *Tu'mtum* thereupon shoots an arrow into the clouds, and they hear it strike against the sky where it remained. He shoots again, and the second arrow lodges in the notch of the first. He continues shooting in this way, each arrow striking and fixing itself in the last until the chain thus formed reached to the ground. Qais now takes some of his 'medicine' and sprinkles it on the line of arrows, and the whole becomes rigid and stout and strong.<sup>1</sup>

*Kōā'ten*, the mouse-man, now comes forward, and offers to climb up first. Qais consents, and he swarms up followed by *Tō'tlum*, the flea, after whom come *Me'tcin*, the louse, '*Skē'eks*, the woodpecker, and the rest of the company. When they reached the summit of the ladder they perceive a big house. This was Snu'k'um's dwelling. They seek to enter, but find it securely fastened and too strong to break into by main force.

After some consultation it is decided to leave the matter of forcing an entrance to *Kōā'ten*, *Tō'tlum*, and *Me'tcin*. *Kōā'ten* sets to work and, soon gnaws himself a hole to enter by, and the other two force themselves through a small crack in the boards. When they get inside Snu'k'um is just getting into bed. The fleas get into his blankets and worry him, the lice into his head and do the same, and the mice make such a disturbance that he is unable to get to sleep. They keep him awake tossing and turning till after midnight, and then being very weary he falls into a deep sleep in spite of them. They bite him again and again, but cannot wake him. *Kōā'ten* then opens the door to Qais and the others. Qais discovers the head and bones of his brother, and returns to the ground with them. He now sprinkles some of his 'medicine' upon them, and his brother comes to life again.

When he had done this he pulled down the ladder, and many of those who were still upon it fell down and were killed. The Qais having come together again, the youngest resumes the form of a canoe, and they paddle away to another part of the country. On their way they come

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of remark that in one of the Haida folk-tales access to the upper regions is gained by an arrow rope constructed, as here, by shooting one arrow into the notch of another (see Second Report of the Committee under the writer's notes on the Haida Beliefs, &c.).

upon a couple of men paddling about in a canoe. One, whose name was *Te'ltcapsum* (duck), sat in the bow, and the other who was called *Ela's* (sea-cucumber) in the stern, he being the captain. Said Qais to them: 'Where are you going?' *Te'ltcapsum* replies, 'We are out trapping,' and becomes so frightened that he immediately dives into the sea. Qais now takes the bait the pair were using, and when *Te'ltcapsum* comes to the surface some little way off throws it at him and strikes him on the head with it. Where it struck a white spot immediately appeared. *Te'ltcapsum* looked round to see what had happened, and Qais throws a second piece at him, and hits him this time on the nose. Again a white spot appeared. The duck now takes to flight, crying out in fear as he goes '*anin, nin, nin, nin.*' *Ela's* observing Qais's action now also takes to the water and dives down to the bottom and remains there. Qais seeing this calls out to him, 'Very well, my friend, if you want to stay down there do,' and therewith he transforms him into a sea-cucumber (Holothurian). Thus originated the white-headed duck and the sea-cucumber.

After these events they went up towards the head of the *Sk'qō'mic* River. On their way they perceive a village and three Fort Douglas men (members of the *Stlatlunh* tribe, whose territory is contiguous to that of the Upper *Sk'qō'mic*), who are 'packing' something on their backs. Qais transforms these men and their packs into three big boulders which are to be seen at this village to this day. Going on from thence they come to a mountain, down the slope of which they perceive *Skōō'wac* (sturgeon) coming. Him also they change into stone. A little after, as they still journeyed on, they come upon *K'wini's* (whale), and he too is transformed by them into a rock. In course of time they arrived at the spot where the village of '*nku'k'epenac*' now stands. There they saw two men in their canoes. These, both men and canoes, they turn into stone; hence the name '*nku'k'epenac*', which signifies the place of the stone canoes. Some time after this they meet a man carrying a spear. They request him to give them his weapon, but he refuses to do so, and him they likewise turn into stone, where he may be seen to this day with his spear in his hand. At this point my informant's memory gave out, and he could tell me no more of the doings and transformations of the Qais.

*Tsai'anik.*

There was once a man who was the father of twins. One night he dreamt a strange dream. In his dream he was bidden to collect the bones of all the fish that frequented the *Sk'qō'mic* River. He was to place them in a box divided by partitions, a pattern of which was shown him in his dream. The bones of each kind of fish were to be kept separate in the divisions of the box. On awaking he set about his task. When the box was ready he filled each division of it with the bones of different kinds of fish, and then placed the box in a large hole of a living tree, whose trunk he had hollowed out for the purpose. He then covered up the aperture so that the box could not be seen. Shortly after this he died, and from that time onward no fish came into the river. Many years later a man chanced to pass by the tree in which the box of fish-bones was hidden. When he approached the tree, his senses were taken from him, and he wandered round and round the place in a kind of trance. In this state he was shown the box hidden in the tree, and

instructed what to do with it and its contents. When he came out of his trance, he cut away the bark which had grown over the hole completely and took out the box and opened it. The various divisions of the box no longer contained bones, but only a little dust. Some of this dust got on his hands and fingers, and he took some moss and went down to the river and washed his hands in the water with the moss. As he washed a gale of wind arose, and little fish darted out from the moss in hundreds. He now put the box back into the hole in the tree again and went home. It was evening when he arrived, and his wife, who had been alarmed at his long absence, asked him where he had been all day. Not desiring to tell her yet of his strange adventure he said that he had gone to the river and had fallen asleep on the bank. Early next morning he goes down to the river where he had left the moss, and where the little fish had so suddenly appeared, and found to his great joy that the waters were teeming with fish, amongst which was a new kind afterwards called *tsai'anük*. It would seem that the people had been aware of the reason of the disappearance of the fish from the river, and had a tradition among them that they would return again some day when the dust of the bones, which had been hidden away by the father of the twins, should be found and placed in the water. The man now saw from the quantity of the fish in the river that he had truly brought back the fish, and ran home and told his wife. From that time on the people of this village had plenty of fish, which aroused the jealousy of the other villagers, and one day the box containing the bone dust was stolen by some one and taken to another village. This brought about the death of the man who had first found the box, for on its being taken from the tree a gale arose which overwhelmed his canoe and drowned him. From that time the people on the river every year put a little of the bone dust in the water and never lacked fish again.

I was unable to identify the *tsai'anük*. They are a kind of small fish like smelts or oolicans, but differ from these in that they are never found floating dead on the water, and they come and go in a mysterious manner. The Sk'qō'mic always regarded them as the descendants of the twins. Twins, according to the beliefs of the Sk'qō'mic, had power over the wind; hence the rising of the wind when the bone dust was disturbed. If any one ate *tsai'anük* and *swi'was* (oolicans) at the same meal he would drop dead, the Sk'qō'mic believed.

*TE MEN-tle-Sai'lem.*  
(The Son of the Bright Day.)

Long time ago a shaman named Tculq had two daughters. One fine day the two girls got in their canoe and went out on the water. When they were some distance from the shore they ceased paddling and lay down in the canoe one at each end. They then began to sing. Their song was addressed to a certain mysterious youth who was supposed to live at the bottom of the water. The words of the song which they repeated many times were as follows:—

Atcinā'! Atcini'! Atcinā'! Kwī'nā yatcsi its tem

Kwinā'si-ā'li - - - i,

which, freely translated, may be rendered as follows:—'O dear! O my! We have been told that a handsome young man lies below! Oh that he would come up!'

When they had been singing a little while they saw a form rising

through the water. It was young Aiet (black cod). Said the girls to him when he came to the surface: 'We don't want a man like you with big bulging eyes. You can go back again.' They sang again, and presently Tsäcilē'uk (rock-cod) came up. As soon as they perceived him they derided him, saying: 'Do you think we want a man like you? Go down again, you big-mouthed creature.' Rock-cod, much mortified at their treatment of him, sank slowly to the bottom again as they continued their song. Presently they perceived a bright and fiery form rising to the surface. The waters glowed as if a great fire burnt beneath. 'This must be he,' said one to the other. But when this glowing body rose to the surface they saw it was only Tük-to'q (red cod). The girls are angry and disappointed as he appears, and revile poor Tük-to'q bitterly. 'You big-eyed, gaping-mouthed, short-waisted, ugly creature, get out of our sight and don't come here deceiving us again.' Tük-to'q sank slowly to the bottom again.

And thus it was with one fish after the other that came to the surface at their singing: each and every one the girls dismissed with scornful, abusive words. At last came Kōs, the prince of fishes (spring salmon), but he fared no better than the rest. When they saw his graceful silvery form come shooting through the water they cried out to each other: 'This must be he. How bright and shining he is!' But when he got close to the canoe they perceived that they had been mistaken. 'We don't want you, Kōs,' cried they. 'You have a black mouth. We don't like black-mouthed men. Go away and hide your black mouth.' They continue their singing as Kōs disappears. Presently they see an arrow (*s'mā'al*) come shooting up out of the water. As it falls back they paddle towards it, each eager to seize it first. The younger of the sisters grasps it first. They now sing again, and a little later a second arrow shoots up as before. This time the elder sister is the first to get it. Then a third appears in the same manner, and after that a fourth. Each sister succeeds in getting one of these, so that they now have two arrows apiece. They sing their song again, and presently a bow (*tō'qōate*) and quiver (*tciau'q*) are thrust up. These the younger of the two manages to secure first. Once again they repeat their song, and a few moments later they behold a golden form, bright and shining like the sun, coming up from the lower depths. This at last is he whom they desired. He is *MEN-LE-Saiē'lem* (Son of the Bright Day). They paddle towards him, and when the canoe has approached near enough he springs into the centre of it. He looks from one sister to the other to see which possesses most of his property. Perceiving that the younger sister had most, he goes to her end of the canoe and sits down by her side, and the girls then paddle back to their landing. When they arrive the elder sister, who is greatly disappointed and jealous of the other, springs out first and runs to her father complaining that her sister has taken her *sī'ya* (lover) from her. Tculq smiled and told her not to distress herself, that neither of them would have him long. It would appear that Tculq used his two daughters as decoys to attract young men to his house, where he wickedly destroyed them in various ways by his shamanistic powers. The younger daughter being well aware of this takes advantage of her sister's absence to warn her lover of what awaited him at her father's hands. Said she to him as they were approaching her father's dwelling: 'Take care of yourself when you pass through the door. My father has a magic door that closes with a spring upon people as they enter, and cuts them in two if they are

not wary. He has killed a great many of our lovers that way. When we get to the door watch how I get through, and follow in the same manner. If you succeed in getting through safely you must not, however, think you are free from danger. Another danger awaits you. My father will spread a fine handsome bearskin rug on the ground for you to sit upon. In the hair of this skin are fixed many sharp claws of the grisly bear (*tlatla'lem*) so skilfully hidden that no one would suspect their presence. Should any one, however, be unwary enough to throw himself down on the skin, these claws will tear and rip him to pieces. Be careful of yourself, therefore, when my father invites you to sit down on this rug and avoid the claws.' *MEN-tle-Saië'lem* thanks the maiden for her warning, but tells her not to fear for him; that his medicine is stronger than her father's. Before entering the house *MEN-tle Saië'lem* filled his clothes with pieces of rock and stones. When they got to the door the girl gave a sudden leap and passed safely through. *MEN-tle-Saië'lem*, observing her action, did the same, and passed through without harm to himself; but the door springing to after him caught the end of his quiver as it trailed in the air and cut off the end of it. The shaman looked up and accosted the youth thus: 'Ah! *stüta'ül* (prospective son-in-law), you have arrived, have you? Come and sit down on this rug.' And with that he shakes out a fine bearskin and spreads it on the floor. *MEN-tle-Saië'lem* throws himself on the skin, as if he had no suspicion of its hidden dangers, and rolls about upon it as if he sought to find the most comfortable position, breaking off as he did so all the points of the sharp claws with the stones he had placed inside his garments. He was thus able to lie upon the rug without harm. They talk together for a while, and then, as night had come on, they retire to rest, *MEN-tle-Saië'lem* and his bride occupying the same bed. Before they rose next morning she warns him that a third trial awaits him. 'In the yard yonder,' said she, 'my father has a big canoe he is in the course of making (*teatw'ül*). It is of rock and not of wood. In it is a deep crevice or fissure, down which my father will purposely drop his *Qohai't* (chisel) to-morrow morning and request you to dive in and bring it out. When any one does this the crevice closes over him and he is buried alive in the rock. I am greatly alarmed for your safety. Hitherto no one has escaped this trap of my father's.' The young wife is very sad and cries as she tells her husband of the danger ahead of him. *MEN-tle-Saië'lem* bids her be of good cheer and not to be anxious for him. 'I shall do as your father desires me,' said he; 'his medicine cannot hurt me.' Presently the shaman calls out to the young man: 'Säq (son-in-law), I want you to come and get my chi-el for me; it has dropped down a deep crack in my *teatw'ül*. He got up at once, but before leaving his wife he requests from her some *stau'ök* (pipeclay)<sup>1</sup> which he hides upon his person. He now goes out to the old man, who points out to him the deep crevice into which his chisel has, as he declares, fallen. The young man takes a leap into the fissure, and as he enters he throws the *stau'ök* back over his shoulder, and the next moment the cleft closes over him. The shaman perceiving the *stau'ök* come from the rock imagines it to be his son-in-law's brains, which have been squeezed out by the pressure of the rocks upon his head as they closed upon him, and goes off laughing, saying as he went: 'I got him that time, sure.' Meanwhile

<sup>1</sup> Dr. G. M. Dawson obtained a specimen of this substance from the Sk-qö'mic on Burrard Inlet in 1875, and found it to be a diatomaceous earth, and not true pipeclay.

the youth finds himself in a kind of hollow or cave in the rock, on the floor of which he perceives a great number of human bones, the remains of the shaman's former victims.

Picking up the chisel he goes to the end of the cave, which opens to him, and he passed out with the tool in his hand. He hurries after the old man and overtakes him before he has reached the house. 'Sāq' (father-in-law), said he, 'here is the chisel you lost.' The shaman takes the chisel, laughs, and says: 'You beat me that time, son-in-law.' The night following this when the others had gone to rest the shaman, who possesses a little dog, calls the creature to him and holds converse with it in this wise: 'I am going to transform you into a *swā'kwil* (loon) and put you out on the water in the morning for my son-in-law to shoot at. You must take care to dive when you see his arrows coming, and each time you rise to the surface again come up farther off.' MEN-tle-Saié'LEM's wife was still anxious and troubled for her husband's safety. Said she to him: 'None of our young men ever escaped from the rock-trap before, so I do not know what mischief my father is plotting against you now. I feel sure he will not desist from his attempts to kill you, and I am fearful of what may befall you.' MEN-tle-Saié'LEM comforts her by assuring her that her father cannot really harm him, do what he will. Early next morning the shaman takes the dog to the beach and, uttering magic words over it, transforms (*siñwēn*) it into a loon, which enters the water near the shore and begins to swim and dive about just in front of the old man's landing. He now returns to the house and bids his daughter wake her husband and ask him to go to the beach and shoot a loon which is sporting about there close to the shore. MEN-tle-Saié'LEM gets up and goes to the beach, taking his bow and arrows with him. His arrows have the faculty of striking and killing whatever he shoots them at. He takes aim at the loon and shoots. The seeming bird dives as the arrow reaches it. To the young man's surprise the loon is not killed, only wounded, the arrow merely breaking its flesh and passing on beyond. The youth asks his wife to get him a second arrow. The loon having come to the surface again, though farther off, he shoots the second arrow at it, but meets with no better success than before, merely wounding the bird without killing it. He asks for a third and yet a fourth arrow, but the loon is still alive and passing out of sight. Perceiving now that his father-in-law was working his medicine against him, and having shot away all his arrows, he adopts another plan. Said he to his wife: 'Has your father got a *scum*?' (big cedar pot or kettle). 'Yes,' replied she. 'Fetch it for me and bring it down here to the beach. I will go after the loon in it.' She did as he bade her, and he set out after the wounded loon in the tub. He took his bow with him, and as he passed his arrows which were floating on the surface he picked them up. He now shot them at the loon again, but with the same result as before. He could only wound the loon, which swam farther out at each shot. The old shaman had watched the proceedings thus far without saying a word or doing anything. As the loon and his son-in-law pass from their gaze he stands up and takes his bearskin garment, shakes it, and turns it several times and then puts it on again. Consequent upon this action there arose forthwith a great storm, and the wind caused the waves to rise mountain high. The young wife is greatly distressed thereat, and believes that she will never see her husband again. She continues for a while to gaze seaward, but nothing but the mountainous billows meets her eyes, and presently she seeks the

shelter of the house, believing MEN-tle-Saiē'LEM to have been overwhelmed by the waves. In the meantime the latter pursues and presently comes up with the loon. This time he succeeds in killing it. As it expired it barked like a dog. 'Ah!' said MEN-tle-Saiē'LEM, 'now I understand why I could not kill you before. Very well, you shall serve my purpose now.' By this time the storm has reached him, but he is in no wise alarmed at it. He commences to sing, and the tempest at once subsides immediately about him. Within a certain radius the water is as calm as a sheltered pond. As soon as he had secured the dog-loon he makes for home again. On his way he kills a great number of ducks which the storm had driven shorewards. He shoots so many that they overflow his boat. He utters *sūwē'n* words over them and they shrink at once to a small compass. He then fills the canoe again, after which he makes directly for the shaman's landing-place. The tempest is still raging all about him on every hand as before. When he reaches the shore he finds it deserted. Everybody is indoors, having given him up for lost. He enters the house, and when his wife perceives him she is overjoyed at his return. He tells her he has killed the loon her father wanted and bids her go to the scum and bring it up and cook it for her father. She goes down to the landing and takes up from the bottom of the tub what appeared to her to be a single bird. But when she held it in her hand another appeared in its place. She picks up this also only to find the same thing occur again and again. Presently her arms are full, and yet a bird remained in the bottom of the tub. She goes to the house and tells her husband. 'Take your big basket,' said he, 'and pack them up on your back.' She does so, and when at last she has exhausted the supply the house is half full of ducks. MEN-tle-Saiē'LEM now utters *sūwē'n* words over them again, and they are reduced to apparently a few only. These he takes and plucks and afterwards roasts them. In plucking the loon he said to it: 'When your master takes you up to eat you I want you to bark like a dog.' When the birds were cooked MEN-tle-Saiē'LEM made a cedar dish and placed them upon it and laid it before the shaman, who began at once to partake of them. When he commenced he thought he could easily clear the dish, but as soon as he has eaten one, another appears in its place. Presently he takes up the loon, and as he was eating it, it barked like a dog, and the old man knew at once that his son-in-law had outwitted him again. Said he to MEN-tle-Saiē'LEM: 'You have beaten me again, son-in-law.' In his greediness the shaman had overeaten himself and now became very ill. Early next morning he calls out to his daughter to come to him. 'I am very sick,' said he, 'and I want your husband to go into the woods and gather some *yit-twā'n* (salmon-berries, *Rubus* sp.) for me.' Now it was winter time, and not even a green leaf could be found, much less fruit. The daughter tells her husband what her father had requested him to do. At first he would not get up, but lay and thought out a plan of action. This time his patience was exhausted, and he determined to punish his wicked, selfish father-in-law. When he had thought out his plan he got up and requested his wife to get him some *slo'wi* (finely beaten inner bark of the cedar, *Thuja gigantea*). She gives him some. As he leaves her he tells her not to be alarmed. 'I am likely to be delayed in my quest,' said he. 'What your father desires is not easy of accomplishment at this season of the year.' He directs his steps towards the forest and pushes his way through the thick underbush till he arrives at the foot of a mountain.



Here he comes to an open glade (*swā'wek*) where many *yit-twā'nai* (salmon-berry bushes) are growing. He halts here, procures some bark of the *klō'lai* or alder tree (*Alnus rubra*), and chewing this blows the juice from his mouth upon his wad of *slō'wi*, thus dyeing it red. But only the outer bark is stained red, the inner remaining yellow. He now proceeds to tie little tufts of it to the salmon-berry bushes, some of the tufts being red and some yellow. Next he transforms these tufts of *slō'wi* into salmon-berries, some of which are red and some yellow. This originated the salmon-berry, and thus it is that the fruit of one bush is red and that of another yellow. But the fruit was not yet ripe. To ripen it he needs some assistance. So he next proceeds to call upon some of his ancestors to help him. He invokes them in the following terms: 'Come to me, my grandparents, and help me ripen this fruit!' The grandparents whom he calls upon for this purpose are the *tite-titcenis*, or humming-bird (*Trochilus sp.*), the *S'kukumkum*, or humble-bee (*Bombus sp.*), and the *Qit*,<sup>1</sup> or wren (*Troglodytes hiemalis?*). The two former were males, the latter a female. The bumble-bee is the first to respond to the invocation. He buzzes round and round in the air in lessening circles until he alights upon the salmon-berry bushes. He is followed by the humming-bird, and he again by the wren. They all three set to work at once to ripen the berries. He begs them not to loiter over their work, as he wants the berries in four days at the latest. When the fourth day arrived all the berries were ripe and ready for picking. He had brought a small woven basket (*lālēuk*) with him. This he soon filled, putting into it only red berries. When it was full he uttered *sīuwē'n* words over it, and the berries immediately sank down, leaving room for more to be added. When it was full the second time he put it aside and makes another little receptacle from alder-bark (*piā'kō*). This he fills in the same way with the yellow berries. When full he sprinkles over the fruit some of the needles of the hemlock-spruce. As he does so he converses with the needles and instructs them in this wise: 'Some of you must stick to the berries, and when my father-in-law eats them you must stay in his throat and not let him swallow you or spit you out. You must then begin to grow, and go on growing till you come out through the top of his head.' On the red berries he sprinkles no leaves, intending these for his wife and sister-in-law.

He now starts homeward after thanking his grandparents for the help they had given him. He has not picked all the berries that were ripened, and as he leaves he bids them enjoy what is left themselves. On the afternoon of the fifth day he arrives home with his two baskets of berries. He calls to his wife and says: 'Has your father any cedar-plates (*Qapuyoil*)?' The wife answers that he has, and brings him one. On this he now pours out the yellow berries, some of which have the little needles of the spruce still sticking to them. The basket of red berries he gave to his wife and sister-in-law. He then presents the dish of yellow berries to his father-in-law, saying as he does so, 'Here, *Sāq*, are the berries you desired: they have cost me some trouble to procure for you.' The old shaman grumbled when he saw how few they seemed.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that a myth of the Haida (Queen Charlotte Islanders) makes the wren, called also by them *Qit* or *Waii*, the ripener of the wild berries. She is invoked among them in a song the words of which I have given in the original with a free translation in my notes on *Haida Stories and Beliefs* (see Second Report of the Ethnological Survey of Canada, 1898).

'I could eat twice that quantity,' said he. But to his surprise he finds the fruit more than he can consume. Eat as many as he will, some still remain on the platter. Presently he begins to cough and spit. Some of the spruce needles have got into his throat and he cannot dislodge them. Between his spasms of coughing he cries out: 'Ah! son-in-law, you have beaten me this time.' Saying this his eye (for it seems he possessed but one) begins to start from his head, and presently a young hemlock-spruce burst through his crown and speedily grew into a big tree. MĒN-tle-Saiē'LEM then called his wife and sister-in-law, and said to them: 'We will go away and leave your wicked father now.' They forthwith pack up their belongings and start off. When they get outside of the house MĒN-tle-Saiē'LEM gives a great kick to the back of it, and the whole structure falls in and is transformed into a big rock with the tree that grew from the old shaman's head still standing up, and apparently growing out of it.

This boulder, which the Indians used to look upon as an enchanted rock, is said to be situated near Nanaimo. Even now the older Indians believe that the shaman is still shut up in it. They declare they can sometimes hear him saying, 'You have beaten me this time, son-in-law,' and if any one passing by on the water were to revile it, or call it opprobrious names, such as 'old one-eye,' they believe a tempest similar to that the old shaman brought upon MĒN-tle-Saiē'LEM when he went after the loon would immediately arise and drown all in the canoe.

From the fact that this rock is situated within the borders of the Snamaimuq, as well as from the hero's name being doubtful Sk'qō'mic, it is pretty certain this story has been borrowed from the Snamaimuq.

*TE Qoitcitā'l, the Serpent-slayer.*

A long time ago many people lived at Stāmis, a village at the mouth of the Sk'qō'mic River. The son of the chief had just been married. The night following the marriage, just before daybreak, the old people heard the cry of *TE Sino'tikai* (a huge double-headed water-serpent) as he passed from one side of the mountain to the other. The old people woke up the young couple who were sleeping together by throwing cold water over them, and told the young man that he ought to get up and go after the Sino'tikai. The youth was deeply offended at this treatment on his wedding night, and would not at first stir; but presently he said to his wife, 'I will do what they wish. I will follow the Sino'tikai and kill it. Don't be alarmed during my absence. I shall be away only four days.' He was really absent four years, though the years seemed to him as days. So he got up and took his bow and arrows and blanket and went after the serpent. When he came upon the creature's trail the stench which it had left behind it in its passage was so terrible, and the buzzing of the flies which the smell had attracted so annoying, that he was obliged to keep some distance off. From time to time as he went along he bathed himself. After a while he came upon the serpent, which was lying lengthwise across a small lake. Its heads rose up on one side, and its tail on the other. Qoitcitā'l would not bathe in this lake where the serpent lay, but sought out another spot a little way off. The serpent stayed here testing the lake's capacity for the space of two whole days as it seemed to Qoitcitā'l. In reality a whole year thus passed away. It then went on again followed by Qoitcitā'l as before, who bathed

himself frequently as he went along. They came to several other small lakes, all of which the serpent tried as before, but none of them was big enough for its purpose. Thus the third year passed, which to Qoitcitā'l seemed as another day. At last the serpent came to a lake large enough for it to swim about in. Into this the Sino tkai dived. On the edge of the lake Qoitcitā'l built himself a house and watched the serpent which from time to time came to the surface of the water to disport itself. One night Qoitcitā'l dreamt that he killed the serpent with a big heavy spear made of resinous pine-wood. In his dream he seemed to be in a large canoe, and he possessed two of these heavy spears. So when he awoke he built himself a canoe, and made a couple of spears after the fashion of those he had seen in his dream. When he had finished his canoe he launched it on the lake. The serpent was not visible at the time, so he allowed the canoe to drift about as it would. By-and-by the serpent came to the surface again at some little distance from Qoitcitā'l. He at once paddled quietly towards it. The serpent's two large heads were now raised in the air with its great mouths agape. When it opened its mouths it was like the opening of two fiery ovens; and the cries it made on these occasions were exceedingly terrifying. Qoitcitā'l paddled towards the nearest of the heads and struck it just at the junction of the neck with one of his spears which remained sticking in it. He then hastily paddled towards the other and did the same with it, and the serpent sank to the bottom of the lake. Qoitcitā'l thereupon went into a trance and remained in that condition for some time. While he was in this state the water of the lake rose up and carried him to the top of a high mountain. When he came out of his trance, in which he had learnt many secrets and much strange knowledge, he looked intently at the water, which immediately began to sink, and in a little while the whole lake was dry. He now descended the mountain and got down to the bed of the lake across which he perceived, stretching from side to side, the trail of the serpent's bones. These were now clean and free from flesh, and some of them were curiously shaped. Some had the form of swords, and some of blanket pins or brooches. He took possession of two of these—one of the sword kind and one of the brooch kind—and returned to his house on the edge of the lake. Having now accomplished his task he determined to return home. He accordingly sets his face homewards. To get home he had first to pass over many mountains and rivers. One day he perceived a flock of mountain sheep on a ridge before him. Thereupon he takes his new sword, which possessed magic properties, and waves it in the air, and all the sheep straightway fall down dead. He now skins them all, and dries their hides. When they are dried he packs them up and takes them with him. There are many hundreds of them, but his magic enables him to carry them all easily. As he journeyed on he came to a certain mountain which it was necessary for him to cross. But his passage over this was hindered by the presence of a huge snail which barred his way whenever he sought to cross it. He tried every means to pass this creature, but always failed. At last it occurred to him to use the Sino tkai-bone brooch, which like the sword possessed magic properties. He now points this at the snail, and it immediately shrivels up like a green leaf in the fire, and dies. At last after much travelling he comes to the head of the Sk-qō'mic River, at the mouth of which his own village is situated. Between the head and the mouth of the river there are many *ō'kucumiq*,

or villages, which he has to pass on his way. The first village was on the side of the river opposite to his own. When he got over against it he covered himself with a white blanket and sat down to rest and await events. The people of the village soon perceive him and cry out to one another wondering what the strange white object is. Said one to the other, 'Let us go and see what this white thing is on the other side of the river.' They all come down to the river's edge. Qoitcitā'l now stands up and waves his magic sword in the air, and all the people shrivel up as the snail had done, and fall down dead. He now crossed over the river and took a *Qok'ōlsten*, or large basket used for gathering herbs, and filled this with the leaves of certain plants and herbs. He then broke these up and bruised them, and made therefrom some powerful medicine the magic properties of which he had learned in his trance. With this he sprinkles all the dead, and they are immediately restored to life again. After this the people take a number of canoes and construct from them a large raft. On this they place Qoitcitā'l and present him with a great number of blankets. They also give him one of the girls of the village for a wife. Qoitcitā'l accompanied by some of the people of the village now goes down the river. At every village they come to Qoitcitā'l kills all the inhabitants by waving his sword as he had done at the first place, and afterwards restores them to life. At each stopping place he is presented with many gifts, and a girl for wife, and some of the people accompany him; so that by the time he has reached his own village the raft is loaded with people and presents, and he possesses nearly two score wives.<sup>1</sup> When he arrived at Stā'mis he does the same there as at all the other places and kills everybody, his own parents and first wife included. Then he brings them all back again to life except his wife. He does this to impress the people with his power. His wife had taken another husband, and so to punish her for her want of trust in him he would not restore her to life. He now takes all his new wives and presents into his father's big house. A great feast is then held and all the visitors are generously entertained for many days. There was no scarcity of food or game, for Qoitcitā'l had only to go into the woods and wave his magic sword before him and everything immediately fell dead at his feet. From this time on Qoitcitā'l became a great man and the chief of his *ō'kvumūq*.

*Te Sqōqcā'ōtl, or the Deserted Youth.*

A youth was once undergoing his *k'waiyā'sōt*, or training for medicine-man. He had led an isolated life in the forest, according to the custom of novices, for some time, and had eaten no food for several days. Now it happened that just at this time there was a scarcity of food in the village to which he belonged, and a party of girls had gone into the woods to dig *Suōtluk* (*Pteris aquilina*) for food for themselves. They had secured some roots and had roasted and eaten them in the woods, throwing aside the hard cores.<sup>2</sup>

As the youth was wandering round in the woods he came upon the

<sup>1</sup> Wives acquired in this way are called by a special name to distinguish them from those obtained in the ordinary manner. This term is *Awitlā'ntam*, and means 'presented' or 'freely given.'

<sup>2</sup> The edible part of this root when roasted, my informant stated, is very like in substance and appearance the flesh or meat of the cocoa-nut. The outer part only is eaten, the inner part being a hard core, which is thrown aside. In times of

spot where the girls had roasted their fern-roots. All around him lay the discarded cores. The sight of these was too much for the young man's hungry stomach, and he sought to appease his cravings for food by gnawing at some of them. This occurred towards the end of his training. When he had completed his *k'waiyā'sōt* he returned to the village. Now when the elders of the village learnt that the girls had been in the woods roasting *Sqō'tluk* near where the youth was undergoing his training it entered their minds that he might break his fast upon the remains of their meal. So when he returned home his parents undertook to test him. They did this by drawing scarifying knives all over his body. In the process one of the fern-root cores was drawn out of his flesh, at sight of which his father was shocked and scandalised. He informs the people of his discovery, telling them he is greatly ashamed and grieved at his son's wicked deception. It is decided that he must go back to the woods and go through the whole procedure from beginning to end over again. So he returns to the training-ground and enters upon a second course of fasting and exercise. No one expresses any sorrow for the youth except his old grandmother, who cries when she learns that he is sent back in disgrace to repeat his trying ordeal once more. Among the personal belongings of the young man was a little dog which was much attached to him. This dog the old grandmother called to her side one day, and told it that the people had determined to go away from the village and abandon her grandson, who had disgraced them by breaking his fast during his *k'waiyā'sōt*. 'When your master returns,' said she to the dog, 'he will find the village deserted and all the fires out. I am very sorry for him and want to help him all I can. I intend to keep all the cores of my *Sqō'tluk* and make them into charcoal and bury it in a big clam-shell, and when my grandson returns you can tell him where to find it, so that he will not be without fire.' You must stay behind when the people go, and wait for your master and do as I instruct you. When I have buried it I will show you the spot.'

It was as the old woman had told the dog. The whole village felt that they could not harbour a youth who had brought such shame upon them, and so, at the suggestion of *Sk'auk*, the Raven, they determined to go away to another camp and leave the youth to his own resources. To make their desertion of him the more complete and exemplary, when they are ready to start they take water and pour it upon all the fires and so put them dead out. Just before they did this the old grandmother, unobserved by any one, converted her fern-root cores into charcoal and buried it in a clam-shell near one of the posts of the dwelling and bade the dog, which was observing her, remember where to bid his master look for it. They all now go away, taking their belongings with them, the little dog alone remaining behind. Some time afterwards the youth, having completed his course of training, returns once more to his home. When he perceives the abandoned state of the village he quickly comprehends what has happened, and walks up and down, crying, feeling heart-broken at their desertion of him. His little dog tried again and again to attract his

scarcity and famine the Indians had frequent recourse to these roots, and dug up and ate large quantities of them, the old people and children having little else indeed to subsist upon.

It would appear from the precaution here taken by the old grandmother that the preservation of fire was a matter of supreme importance in the early days of the tribe, and the procuring of it afresh a task of much difficulty and trouble.

attention and lead him to the spot where the buried cores were smouldering in the clam-shell; but for a long time his master would take no notice of him. Presently, when his grief had somewhat subsided, the importunity of the dog and its unusual behaviour aroused his attention. For the dog, on perceiving that it had at length attracted its master's notice, had run to the foot of the post where the fire was secreted and begun vigorously scratching there, looking up at its master the while and barking excitedly. Said the youth to himself: 'I believe my grandmother has buried something there for me.' He then went to the spot and speedily discovered the hidden charcoal, with which he soon made himself a big fire. He now made a bow and some arrows for himself, and shot many small birds and chipmunks (*Tamias striatus*), and from the skin of these, when dry, he made himself a garment to cover his nakedness.<sup>1</sup> After this he makes a big box in front of the house, in which he sits and looks about him.

One morning just about sunrise he is sitting with his gay robe wrapped about him, when he perceives the Sun coming down to him. When his visitor got near he said to Sqôqwâ'otl: 'That's a fine coat you have on. I would like to make an exchange with you. My garment has magic qualities, and whoever wears it need never want for food.' 'All right,' said the youth, 'I'll exchange with you. I am badly in want of a coat of that kind just now.' The exchange is forthwith made, and each puts on the other's garment. Then, said the Sun to the youth, 'If you dip one corner of my cloak in the water when you want something to eat, you will always be able to obtain any amount of *slau'it* (herrings). Be careful not to dip too much of the garment in, or the fish will choke the stream.' After this the Sun returned to his own country, carrying with him the youth's cloak. On the morrow Sqôqwâ'otl goes down to the water to try the 'medicine' of his new garment. He dips one corner in as the Sun had instructed him, and immediately the water swarmed with fine fat herrings. He straightway makes a *ti tamên*—a kind of rake, on the spikes of which the fish are impaled as it is drawn through the water. With this he catches great quantities of the fish, after which he threads them on strings and hangs them up to dry. He continues at his task till he has filled his father's house with them. In like manner he then proceeds to fill the houses of all the others in the village except *Sk'auk*: the Raven's. He had become aware by some means that the proposition to desert him originated with the Raven, so he would not give him any herrings. On the contrary, he filled his house with the stinking, rotting entrails of the fish he had cleaned, by way of taking his revenge upon him. When he had stocked all the houses with dried herrings, *K'lä'ka*, the Crow, paid a visit to the village one day, and, being hungry, soon discovered the entrails of the herrings and began eating them. When Sqôqwâ'otl perceived the Crow, he asked him if he knew where the people of his village had settled, and whether he had seen his grandmother. 'Yes,' answered the Crow, 'I know where your people went. They are living on the other side of the water, and every day I hear your grandmother crying for you.' 'Ah!' said the youth, 'I am sorry for my grandmother, and I want you to take these four herrings and give them to her, when she is outside and nobody is looking, and tell her to come over here, where there is now plenty of food. I know they haven't much over

<sup>1</sup> During his *k'waiyá'sôt* the novice must wear no clothes. He must go entirely naked the whole time.

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there.' The Crow undertook to do as the youth requested, and started off on his mission. He finds the old woman sitting in the bow of a canoe crying to herself. He alights on the edge of the canoe and cries out to her in the following words: '*K'āq, k'āq, te teuteeli tten te um-mun-mats, k'āq*'—'Plenty, plenty food where your grandson is, plenty.' He then disgorges the four herrings which he had carried in his gullet. The old woman quickly comprehends the message her grandson had sent by the Crow, secretes the fish on her person, and goes home. At night, when all were abed and, as she supposed, asleep, the old woman approached the fire and in the shadow of the big night log<sup>2</sup> produced the herrings and began to roast them over the embers. She thought that no one would observe her at this time; but it so happened that one of the children woke up and saw her. The child lay near the father's head, which was raised some little distance from the bed by the head-rest, thus leaving a space between his neck and the bed. Looking through this space, the child observed the grandmother cooking and eating her herrings. She presently roused her father and told him what the old woman was doing. The savoury smell had by this time filled the whole building and aroused everybody. The father demands from the old woman how she came by the herrings she had been stealthily cooking. At first she made no reply, and he had to ask her the same question three times before she would respond. She then told him that the fish came from her deserted grandson, and that the Crow had brought them to her that afternoon with the message that there were plenty more at the old village. On the following morning the chief calls all the people together and tells them of the herring incident, and that his son whom they had deserted was living at the old village in plenty. He proposes that they shall all return thither, as food is scarce in their present-quarters. It was agreed that they all return. So they started off for their old *ō'kwumūq* in their canoes and in due time arrived at the landing-places. They came in single file, one canoe behind another. As they drew near the shore, the youth donned his wonder-working cloak. To those approaching he now had the glorious, resplendent appearance of the noonday sun. They could not look upon him as he sat in front of his dwelling for the dazzling splendour of his garment. Before they landed, those who had *kemkā'mai* (daughters) dressed them in their best and gayest blankets, for the purpose of presenting them to the youth as wives. Among these was Raven, who had two daughters. These he not only dressed in their best blankets, but also painted their foreheads. Presently, when all were ready, they landed, and the chief led forward his daughter and offered her to the young Shaman as his wife. The others in turn did likewise, Raven among the rest. He accepts all but Raven's daughters. These he scornfully rejects, and tells Raven to keep them, that he doesn't want them, and will have nothing to do with them. He then bade the people go to their old dwellings and they would find plenty of food awaiting them there. His many wives he takes to his own house. When Raven and his rejected daughters arrive at their home

<sup>1</sup> This is not good Sk'qō'mic. The crow is supposed to have mangled it somewhat. In correct Sk'qō'mic the expression would be thus rendered: *K'āq, k'āq, te teuteeli tten te um-mun-mats, k'āq*. It is possible that this story is not of Sk'qō'mic origin, hence the difference in the form of the expression. I called my informant's attention to this, but his explanation was that this was the crow's way of talking.

<sup>2</sup> The old Indians always banked up their fires, before retiring for the night, with one or more big logs. These kept the fire smouldering till morning.

they find it full of the stinking entrails of the fish with which Sqôqwá'otl had filled their neighbours' dwellings. They are so hungry that they are fain to appease the cravings of their stomach by eating the fetid mass. Thus did Sqôqwá'otl revenge himself upon Raven for his part in the people's desertion of him.

When everybody had once more assembled about his dwelling Sqôqwá'otl invites them to come down to the water's edge with him. Upon their arrival there he turns his cloak about and dips one corner of it into the water, and immediately the spot teems with fish. At first the people are too astonished to seize the fish, but presently they fill their canoes with them. From that time onward the people of this village never lacked for food, and Sqôqwá'otl's cloak brought him much honour and renown, and he became a great man among them.

*Smená'tl, or the Story of the Chief's Daughter.*

The chief of a certain large village once possessed a big dog. This dog was not a common dog. He was really a wizard, who had assumed this form for evil purposes of his own, though no one in the village was aware of the fact. One night he stole to the bed of the chief's daughter and ravished her in her sleep. When some little time had passed the girl found herself with child without any knowledge of the person who had brought this shame upon her. Suspecting that her ravisher would visit her again, she takes some red paint and mountain-sheep's tallow, and, mixing the two into a paste, smears the palms of her hands with it. Before she has discovered the author of her trouble her father perceives her condition and questions her concerning it. She is unable to give him any satisfactory explanation, and he is much grieved and ashamed. The following night the dog-wizard visits her again, but before he leaves her on this occasion she presses her paint-smear hand upon his shoulders. In the morning, when all the young men of the tribe are engaged in their exercise on the village ground, she scrutinises their backs and shoulders to see if any of them bear the imprint of her hands in red paint. She passes them all in review before her, but cannot perceive the sign she is looking for on any of them. The evening of that same day the dog is lying before the fire, and the girl, wishing to occupy the dog's place, takes a stick and tries to drive it away. At first the dog will not stir, but eventually it consents to get up and move off. As it does so, she is greatly surprised to see marked upon its shoulders the imprint of a pair of hands in red paint. In her astonishment she cries out, 'Oh! my father, I have discovered my ravisher. Look at the dog's shoulders; it must be he.' The father looks at the dog and perceives the paint-marks upon his back. 'Very well, daughter,' said he; 'if that is the father of your child you cannot live with me any longer.' Thereupon the chief goes some little distance from the village and builds his daughter a house apart by itself. When it is ready he sends her to live there. The chief is greatly ashamed; and when later his daughter gives birth to twelve puppies he is so deeply mortified by the whole circumstance that he calls his people together and tells them that he wishes to go away out of sight and sound of his disgraced daughter and her unnatural offspring, and proposes a change of settlement. They agree to his plan, and presently all pack up their belongings, take their canoes, and paddle away to a near village. Near their old settlement is a point of land or promontory (*Sk'utuks-en*, cf. radical for nose) stretching out some way into the water and hiding the



view beyond. They determine to settle beyond this point, where they will be out of sight of their old camp. In the meantime the poor deserted girl does the best she can in her lonely state for her strange family. Of the twelve puppies two only are females, all the rest are males. When they are old enough to run about the mother returns with them to her father's house in the abandoned village. One evening she split some pitch-wood for torches, and, lighting one of these, she went down to the beach to dig for clams. She had not long been engaged at her task when she heard sounds of singing and dancing coming from the village. She rushes back to see what it all means, and as she nears her own dwelling perceives the sounds to come from it. At the door one of the two young bitches is standing. When the latter sees her mother approaching she warns the others within the house, and the sounds at once cease. The mother's suspicions are, however, roused, and when she enters the house she asks them who had been singing. She gets no response to her question from the puppies, who are now speechless. She is sure, however, she had heard the sound of human voices, which indeed she had, for her progeny partook of the wizard-nature of their father, and had the power to throw off their dog-natures at will. This they had done in their mother's absence, and had sung and danced to the following words: 'Our mother thinks we are dogs, but we know better.' This they repeated many times. As soon as the sister who was watching informed them that their mother was returning they stopped their singing and dancing, put on their dog-skin coverings, which they had thrown aside for the occasion, and resumed the form and character of puppies once more. Hence when their mother questioned them they made no response. After looking round the place she returned to her work on the beach. This time she took a mat with her. When she got to the beach she stuck the torch in the mud and made to go on with her digging as before. Her intention was, however, to return to the house unobserved, and learn if possible the meaning of the dancing and singing she had heard before, and which now began again as soon as she had got to the beach. To this end she took her *skulq* (clam-digger) and, planting it firmly in the ground behind the flaming torch, hung upon it the mat she had brought for the purpose, thus shutting off the light from the village, and causing a line of shadow to appear between the beach and the house. Under cover of this she stealthily makes her way back to her dwelling. She sees one of the bitches standing in the doorway as before, but, being in the deep shadow of the mat, she herself is not seen by the watcher. She is thus able to get close to the building. She steals round behind it and peeps in through some chink in the wall, and is greatly astonished to see all her children, except the watcher at the door, in human guise, with their dog-vestment thrown aside. She enters suddenly from the rear, and before they are aware of her presence, pounces upon their dog-garments and casts them into the fire, where they are quickly consumed. Thus she breaks the wizard's charm and overcomes his 'medicine,' and her children retain thereafter their human form. She now reproaches them for the deception they had practised upon her. 'It is entirely due to you and your dog disguises,' said she, 'that I have been deserted by all my people and left in my present forlorn condition.' They all listen in silence for

<sup>1</sup> As the old houses had but one door or means of ingress and egress, this entrance on the part of the mother from behind is not clear. My narrator was himself aware of this discrepancy, but was unable to explain it.

some time, and then the eldest boy says they are sorry for her and will now help her and make her happy and comfortable. 'O mother!' said he, 'I know what I will do for you: I will become a great hunter and kill lots of mountain-goats for you.' The second then chimes in 'O mother! I know what I will do: I will build you a nice house with carved posts' (*Stutūu*). The third then says, 'O mother! I will become a great fisher and catch lots of whales and seals, &c.' In like manner each declares in turn what he intends to do for her. The fourth would be a canoe-builder and build them all canoes. The fifth a bear-hunter and bring them many bear-skins. The sixth a song-maker and dancer and make songs and dances. The seventh a bird hunter and bring home many birds. The eighth a transformer (*sūiwē'n*) and wonder-worker. The ninth would be a great chief and look after everything belonging to the village. The tenth would do a little of everything—in short, would become a 'Jack-of-all-trades.' The mother listened to them all without making any remark. The two girls now chimed in, and the elder declared that she would be a great basket-maker and make all kinds of baskets for her mother; and the younger, that she would be a berry and root gatherer and keep the house supplied with berries and roots. The day following they undertook the special task they had allotted themselves. The hunters brought home their different kinds of games and presented it to their mother, while each of the others presented her with some specimen of their craft or handiwork. From this time onward they lived in comfort and happiness. One day the mother, fearing they might on some occasion go round the point of land and come in contact with her former associates and friends, with whom she now desired to have no dealings, warned them never to go in that direction or they would get into trouble and danger. This caution served but to awaken their curiosity, and one day, when they were out on the water in their canoes, one of them remarked to the others, 'I believe that village round the point belongs to our mother's people; let us go round and see.' The others agreeing, they make for their grandfather's settlement. It was then early in the day, and in their canoes they had many seal which the fisher brother had caught that morning. When they had got round the point they perceived an old man sitting on the beach. They direct their canoes towards him and land close by. The old man observed their movements, but did not speak to them. Presently one of them accosts him in these words: 'We think our grandfather lives here and we have come over to see; can you tell us?' The old man then asks them where they come from. They tell him, from behind the point, where they live alone with their mother. The old man, who is really the chief, their grandfather, perceived at once that they must be his daughter's children who were born as puppies, and declares himself to them, telling them he is their grandfather whom they are seeking. They are glad to learn this, and present him with all the seals they had brought in their canoes. The old chief now calls some of his people and instructs them to unload the visitors' canoes and bring the seals up to his house. He is feeling very joyful and happy (*tsā'stauq*). 'Come into my house, grandchildren,' said he to his grandsons, 'and let me tell my people of your arrival.' They follow him into his big house, where the rest of the people soon assemble. The old man presently informs them that the strangers are his grandsons, the children of his deserted daughter, and proposes that they shall all go back to the old settlement. The idea is accepted, and he tells his grandsons that they

will return to the old village, and will arrive there with all their belongings early next morning. The young men then bid him good-bye, and set out to return to their mother to tell her the news. It is late in the day when they arrive, and their long and unusual absence has caused her much worry and anxiety. She has almost given them up for lost when they are seen approaching the landing. She questions them concerning their delay, and learns that they have visited her father and given him all their seals (*ā'suq*), and that he and all the rest are coming back to occupy their old quarters on the morrow. Next morning, while they are busy preparing to receive them, the son, who was a *siūwē'n*, said to his mother: 'What will you do to the people to morrow, mother? I know what I shall do to make them feel my power.' His mother made no reply, but, knowing her son's wonder-working abilities, she was curious to see what he would do. Presently the canoes were seen approaching the chief landing-place. When they were almost near enough to land, the *siūwē'n* began to exercise his magic power, and caused a strong out-flowing current to take the canoes and carry them far out into the gulf, and then bring them back again. This he did four times before he would allow them to land, and it was evening when they left their canoes. The sons now make their mother sit down in the foreground of the village on an elevated seat and pile up heaps of blankets by her side. The sixth son then opened the reception ceremonies with special songs and dances. In the first dance two bears appear—one a cinnamon (*k'tladum*) and the other a black bear (*miaquḥ*). This was a bear dance. These are followed by mountain-goats, after which all the brothers dance and sing together. The second brother, who was skilled in carving, danced in a mask of his own carving.<sup>1</sup> The visitors, who had remained in their canoes, looked on, and pronounced the entertainment a great success and the character-dancing very fine. After these performances are over the people land, bring up their belongings, and occupy their old quarters in the village. From this time onward they live together in amity, and the ten brothers are accorded by general consent the rank of chiefs.<sup>2</sup>

*Story of Sq̄ils, the Copper-man.*

Once there were two brothers named Á'tsaiān and Çukçuklakō's. Each one had six sons. All the sons were fine tall men except one. The youngest son of Çukçukiakō's was somewhat deformed, having a large protuberance on one side of his stomach. One day all twelve of the youths started off into the mountains. They climbed three successive

<sup>1</sup> The Sk̄qomic used formerly, according to Chief James of St̄amis, to indulge in dramatic entertainments of the kind described in this story, which has apparently been evolved from the tribal consciousness to account for the origin of these particular masqueradings in which the participants appear under the guise of bears, mountain-goats, &c. I was not able to learn that the right to participate in these character-dances belonged to any particular family or gens.

<sup>2</sup> The bestowal of the rank of chiefs as a mark of honour and esteem upon the ten sons of the chief's daughter, as here related, bears out the statements of my informants on social customs—viz. that children of a chief's daughter take the rank of their father. Although their mother was a *sq̄mē'tl* or 'princess,' they could not take her rank, as their father was of inferior birth. The conferring of this special privilege upon the wizard's sons shows us also, however, that men of inferior class, by possession and exercise of superior natural gifts, or by the performance of public services, could upon occasion be elevated by tribal consent to the rank of chiefs, as in the case of TĒ Sq̄q̄wā'otl, the hero of the story of that name.

mountains, and after they had passed the third they saw in the distance before them, on the brow of the opposite slope, a strange *ōkwumug* (village). As they stood regarding it and wondering what people lived there, they presently observed a man rolling a big copper ring down the mountain-slope opposite them, and, as soon as it had reached the bottom, drawing it back again with his breath. When they saw this beautiful ring, which glinted and shone in the sunlight, they determined to possess themselves of it. To this end they adopted the following plan: The eldest of A'tsaian's sons was to go down into the valley to the spot where the ring stopped, and seize it when next it came down. The brother next to him was to follow after, but was not to go so far. All the rest were to do likewise, each being some little distance from the other, the deformed youth being last and consequently nearest home. They adopted this plan to make sure of securing the ring, being all quite well aware that its owner would not lightly part with it, and that the attempt might end disastrously for some of them. A little while after each had taken his place the ring came rolling down the hill again. As soon as it reached the bottom, the youth stationed there sprang out of his hiding-place and caught it up and immediately ran towards his next brother with it. As he ran he found himself impeded in his movements by the breath of the man who was pulling the ring back again, and he had great difficulty in getting along. The owner of the ring perceived that something had gone amiss with it, and came down to see what was the matter. He soon discovered the youth struggling off with his ring, and straightway made after him to recover his treasure. By this time the young man had reached the spot where his second brother was hiding, and just as the wizard was about to seize him he threw it to this brother, who immediately ran with it towards the next. Being fresh, this one made a good start, the more so as the wizard stopped to punish his brother by cutting out his heart. This he ate as the youth fell dead at his feet. He then started after the other, and came up to him just as he got to the next brother and passed the ring on to him. This one met the same fate as his elder brother, and likewise had his heart cut out and eaten. And thus it was with all of them except the last, who, as soon as he obtained possession of the ring, took the lump which caused his deformity from his side and threw it at the wizard. Thereupon a dense fog arose, and while his pursuer tried in vain to find him he hastened homewards, recrossed the three intervening mountains safely, and presently got near the village. As he approached, he called out to his father *Čukčuklakō's* and to his uncle A'tsaian that all his brothers and cousins were killed. His father and uncle were in the house at the time, and when they heard him shouting they climbed up through the smoke-hole<sup>1</sup> to the roof to hear what it was he was saying. As soon as they understood the full import of his terrible news they threw themselves down into the fire to mark their deep grief,<sup>2</sup> whereupon their eyes shot out like fiery sparks and went, the right ones northwards, and the left ones southwards. Immediately upon this the

<sup>1</sup> This description seems to suggest a 'keekwilee-house' rather than the ordinary *lām* of the Sk-qō'mic. Some of the upper Sk-qō'mic appear to have made use of the keekwilee-house, one of their villages being known by the term *Skwā'n*, which in Sk-qō'mic signifies a keekwilee-house.

<sup>2</sup> This practice would appear to have been unusual. I cannot recall that it has been recorded of any of our B.C. Indians before.

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day became clear and fine. The youth now enters the house and relates his own and his brothers' and cousins' adventures, and displays the wonderful copper ring. Á'tsaian takes the ring from the lad, and says: 'I know what we will do with this hoop. I will hammer it down thin into a copper cloth for armour.' He therewith takes the ring and hammers it down till it is as thin as a piece of cloth. They now determine to go over the mountains to the strange village and have their revenge upon the wizard. Á'tsaian wraps the copper cloth about his body and fastens upon his head a pair of mountain-sheep horns, and thus equipped they all three start out. They make for a cliff opposite the wizard's village. When they have reached this spot Çukçuklakō's and his son hide themselves, while Á'tsaian walks to and fro on the edge of the cliff on all-fours as if he were a mountain-sheep grazing on the herbage. He is soon discovered by the wizard, who, taking him for a sheep, fires his arrows at him. The copper covering Á'tsaian has on prevents the arrows from piercing or injuring him. After the wizard had shot all his arrows he climbed the cliff to see why the sheep had not fallen. He walks backwards and forwards upon the brow of the cliff picking up his arrows. As he does this, Á'tsaian runs at him and prods him with his horns, and finally pushes him over the cliff so that he falls down and is killed. Çukçuklakō's and his son now come out of their hiding-place, and the three descend the cliff to where the wizard's body is lying. They now proceed to cut him open, and inside they find the eleven hearts of their dead children. These they take and convey to their original places in the bodies of their sons. They then make some powerful medicine and restore the youths to life again, after which they all proceed home. When they reach their own village, Á'tsaian converts the copper cloth into the figure of a boy, whom by the utterance of magic words he presently brings to life. This boy grows into a powerful man and becomes a great and famous hunter. Being made from copper gives him a decided advantage over other men, for, however much he falls or is knocked about, he is never hurt or injured. He is known by the name *Sucils*.

*Tz Skauk, the Raven.*

Once upon a time Raven lived by himself in a village of his own. Near by his dwelling was a stream in which he had set his salmon-trap. One day, on going to the trap, he found a fine salmon in it. When he took it home, and was cutting it open, he perceived that it contained two *tlkōi* (milt, or soft roe). He is delighted, and dances about with joy and cries *Kā! Kā!* Says he now to himself, 'They shall be my wives.' He hangs the *tlkōi* upon the beams of his house, but cooks and eats the salmon, leaving only the tail end of it. Having eaten so heartily, he feels dull and sleepy, and throws himself down by the fire, with his back towards it, and goes to sleep. While he sleeps he calls to the *tlkōi* to come down from the beam on which they are hung. They come down and are changed into two comely young women with very white soft skins. They laugh at Raven, and make fun of his scorching back and feet, which are cracking from the effects of the heat. They presently look about for

<sup>1</sup> In the *Diary* of Captain Vancouver, in his remarks on the Skqō'mic, he makes brief mention of their 'copper garments.' The allusion receives some light from this story. These 'garments' were probably of this kind.

something to eat, but can discover nothing but the scanty remains of Raven's meal, the salmon tail. This they quickly dispose of, Raven continuing to sleep heavily all the while. Said one to the other, 'I wish I could find Skauk's comb; I should like to comb my hair.' The other expressed the same wish, and they both look round for Raven's comb. Presently they discover a little basket containing what they sought, as well as other of Skauk's belongings, such as needles, paint, &c. This they appropriate. They comb their hair and paint their faces, laughing all the time at the slumbering Raven, who is snoring heavily. Said one, 'What is the good of a husband with cracked feet and back? Let us go away and leave him.' The other agrees, and they start off, carrying Raven's little basket and its contents with them. The day is very hot. They walk along the beach at the edge of the water towards a distant promontory. As they proceed they shake out some of the paint which the basket contains, and which, being fine, is scattered all about the beach. Since that time the beach always shines and glistens in the sunlight. Just about the time that they were nearing the distant point of land Raven wakes up. The first thing he did was to look up and see if his *tlkōi* were in their place. He finds them gone. He then looks for the salmon-tail he had left over from his dinner, but cannot find it either. Then he searches for his paint-basket, but it, too, is missing. Says he to himself, 'I think the *tlkōi* must have taken them. I'll go and see if they are outside.' With that he leaves the house and goes down to the water and looks up and down the beach. He perceived the two young women just approaching the distant promontory. 'Ah,' said he, 'they are leaving me. I must go after them and bring them back.' Thereupon he set out to overtake the fugitives and bring them back. But as the fire had burnt and cracked his feet badly while he lay in his heavy stupor, he finds he cannot walk fast. He is obliged to stop frequently and bathe them in the cold water. In a short time the young women pass from his sight beyond the point, and he realises that he has lost them. 'I cannot overtake them,' says he; 'my feet are too sore.' And with that he hobbles back to his dwelling again, crying and groaning as he went. In the meantime, when the young women had rounded the promontory they hear a peculiar noise. This noise resembled the sounds which a Fort Douglas (*Stlatlumh*) woman is said to make with her lips when she wishes to amuse her child or keep it from crying. They look about them, but at first can perceive no one. Presently, however, they discover two old women who are trying to stop the crying of a baby they have in charge, the mother of whom is away in the woods picking berries. Said one of the girls to the old women, who are both blind, 'You don't seem able to stop the child from crying. Here, give it to me.' The old women gave up the child, thinking the girl was the mother returned from her berry-gathering. The two girls carry off the child. Some little time after the mother returns and demands her baby from the old women. Not seeing her child, she cries out, 'What have you done with my baby?' Replied one of the old women, 'Why, we gave it to you just now.' This statement makes the mother angry, and she takes a big stick and beats the old women, crying out that she had been robbed of her child. As she strikes them, one of the pair turns into a *slē me* (some kind of bird which I was unable to identify), and flies away making the sound peculiar to its kind; the other is transformed into a *Cauk* (skull). This the angry mother throws into the woods, saying as she does so, 'You can't stay

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here.<sup>1</sup> The mother searches all round for some trace of her child. She walks all night, and early next morning comes upon the girls' tracks. Presently she finds the dead body of her child on the ground, but the two tkōi women who had taken it had entirely disappeared.

*Story of Smēmetsē'n and Kaiq, the Skunk and the Mink.*

Near by the village of Stapās (Gambier Island, Howe Sound) stands a large isolated boulder. This rock a very long time ago, the old Indians believe, was a big *tlā'annukautū'a* or potlatch-house, owned by Mink (*Putorius (Lutreola) vison*) and his sister Skunk (*Mephitis mephitis*). It was transformed into a huge boulder after the occurrence of the events in the following story. One day Kaiq (Mink) called his sister Smēmetsē'n (Skunk) to him and bade her store up all her *tsū'som*<sup>2</sup> in a number of boxes. Smēmetsē'n did as she was instructed, and filled several boxes with the pungent fluid. These Kaiq fastened down in an air-tight manner and stored them in a pile in one corner of the house. After this he sent out invitations to all the animals and birds and fish of the district to come to a big potlatch he was going to hold. On the day appointed the guests gathered in Kaiq's *tlā'annukautū'a*. The building was big enough to hold them all easily, but unfortunately for the Whale the doorway was too narrow for him to get through. Kaiq, prepared for this dilemma, requested him to put his head and shoulders in and remain in that position. With some difficulty the Whale complied with Kaiq's request, and jammed himself in so tight that later, when he wished to retire, he was unable to do so. Now the Mink was on very bad terms with his neighbours the Wolves—indeed, he mortally hated the whole Wolf family, and had actually killed one of them a few days before the feast. He now takes the tail of the dead Wolf and winds it round his head like a wreath and opens the proceedings with a dance. The song which Kaiq sings as he dances is all about the *tsū'som* of his sister, Skunk. The visitors presently remark to one another, 'What a dreadful song Kaiq is singing!' Kaiq, however, continues to dance and sing, making his way gradually round the building towards the corner where the boxes of *tsū'som* were stocked. When he is close to the boxes Skunk quickly opens them, as she had been previously instructed by Kaiq, and lets the *tsū'som* escape. No one suspects the vile purpose the two have in view. They think they are unpacking their blankets and other presents to give them. But presently the pungent, suffocating effluvium fills the whole building, and they realise, too late, what has been done. Unable to get out because of the huge form of the whale blocking the doorway, after many frantic struggles they nearly all succumb to the terrible choking stench, four of them only escaping alive. These are little Louse (*Metcin*), who crawled into a crack in the building and thus avoided the effects of the effluvium; little Wren (*Qit*), who escaped through a knot-hole in the side of the building; Cod (*Ai'Et*), who also managed to save his life by throwing himself into the water, and who has had in consequence to live ever since at the bottom of the sea; and Mallard, the duck, who flew up to the roof, and thence out through the smoke-hole, in consequence of which all

<sup>1</sup> Hence, say the Indians, arose the custom among them of picking up and throwing away any bones they found lying in their path.

<sup>2</sup> The offensive yellow fluid which the skunk secretes for its defence against its enemies.

Mallard-ducks since that time always fly skyward when they first rise on the wing.

After this trick of Kaiq and his sister, his *tlā'anukautū'a* with all its contents was transformed into a big boulder, and the tail of the whale may be seen, as the old Indians think, to this day stretching out as a lateral projection beyond the centre of the rock.

*TE Sia'tlmeq, the Rain-Man.*

*Sia'tlmeq* lived in a big house apart by itself. The inmates consisted of himself, his son, and two old women, the name of one of whom was *Cauk* (skull). Not very far away in a neighbouring village lived *Skauk*, the Raven. For some time past *Skauk* had been trying to find some way to induce *Sia'tlmeq* to make some rain. The season had been extremely hot, and the sun had dried and scorched up everything. Everybody had suffered greatly from lack of water, all the streams in the neighbourhood having been dried up for some time past. But nothing he had done hitherto had induced *Sia'tlmeq* to take any notice of him or open his door. It was the opening of the door of *Sia'tlmeq*'s dwelling that caused the rain. If the door stood ajar it rained softly; when it was half open it rained heavily; and when it was wide open it came down in torrents. *Skauk* sat in the sweltering heat, parched like the whole land with thirst, revolving in his mind how to get the rain-maker to open his door, and so save the people from perishing. Said he to himself, 'I must try and steal his son and then I can make terms with him, so that we shall not be subject to these terrible periods of drought.' But *Sia'tlmeq*'s house was very strongly built, and for a long time *Skauk* does not see how he can manage to effect an entrance. At length he forms a plan. He calls to him *Tō'tlum*, the flea, *Me'tcin*, the louse, and *Qōā'ten*, the mouse, and reveals to them his intention and asks for their aid and co-operation. They promise to assist him and do what he desires of them. One evening they all set out together in a big canoe, *Tō'tlum*, *Me'tcin*, and *Qōā'ten* bringing with them all their relations, so that the canoe was full. They presently arrive at *Sia'tlmeq*'s house, which contains no opening save the door, which is fastened very securely from the inside. It was dusk when they arrived, and *Sia'tlmeq* and his household had just gone to bed. 'Now,' said *Skauk* to the others, 'you must manage to get in and keep *Sia'tlmeq* and his household from going to sleep till towards morning. They will then sleep the heavier, and we shall be able to do what we want without waking any of them. I will wait outside, and when you have wearied them out and at last permit them to go to sleep *Qōā'ten* must open the door and let me in and I will carry off the boy, and then we can make our own terms with his father.' Responded they, 'Oh, we'll get in all right. Strong as *Sia'tlmeq* has made his house, he cannot keep us out.' Thus saying, *Tō'tlum* sought and found a crack in the boards and, creeping through this, was soon in, followed by all his people. *Me'tcin* and his people did the same, while *Qōā'ten* and his friends found a knot-hole, through which they forced their way. When they were all inside they proceeded without delay to make things uncomfortable for the inmates. The fleas got into their blankets and bit their bodies, the lice into their hair and did the same there, and the mice kept up such a scratching and gnawing that from the three causes together it was impossible for any of them to go to sleep. They tossed and turned, scratched



their bodies and heads, and shook their blankets again and again, but all to no purpose; and not until late in the night, when the mice ceased their noise, and the fleas and lice left them, did they get any sleep. Then, worn out and heavy with sleep, all sank into deep slumber. Quā'ten now opened the door and let in the waiting Skauk, who quietly takes the rain-maker's sleeping son in his arms and carries him down to the canoe. In leaving Sia'tlmeq's dwelling Skauk sets the door ajar, and the rain at once begins to fall lightly. As soon as the child is placed in the canoe they leave the place and return to Skauk's house. When they arrive Skauk takes the still sleeping boy to his house and lays him on his bed. About the time that Skauk and his friends got home Sia'tlmeq woke up and found his door ajar. He soon discovers that his son is missing. He is much grieved and goes out and looks about. As he does so he opens the door wide and leaves it in that position, thus causing the rain to descend in torrents. Suspecting who had robbed him of his child, he presently takes his canoe and makes for Skauk's landing. When he arrives he anchors his canoe, but does not get out of it. The rain does not incommode Sia'tlmeq in the least. Although he has come some distance in his canoe, and it has been pouring all the while, not a drop has fallen upon him or in his canoe. Wherever he is no rain falls within a certain radius of him. The creeks and streams are now full of water, and the whole land is drinking in the long-desired rain. When Sia'tlmeq reached the landing he asked the people if they had seen or knew anything of his son. 'Yes,' they reply, 'he is here. Skauk has him.' 'Tell Skauk to come to me,' said the rain-maker, who still sat in his canoe. Skauk comes down to the water's edge. Said Sia'tlmeq to him: 'You have my son here, I learn. Why did you steal him away?' 'Yes,' replied Skauk; 'your son is here, but I did not steal him. I only brought him here because we were badly in want of water, and I did not know how otherwise to get you to give us rain. I do not wish to rob you of your child,' continued he. All the people were dying for want of water. You would not open your dwelling to me, and so I got some of my friends to help me, and together we found a way to open your door, and while you slept I brought away your son. But I am willing to restore him to you if you will be friends with us and give us rain whenever we want any. I cannot bear to see all the people die and all the berries and roots fail us for want of water.' Sia'tlmeq replied: 'Very well, I will be good friends and do as you request, only give me back my son.' Skauk gives the rain-maker back his child, and the two return to their own house. Before Sia'tlmeq left he promised to open his door every now and again from that time on. Said he: 'I will keep my door shut for five or ten or perhaps twenty days, then I will open it again for a little while and you shall have plenty of rain.' As soon as he got home he closed his dwelling and the rain ceased at once. About a week after he opened it again for some time and the rain again fell. This he did from time to time, and has ever since continued to do so; and thus it is that the rain falls on some days and not on others, and we have periods of wet alternating with periods of dry weather.

*Skauk and Kwai'tek, or the Origin of Daylight.*

Very long ago, in the early days, it was always dark, the daylight being then shut up in a box and carefully stored away in the dwelling of Kwai'tek, the Seagull, who alone possessed it. This condition of

things had gone on for a long time when Skauk, the Raven, determined to make his brother K'waié'tek share his precious treasure with the rest of the world. So one day he made some torches, and lighting some went down to the beach when the tide was out and sought for *sk'ōé tsai* (*Echini*). Having found as many as he required, he took them home and, after eating their contents, placed the empty shells, with their spines still attached to them, on a platter. These he stealthily takes to his brother K'waié'tek's house and spreads them over his doorstep so that he cannot come out without treading upon them and running the spines into his feet. Next morning when K'waié'tek came out of his dwelling he trod upon the *sk'ōé tsai* shells and ran several of the sharp spines into his naked feet, which made them so sore that he was obliged to keep indoors and nurse them. Later in the day Skauk came along ostensibly to pay his brother a friendly visit, but really to see how far his stratagem for procuring the *Skōail*, or Daylight, had been successful. He finds K'waié'tek laid up unable to walk, with his feet very painful and much swollen. 'What is the matter, brother K'waié'tek?' said the Raven. 'Oh,' responded he, 'I think some of your children must have been playing on my doorstep last evening and left some *sk'ōé tsai* there: for this morning I trod upon some as I was leaving the house and the shells must have pierced my feet, and they are so sore and swollen in consequence that I can't put them to the ground without pain.' 'Let me look at them,' said Skauk; 'perhaps I can find the spines and take them out for you.' So saying, he took hold of one of his brother's feet and pretended to take out the sea-urchins' spines, which had embedded themselves in the flesh, with his knife. He dug the instrument in so roughly, and gave his brother so much pain, that the latter cried out in his agony. 'Am I hurting you?' questioned Skauk. 'It is so dark I can't properly see what I am doing. Open your *Skōail*-box a little and I shall be able to see better.' K'waié'tek did as his brother suggested, and opened the lid of the box in which he kept the Daylight a little way. Skauk continued, however, to hack away at his foot under pretence of taking the spines out, and presently K'waié'tek cried out again. Said the Raven, 'If I hurt you it is your own fault. Why don't you give me more light? Here, let me have the box.' His brother gave him the box, cautioning him the while to be careful and not open the lid too wide. 'All right,' said Skauk, and he opened the lid about halfway. Then he made as if to continue his operation on his brother's feet, but as soon as he turned round he swiftly threw the lid of the box wide open, and all the Daylight rushed out at once and spread itself all over the world, and could never be gathered again. When K'waié'tek perceived what his brother had done, and that his precious *Skōail* was gone from him, he was much distressed, and cried and wept bitterly and would not be comforted.

Thus it is that the Seagulls to this day never cease to utter their plaintive cry of *k'n-ni . . . i, k'n-ni . . . i*.

*The Ká'k'laiti, the Witch-Giantess.*

Once upon a time a number of children were swimming and playing about in the shallow water on the beach. The children were of all ages—some quite young, others older. One of the oldest of them, a big boy named *Tétkétsen*, was sitting on the beach watching the others, and making some arrows for himself. He was sitting with his back to the

forest, so did not observe that a Kā'k'laitl, or huge witch, was stealing upon them out of the woods. When she got to him she caught him up and threw him over her shoulder into her big *tso'maicin* (basket made from woven snakes). The lad retained his hold of his knife when she dropped him into the basket. She next proceeded to where the other children were huddled together in a terrified group and threw them also, one by one, over her shoulder into the *tso'maicin*, and carried them off into the forest. She had not proceeded far, however, when Tētkē'tsen, making use of his knife, cut a hole in the bottom of the *tso'maicin*, and dropped the smaller children one at a time through the opening on to the ground. They made some little noise as they dropped, thus attracting the Kā'k'laitl's attention. She called out to Tētkē'tsen to know what it meant. Said she, 'What is that sound (*kōmin*) I constantly hear?' Tētkē'tsen replies quickly, 'It is only the noise of your heels as you walk,' and continues dropping the little ones through the hole, bidding them run home as fast as they could as he did so. By the time the Kā'k'laitl reached her dwelling in the forest none but the bigger children, who were too stout to pass through the aperture, remained in the basket. These she takes into her house; after which she builds an enormous fire, putting into it a great number of big stones. These soon got red hot from the fierce heat. Next she takes some pitch and smears it over the eyes of the children, so that they cannot raise their eyelids or see what is going on. While she was busy over the fire Tētkē'tsen had warned his companions against this trick of the Kā'k'laitl, and had instructed them to screw up their eyes very tight (*Yā-Yā*) when she attempted to pitch them. Some of them were careful to regard his injunctions, but others were heedless and closed their eyelids but slightly (*mukm'uk*). When Tētkē'tsen's turn came he screwed his eyelids together so closely that but little of the pitch got on the lashes, and, on trying a moment after if he could open them, found to his great satisfaction that he could without much difficulty. He then tells the others to open their eyes. Some of the others are able to do so a little; others are not able to separate their lids or see at all. The Kā'k'laitl now places them in a ring round the fire at some little distance from it. In the space between it and them she then commences to dance and sing, arranging at the same time the heated stones as she circles round the fire. The words of her song are '*n'saqals te stā'ōkwitl*.' Tētkē'tsen replies, 'Come opposite me, grandmother, but keep your eyes closed or the heat of the fire will burn them.' She continues dancing and singing till she gets between him and the fire. Then he opens his eyes, and, springing forward, gives her a great shove and pushes her into the fire, and she falls on the burning stones. 'Open your eyes,' said Tētkē'tsen to the others, 'and come and help me keep her down.' They respond to his call, and taking up the spare firewood heap it upon her, covering her up entirely with it. She screams out, '*Tlāl camps Tētkē'tsen! Tlāl camps Tētkē'tsen!*' 'Take me out, Tētkē'tsen! Take me out, Tētkē'tsen!' Replied he, 'We are trying to, grandmother, but you are so heavy.' They continue to pile on more wood, which, presently blazing up, consumes the Kā'k'laitl. But even when her body is consumed her bones still cry out '*Tlāl camps Tētkē'tsen!*' for she cannot die. They watch the fire burn down and then collect the ashes. These Tētkē'tsen blows upon and scatters abroad, and they are turned

<sup>1</sup> In good Sk'qō'mic this word is *stā'ō'tl* or *stā'ō'tl*, not *stā'ōkwitl*.

into little birds (*teitc'c*) known locally as 'snow-birds.' Those who could not open their eyes for the pitch now cried out to Tekté'tsen to help them. At first he could do nothing for them, but on looking round the Ká'k'laitl's dwelling he discovers some oil and grease. He rubs their eyelids with some of this, and thus dissolves the pitch, so that they can again open them and see. After this he takes them all home to their parents, who had given them up for lost.

*TE SK'LAU, the Beaver.*

Once upon a time, long ago, Sk'lau had a large family of boys. Not far off from Sk'lau's dwelling there lived all alone a woman named Qūmē'lōwit (Frog). It was winter time and the weather was very cold, snow covering all the land and thick ice all the water. Sk'lau called his sons to him and bade them go and gamble (*g'a'g'eltq*) with the Ice. 'Play hard,' said he, 'and don't give up till you have won.' So the boys gamble with the Ice and play continuously without break for two days and nights. On the second night Sk'lau goes to the dwelling of Qūmē'lōwit and tells her he wants her for his wife. Qūmē'lōwit gets angry and reviles him bitterly. She strikes him and sends him away. Sk'lau is very sad and cries, saying 'cā'h! cā'h!' As he goes home he hears his boys singing over their gambling. '*Hanī ūa kaitl-kaitl māiyu! Hanī ūa kaitl-kaitl māiyu!*'—'Ice crack open! Ice crack open!'—repeat they. Presently the ice began to groan and crack, and by morning the water is open and the ice gone. When Sk'lau perceives the open water he plunges in, frisking and leaping like a Salmon. Presently the rain begins to fall, increasing in violence as Sk'lau leaps and sings. In a short time the water rises and overwhelms the house of Qūmē'lōwit, who becomes greatly alarmed for her safety, and calls out to the Beaver in her fright. '*Ānō'ltcin, Sk'lau! Ānō'ltcin, Sk'lau! Ānōl, ānō - - ū'*'—'I consent, Beaver! I consent, Beaver! Consent, consen - - nt'—screamed she. The only notice Sk'lau takes of her now is to call back: 'Cō! cō! I am not such a bad fellow, after all, eh? Like to marry me now, would you?' Qūmē'lōwit's house is now full of water, and she struggles with difficulty on to the roof of it. Sk'lau continues his plunging and leaping, and when the water is about to wash her off the roof-top she seizes a log that is floating by and jumps on to it and is carried away. After she had floated about for some time the log is stranded in a strange country. Not far off she sees a large house. She goes forward and peeps in. Within, reclining on his bed, she perceives a man with a very round head and big face. It was the Moon-man. She enters the building and seats herself on the side of the fire farthest from the Moon. Said he now to her, 'Come and sit at the foot of my bed.' 'Do you think I came here,' responded she, 'to sit at the foot of your bed?' 'Come and sit on my lap, then,' returned he. 'Did I come here for that purpose, do you think?' was her reply. 'Come and sit on my breast, then,' said he again; 'perhaps that will please you.' 'I did not come here for that purpose either,' was her response to this invitation. 'Well, come and sit on my forehead then!' To this she consents, and thereupon jumps up on his face, where she has remained ever since.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This story in part strongly recalls that of 'Snāya and the Frog,' which I collected from the N'tlakapamuc, and which was published in the last Report of the Committee. Whether we are to regard this as the original and the other as a variant form is not perfectly clear. I am myself inclined to regard the N'tlakapamuc

*Te Smai'letl, or Wildmen Story.*

Once there was a chief who had an only daughter. He possessed also a male slave. Now this slave was accustomed to sleep at the foot of the daughter's bed, his bed lying crosswise at the foot of hers. One night he crept to her side and ravished her while she slept. Some little while later she found herself with child, but was wholly ignorant of the person who had brought this shame upon her, not knowing that the slave had lain with her in her sleep. When she once realises her condition she is anxious to find out who had visited her, and suspecting that the intruder would pay her another visit some night, she takes some paint and smears it all over the palms of her hands. Shortly after the slave pays her a second visit. As it is dark she cannot discover who he is, but before he leaves her this time she presses her paint-smeared hands upon his shoulders and leaves thereon an impression of them without his knowledge. In the morning she is greatly surprised to find that it was the slave who had visited her and whom she had painted on the shoulders. When the chief became conscious of his daughter's condition he was overwhelmed with shame. And, on learning who it was who had caused this disgrace to fall upon him, he took both the guilty slave and his hapless daughter away in his canoe, and, arriving at a certain lofty cliff which overhung the water, he landed them at its base and left them there to perish together. But, although the cliff<sup>1</sup> was always regarded as inaccessible, in some mysterious way the pair managed to climb it. After they had reached the top they travelled inland amongst the mountains till they came to a lake. Here they stopped and built themselves a house, and here the girl gave birth to her child. In course of time many other children were born to them, and when these had come to maturity, as there were no others with whom they could mate, they took each other to husband and wife, and in time a large community grew up around the lake. Though living in a wild state, without proper tools or other utensils, they never forgot their mother's speech, but always conversed together in Sk'qōmic. The men were exceedingly tall and very keen of scent and great hunters. They always dressed in garments made from the untanned skins of the animals they had slain. From this habit they were called by the Sk'qōmic, *Smai'letl*, or wild people.

## APPENDIX III.

*The Hurons of Lorette. By LÉON GERIX.*

Two distinct races of aborigines were found by the French explorers at the opening of the seventeenth century occupying the basin of the St. Lawrence :

1. The Algonquins, nomadic hunters, roving over the lower valley and the northern highlands.
2. The Huron-Iroquois, more sedentary, having some development of

version as a borrowed form which has crept up the river. It is doubtful if the frog is much known within the limits of the 'Dry Belt' in which the N'tiakapamuq, for the most part, reside. It will be remembered that the events in the N'tiakapamuq version took place near Spuzzum, the lower boundary-line of the tribe which is immediately contiguous to the upper divisions of the 'Staló,' or lower Fraser tribes.

<sup>1</sup> The cliff, at whose base the girl and the slave are said to have been left by the irate father, is on the right-hand side of the North Arm of Burrard Inlet. Some way back in the mountains there is a beautiful little lake, now well known to trout-

agriculture and a better defined organisation, settled in the region of the three great lakes, Ontario, Erie, Huron; the Hurons, to the north of Lake Ontario; the Iroquois, to the south of it; the Neutrals, to the north of Lake Erie; the Eries (or Cats), to the south of the same lake.

The Hurons (otherwise called Wyandots) alone numbered some 25,000, and their villages were spread from Toronto to the Bay of Quinte, and from Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay.<sup>1</sup> From the north-westerly projection of that territory to which they had been driven by degrees, the Hurons, after their overthrow by the Iroquois about 1650, were dispersed in all directions. Broken fragments of the nation became the foundation stock of the small Wyandot communities still extant in the Indian Territory of the United States,<sup>2</sup> in Essex (Ontario), and at Lorette, near Quebec.

This paper is the result of an inquiry carried on during the summer of 1899 into the social conditions of the Hurons of Lorette. The object was specially to ascertain the present status of the race, the degree of its variation from the primitive type, and the influences which brought about such variation. The method followed was that of social observation as initiated by Frederick Le Play, perfected by Mr. Henri de Tourville, and propounded by *l'École de la Science Sociale* of Paris, and its leader, Mr. Edmond Demolins.

The facts descriptive of the present social conditions have for the most part been collected by the writer in the course of two short visits to Lorette. As for the historical and general scientific data which supplement and explain the former, they were obtained from original sources, reference to which is made.

#### *Physical Features.*

Lorette (also called Indian Lorette, or Jeune Lorette, to distinguish it from l'Ancienne Lorette) lies 46° 51' N. lat. by 71° 21' W. long., on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, eight or nine miles inland N.W. of Quebec.

At this point three natural zones are observable in close succession:

1. Lorette itself stands on the brow of an elevated terrace which marks the southerly limit of the Laurentian formation, and from which the river St. Charles descends through a steep and narrow gorge.<sup>3</sup> That terrace, which extends some eight or ten miles towards the north, has a flat and almost horizontal surface; but its soil, though generally deep, is sandy and rather poor. The land has been partly cleared of woods, but agriculture has not developed over it to any great extent. Along the upper course of the river St. Charles, back of Lorette, no farms are to be

fishers, which answers to the lake of the story. The Skqō'mic firmly believed in the existence of these Smai'letl. The old Indians say they sometimes saw them when out hunting. Whether such a community once really existed it is impossible now to say. But, at any rate, no such tribe or people has ever dwelt in the mountains in the memory of the oldest settlers here.

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Hunter, *Transactions of Canadian Institute*, Toronto, 1889, 1892. G. E. Laidlaw, *Ontario Archeological Report*, 1899, p. 46. Compare Champlain (Québec, 1870), vol. iv. p. 36, vol. v. p. 25 6.

<sup>2</sup> *United States Census*, 1890, Indians, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> The water supply of the city of Quebec is taken from this river, a very short distance back of Lorette. The 'Château d'Eau' is said to stand at an altitude 130 feet greater than the citadel built on the rock which overlooks Quebec.

seen, but instead, an after-growth of scrubby spruces and the summer villas of some professional men of Quebec.

2. To the south of Lorette, and overlooked by it, there stretches a belt of land eight miles wide; a low plain through which the river St. Charles slowly winds its way to its estuary; a valley scooped out between the sandy terrace just described and a narrow ridge which forms the north bank of the St. Lawrence. The soil of that second zone is generally deep, fertile, and particularly well adapted for agricultural pursuits. As evidence of that, fine expanses of cultivated fields interspersed with comfortable farmhouses, cosy villages, and glittering church steeples are to be seen along the lower course of the St. Charles, over its rich bottom lands or loamy hillsides.

3. Towards the north the sandy terrace of Lorette merges into a vast mountainous tract which extends to Hudson Bay and the Atlantic Ocean, interrupted only by the valley of Saguenay and Lake St. John. These North Laurentian highlands present a succession of rocky, rounded summits cut by narrow valleys, with sparse, limited areas of shallow soil. A land well adapted for the production of timber, especially for the growth of the Coniferae, and originally a tract abounding in fur-bearing animals, but over the greater part of its extent offering little inducement to agricultural settlers; who of late years only have taken a foothold within its borders.

In other words, Lorette lies at the meeting point of two great regions widely different in their productions and capabilities: the Champaign region bordering on the St. Lawrence, and the North Laurentian highlands; the former restricted and narrowing, the latter, on the contrary, expanding at this point of the valley. Lorette is still within the Champaign region, not, however, on its inner fertile zone, but on its outer sandy zone; and adjoining it, or in close proximity to it, there are, on the one hand, a fine agricultural country, on the other a rugged wilderness.

The geographical position of the Hurons of Lorette is very similar to that which was occupied by their ancestors, in the vicinity of Lake Simcoe, during the first half of the seventeenth century. Though some 400 miles to the west of Lorette, and 150 miles nearer to the equator, the old Huron country was situated alike on the border of that great Laurentian formation, betwixt mountain and plain, with to one side a vast natural hunting ground, and to the other deep soils inviting tillage.

However, as regards soil and climate, the habitat of the ancient Hurons was more favoured than the sandy terrace of Lorette. Champaign and the early explorers who ascended the river Ottawa and its tributary, the Mattawa, and by way of lake Nipissing, French River and the shores of Georgian Bay, reached the Wyandot settlements adjoining Lake Simcoe, were much impressed by the pleasantness and fertility of that country compared with the rocky solitude they had just traversed. They write in glowing terms of Huronia, its extensive clearings, its fields of maize, sunflowers, and pumpkins, its fruit trees, in the midst of gentle hills and verdant plains watered by many a stream. The soil, though

<sup>1</sup> In the mapping of the natural zones surrounding Lorette the publications of the Geological Survey of Canada have been very helpful. The map showing the superficial deposits between Lake Superior and Gaspe (Atlas, 1863) and the map of geological formations in the province of Quebec attached to Dr. Ell's report for 1887, are here specially referred to.

somewhat sandy in places, they say, is on the whole well suited to the growth of Indian corn.<sup>1</sup>

To-day the counties of East and North Simcoe, which comprise the greater portion of the later settlements of the Hurons, support a farming and trading population of over 65,000 whites. They are thriving sections of a highly prosperous province.<sup>2</sup> In contrast the sandy terrace back of Lorette, even up to this time, is sparsely settled, and, like the Laurentian highlands to the north, remains almost untouched by agricultural enterprise.

#### Labour.

Sixty-two families, or about 300 men, women, and children, make up the resident population of Indian Lorette.<sup>3</sup> The forms of labour through which these people support themselves are as follows, in the order of decreasing importance: (1) Hide-dressing; (2) moccasin-making; (3) snowshoe- and canoe-making; (4) basket-making and fancy wares; (5) hiring out as guides; (6) hunting and fishing; (7) farming.

*Hide-dressing.*—From 10,000 to 15,000 hides are dressed yearly at Lorette. These hides are for the most part imported, East India elk and antelope making the bulk; caribou (*Tarandus rangifer*) and cow, the produce of the region, are used in certain quantities, as also a few moose pelts.

The dressing processes are very simple. The green skins are first steeped in water, mere barrels sunk in the ground in an open field serving the purpose. Once thoroughly soaked the skins are scraped; the inner (meat) layer and the first outer (hair) layer of the hide are thereby removed. (The scrapings are sold to manufacturers of glue.) Then other labourers take the skins and wash them in soap emulsions, and afterwards sprinkle them with oil. Codfish oil is used for this. The skins are then rubbed with sand-paper, and finally passed through a smoke-house, similar to that used in the curing of hams. At various stages of preparation the skins are put up to dry on scaffolds made of poles connected by rails to which hooks are attached. These scaffolds, or 'chantiers de peaux,' are a characteristic feature of Lorette. Not only do they cover two or three large fields adjoining the village, but, as well, smaller patches within the village plot. With the smoke-house and the hide-wringer they constitute practically the whole plant required for the dressing of hides.

The hide-dressing industry at Lorette is centred in three or four fairly large establishments managed by private enterprise, and in connection with which the manufacturing of moccasins and snowshoes is carried on. The head of each concern owns or rents the grounds and buildings, owns the plant, purchases the green hides and accessories from importers in Quebec, and pays his help wages by the day or month. The hides thus dressed are not sold, but utilised on the same premises, principally in the manufacture of moccasins.

<sup>1</sup> Champlain, *ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 27, 30, 31; Brébeuf, *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites's edition), vol. viii. p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1891, vol. i. p. 66, ii. pp. 66, 174.

<sup>3</sup> The writer is indebted to Mr. A. O. Bastien, Government agent at the Huron Reservation, for much of the information contained in the following pages. Mr. Cloutier, the owner of a hide-dressing and moccasin-making establishment at Lorette, kindly supplied many facts relative to the various industries, as did also Mr. Maurice Bastien, who controls a large concern in the locality.



*Moccasin-making.*—The output at Lorette in 1898 was about 140,000 pairs.<sup>1</sup> The first operation is the cutting of the hide. It is done, in workshops connected with the dressing-grounds, by the boss himself or by specially skilled workmen under his supervision. These workmen are paid by the day or piece. The work is performed by means of a sharp knife and various wooden forms. It requires some skill to make the most of a hide, to cut out of each skin the greatest possible number of bottoms, tops, and uppers with the smallest possible proportion of useless cuttings. This is the main operation in the hide-dressing and moccasin-making business, that which is left to the boss, or head of the industry, whenever he takes a hand in the work. The three processes which follow, viz. (1) embroidering of the top piece, (2) turning up of the bottom piece and sewing-on of the top, and (3) sewing-on of the upper piece, are not accomplished by men at the workshop, but in the village homes by women making a speciality of one of the above operations. They are paid by the piece.

Moose-hair, dyed in bright colours, serves for embroidering the top piece. Twenty-five to thirty cents per dozen pairs are the wages paid for that work, and a woman, besides attending to her daily house-work, may find time to embroider from one to two dozen pairs a day. The second and third processes above mentioned are each paid for at about the same rate as the first, and an equal amount of work may be accomplished by hand at each one of them by one person in a day. By means of a sewing-machine three dozen pairs of moccasins may be sewed in a day's work. To increase their earnings in that way, some of the Lorette women have provided themselves with sewing-machines. When shoemaker's thread is used instead of the ordinary, the wages paid run as high as one dollar a dozen pairs. The moccasins are then returned to the central workshop, where, by means of three simple apparatus, holes are punched through the uppers, eyelets fastened on to one side, and hooks to the other. Laces are made of strips from the edgings of the hide. Finally the moccasins are packed and shipped to distant points. They are sold wholesale to large dealers in towns and cities throughout Canada and the United States; in late years large quantities have been forwarded to the Klondike.

*Snowshoe-making.*—Seven thousand pairs of snowshoes were turned out at Lorette in 1898; but the demand was larger than usual that year consequent on the opening up of the Klondike. That same year as many as 20,000 hides were dressed in the locality and 12,000 dozen pairs of moccasins manufactured. The following year there was a marked falling off in the demand, especially of snowshoes, the Lorette snowshoe not having been found of as suitable a shape as other makes for use in the Klondike. Cow-skin is largely used for the netting of the snowshoe, and ash wood for the frame.

It should be noted that in the various industries carried on at Lorette there are not only Hurons engaged, but a number, quite as large, of French Canadians residing at St. Ambroise, across the river. This is particularly the case with the moccasin-making industry, in which many French Canadian women take a hand. Snowshoe-making is an exception to the rule: it is still a distinctive Huron industry, only two French Canadians being trained in the art.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dominion Government Blue-book, Indian Affairs, 1898, Bastien's Report, p. 45.*

About twenty-five canoes are made and sold every year. Fine birch bark suitable for canoe-making is not very easily found within reasonable distance, and most of the canoes turned out at Lorette are made of canvas purchased from Quebec dealers.

Some years ago lacrosses were manufactured in certain quantities; but very few are made now. Toboggan-making is also an industry of the past here. Competition has killed it, toboggans manufactured at Montreal and elsewhere being considered of better quality.

*Basket making and Fancy Wares.*—With ash wood and sweet hay the Huron women manufacture baskets of ornamental designs and various small wares: fans, boxes, reticules, toys, &c. The men occasionally lend a hand in preparing strips of ash and discs of various woods, but the women and girls practically have the industry to themselves. Contrary to the preceding, this industry is not a traditional one of Lorette: it was introduced here from the Abenakis Reservation of St. Francis (on the south shore of the St. Lawrence) some fifteen years ago. It has not developed to the same extent as hide-dressing and moccasin-making, and is still essentially a home industry. Several families have large displays of these Indian wares in their houses. Part of the output is disposed of, as in the case of moccasins and snowshoes, to dealers in large cities; the bulk is sold by the Hurons themselves to visitors in their village, or taken by them to summer resorts and centres of population, and there retailed.

Of late a severe blow was dealt to this business through the withdrawal by the United States Government of the privilege exempting Indians from paying duty on their wares when entering that country.

*Guiding.*—Several of the Lorette Hurons hire out periodically to parties of sport seekers on hunting or fishing excursions into the interior. This is a favourite occupation of many of the men. While thus engaged they earn one-dollar and twenty-five cents per day, besides their living expenses.

*Hunting and Fishing.*—Like the preceding a favourite occupation of the Hurons, though (except for a very few) it is not any longer an important means of livelihood. In 1898, the revenue derived from hunting by the Lorette community was estimated at 800 dollars, and that from fishing at 100 dollars.<sup>1</sup>

Beaver, otter, marten, mink, and caribou are still found in fairly large numbers over the vast unsettled tract which extends towards the north. The upper courses of the rivers St. Charles, Jacques-Cartier, Ste. Anne, &c., which lead into that wilderness, are much interrupted by rapids, and canoes cannot be much used as means of conveyance. The hunters proceed on foot, sometimes right across the streams. Otter and beaver are the most valuable of the fur-bearing animals. The furs are generally sold undressed to large dealers in Quebec. Caribou are found in abundance, and they provide good meat, but their skin is of little value. The skin of the moose is worth three or four times as much; but moose is scarce now in this part of the country. To find it hunters have to cross the St. Lawrence and reach the plateaus of Northern New Brunswick and of Maine. They do so by railway.

The Hurons of Lorette bitterly complain of interference with their hunting privileges on the part of the whites through governmental regulations, leases to clubs, and the creating of a national park north of

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Affairs*, 1898, p. 468.

Quebec. Forest rangers are on the look out, and frequently confiscate the pelts and destroy the traps of the Indian hunters.

*Farming.*—The Huron villagers do not seek any appreciable part of their income from agriculture, nor even from those more simple opportunities afforded by country life. Only three or four families keep a cow each, and some hens; only a few have a small kitchen garden; the others purchase from French Canadian farmers the very milk, eggs, and vegetables they consume. Only one of the villagers keeps horses.

Two miles to the west of Lorette village there is a reserve 1,600 arpents (1,350 acres) in area, on which six or seven Huron families are supposed to be farming. Although they may occasionally turn out a few pairs of snowshoes, they do not resort to industries in at all the same measure as do the Lorette villagers. At the same time they can hardly be considered farmers. Much the greater part of the reserve is still bush. Each farm comprises a few arpents (at most ten or twelve) of cleared land, on which the only growth to be observed, apart from a small garden and potato patch, is a miserable field of very thin hay overrun by the ox-eye daisy. In rare instances a crop of a few bushels of oats may be added. When any farm animals are kept, the stock comprises one cow (exceptionally two), one horse (if any), one or two porkers, and about as many hens. Attracted to one of these homesteads by the rather better appearance of the house and the barn compared with the hovels on most of the other clearings, we were disappointed to find that the husbandry there carried on was of the same general undeveloped type. We did not see any stock, but were met by the fierce barking of three or four dogs coming out in succession from under the doorsteps. 'They are very good hunting dogs,' the people told us by way of apology.

For the Hurons of the reserve a more congenial means of living than agriculture is hunting. We had an hour's chat with Thomas Tsioni, a typical old Huron. Three of his sons still living are hunters as much as conditions permit; he himself spent the greater part of his early life in the woods. At one time he was a noted long-distance runner at the Quebec and Montreal fairs.

In 1898, the revenue derived from farming by the whole Huron community was estimated at 870 dollars.<sup>1</sup> The revenue obtained from their farms and from the chase are insufficient for the support of these Hurons of the reserve, and they would be in utter misery were it not for some additional revenue from various sources: drawing firewood from the reserve to the Lorette villagers, day labour performed on the railway and elsewhere in the vicinity, and oftentimes the very material help provided by their women folk.

With all that, a large proportion of the Lorette Indians have been forced to seek elsewhere their means of livelihood. The Huron community reckons 142 absentees against a resident population of 300. That is to say about one-third of the total number has left for other parts of Canada or for the United States. Now and then some of these effect their return to their old abode, while others start out in their turn.

The means of living of our modern Hurons as just described do not at

<sup>1</sup> That same year the revenue derived from the various manufacturing industries amounted to 27,500 dollars, and wages earned to 9,000 dollars, giving for the Hurons of Lorette a total income from all sources of 38,000 dollars. The following year (1899) the returns were as follows: Manufacturing industries, 18,000 dollars; wages, 5,000 dollars; hunting and fishing, 1,050 dollars; farming, 1,200 dollars.

first sight appear to have any connection either with the previous social status of the race, or with the physical features of its present habitat. In a general way, with the ancient Hurons, agriculture and hunting were the principal means of living; to day at Lorette, labour in both these forms has been almost entirely given up. In their stead manufacturing industries have grown—industries, besides, which do not depend for their raw material on the resources of the locality, and which find in the vicinity a market for only a very small portion of their output.

However, from a perusal of the documentary evidence available, old and new, and from what could be gathered in conversation with men and women at Lorette, I obtained some insight into the process of evolution from which the labour system of the Hurons has resulted.

Their ancestors in Western Ontario supported themselves chiefly by hunting, fishing, and agriculture. The young men were hunters and warriors; the older male members of the tribe, fishermen; the women, tillers of the soil, growers of maize, beans, pumpkins, sunflowers, and tobacco. Besides, the Hurons were trained in the practice of a number of home industries. The men built huts made of saplings, and which in the words of Parkman 'were much like an arbor overarching a garden walk.'<sup>1</sup> The men, as well, made their own bows and arrows, fishing nets, stone axes, bark canoes, toboggans, snowshoes, and lacrosses. The Huron women ground the corn, smoked the fish, spun the wild hemp for the fishing-nets, dressed deer skins, and from them made moccasins, which they embroidered handsomely, and out of the furs of the beaver, the porcupine, &c., prepared various articles of clothing.<sup>2</sup> In some of these industries the Hurons were not found as expert as their neighbours of Algonquin stock, but they surpassed these in commercial aptitudes, having from time immemorial acted as middlemen between the tribes to the north and those to the south in the exchange of various commodities, and, after the advent of the French, becoming the purveyors and carriers of their fur trade.<sup>3</sup>

After taking up their abode in the vicinity of Quebec, the Hurons were subjected to new conditions, the result of the close neighbourhood and competition of the French colonists, combined with the physical features of the country. These conditions in the first place tended to keep them away from agriculture.

The traditional mode of farming of the Hurons was very imperfect. It consisted in the production through female labour of supplies of vegetables and maize for family needs. No live stock, no beasts of burden, were kept. Thus, being without the means of manuring the land or drawing fuel long distances, they had to change their location as soon as the fertility of the soil and the supply of firewood within a limited area were exhausted. Such had been the practice in the old Huron country; such it continued to be with the Huron refugees about Quebec. But here, while the Indians were always free to desert their village site or a new one farther inland, they were no longer at liberty to retrace their steps. The influx of white settlers at their back prevented them from moving in any but one direction. In that way the Hurons, who after their arrival amongst the French colonists, had been located on the lowlands bordering the river St. Lawrence, receded gradually from the

<sup>1</sup> *Jesuits in North America*, Little Brown, Boston. Int. XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Champlain, vol. iv. pp. 79-82, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Champlain, *ibid.*

front, until in 1697 they found themselves evicted from the fertile belt, relegated to the sandy terrace close on the mountain tract. Under such conditions they could not be expected to make any great advance in agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

While both the social and the physical environment about Quebec tended to check the agricultural progress of the Hurons, these same conditions at first favoured their propensity for the chase and for warlike occupations. At their doors that great Laurentian mountain tract extended, abounding in fish, game, fur-bearing animals; and for all these natural productions Quebec offered a near-by and ready market. Besides, their close association with the white settlers enabled them to obtain assistance and employment in various forms. As long as the French régime lasted, and for half a century more under the British rule, the Hurons appear to have supported themselves chiefly through the sales of furs and allowances for military service. References to them in the documents of that period (the writings of the missionaries excepted) are mostly all in connection with the fur trade or with war parties.<sup>2</sup> In 1730, a church was built for their use, and their contributions were paid in furs, apparently their most valuable and abundant commodity.<sup>3</sup> A conspicuous feature of Lorette to the present day is a large, low, massive stone structure, which is said to have been originally a post of one of the fur-trading companies, and which subsequently became the property of a noted Huron chief, Picard, himself a trader in furs.

During the whole of the eighteenth century the traditional industries of the Hurons do not appear to have been developed beyond the measure of the family needs. It is not until the early part of the nineteenth century that we notice a change in this respect. The facts adduced before a committee of the legislative assembly of Lower Canada in 1819 and 1824 show that for some years previous the Hurons of Lorette had been sustaining themselves to some extent through the manufacture and sale of moccasins, snowshoes, toboggans, fur articles of dress, and various fancy wares.<sup>4</sup> This new feature had been brought about as a result of the constant decline of their agriculture, and more especially, at a subsequent date, by the decline of the chase itself, as also by the reduction of the war allowances. It should be noted, moreover, that as the Hurons, under the influence of environment, were slowly improving their mode of living, larger and more regular returns than those ensured by hunting were necessary to keep them in comfort. By manufacturing they enhanced the value of the furs, and thus made up in part, for their greater scarcity and for the deficiency in the returns from other sources. For many years these industries were carried on by the Huron families in a very small way, at first exclusively by the women, and then by both men and women, but on a small scale. Both hunting and plot farming were prosecuted in conjunction, but the latter especially remained at a very low stage, or even decreased, while the manufacturing industries all the time were growing.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Titres Seigneuriaux*, Québec, vol. i. p. 428; Charlevoix, *Journal*, p. 63; Peter Kalm, *Société Historique de Montréal*, 1880, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Documents de la Nouvelle-France*, vol. iii. pp. 23, 58, 87, 108, vol. iv. p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Franquet, *Journal de Voyage* (MSS. Parliament Library, Ottawa), p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada*; Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary*, verbo 'Indians.'

<sup>5</sup> *Journals. Assembly, Lower Canada*, 1835; *Assembly, United Canada*, 1844-5, 1847, 1856.

Some twenty-five or thirty years ago there took place an important social phenomenon which completed the transformation of the labour system of the Hurons—the spreading throughout Canada of the world-wide commercial and industrial evolution, the introduction of machinery, the building of railways, the extension of great transportation agencies. Man's power of production was thereby increased a hundredfold, and distance suppressed, so to speak. While some of the minor industries of Lorette, such as toboggan-making and lacrosse-making, received their death-blow from the new order of things, it instilled a new life into some others—hide-dressing, moccasin and snowshoe making. No longer dependent on local conditions, no longer restricted by the short supply of raw material at hand or by the limited demand from near-by markets, these industries attained the high degree of development which we have seen. A new industry, fancy basket-making, was introduced. The development of manufacturing industries thus brought about, with the opportunities for constant earning of wages at generally pleasant tasks, in turn became a further cause of desertion of agriculture. Even hunting is no longer considered a regular means of livelihood, and is largely replaced by the more profitable occupation of guiding through the woods sportsmen from the cities.

A Huron woman, ninety years of age, with whom I conversed at Lorette, had witnessed many phases of that evolution of labour. She remembered the time when patches of Indian corn, pumpkins, beans, and potatoes were grown in connection with almost every home in the village. The women did most of the garden and field work, while the men did very little but hunt and play lacrosse. She saw agriculture given up gradually, while the Hurons were taking more and more to manufacturing.

Notwithstanding the evolution through which their labour system has been made to pass, the Huron community as a whole exhibit traits retained from the previous social status. The men are less industrious than the women: they still entertain a dislike for agriculture and steady work; they abstain from working in factories.

#### *Property.*

The property held in trust for the Hurons of Lorette comprises: (1) the village site, about 20 arpents in extent; (2) adjoining the latter, a common, covering 9 arpents; (3) two miles from the village, the reserve proper, 1,600 arpents (1,350 acres) in extent; and (4) some thirty miles back of Lorette, the Rocmont Reserve, in the county of Portneuf, 9,600 acres in area.

1. The village plot is subdivided into small lots, each family being entitled to an area sufficient for a house, besides a width of 30 feet in front and 3 feet at the back of that house.

2. The common was originally, as indicated by its French name, 'Clos des Cochons,' a pasture for hogs. It still continues to be owned in common by the Huron community, but is now used almost solely as a hide-dressing ground by Mr. Maurice Bastien, who has erected thereon sheds and drying scaffolds.

3. The 1,600 arpents reserve also remains undivided. It was granted to the Hurons for their supply of fuel. The greater part is still bush. Six or seven families, as we have seen, have taken up their abode there as farmers; but the farming carried on is of such a primitive character

that it has not been found necessary to trace any boundaries between the various farms.

The above three areas were allotted to the Hurons about the end of the seventeenth century, or the beginning of the eighteenth, by the Jesuits, under whose charge they were placed. The deed confirming the grant was not passed till 1742 (for the last) and 1794 (for the two others). It is all that is left to the Hurons of the seigniory of Sillery.<sup>1</sup>

4. The Rocmont Reserve is wholly a mountainous forest tract set apart by the Canadian Government in recent times for the support of the Hurons of Lorette, but neither occupied nor worked by them. However, they derive some revenue from it, the cut of pine and spruce over its area being leased out every year to lumbermen, and the proceeds usually paid to the 'band' in the form of allowances.

It is a remarkable fact that all this property is still held in common. With the Hurons of Lorette private ownership of land does not exist. Neither have they any desire, as far as I could ascertain, to individually own land. To my knowledge only one Huron to-day holds privately some land—not in the reserve, but adjoining it. In the past, as well, such cases of private ownership have been exceedingly rare.

On the other hand, at Lorette almost every family owns the house in which it lives, at any rate so long as it continues to occupy it. Movables, wearing apparel, &c., are, of course, also recognised private property, as are wages and earnings from various sources.

This system of property of the Hurons of Lorette does not differ materially from that of their forefathers. The ancient Hurons, as we have seen, did not put much labour on the soil, and correspondingly their hold on the soil was of a weak and limited sort. From Champlain and Brébeuf we learn that they had no permanent tenure of land, as evidenced by their change of abode at frequent intervals. At the same time, with them all movables—as, for instance, the produce of the chase, the earnings from trade—were subject to family or individual appropriation. Inequalities of wealth from this source were quite apparent in the Huron villages of old. Even monopolies were recognised by the ancient Hurons, inasmuch as individuals who had opened a trade or discovered a market were granted for themselves and their kindred the exclusive right of carrying on that trade or supplying that market, or were permitted to levy tribute on those desirous of taking advantage of the new opening. A difference, however, from the conditions of things in existence to-day at Lorette was the prevalence of theft in the Huron villages of old and its lax repression.<sup>2</sup>

After their removal to the vicinity of Quebec, the Hurons, as we have seen, did not take more energetically to the cultivation of the soil; on the contrary, under the new conditions they gave up little by little the practice of agriculture. Similarly they did not develop any greater aptness to hold land either privately or collectively.

In 1651, the King of France bestowed on the Christian Indians settled in the vicinity of Quebec (of whom the Hurons were the nucleus) a grant of land covering three miles in width on the river St. Lawrence by twelve miles in depth, the seigniory of Sillery. Of course, the Hurons were

<sup>1</sup> The originals of the deeds are in the archives of the Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa. I have to thank Mr. Samuel Stewart and Mr. D. C. Scott for their kindness in facilitating my inquiry.

<sup>2</sup> *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), x. pp. 223, 225.

quite unprepared to take advantage or retain possession of such an extent of territory, especially in a region where arable land was rather scarce and greatly in demand. They allowed themselves to be dispossessed piecemeal of the land itself, and of the seigniorial dues attached to it as well, and were left with holdings totally inadequate for their support and advancement.

In short, the system of property of the Hurons of Lorette is characterised by the absence of private holdings and the limitation of the collective holdings. These conditions are the direct outcome of the forms of labour which they retained or adopted under the combined influence of their own traditions, of the physical features of the country around Quebec, and of social environment and competition.

These property conditions, in their turn, have had far-reaching effects on the further social evolution of the Huron community. They permitted its being closely surrounded and permeated in its home life by outside (principally French Canadian) notions and manners. The village of Lorette is inextensive, and so penetrated by the adjoining settlements, that on its outskirts, at many points, Huron homes almost join those of white neighbours, and it is often a difficult matter to say where the line of demarcation passes. The consequences of this close neighbourhood will appear presently.

#### *Family.*

The family group at Lorette is quite restricted. Each household, as a rule, consists of a single family, comprising only a few persons; for instance, the husband, the wife, and two or three young children; in other cases an aged couple alone, or possibly assisted by a grown-up daughter or son. When barely eight or ten years old the Huron boy or girl takes to manufacturing fancy wares at home, and soon acquires a training in the various arts. At twenty or twenty-two they marry, and take up house separately from the parents. If they have decided to remain at Lorette, and are not already provided with a lodging there, they apply for a lot from the village council, and build a house for themselves. In recent years the development of industry has induced several newly married couples to take up their home in their native village; a new street, or rather lane, had to be opened, and still another will be opened soon.

The restricted family group of the Hurons of Lorette is very unlike the patriarchal household of their ancestors, wherein eight or ten, or even as many as twenty-four, families lived under one roof.<sup>1</sup> Apart from that close material grouping into large households, there existed, among the ancient Hurons, social groups much more comprehensive—clans founded on consanguinity. At one time there were as many as twelve clans, among which the Huron families were distributed.

'The unit of the Wyandot social and political systems,' writes Mr. W. E. Connelly, whose knowledge of the Wyandots settled in the Indian Territory of the United States is most thorough, 'was not the family nor the individual, but the clan. The child belonged to its clan first, to its parents afterwards.'<sup>2</sup>

The clans were not mere local organisations; they were ramified throughout the whole territory, throughout the whole nation; so that while the people, for purposes of livelihood, were dispersed in distant

<sup>1</sup> Champlain, vol. iv. p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Ontario Archæological Report*, 1899, p. 107.



villages, and for purposes of government were divided into five or six tribes or sub-nations, still they held fast together by the strong bond of the clan founded on family relationship.

A peculiar feature of the Huron-Iroquois clanship was that it existed and was transmitted, not through the men, but through the women of the tribe or family. The Huron child did not belong to the clan of his father, but to that of his mother. In the same way the possessions of a deceased Huron warrior did not go to his sons, but to his brothers, or to the sons of his sisters; that is, to members of his own clan.

At Lorette to-day no trace is to be found of the old Huron clanship in the social institutions; even the memory of it is almost effaced. The members of the band whom I questioned on the subject were not totally ignorant of the clan system, but they invariably connected it with male descent. One Huron, ninety years of age, and another seventy-six years of age, told me they belonged to the clan or 'compagnie' of the Deer, their reason for saying so being that their father had belonged to it. Another claimed to be of the 'compagnie' of the Tortoise, also because his father had been of that clan; and to remove my doubts he added: 'How could I belong to a Huron clan through my mother, who was a French Canadian?'

Old Thomas Tsioui (whose name has been mentioned previously) expressed somewhat similar views to me. His conception is that the Tsiouis are the only genuine Hurons at Lorette; that all the others are descendants of French Canadians who stole their way into the Huron community. As I objected that the Tsiouis themselves could not claim pure Huron extraction, their mothers and grandmothers in most cases being French Canadian women, the old man argued with great warmth that man, and not woman, the husband, not the wife, made the race. He was seemingly unaware that this was the very opposite of the Huron doctrine, and that his use of such an argument was good proof to me that he was no longer a Huron in respect to some of the fundamental traditions of the race.

A simple phenomenon which marks the evolution of our Hurons from the patriarchal community and clanship of their ancestors to the reduced family group of to-day is the adoption of distinct family names, transmitted from father to son. With the old Hurons there did not really exist any permanent family names other than the general designation of each clan. Each individual was given a name distinctive of himself and of his clan as well, but which, as in the case of the first name with us, he did not transmit to his progeny. 'Each clan,' writes Mr. Connelly, 'had its list of proper names, and this list was its exclusive property, which no other clan could appropriate or use. . . . The customs and usages governing the formation of clan proper names demanded that they should be derived from some part, habit, action, or some peculiarity of the animal from which the clan was descended. . . . Thus a proper name was always a distinctive badge of the clan bestowing it. When death left unused any of the original clan proper names, the next child born into the clan, if of the sex to which the temporarily obsolete name belonged, had this name bestowed upon it.'

After the missionaries had converted the Hurons to the faith they introduced Christian names, which for many generations were used

<sup>1</sup> Connelly, *Ontario Archaeological Report*, 1899, p. 107.

concurrently with clan designations, but in the end superseded them. Most of the family names at Lorette are Christian names which have become permanently attached to the various households: Romain, Vincent, Gros-Louis, Bastien (for Sébastien). It was in the early years of the present nineteenth century that family names became permanent at Lorette, and transmissible from father to son. There are to-day 21 families of Tsiouis, 13 Picard, 12 Gros Louis, 6 Vincent, 4 Bastien, 2 Romain, besides 3 de Gonzague (of Abenakis extraction), and 1 Paul (of Malecite extraction).

From the organisation of the family group, if we turn to its internal management, we find, in the first place, that the parents' authority over the children is of limited extent. Very little restraint is put on the children. Constant intercourse between the various households in that crowded village tends to lessen the action of each separate group over its children. These, at an early age, as we have seen, acquire a training in handicraft and become important factors in the welfare of the family, or at any rate independent of it for their livelihood. In that respect the Hurons of Lorette still resemble to a certain extent their primitive ancestors, who allowed their children great freedom, and never chastised them.<sup>1</sup> Among the ancient Hurons the laxity of parental rule was the natural result of the development of hunting and of warlike pursuits, in all of which the young men had necessarily a superiority over the older members of the family. With the Hurons of Lorette the same lax family government continued to prevail, owing to the long maintenance of the chase as their principal means of living, only to be displaced in recent times by industries which afford to the young great facilities for the establishment of separate independent homes.

Nevertheless morals are not bad. They are certainly greatly in advance on what they were in olden times. But the result is due almost wholly to outside influences—religious action and social environment. The morals of the ancient Hurons were of a very low order: debauchery was rampant in their villages.<sup>2</sup> When, after their overthrow by the Iroquois, they fell under the rule of the Jesuit missionaries, a strict code of monastic morality was enforced upon them.<sup>3</sup> The greater number submitted to it, not, however, through any strong personal sense of duty and self-respect, but impelled by fear of exclusion from the reserve or of the infliction of some public penance. Accordingly, under the British régime, as soon as the strong hand of the Jesuit was withdrawn, the Huron morals relaxed, and, under the influence of the corrupt elements from the near-by city, fell to a very low plane. In the course of the nineteenth century Lorette became 'the constant resort of the dissipated youth of Quebec, and the scene of midnight orgies and profligacy of the worst description, until the extent of the evil attracted the attention of the police authorities, who took measures to repress the mischief.'<sup>4</sup> Since, under the combined influence of religious preaching and of better social environment, they have gradually improved in self-restraint and self-respect. Illegitimate births are now of rare occurrence. Many, however, are still addicted to liquor.

<sup>1</sup> Champlain, iv. p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. pp. 82-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, passim; Charlevoix, *Journal*, p. 82; *Documents Nouvelle-France*, p. 24; Franquet, *Journal de Voyage*, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Journals Assembly*, 1844-5, Appendix; *ibid.*, 1847, Evidence of Rev. L. Fortier, missionary.

Very little, indeed, remains of the old Huron traditions. The tenets of the Catholic faith have stamped out the pagan myths and superstitions of primitive times. While these Hurons have not attained a very high degree of religious development, they have drifted far away from the beliefs of their ancestors. The only trace—and a doubtful one at that—I could find of their past faith was the vain boasting of one of their old men, who wished to impress me with his medical skill: he had the power, he told me, of stopping or quickening at will the flow of the blood through the sick man's body. Was this a faint recollection of the old-time medicine man and sorcerer?

The Huron tongue is no longer spoken at Lorette. French has replaced it. Even the older members of the tribe, in answer to my inquiries, had the greatest difficulty in recalling a few disconnected words. Some of them could barely tell the meaning of their own Huron name which on exceptional occasions they affix to their every-day French name. Even the few Huron words thus preserved in their family nomenclature do not appear to be rightly pronounced by them; in many names the letter 'L' has been introduced, and this their ancestors did not make use of. For instance, hahn-yohn-yeh, the old Wyandot word for bear,<sup>1</sup> has been changed at Lorette to hahn-yohn-len; Owawandarohé, Odiaradheité, and Téachéandahé<sup>2</sup> have become respectively Wawendarolen, Ondiaralété, and Téachendalé. As far back as fifty years ago, the Huron tongue was already out of general use at Lorette.<sup>3</sup> From Franquet we learn that about the middle of the eighteenth century a number of the Hurons could speak French.<sup>4</sup>

The Huron boys and girls show marked aptitudes for commerce, industrial arts, and even the fine arts; but they seldom develop these talents to any degree, though opportunities are sometimes offered them of doing so. They nearly all have fine voices and a good ear for music; some of them have shown taste as draughtsmen or painters. The greater number, however, lack the steadiness of purpose which would be necessary to make the most of their talents.

#### *Mode of Living.*

As regards food, shelter, clothing, hygiene, recreations, the people of Lorette may be considered to-day as having the same habits as the French Canadians of corresponding classes.

The greater quantity of the food consumed by them is obtained from itinerant traders or from dealers who supply the French Canadians of St. Ambroise as well. I happened to take a meal at the home of one of the poorest Huron families settled on the reserve, and still remember how I enjoyed that simple lunch of milk, butter and bread, cream and preserved fruit, which was daintily served in clean china or glass and on neat linen. From the accounts left by Kalm (1749) and Franquet (1752) we may safely draw the conclusion that, about the middle of the eighteenth century, after one hundred years' intercourse with the French, the Hurons, as regards the food consumed and its preparation, retained much of the tastes and coarseness of their primitive ancestors.<sup>5</sup>

The houses at Lorette are generally small, low-roofed, wooden build-

<sup>1</sup> Connelly, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of Special Commissioners*, 1856, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Kalm, p. 124; Franquet, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Journals Assembly*, 1819.

<sup>4</sup> Franquet, p. 143.

ings whitewashed. They are disposed in double rows, along narrow lanes, and most of them devoid of yard, garden, or outbuildings. Sometimes these houses are too close to one another for the comfort of their occupants. On the other hand there is an air of cleanliness about them, and with few exceptions, they appear to be as well kept as the tidiest French Canadian farmer's or mechanic's home. The Hurons gave up their old style of long narrow huts made of bark and saplings, and took to building, after the manner of the early French settlers, log and board houses, shortly after their removal (the last in the series) to Jeune Lorette, that is between the years 1700 and 1720.<sup>1</sup> Kalm, in 1749, found them living in houses comprising each two rooms. (kitchen and bedroom), but very scantily furnished, so much so that the beds were left without sheets or covering. The Hurons at night were content with wrapping themselves up in the blankets they had worn all day. They were provided with stoves, says Franquet, but the heat they supplied only served to render unbearable to all but Indians the filthiness of the surroundings.<sup>2</sup>

The clothing in use by the Hurons of Lorette is the same as that of the French Canadian working classes. The old Huron style of dress, even that of the later period, has been abandoned. I was able to discover one member only of the band, a Huron lady in the nineties, who still retained the traditional costume of the last century: the short skirt, with the 'mitasses' (legging) and the moccasins. The costumes in which the 'warriors' and chiefs parade on exceptionally solemn occasions, are almost wholly artificial in their make-up. Ordinary cloth and printed calicoes are used for the purpose, and in the ornamentation of the various parts no trace is seen of the mythical and symbolic forms characteristic of the primitive art of the Huron-Iroquois. Kalm and Franquet, about the middle of the last century, found the Huron women of Lorette still clinging to the old Huron form of dress; but the men, though usually wearing the blanket, at times would don articles of dress borrowed from the French.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the close grouping of the houses in the village, the hygienic conditions at Lorette are fairly good; a result due in great part to the measures taken by the village council and the people themselves for the sanitation of the surroundings. There has been much admixture of foreign blood. For several generations past the Hurons have intermarried with the whites, principally with the French Canadians. The Huron physical type has been greatly altered, but not entirely blotted out. The massive build and high stature which, we are told, were prevalent features among the old Hurons, are not now common at Lorette; neither are the cheek bones and nose unduly prominent, as a rule; but the rather dark olive complexion, the almond-shaped eyes, and the stiff flat hair are often observed, and perhaps more so in very young children than in the grown-up people.

The amusements indulged in are largely the same as those of the French Canadians in the neighbourhood. A typical initiative on the part of the young men of Lorette was the organising among themselves and equipping of a brass band. The numerous dances which were still gone through on all great occasions, about the middle of the last century,<sup>4</sup> have long since been forgotten. Shooting the arrow was a favourite sport with

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Kalm, p. 123; Franquet, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Franquet, pp. 140, 141, 144; Kalm, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Franquet, p. 143.

the Huron boys, even up to the early years of the nineteenth century. No more is seen of it now. Even lacrosse, the Huron national game, which has become the favourite sport of so many Canadians, is no longer played at Lorette.

*Village and State.*

Lorette is not well provided with the elements which give variety and activity to village life, and help to build up the framework of municipal government. The employers of labour are very few, and nearly all outsiders, French or Scotch Canadians. In the same way the bulk of the trade which is done at Lorette in connection both with the provisioning of the families and the output of their industries (the smaller class of Indian fancy wares excepted) is carried on by their white neighbours of St. Ambroise.

There is, however, a very notable departure from this condition of things in the enterprise shown by Mr. Maurice Bastien, of Huron descent, who operates the largest hide-dressing and moccasin and snowshoe-making establishment in and about Lorette, and at times gives employment to some fifty people. In other respects also does Mr. Bastien set a good example for his kinsmen to follow. He is almost a total abstainer from alcoholic beverages. He has bought and partly cleared and improved some fifty arpents of land adjoining the village plot, on which he now cuts every year about 20 tons of hay, reaps about 150 bushels of oats and buckwheat, pastures nine cows and some horses. An interesting experiment which he is carrying on for the firm of Renfrew, fur dealers, of Quebec, is the breeding of buffaloes from stock obtained in the State of New York. Mr. Bastien proposes to have one or two of his sons to take up agriculture as a means of livelihood. A further proof of his spirit of enterprise and progress is the building, at his own expense, of a system of waterworks whereby each family in the Huron village is enabled to secure in its own house, at the low rate of four dollars per annum, an abundant supply of pure water.

Education does not provide more leaders than do industry and commerce. The school for girls and that for boys are each under the care of a female teacher paid by the Canadian Government. The school house is built on the site, and partly out of the material of the priest's house erected by the Jesuits in the early years of the eighteenth century. The progress at school of the girls is said to be satisfactory, that of the boys not so. There are very few persons of culture, or even ordinary education, at Lorette. The professional men whose services may be required all reside in neighbouring villages. Mr. Paul Picard, a retired Civil Service employé of the Quebec Government, and the son of a noted Huron chief, resides here. He was employed as a draughtsman, and at one time was a public notary. He is particularly well informed on the history of the Huron community, and a staunch defender of the rights of his kinsmen.

A feature of Lorette is its quaint little church, the greater part of which dates back to 1730.<sup>1</sup> There is no resident missionary, but the parish priest of St. Ambroise, near by, ministers to the religious welfare of the Huron community. An early morning service is held every Sunday and a sermon preached. The singing and preaching are done in French. The

<sup>1</sup> L. St. G. Lindsay, *Revue Canadienne*, 1900, p. 122.

priest receives an allowance of 225 dollars from the Canadian Government for his services in this connection.

Five chiefs (one head chief and four second or sub-chiefs) manage the public affairs of the Huron community under the supervision of the Department of Indian Affairs. These chiefs in council frame regulations for the maintenance of order, the repression of intemperance and profligacy, the care of public health, the construction and repairs of school houses and other public buildings, the locating of land on the reserve, &c. They are elective, and their term of office is for three years.

The above system of government is not the traditional one of the Hurons. It was introduced in recent years by the Canadian Government under the provisions of the Indian Act.<sup>1</sup> In former years the Hurons elected six chiefs or more: one grand chief, one second chief, two council chiefs, and two chiefs of the warriors. These chiefs were elected for life. If we go still further back, to the seventeenth century, we see that the ancient Hurons had many chiefs; war chiefs and chiefs entrusted with various administrative functions; and all were to a certain extent hereditary and to a certain extent elective.<sup>2</sup>

At the present time the head chief of the Hurons of Lorette (elected quite recently) is François Gros-Louis. Maurice Bastien, Gaspard Picard, Maurice Tsioui are three of the sub-chiefs.

The Hurons of Lorette are under the tutelage of the State. Their landed property is held in trust for them by the Department of Indian Affairs. The latter also has the management of the revenue derived from part of these lands, and out of which expenses of a public character are to be paid. The Department is kept informed, and generally acts through an agent, who resides on the reservation—Mr. A. O. Bastien, an intelligent and educated Huron.

There has been of late years much dissatisfaction and strife in the Huron community over the management of public affairs. A party, consisting chiefly of a large number of the Tsiouis, think they have not had their proper share of the funds. They find fault with the chiefs, the agent, and the Department as well. They refuse to attend meetings, to take part in elections, and are intent on electing chiefs of their own.

A remarkable fact is that the Hurons as a whole show no desire of being enfranchised. Even the malcontents scorn the idea. Under present conditions the Government meets all expenses in connection with church and school and other matters. Practically they have no taxes to pay, not even roads to maintain, the way-leave over the reserve being granted to residents of neighbouring parishes on condition that they take charge of the road. Enfranchisement, they say, would only add to their burdens and render them more liable to be swindled out of their property by the more unscrupulous of their white neighbours.

Before concluding, it will be of interest to make a rapid review of the influences which, acting on the primitive Huron type, brought it to its present stage of social transformation. These influences may be classed under three heads: (1) Early trade relations with the French and preaching of the Gospel; (2) physical features of the country about and back of Quebec; (3) close neighbourhood and competition of the white settlers.

<sup>1</sup> Revised Statutes of Canada, cap. 43, sects. 75 and 76.

<sup>2</sup> Brébeuf, *Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites's edition, vol. x. pp. 231, 233; Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, Introduction, p. lii.

1. The first series of influences (commercial intercourse and religious preaching) exerted themselves over the ancient Hurons previous to their leaving their old abode in Western Ontario. Commerce introduced into the Huron villages by the early French discoverers, or, at least, greatly developed by them, upset the balance of the traditional system of labour of the Hurons, by reducing the relative importance of agriculture as a means of livelihood for them. Thereby the Hurons were rendered less sedentary, more nomadic, less apt to fortify their villages and to hold the country against invaders. The young and able-bodied men were kept much away from home by their hunting and trading expeditions, leaving the towns insufficiently protected against attack, while themselves heavily laden with furs or other goods, but scantily equipped with arms and ammunition, fell an easy prey to Iroquois war parties.

Again, commerce, by reducing the importance of agriculture in the labour system of the Hurons, weakened the clan organisation, on which the whole Wyandot social fabric rested. Female clanship was dependent for its strength on the social prestige of the women; and this in turn was largely dependent on the development of agriculture, which was left to their charge.<sup>1</sup> The preaching of the new religious dogmas by the Recollet and Jesuit missionaries and the conversion to the faith of a number of the Hurons also tended to undo the binding action of clanship. For clanship in its origin was blended with the religious beliefs of these primitive people; each clan was under the special protection of a pagan myth, and the preaching of the Gospel released the hold which these myths had on the minds of the Hurons. In that way were the strong family ties which bound together the scattered parts of the Wyandot confederacy loosened, and the Hurons rendered less capable of strong united action. In that way were the Iroquois enabled to defeat one after the other the disconnected groups and bring about the utter dispersal of the Huron nation. Such is the social significance of the facts set forth in the early accounts.<sup>2</sup>

Of the five or six tribes, or subordinate nations, which made up the Wyandot confederacy, only three (the nation of the Bear, that of the Rock, and that of the Rope) repaired towards Quebec. A few years later two of these tribes were forced by the Mohawks and the Onondagas to join their respective nations; and the nation of the Rope was finally the only one to remain with the French.<sup>3</sup> From this sole tribe, very much disorganised and reduced in numbers, and still further reduced by subsequent wars, did the present Lorette community spring.

2. The physical features of the country about and back of Quebec, characterised by the restricted area of the arable belt and the development of the mountain and forest tract, had the effect of keeping the small Huron group away from agriculture, of turning it more completely towards the chase and those industries dependent on the chase and the forest for their raw material. Thereby the Hurons were prevented from acquiring any greater fitness for heavy and steady labour, and from developing any greater ability or desire to hold land.

3. The close neighbourhood and competition of the white settlers had two quite distinct effects on the Hurons. On the one hand, their influence

<sup>1</sup> P. de Rousiers, *La Science Sociale*, 1890, vol. x. p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Champplain, iv. pp. 43, 44, 101; *Jesuit Relations*, Quebec edition, 1642, pp. 55, 56; Charlevoix, vol. i. p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesuit Relations*, 1657, pp. 20 and 23.

united with that of physical environment in checking the agricultural development of the Hurons and retaining them in the lower forms of labour and property. On the other hand these conditions of close intercourse with the white settlers—brought about by the reduced area of the Lorette holdings—transformed the home-life, and in the end materially improved the entire mode of living, of the Hurons.

The Iroquois community, settled at Caughnawaga, in the vicinity of Montreal, provides an interesting subject of comparison ; for, though originally of the same social type as the Hurons, their evolution in recent times has been in quite the opposite direction.

In conclusion, the greatest weakness in the social organisation of the Hurons, and the one which should be remedied first, is that resulting from their property conditions. An ever-recurring theme of conversation among young and old at Lorette is the endless series of their grievances, all more or less connected with property rights : grievances against the Jesuits for having dispossessed them, or allowed them to be dispossessed, of their seigniority of Sillery ; grievances against the British Government for not having restored them to their rights after the conquest ; grievances against some of their deceased chieftains, for having laid hands, so they declared, on parts of the common land ; grievances also against some of the present chiefs for using the common property for private ends ; grievances against the Provincial Government for invading their hunting grounds ; and, finally, grievances against the Federal Government and its agent for alleged maladministration of the reserves and the revenues therefrom. The limited extent and collective ownership of the holdings have had the effect, not only of helping to keep the Hurons away from agriculture and bringing about over-density of population in the village, but also of concentrating the minds and energies of individuals on petty common rights and privileges (to the detriment of initiative in more fruitful pursuits) and of breeding a harmful spirit of discontent.

It seems that much would be done for the betterment of the condition and the more normal development of these Hurons were it found possible to carry out the plan suggested by Sir James Kempt as far back as 1830, and further recommended by the Government Commissioners in 1847 ; that is, if land in the vicinity of Lorette and suitable for agriculture were, on proper terms, put at the disposal of the Hurons, on which some of them at least, under intelligent and kindly supervision, might be made to acquire proficiency in farming and aptness for the management of property. Thus would they become a less dependent, a more contented and prosperous community.



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