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MINOR ESSAYS

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OF

# MINOR ESSAYS

Mostly

ANTHROPOLOGICAL

By the Rev. Father A. G. MORICE, O.M.I. (3)

MISSIONARY TO THE WESTERN DENES.

Honorary Member of the Philological Society of Paris and of the Natural  
History Society of British Columbia, Corresponding Member  
of the Canadian Institute and of the Geographical Society  
of Neufchatel (Switzerland).

*Parvum parva decent.*

HORACE.



STUART'S LAKE MISSION:

Quesnel P. O., B. C.

1902.



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## PREFACE.

*The great majority of the little papers which compose the present pamphlet are reprints from magazines. They are reproduced, not on account of their possible intrinsic worth which, at best, cannot be great, but because several of them first appeared in a garb which rendered them in places hardly intelligible. So many typographical errors disfigured them that I could not resist the temptation of trying to outdo the professional printer, even though I live far away from civilization in the backwoods of northern British Columbia. Those who may have seen the said articles in their original dress will say what measure of success I have achieved so far, at least, as typographical accuracy is concerned.*

*Most of those essays are of a controversial nature, which circumstance will perhaps render their perusal less fatiguing even for that mysterious personage we call the general reader.*

*In a few cases, I have somewhat enlarged on the original texts, and the two last papers may be said to appear for the first time.*

Stuart's Lake Mission, April, 1902.



A PLEA  
FOR THE POOR "DIGGER" INDIAN.

(FROM THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN.)

"With the exception of the Patagonian, the Digger Indian ranks lowest in the scale of humanity".

Such is the opening sentence of an interesting paper on "the Digger Indian and his 'Cry'" by Ellen C. Weber, which appeared in the September [1898] number of the *American Archaeologist*\*. Now, on the point of joining issue with the fair essayist, I must confess that I know very little about the so-called "Digger", certainly not any more than is to be found in current ethnographical literature. I have not even had the good fortune of seeing what Mr. F. C. Porter wrote of him in a late number of the *Antiquarian*, nor the comments his remarks occasioned. But what I do know of several tribes belonging to the great Déné† family of the north, added to the facts which I glean in the very article from which I quote above, enables me confidently to challenge the appropriateness of its initial statement.

In the first place, I must be allowed to remark that, treating of such questions, we should never let our judgment be influenced by sentiment, nor set up the likes and dislikes of our own

\* P. 230.

† For the benefit of such readers as have not seen my former writings, I may state that by Dene I mean that important aboriginal family mis-called Athapaskan by others.

race as so many standards whereby to condemn or approve those of others. The food of the Digger has won for him a celebrity which is far from enviable, and has contributed not a little to those occasional outbursts of disgust and those implied protests against the teachings of the monogenists that we should have such a wretched brother in Adam. His *menu*, or such, at least, as that to which he owes his name, is certainly repulsive to the Aryan palate; but, before condemning him, I am tempted to say to his detractors: *Medice, cura teipsum*; before you deride others, consider your own infirmities. The lady author of the article in question speaks of raw oysters and implicitly compares them with an air of complacent superiority with the worms eaten by the Digger. To be frank, and at the risk of appearing uncivilized, I declare that personally I cannot see much reason for a choice. This is at best simply a question of taste, and we know that *de gustibus non est disputandum*. What is ambrosia to the one will be gall to the other. Then we should not forget the unfathomable mysteries of the Chinese culinary art, nor the cotelettes of dog, the salangane, etc. which are relished in the East by highly civilized peoples.

But the Chinese and all the oriental nations are not to be mentioned in the same breath with the whites, will perhaps object a reader. I might take exception to that observation, but let it pass. Now I will ask, Who will tell of the thousands of frogs that are eaten in a single week in Paris, the city which many Frenchmen, following in the lead of Victor Hugo, modestly believe to be the center of civilization? All this, I repeat, is but a matter of taste and can in no wise afford material for ethnic comparisons. Worms, experience shows, are just as edible as dogmeat, bird's nests, frogs or even oysters, and while a portion of mankind heartily abhors them, the other takes as great relish in their nutritive properties.

Another circumstance which militates against the fair name of the aborigine nicknamed Digger is the fact that most of his congeners of the Shoshonean stock occupy relatively high places in the estimation of the American sociologist. Comparisons present themselves unbidden to the mind, and the poor Digger cannot but suffer thereby.

I now revert to the statement quoted at the beginning of this article. "With the exception of the Patagonian, the Digger Indian ranks lowest in the scale of humanity". Who should rank lowest in the scale of humanity but he who is nearest to the brute? Now civilization is the gauge of the distance covered in the road that leads away from the brute. Therefore the above assertion is tantamount to saying that the Digger is the second least civilized of human creatures. But what is civilization? I open the Standard Dictionary, and I see that it is "a condition of human communities characterized by political and social organization and order, advancement in knowledge, refinement, and the arts and progress in general". From the same source I learn also that, according to Guizot, "civilization is an improved condition of man resulting from the establishment of social order in place of the individual independence and lawlessness of the savage and barbarous life". Now since the peoples that are the least civilized stand "lowest in the scale of humanity, I feel quite certain that the Digger Indians occupy therein a place much higher than that assigned them by the lady to whose statement I venture to take exception. They are indubitably more civilized than some of the Déné tribes which I have made my life study. I need, to prove this, but the very terms of her own article, depreciative as they are.

As regards political and social organization, which is the main criterion of civilization, Ellen C. Weber states that she once attended the mourning for a "Digger" chief, and she adds that, owing to the rank of the deceased, Indians had gathered from all points, and that, contrary to custom, even the men joined in the direful chorus of lamentations. From this I deduce two important facts: first, the so-called Diggers have chiefs, and, secondly, those chiefs are granted more consideration than simple commoners.

Now what do we see among the Sékanais Indians, a tribe of Dénés whose habitat lies mainly on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, in northern British Columbia? Among them there is not the slightest vestige of a social organization; they have no chiefs, no headmen of any sort; they recognize absolutely no authority on earth but their own individual whims.

They constitute no regular communities, they possess no villages, no permanent or quasi-permanent dwellings, and, in that respect, they are not distinguished from the brutes in quest of which they constantly roam over mount and vale.

Besides, the very "cry" of the Digger, the offerings and ceremonies concomitant with the festivities in honor of long departed fellow men testify, not only to his belief in a future life, but to his lasting respect for the dead and to his craving for their ultimate welfare. A community which honors the dead has already taken long strides in the road that leads away from the brute.

Among the Sékanais, as death approaches, the few boughs that constitute the shelter used by the family as a temporary residence are thrown down on the moribund, the band moves away, and the care of his last moments and of his sepulture is left to the tender mercies of the grizzly and the coyote. Such, at least, was the original custom of the tribe. Thereafter there was no "cry", no offerings or commemorative ceremonies of any kind.

"The Digger takes a lesson from the squirrel and stores many nuts, hazel, pine and acorns for his winter's food. He also dries bushels of grasshoppers and madrone and manzanita berries".

So says Ellen C. Weber herself. The Sékanais is much less provident. Berries there are in his mountains which are dried and preserved by the neighboring tribes; but the Sékanais will have nothing but venison. As long as it lasts, he is happy and contented. He then eats and stuffs himself to sleep, though he knows full well that he and his family will afterwards have to pass long and weary days without food. With him the animal appetite is stronger than the restrictions suggested by the mind. In that respect, again, he is far behind the much abused Digger.

Nay, even in the way the latter begs which is so graphically described by the writer of the article under review, I would fain see a point of superiority over my Sékanais. Begging, among the Dénés, is rendered by two words, *tasso* and *tadazni*, which express widely different actions. The first is the begging of

the white man, of the tramp and of the professional beggar. The Redskin, as a rule, the Digger forming no exception, is above such degradation. The second word, *tadazni*, denotes the mental desire of assistance expressed by mere bodily presence, the silent request for material help or simply the expectation of aid which is regarded as possible, though not certain. There is nothing degrading in such an action. It is, on the contrary, a witness to the self-respect of the individual who, fully aware of his own needs, is yet too much of a man to ask for the goods of his fellow creature. Such is the begging of the Digger. Many whites there are who could take lessons from him.

On that score, again, he is vastly superior to the Sékanais and other eastern Dénés who will formally beg from the whites, with the manifestation of the most abject servility, though they will ordinarily be more reserved among people of their own blood and condition.

Now as to the arts, which are the secondary sign or token of the presence of civilization. Our essayist is rather reticent on that point, probably for excellent reasons; but even here I easily find an unmistakable mark of the inferiority of the Sékanais as compared with the Diggers. The latter, we are told, "weave their baskets from bark and rootlets"; and we are further informed that these "are all water-tight".

Not so bad, I should think, for him who, "with the exception of the Patagonian, ... ranks lowest in the scale of humanity". That much could certainly not be said of the Sékanais who is innocent of the least attempt at basket weaving. His own poor substitute for a basket is a rough vessel of birch bark folded up and simply stitched into shape. His southern neighbors, as well as those Coast Indians who live under the same latitude, all weave regular root baskets; but the Sékanais is not up to that art.

Ellen Weber is not quite sure whether the Diggers have any stone pestle, though she avers that she once "had, in a collection of curios, a 'Diggers pestle' of white stone resembling marble. Now I am quite positive that the Sékanais never had any pestle whatever.



Even that infinitesimal detail of the Diggers having built "a rustic fence" for the mourning circle suggests a point of superiority over the Sékanais who never made anything resembling a fence, rustic or not.

One of the reasons for the poor opinion entertained by anthropologists concerning the Digger and the Patagonian or Fuegian aborigines, is the low cephalic index of those tribes. Of the former, Dr. D. G. Brinton goes so far as to say\*, after R. Virchow, that "they present the lowest type of skulls anywhere in America", while the same author elsewhere remarks that "the Fuegians are generally quoted as a people on the lowest round of the ladder of culture"†.

In the first place, I will observe that no Sékanais skull has ever, that I know, been measured scientifically, and should any of my present readers have seen what I have written of those aborigines in my former essays‡, he will remember that their physique is indeed of a rather low order. And I must be allowed to record my conviction that craniology, considered as a criterion of mental development, is very far from infallible. Cranial characteristics are not invariable even within the same race. They are liable to get modified to a wonderful extent by environment, education, etc.

Cranial measurements are valued chiefly in so much as they afford a clue to the weight of the brain which is supposed to be in proportion to the amount of intelligence enjoyed by the individual. Now the brain of the Swiss lake-dwellers was larger than that of the modern Swiss, and the brains of the Auvergnat and of the Breton—the two provincial races of France supposed to be the lowest from a psychological standpoint—surpass the brain of the Parisian§. It is said that the average weight of the brain in the white race is 1424 grams for men. Yet the brain of Broca, the anatomist, weighed but 1400 grams; that of Herman, the philologist, 1358 grams, and that of Gambetta, only

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\* The American Race, p. 121.

† Ibid., p. 330.

‡ Cf. especially "The Western Denes" p. 114, and "Notes on the Western Denes," p. 17.

§ "Christian Anthropology" by Rev. John Thein, p. 395.

1165 grams, while that of the only Fuegian which Kollman could weigh, while fresh, amounted to 1403 grams. Furthermore, Seitz concludes a description of the furrows and windings of several Fuegian brains—and it is contended that in these particulars only lies the real difference between cultured and savage subjects—by asking: “Where are the signs of inferior formation in these Fuegians”\*?

In my turn, I am tempted to ask if we are not warranted in concluding that we must regard as inaccurate the statement that “with the exception of the Patagonian, the Digger Indian ranks lowest in the scale of humanity”?

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\* “Jahrbuch der Naturwissenschaften”, p. 361.



## A SIMPLE QUESTION OF PROVINCIAL ETHNOGRAPHY.

(Written for the "Proceedings" of the Natural History Society  
of British Columbia\*)

Twelve years have already elapsed since, in the course of a detailed paper partly intended to correct many an erroneous statement regarding the ethnological status of the Déné family of aboriginal Americans, I had occasion to write: "Some ethnographers, for reasons known to themselves, regard the Tsimpsians... as an offshoot of the Déné or Athapaskan stock. But even a slight knowledge of their language and physical characteristics ought to convince any one of the fact that they are altogether heterogeneous thereto"†.

This remark, confined as it was to the comparatively narrow limits of a periodical published by a scientific society, does not seem to have attracted much attention, and people must have continued to class the Tsimpsians as blood relatives of the Dénés, since, in the chapter devoted by the author of the Year-Book of British Columbia, Mr. R. E. Gosnell, after having allowed Prof. Chas. Hill-Tout to quote my classification of the Déné tribes, remarks: "It will be observed that Rev. Father Morice does not include among the Dénés either the Tsimpsians or the Kootenais"‡.

\* I never saw this paper in print: the last news I had of it reached me almost two years ago, when it was stated that it was in type, ready for the pressman.

† "The Western Dene", p. 111.

‡ P. 174.

It appears that ethnological errors, like historical lies, die hard. My attention was lately called to an interesting article in the Christmas number of the *Mining Record*, wherein the author declares unhesitatingly that "the Tsimpsons... are of Tinneh origin"\*. By "Tinneh"—a term I have time and again shown to be inappropriate and which is now obsolescent—Mr. J. W. Mac-Kay, the writer of the article, means the Déné. This gentleman was perfectly excusable for being unacquainted with a statement published in a periodical which hardly circulates outside of a certain scientific world; but how he could to-day ignore a plain remark as Mr. Gosnell's printed in a book destined for the general reader and wherein he had himself an article†, is more than I can say. Unless, of course, he chooses to controvert the appositeness of my assertion? Indeed, it could truly be said that if his statement in the *Mining Record* is not intended as a reflection on my accuracy, he lays himself open to the charge of carelessness.

Now, professional ethnologists are well aware of my unparalleled opportunities for studying the whole Déné race during the last twenty years or more. They know that for long, weary years I have been living and working among four of its British Columbia tribes, the languages of which I have sufficiently mastered to be now engaged in the preparation of their grammars and dictionaries for publication. On the other hand, my incessant peregrinations bring me in yearly contact with populations of Tsimpsonian parentage, and thus I have been able to study and compare both races. Now, while it may be questionable whether some of the British Columbia stocks of aborigines now commonly held to be distinct will not, as a result of further investigations, be ultimately recognized as co-affin, there can not be the shadow of a doubt that the Déné race is absolutely different from all other B. C. stocks, the Tsimpsonian more, if possible, than any other.

Its psychological traits are distinct, its physique peculiar, and its languages have nothing in common, either in grammar or in

\* P. 75.

† "The Fur Trading System", p. 21.

vocabulary, with that of the Tsimpsons. Indeed the latter are no more related to the Dénés than, for instance, the Patagonians. The Déné stock stands in bold relief on the ethnographical map of the Province as an extraneous race, the main seat of which lies to the east of the Rocky Mountains. The two points, sociology and, partially, mythology, which one of its twenty or more tribes shares with the Tsimpsons are, as I have shown\* to the satisfaction of my opponents, the original property of the latter. Their presence within the Carrier tribe is a mere result of neighborhood and a token of the latter's receptiveness and of their faculty of yielding to the influence of a supposedly superior civilization, such as this may be.

Verily, I should like to learn the reason of such an egregious mistake.

A detail which would in itself convince those who might have any doubt on the subject, is that all such Déné tribes as know of the Tsimpsons or their congeners invariably call them *Enna* (or *Ennai*, etc., according to the dialect), a term which means "foreigners, heterogeners", and which they never apply to any of their own ethnic divisions, however remote their habitat or different their idiom. By this word they characterize all heterogeneous stocks, such as the Salish in the south, the Cree in the east, etc. Indeed, this is so self-evident that I feel in duty bound to apologize here for having thus insisted on this question to any real ethnologist who might chance to come across the foregoing remarks.

Mr. Mac-Kay says that "the Haidah band is unique amongst the British Columbia Indians as regards their language, as there does not appear to be any affinity between it and the dialects of the other tribes"†.

This may be quite true; yet it is but fair to state that the trend of latter days ethnological opinion runs in a different direction. Many scholars believe the Haida and Tlinget stocks to be one and the same. Nay, it would seem as if Mr. Mac-Kay himself knew of this, since he writes further on that "the

\* "Are the Carrier Sociology and Mythology indigenous or exotic?" *Trans. Can. Inst.*, 1892.

† P. 75.

Haidahs may be the descendants of Japanese shipwrecked sailors and women of the so-called Tlinkeet race inhabiting Alaska"\*, which statement it is hard to reconcile with his previous assertion that "there does not appear to be any affinity between [the Haidah language] and the dialects of the other tribes". Surely it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the descendants of such unions not to have retained at least the main outlines, some of the principal features of their female ancestors' idiom, especially as language is so apt to yield to maternal, rather than to paternal, influences. No wonder then if some philologists find important similarities between the Haida and the Tlinget languages.

Provincial ethnography has progressed considerably since the time when Drs. Tolmie and Dawson published (1883) their map shewing the distribution of the Indian tribes of British Columbia. The joint authors counted then no less than eleven distinct aboriginal stocks, several of which are now acknowledged by everybody to be co-affin. They erred by excess; Mr. MacKay sins the opposite way. He can see in our native population but four different groups: the Haida, the Déné, the Salish and the Kwakwiutl. Does he forget the Kutona'qa or Kootenay, or does he include them in one of the four races he enumerates? In the latter hypothesis, I would be curious to know where he looks to for their congeners. Again, we have seen that the Tsimpsons constitute by themselves a group apart.

Ethnologists are to-day pretty well agreed, pending more extended investigations, to divide the natives of the Province into six well defined unrelated groups. These are, from north to south: the Déné, the Tsimpsonian, the Haida, the Kwakiutl, the Salish and the Kootenay.

The languages of these main stocks are subdivided as follows:— The Déné has five distinct dialects within British Columbia, the Tsimpsonian three, the Haida two, the Kwakiutl five and the Salish seven. The Kootenays are conspicuous for their unity of speech. In fact, though constituting a really se-

\* *Ibid.*

parate stock, they are less numerous than some of the particular tribes of other families, barely 696 souls.

I am responsible for determining the number of the Déné and Salish dialects only, and I am inclined to the belief that the differentiation of the other idioms is not based on so strictly scientific grounds. Unless I am much mistaken, the would-be dialects of some stocks correspond to mere local idiomatic differences.

Ignoring minor colonies in secluded places, we may assign the following limits to the habitat of the various groups.

1 The territory of the Kootenay is co-extensive with the valleys of the Upper Columbia River and of the lake and river named after them, to which must be added a small stretch of land adjacent thereto, but situated within the United States.

2 The Salish race inhabits the country immediately west of this from  $52^{\circ} 30'$  down to, and much beyond, the boundary line, including the south-eastern part of Vancouver Island and a limited area around Dean Inlet, on the mainland. In point of numbers and geographical situation, they form the most important of all the aboriginal families to be found within the provincial frontiers.

3 Adjoining them, in the immediate north-west, is the Kwakiutl stock which is exclusively maritime in habits and habitat, from Gardner Inlet—with the exception of the above mentioned territory close to Dean Inlet—to Cape Mudge, and again on the corresponding part of Vancouver Island.

4 The Tsimpsonian country is likewise contiguous to the Pacific Ocean. It confines partly on the Kwakwiutl's territory, though the principal Tsimpsonian seats are on the Naas and Skeena rivers. 5 As to the Haidas' habitat, it consists of the Queen Charlotte Islands and part of the Prince of Wales Archipelago.

6 All the remaining land in the interior belongs to the Déné race. Its southern apex, over which roam some Tsilkhoh'tin bands, is by  $51^{\circ}$  of latitude, and it extends, without any break or interruption, to the northern boundary of the Province and much further, while in the east it is practically limited only by the Hudson Bay and the Eskimos' territory.

Without mentioning the southern Dénés (Navajos, Apaches, etc.) who, in the United States and Mexico, outnumber those who have remained within the boundaries of Canada, I might have counted the few individuals of like extraction whom unknown circumstances had driven, before the white man's advent, into the Nicola valley, amongst the Shushwaps, and on the shores of Portland Canal, on the Pacific Coast.

As to the Salish, I will record the following little incident with a view of drawing the ethnographers' attention to a point which may possibly have escaped their notice. In the course of my travels, undertaken in the interests of geographical science as much as prompted by the exigencies of my ministry, travels which, for last year only\*, aggregated something like 3150 miles, I came upon a mountain pass from which I had a clear view of a sheet of sea water which could be no other than Gardner's Inlet, on the Pacific. Now I was assured by one of my Indians who, for many years, had been a constant visitor to the place that, near the end of same inlet, is a village peopled by aborigines who regard themselves as the descendants of war slaves brought there by their captors of the Kwakiut'l race from some place or places in the south, within apparently Salish territory.

Thereupon I took down such a limited vocabulary of their dialect as my Déné informant could supply, part of which I beg herewith to transcribe in order to ward off any possible doubt as to the identity of said Indians' present idiom with that of the Kwakiut'l.

The latter are divided by the ethnologists into Heiltsuk and Kwakiut'l proper. The former dwell, according to Dr. Franz Boas (to whom I owe much of my information on the Coast tribes), from Gardner's Channel to Rivers Inlet. Here are some of the words I find in my memorandum book, together with their Heiltsuk and Kwakiut'l equivalents, the spelling of which I take the liberty slightly to alter according to the requirements of my own orthography.

\* This was written in 1900.



ENGLISH	GARD. INL.	HEILTSUK'	KWAKW'UT'L
Man	<i>pəkwanəm</i>	<i>wesəm</i>	<i>bəkwa'nəm</i>
Chief	<i>aimas</i>	<i>he'mas</i>	<i>gyi'k'ame</i>
Dog	<i>ua'l's</i>	<i>ua'tse</i>	<i>ua'tse</i>
Water	<i>wap'pa</i>	<i>waa'm</i>	<i>wap</i>
Fire	<i>hwæltéine</i>	<i>Qui'tlala</i>	<i>he'k'ala</i>
Fish	<i>miyah</i>	<i>ma'gyilis</i>	<i>ma'maomis</i>
Stone	<i>'ti'səm</i>	<i>'te'səm</i>	<i>'te'sum</i>
Good	<i>aihqu</i>	<i>aikh</i>	<i>aikh</i>
Bad	<i>ia'ki</i>	<i>ia'kh</i>	<i>ia'kh</i>
Yes	<i>la'a</i>	<i>la'a</i>	<i>la'a</i>
No	<i>qi'u</i>	<i>ky'e</i>	<i>ky'e</i>

Shall I give the Déné and Tsimpsonian equivalents for the same words? Here they are, with a few others, for Mr. MacKay's especial benefit. That he may have no doubt about the absolute heterogeneity of the two stocks, I give the synonyms of the Tsimpsonian terms in the three principal Déné dialects spoken in British Columbia. My authority for the Tsimpsonian linguistics is again Dr. Boas\*, and I am myself responsible for all the Déné words.

ENGLISH	TSIMPSIAN	CARRIER	CHILCOTIN	SEKANAI
Man	<i>io'ot</i>	<i>tæne</i>	<i>tæni</i>	<i>tene</i>
Woman	<i>hana'aq</i>	<i>t'sèkhè</i>	<i>t'sèkhèrh</i>	<i>t'sère</i>
Chief	<i>səm'âyit</i>	<i>mutih</i>	<i>nitsil'in</i>	<i>mutqih</i>
Dog	<i>has</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>tji</i>	<i>tjin</i>
Sky	<i>t'æmlaq</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>
Earth	<i>dsavatsæks</i>	<i>yæn</i>	<i>nèn</i>	<i>næn</i>
Water	<i>aks</i>	<i>thû</i>	<i>thô</i>	<i>teû</i>
Fire	<i>lak</i>	<i>khwæn</i>	<i>khon</i>	<i>khwæn</i>
Stone	<i>lâp</i>	<i>tsé</i>	<i>tsé</i>	<i>tsé</i>
Rain	<i>was</i>	<i>tean</i>	<i>tean</i>	<i>teon</i>
Snow	<i>ma'dæm</i>	<i>yæs</i>	<i>yæs</i>	<i>yas</i>
Fish	<i>luwæ'læmtsæmaks</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>luy</i>	<i>luwé</i>
Sun	<i>gya'm'uk</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa'</i>
Good	<i>am</i>	<i>nzu</i>	<i>næzun</i>	<i>næzôn</i>
Bad	<i>hada'q</i>	<i>ntsi'</i>	<i>næntsèn</i>	<i>nætsi'</i>

\* Sixth Report on the North-Western tribes of Canada (B. A. A. S.), 1890.

The great contrast between the Tsimpsonian and the Déné terms (which are quite representative) as well as the quasi-homonymy of the latter amongst themselves will escape nobody.

So much for the vocabulary.

Now as to the phonology of the two languages. While, in the Déné dialects, the proportion of the vowels and consonants is fairly equal (only a few double consonants occurring), the Tsimpsonian teems with groups of consonants unsupported by any vocal sound, sometimes as many as five such letters thus crowding in a confused mass one upon another. Out of 40 combinations of consonants which Dr. Boas quotes as commencing words in Tsimpsonian, only 9 ever serve in like capacity throughout the whole series of the 20 or more Déné dialects, and I doubt if two of the 46 desinential agglomerations of consonants the same author enumerates can ever be used to end a Déné word.

The grammar is no less different. In Tsimpsonian the plural is generally formed either by the repetition of the whole word or simply by reduplication. None of the many Déné idioms knows of any such plural. In other cases, the Tsimpsonian plural is consequent on the prefixing of particles, three of which Boas names; in Déné the equivalent of such a plural would be formed by the addition of suffixes. In Tsimpsonian, the possessive relation is expressed by simply co-ordinating nouns, the nominative always preceding the genitive; in Déné such relation is rendered as in the original Anglo-Saxon, with the genitive before the nominative. In Tsimpsonian the adjective precedes the noun; in Déné it invariably follows it.

All the Déné dialects have a genuine substantive verb which, as a rule, is as regular as the average verb of its class, while what Dr. Boas calls the Tsimpsonian *verbum substantivum* does not seem to have an independent existence. The Tsimpsonian has no dual, and its richest verb does not boast more than ten persons per tense. The Déné has a dual, and some of the Carrier verbs have no less than nineteen distinct personal forms, while many others have sixteen, etc., etc.

All of which, I repeat, is intended for Mr. Mac-Kay and such as may have been misled by his statement in the *Mining Record*.

Where, then, is the similarity between the two languages, and has it not become something like an axiom among American ethnologists that racial divisions follow linguistic particularities?

What may have led astray Mr. Mac-Kay is perhaps the practical identity of customs and institutions obtaining amongst the Tsimpsons and a very small portion of the great Déné family. But, as I have already said, this only proves the powerful effect of association on a race, such as the Déné, which is noted for its receptiveness. This is so true that, rather than stick to the national institutions bequeathed by their ancestors, the various western Déné tribes now differ widely among themselves as regards sociology, in which particular they scrupulously conform to the practises of the adjoining races.

The only pure, unadulterated Dénés west of the Rocky Mountains are the Sékanais who, consorting with no alien people, have retained practically all the customs, beliefs and institutions, if any, proper to their own race. The Carriers, Babines and Chilcotins (or Tsiikhoh'tins) have, from time immemorial, had social or commercial intercourse with the Tsimpsons, Kwakiut'1 and Shushwaps respectively, and forsooth they have, perhaps unconsciously, adopted the principal customs of those tribes.

Thus the Carriers and Babines have discarded their originally patriarchal institutions in favor of the matriarchate which obtains among their western neighbors, while the Chilcotins have held fast to the former simply because they found the same amongst the Kwakiut'1 and Shushwaps between whose territory lie their own hunting grounds.

The Sékanais and most of the eastern Dénés either abandoned the dying to their fate and moved camp, or they left their bodies, after death, on rough scaffoldings in the forest. But the Carriers and the Babines, finding cremation in vogue among the tribes of Tsimpsonian parentage with which they came in contact, adopted that mode of disposing of their dead, just as the Chilcotins took to inhumation because they saw it practised by the Shushwaps.

The original Déné dwelling places consisted of conical tepees made of caribou, moose or elk skins stretched on frames of long poles circularly arranged. But Carriers and Babines soon learned from the Tsimpsian tribes they encountered to build those large slab houses with a regular gable and roof common all over the North Pacific Coast. On the other hand, the Chilcotins, on meeting the Shushwaps in the course of their migrations, could not fail to notice the latter's subterranean huts or *kekule houses*, as they are generally known, and forthwith they set to dig for the same, taking those crude attempts at comfort as evidence of a superior mental condition. As to the Sékanais, they have remained too good Dénés to know either Tsimpsian lodges or Shushwap huts.

The gentes and the consequent division of the tribe into "noble" and common people, with the gentile totem, the labret and, above all, the ceremonial "potlatch" are institutions utterly unknown to the Déné race, when unaffected by outside influences.

I have mentioned the two radically opposite fundamental laws, matriarchate and patriarchate, directing aboriginal society. Some of our British Columbia tribes, as we have seen, are governed by the former, others follow the latter. Before bringing to a close these rambling notes, I must be allowed to place on record my conviction that mother-right, as such, must be of comparatively recent origin. Furthermore, I am inclined to believe that this origin is far from creditable to the communities amongst which matriarchate obtains.

I take it for granted that, by the very laws of nature, the paterfamilias has always been the sustainer and defender of the family. This prerogative must, as a matter of course, have assured him, from the beginning, such a supremacy as to make of him the undisputed head of the family and, by extension, the chief of the sept or aggregation of families. The same natural law required that his eldest son or, at least, one of his sons inherit his privileges no less than his duties.

Hence it seems but fair to surmise that children must have originally taken after their father in the same way as, in the eyes of society and later on of the law, they belonged to him.

So it was in ancient times, as history tells us, not only among the progenitors of the Jewish people, but long after them, with the Greeks of old, and even in the balmy days of the Roman republic and empire. The gens was then very different from its American homonym; it consisted merely of families bearing the same name and, on that account, supposed to be allied by blood. As woman, on her marriage, took the feminine form of her husband's name, it follows that the Romans did not know of what we now call mother-right.\*

It was not apparently until looseness of morals and the absence of social restraint concomitant with the introduction of the totemic gens and its peculiar laws of heredity had made it a point of vital importance that the filiation of the child be not questioned, that paternal rights probably yielded to maternal pretensions. A child always knows its father, but, in degraded communities, it is not in all cases so sure of its father. Yet, as the rank of the deceased and the material advantages flowing therefrom must not be suffered to be alienated into a strange clan, let us make succession dependent on the mother and through the maternal line.

Such, in my eyes, seems to have been the reasoning of the originators of matriarchate considered as a social system.

These considerations, of course, are based on higher ground than the present status of our own aborigines. Yet it might not be out of place to observe that those two British Columbia tribes to which we must incontestably grant the palm for morality, I mean the Kootenay and the Sékanais, are both governed by paternal right. Everybody knows also how the Salish have taken kindly to religion. Patriarchate has likewise remained their fundamental law.

And right here I foresee two objections.

The Kwakiut'l follow the paternal system, and yet they are "the least advanced and most averse to civilization of any in the province", will say the one, who may add that "the missionaries of several churches have endeavoured to carry on mis-

\* In virtue of the "*patria potestas*", the child belonged entirely to the father, who exercised the most absolute control over him, while the mother was practically nothing in the Roman family.

sion work among them, but each was obliged to abandon them as hopeless"\* until lately, when a representative of the Church of England persisted in staying with them in spite of the little encouragement he received. And, then, look at the "distinguished success" Mr. Duncan had "in founding his mission of Metlakahtla"<sup>†</sup>, and yet those enlightened and devout Tsimp-sians' fundamental law is mother-right, will argue another.

I am not blind to the force of the objections, and will concede at once that the Kwakiutl were never noted for their religious propensities. But can they be quite truthfully represented as possessing purely paternal institutions? Let Dr. Boas answer for me:

"The tribes speaking the Heiltsuk and Gyimano-itq [two Kwakiutl] dialects are in the maternal stage and are divided into gentes having animal totems", he writes in the Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada<sup>‡</sup>, adding that "the southern groups are in the paternal stage and are divided into gentes which have no animal crest".

And even of the latter he writes further on<sup>§</sup> that "the social organization of the Kwakiutl is very difficult to understand.... [Among them] the child does not belong by birth to the gens of his father or mother", which is somewhat different from what we observe among the Sékanais and the Kootenays.

As to the Tsimp-sians' boasted civilization and regard for morality, I am not free to write all I know about them. They are, no doubt, more industrious than the interior Indians whom they disdainfully dub "stick siwashes". Are they more progressive? By no means. The latter have, to become thorough Christians and to imitate the whites, made the sacrifice of nearly all their social institutions and customs, their gentes, totems, labrets, heredity through the female line, tamanwas or doctoring, etc., while even the Metlakahtla Tsimp-sians have retained their clans, their "nobles" and practically all such essential points of their social organization which did not conflict too overtly with

\* Sixth Rep on the N. W. tribes of Canada, p. 6.

† Ibid., *ibid.*

‡ Ibid., p. 52.

§ P. 56-57.

the white man's institutions. The inland Tsimpsians are still, in a great majority, pagans or, at best, nominal Christians; they gamble and practise their sorcelleries as of old, occasionally burn corpses, vie with each other in potlatching, think they ought to be paid for allowing their children to attend school, and, as to their morals, the less said the better. Their very name, applied to a Déné, is considered opprobrious, and I still remember the nights made hideous with the erotic songs, the loud pining after male society of Tsimpsian women hailing from the very Coast where their would-be civilization is supposed to have attained its climax.

Compared with the Coast Salish who know nothing of mother-right, even the most advanced Tsimpsians are every way inferior. When you leave Metlakahtla, steer your craft towards the Sechelt and Squamish villages, and the only difference you will notice from a material standpoint will be one of size and importance. Inquire about the Societies which helped the Salish to build their beautiful churches and school-houses with their rich accessories, to erect their street lights and sidewalks, to get their brass band instruments\* and the brilliant uniforms of the players, their cannon for the reception of Church dignitaries and others, their priest's residence and the like, and if the Indian is willing to let out the whole truth—which his newly acquired modesty may prompt him to conceal—he will tell you that they had absolutely no outside monetary aid in all those achievements, no Society for the Propagation of the Gospel or anything else to apply to. All they have done in the line of material improvements has been the fruit of their own exertions.

Can as much be said of the Tsimpsians and of their much vaunted achievements?

If you now choose to live for any length of time among those same Coast Salish, or follow them logging for themselves or for the whites, salmon fishing for the canneries or working at the sawmills, you will find them as upright and honest in their

\* There are, at the present time, no less than eleven brass bands amongst the B. C. Salish.

dealings, sober and religious without ostentation in their daily life as they are invariably moral and peaceful. With them, there is no paint or varnish concealing from view the inward rottenness.

Could the same be truthfully said of the Tsimpsians?

But there has been no blowing of trumpets about the Salish's wonderful transformation from savagery, nor any advertizing in the papers concerning their present prosperous condition.

Is this also the case with the Tsimpsians? \*

\* As I go to press, I am reminded by a person just back from Bute Inlet that, not far from there, among natives like wise of Salish lineage, there is a village which compares favorably with those of Sechelt and Squamish.



## WHO ARE THE ATNAS?

(From the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN)

They are, to the Dénés of America, what the Etruscans were to the Romans (*alienigenæ, exteri*), what the Gentiles in general were to the Israelites, and the Philistines in particular to the Septuagint (*alophuloi*), in a word, what *foreigners* are to the English speaking peoples of to-day. As I wrote in 1894, ethnologists who suppose them to belong to the Déné or Athapaskan stock of aborigines make a mistake "either of name or of identification. Atna, etc., is a Déné word which means foreigner, heterogener, and is used to qualify *all* races which are *not* Déné. Either, then, the Atnas of the travelers and ethnographers are not Déné, or, if they belong to that race, they must be misnamed"\*.

Now, in some "Notes on the designation Atna", published in a late number of the *American Antiquarian*†, Mr. H. Newell Wardle implicitly accuses me of discourtesy in general and, in particular, of injustice to Mr. W. Dall because, in a late article, I happened to write that, in classing the Atnas as Déné, "Major Powell has been misled by Mr. Dall who, in his turn, misunderstood Hearne"‡. I then explained, after Petitot, how the error originated, but am now referred to Dall's disclaimer

\* Notes on the Western Denes. Trans. Can. Inst., 1894, p. 17.

† Vol. xxiii, No. 2.

‡ On the Classifications of the Dene tribes, *ibid.* 1899, p. 80.

of any such mistake on his own part and to the fact that Petitot's assertions were based on a "curious misreading of his [Dall's] text".

I am certainly grateful to Mr. Wardle for having thus called my attention to that rectification, for, as he well surmises, I had never seen it, as I do not possess the work wherein it is to be found. This being the case, some might not see clearly how I have been discourteous, and if injustice there has been, it has proceeded merely from ignorance. Persons conversant with my position in the wilds of northern British Columbia will hardly expect me to be familiar with the whole range of the literature bearing on a particular subject. More favored writers there are, as my critic will soon see, who err occasionally for not having noticed statements well within their reach. And, then, I make bold to say that even Father Petitot is not without an excuse, since Dall, in his very rectification, mixes up those he calls the Ahtena with the Yellowknife and Nah'ane Indians, three very distinct tribes which he takes, after Ross, to be one under three different names.

But this is a side issue.

The main point in dispute is this: Are there really two "tribes known as Atnah, one to the northwest, the other in the southwest, a Tinné [Déné] and a non Tinné people?"

Mr. Wardle says this is "evident", and both Dall and Powell have long implicitly made the same assertion. As to my own answer to that query, I have nothing to offer but my initial statements.

In the eyes of the northern Dénés, who says Atna says foreigner, and therefore I fail to see how there could be any Déné Atna tribe. The two terms are contradictory. My Carrier Indians are especially familiar with two races of Atnas (*Ætna*, not *Eltna*, in their dialect), viz.: the Tsimpsons in the northwest and the Shushwaps in the south, while the Nah'anais (or more properly the Nah'ane) know better the Tjingets and the Tsimpsons under that designation or its equivalent\* in their idiom. While heterogeners of all descriptions, but more parti-

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\* *Skakhane* in the plural.

cularly of the northwest Coast and of the south—for, strange to say, the Crees and the Iroquois are more generally called by their specific names—while all heterogeneous races are *Āt̄na* to the Carriers, they are 'Q̄et̄né to the Babines and *Ān̄nai* to the 'Tsikhoh'tins, appellations which, to the initiated, are perfectly identical, and if I habitually call them *Atna*, it is to conform to the generality of ethnologists, and let it be understood that I do not refer to a race different from that which is more correctly *Āt̄na* to the Carriers. As I have time and again remarked, the vowel sounds are quite unimportant in *D̄éné*, and many a traveler, Hudson's Bay Company trader and even fellow missionary wrote with an initial *a* the name as pronounced by the Carriers.

Apparently desirous of establishing that there is really a *D̄éné* tribe of *Atnas*, Mr. Wardle quotes the words given by Petitot as synonymous with "foreigners" and compares those he takes to be such, *gadh-t'anné*,\* *gadh-t'uné*, etc., with the *gael'tun*, etc. which the same authority gives as meaning glaciers. Thereupon, our reviewer seems to take it for granted that said tribe, being that of which Dall asserts that "the signification of their name has some relation to the glaciers which are found in their territory", and that, there being some similarity between *gadh-t'anné* and *gaell'un*, either of the two terms, by an elision of their initial *g*, may give a clue to the derivation of the name *Atna* as applied to the north Pacific group of aborigines mentioned by Dall and Powell.

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\* In justice to Petitot, who writes that word and the following with a Greek *rho*, should it not be transcribed *rhadh-t'anne*, etc.? There is no *g*, but a genuine *rh* sound in all those words.

I am not here to criticize such a valuable work as Father Petitot's dictionary, which is a lasting monument to his ind fatigable energy and keen ear; but the necessities of the present article bid me remark that, in many cases, periphrases or explanatory sentences and approximations are made to stand in that work for the proper word which seems to have been unknown to Petitot. Thus, in the present case, I feel quite certain that the latter would be candid enough to admit that *Eyuaei tene* (Hare column) does not mean foreigners, but simply "other men". Cf. *Autre*, same column of same work.

Now, would it be "discourteous" on my part to remark that Mr. Wardle misunderstands Petitot? I think not, for, under the same circumstances, anybody not familiar with "that most difficult of tongues", the Déné, would fall into the same error. Nay, Petitot himself seems to be responsible for that misconception; he should have been more explicit in his dictionary. Let it be understood, then, that none of the words Mr. Wardle quotes as synonymous with the term "foreigner" has that signification.

As is well known, the French have but one word, *étranger*, for both stranger and foreigner. Now, if my critic will kindly glance again at the French word to which he himself refers the reader, he will see facing it in Petitot's dictionary, two sets of equivalents therefor typographically well defined, although not otherwise differentiated. The former, *Edune*, etc., is synonymous with *Atna*, and means foreigners, *alienigenæ*; the latter, *rhadh-t'anné*, etc., contains the equivalents of strangers, *advenæ*.

The outsider might not recognize the *Atna* of the ethnologists in Petitot's *Edune*; but he should be reminded that there are two very distinct types in the northern Déné languages—a fact of which Dr. F. Boas has already become aware. The western, comprising the Tsi'khoh'tin, the Carriers, the Babines and the occidental Nah'ane, differs considerably, though not essentially, from the eastern, which contains all the other tribes, with the main body of the Nah'ane themselves. Now, the equivalent of our Carrier *Āt'na* in Sékanais is *Ātane* (singular *Āt'a*) or *E-dane*, the exact counterpart of the Chippewyan *Edune*, since with us *t* equals *d* and all the vowels are commutable. Mr. Wardle should therefore compare the terms for glacier, *gaelt'un*, etc., with *Edune* and the other words of that series which, unhappily for his thesis, have no resemblance thereto.

One will perhaps insist that "Buschman placed beyond dispute the linguistic affinity of the tribe frequenting the *Atna* or Copper river, Alaska, and, in accordance with these and later researches, Brinton and Dall have classed them as 'Tinné'".

\* Notes on the designation *Atna*, p. 137.

Quite possible, I will say; but this cannot take away from me the conviction that if that tribe be Déné, it is not Atna, even though it may frequent a stream dubbed Atna or Copper river.

In this connection, I might be allowed to ask: Who calls that river by the former name? It cannot be the Dénés, for while Déné tribes often derive their names from streams, they never call them after a tribal designation. Moreover, river names in Déné have always the desinence in *khoh*, *khah*, *khwah*; *des*, *desse*, *dié*; *niline*, *nillen*, or *ondjig*, according to the dialect, unless some of those roots (such as *des*, for instance) be incorporated therein or prefixed thereto, which is exceedingly rare. On the other hand, heterogeneous tribes could not well give it that name, if Dall and Powell be right in asserting that there are none but Dénés all along the Copper river even to its very mouth. Again would it not be passing marvelous for a non-Déné tribe to use that identical term in exactly the same sense as the Déné?

The whites, traders and others, are no doubt responsible for that name, if it be used at all in connection with that stream. The following personal reminiscences will perhaps help ethnologists to accurately gauge the degree of importance one ought to grant such uncritical authorities.

Some twenty years ago, I lived for some time in close contact with natives from the north of British Columbia, whom everybody called Stickines, the language of whom I could see even then was as unlike any Déné dialect as one could imagine. Three or four years later, I met in a Quesnel (B. C.) store representatives of a northern tribe who were called Stickines by the pack-train men who had brought them down. What was my surprise at recognizing in their idiom the majority of the roots of the T'sikhoh'tin, the Déné dialect I was then the most familiar with! To my questions they answered without hesitation that they were Stickines.

How to clear up the mystery? Nothing more easy. The latter band was simply made up of Nah'ane coming from the upper Stickine river, and they called themselves before me by the name they knew the whites applied to them, while the Stickines I had consorted with in former years were T'ingets, whose habitat was on the lower part of the same river.

Might there not be some analogy between this case and that of the would-be Atnas? It is true that Dall informs us that he was present in 1874 at their "annual trade" at Port Etches. But the very fact that the trading occurred only once a year would seem to indicate that the Indians he saw had come from quite a distance. When it is a question of getting some beaver skins worth more abroad than at home, a few hundred miles are not much in the way of our northern wanderers. A band of Nahanaïs meets me pretty regularly after having come all the way from Thaïthan, a place three degrees of latitude to the north of the village where they rendez-vous. A sept of the Carriers annually trade on Gardner's Inlet, after having traversed important lakes, ascended swift rivers and crossed the Coast Range of mountains.

Dall spells the tribal name under discussion Ahtena, while he calls Atna the river on which he places the habitat of those people. The difference between the two spellings is, I think, more artificial than real. To the ear the two words remain pretty nearly the same.

Might he not mean Ah'tena, the apostrophe denoting the all-important click generally present in the desinential syllables of Déné tribal or subtribal names\*? He would then have a genuine Déné word which, with an initial hiatus, would mean "Fern-people" in Carrier. Yet I hardly think this to be the proper etymology of the term. According to Petitot, fern is said *tsi-tei* (stone-plant or, more literally, stone-stick) in Loucheux or Dindjé, and if the would-be Ahtenas be Déné, they must belong to that most northwestern of all the Déné tribes or be closely allied thereto†.

But I must be allowed to record again my conviction that if they are Déné, they are neither Atna, nor Atnah or Ahtena, taking the last word as it is spelled by Dall.

\* As in the Tsiqkhol'tin-T'pöes-khoh-'tinn', the Carrier "Naz-khoh-'tenne", the Sekanaïs "Na'kraztli-t'qinne", etc.

† It is by no means improbable that further investigation will ultimately prove the kernel of the whole question to be a simple point of orthography, though not on the lines suggested by Mr. Wardle.

This leads me to the question of orthography as regards aboriginal terms.

In the first place, I must plead guilty to the charge of not having constantly used the same graphic system. I will even confess that my present mode of spelling such words is not quite satisfactory to me. As a rule, I have tried to spare as many difficulties as possible to both compositor and proof-reader\*, and thus insure a greater accuracy in the printing of my feeble contributions to anthropological science†. If Mr. Wardle will only read again his own article of two pages and a half, he will, no doubt, find the omissions and alterations due to the printer's negligence as well as the wrong spellings he is made to attribute to me (Etuaue, Taxelh, etc.)‡ and come to the conclusion that I had some sort of an excuse for changing my graphic system when experience had taught me that it proved too trying to the type-setters.

Yet it stands to reason that a uniform system scrupulously followed from the beginning would have been much preferable.

But is it really "a cause of regret that" I have "not designated the equivalents in my system of phonetics for those of my colleagues' writings"?§

In a paper which Mr. Wardle was bound to notice since, in the volume in which it appeared, it immediately followed the article complained of, I had just remarked that "philologists could not too carefully precise the value of the letters used or, when extra signs or diacritical marks are found necessary, they could not too minutely explain the peculiar characteristics of their alphabets"||. It now seems that, through the irony of

\* Such a consideration will probably lead me to abandon the spelling Tsi-khoh'tin and Tse'kehne, which are the only correct names of the tribe, more commonly called Chiloetin and Sekanais by ethnologists and others.

† It seems hardly necessary to remark that I have never had an opportunity of revising the proofs of anything I ever wrote in English.

‡ Since this is a reprint, I might adduce, in confirmation of my remarks, the 35 typographical errors which adorned (?) the first publication of the present non-technical article.

§ Notes, etc. p. 139.

|| Cf. The Use and Abuse of Philology, p. 86.

fate, I must defend myself from being guilty of what I reproach in others! I will therefore refer my critic to the foot-note accompanying the above statement wherein I indicate clearly where anybody may find my own alphabet fully explained.

Without mentioning two privately printed books, copies of which are now found in many a scientific library, notably that of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, books which also contain explanations concerning my graphic system, this is described on the same page as my Déné Syllabary reproduced in Pilling's Bibliography of the Athapaskan Languages (Article Morice). It is repeated, with more complete details, in my "Notes on the Western Dénés" (p. 34) quoted from by Mr. Wardle himself; again, with further particulars, in my paper on "The Déné Languages" (Trans. Can. Inst., vol. I, pp. 172-73); once more, in my essay on "Déné Roots" (*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 153); again, in a monograph on the "Carrier Sociology and Mythology" published by the Royal Society of Canada (Trans. 1892, p. 109)!

Yet I feel certain that Mr. Wardle has meant neither injustice nor discourtesy to me.

As to the lingualo-sibilant *l* which, as a matter of fact, I never rendered by the parenthesis sign, as Mr. H. Wardle (or his printer) would have it, it does not represent any of those delicate, hardly audible sounds proper to the Déné languages only. The *l*-sound in question is easy to perceive, and we find it in the phonetics of other aboriginal tribes as, for instance, the Salish, the Tsimpian and, if I mistake not, the Tjinget. Indeed I believe that the very name of the latter contains it, and that it is the same which the majority of authors express by the double consonant *hl* or *lh*, the equivalent of my own inverted *l*.



## CARRIERS AND AINOS AT HOME.

(From the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN.)

By Carriers I do not mean here with the Standard Dictionary "a person or company that undertakes to carry or makes a business of carrying persons or goods for hire", nor do I take that word in any of the numerous acceptations enumerated by that work. Throughout this article, a Carrier will be a member of that important aboriginal tribe whose habitat lies to the west of the Rocky Mountains between 52° and 56° of latitude north, and forms a part of the great Déné family of Indians.

The Carriers are the so-called Tacullies or Tahkalis of the early travelers and traders, who meant thereby the Takhejne (singular Takhej), a meaningless cognomen of extraneous origin which nowadays is applied by the Carriers to all the American aborigines.

Their English name is a literal translation of the "Porteurs" of the French Canadians formerly in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, who themselves simply translated the *A-rejne*, "packers", of the Sékanais Indians, according to the particular genius of their idiom which lacks a proper equivalent for the Anglo-Saxon verb to pack. "Packers" would have been more appropriate than Carriers.

The tribe owes its name to the custom according to which a widow had, at the time when cremation was the national mode of disposing of the dead, to pack or carry about in a leather satchel the few remaining charred bones of her late husband. Together with their close relatives, the Babines, who might perhaps be considered a distinct tribe constituting the immediate northwestern neighbors of the Carriers proper, they are semi-sedentary, dwelling in permanent villages, though passing much of their time out in quest of the fur bearing animals and the fish on which they mainly subsist.

Both Carriers and Babines, though pure Dénés, as a whole, and therefore belonging to a savage and nomadic race, have a complete social organization, comprising would-be "noblemen" who are the sole possessors of the hunting grounds and the headmen of the various gentes into which the tribes are divided. Their fundamental law is the matriarchate, and they are exogamous. The right of succession amongst them is therefore in the female line, and, connected therewith, is a series of ceremonial feasts (called, from a Chinook word, "potlatches" east of the Rockies) borrowed, as the whole social system, from the neighboring Coast races.

The whole will be found minutely described in my essay on "The Western Dénés", in the seventh volume of the Proceedings of the Canadian Institute (1888-89).

Many of these customs, though evanescent among the Carriers, were but lately in vogue among a portion of the Babine tribe which owes its name to a practise likewise of western origin and which never found favor with the Carriers, that of wearing labrets, oblong pieces of hard wood or of bone, between the teeth and the lower lip. This was made to protrude considerably, and recalled to the French Canadians the *babines* or thick, prominent lips of cattle, monkeys, etc.

The labret has long gone out of use amongst the few Dénés that ever knew it.

As to the Ainos or Ainoos, they have remained to this day one of the least known of human races. Chambers' Encyclopedia does not deem them worthy of the shortest article, nor does it grant them even the slightest mention in the course of

a somewhat extended article on Japan and the Japanese. What seems pretty well acquired to ethnology is that they are the original inhabitants of Japan.

But, while some would see in that race the primitive stock which, by miscegenation with the Chinese, originated the modern Japanese, it is much more likely that they bear to the latter exactly the same relation as the American Indians to the present white population of this continent. Their language is quite different from that of the Japanese, who came from the Asiatic peninsula, and most probably belong to the Turanian family, though some ethnologists, with Pickering, would see in them nothing but pure Malays.

In common with most primitive peoples, such as the Eskimos or Innuits, the Dénés and many other native tribes of America, the Tungus of Asia and the Bantus of Africa, to whom we might perhaps add the Alemanni of old Europe, the Ainos call themselves simply "men".

From a physiological standpoint, they could not well be more dissimilar from our Carriers and Babines; but, sociologically speaking and especially considered in their homes, they exhibit the most remarkable resemblances with my Indians. The oval, timid looking, though very hairy, facies of the former differs a good deal from the flat, high cheek boned and beardless visage of the latter, who have such a dislike for any hirsute appendage that they sedulously pluck out the few hair that will grow on their chin and upper lip. On the other hand, Ainos, in the prime of life, cannot be imagined without a heavy black beard, and those savages prize so much hairiness that even their women must have the most fashionable of moustaches tattooed on the lip.

Yet their garments and personal appearance are not without points of similarity with those of the Carriers. Like those American aborigines, they part their long, dark hair after the fashion of the ancient Nazarenes, and the simple cotton gown worn even by the male Ainos and which falls below the knees and is held up to the waist by a belt recalls to mind the shirt-like tunic or loose vestment of tanned caribou skin similarly

worn which formed the most conspicuous part of the prehistoric Carriers' wearing apparel.

But it is to the habitations of both races, to their homes and their domestic customs that I wish especially to draw attention. I fell lately on a description of the Aino hut in an odd number of the *Missions Catholiques*\* by a bishop who was a pioneer among the missionaries to that people, and I deem it so suggestive that I cannot refrain from quoting it almost in its entirety.

"Nothing is simpler than an Aino cabin", wrote Mgr. Berlioz†. "Imagine the framework of a little roof laid on forked posts about the height of a man; reeds are used to fill in the vacant spaces and serve as walls. The habitation has three openings: a door, a common window and a sacred window.... The first of the two windows, cut in the southern wall, has nothing uncommon in its composition. The sacred window occupies the middle of the wall opposite the inside door. It is opened to the east and, as a rule, it allows one or several bear skulls to be seen stuck on forked posts...This window is for worship exclusively"...

"The only outside doorway gives access to a vestibule facing the sacred window. Therein firewood is piled up, millet is thrashed and the dog admitted as a favor when the weather is too bad; but on no account will he be permitted to pass the threshold of the inner door, which privilege is reserved for the cat".

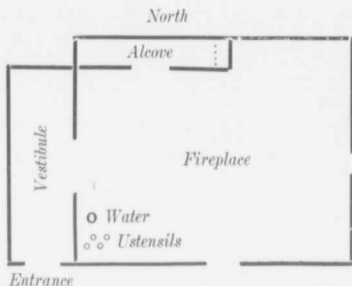
"Savages as they are, the Ainos have a sense of dignity! One would hardly suspect it who passes from the vestibule to the dwelling place: it is gloomy, smoky, encumbered and of a disgusting dirtiness. Mats are disposed all around the fireplace and invite people to warm themselves; but the place every one is to occupy is strictly defined. To the left as you enter are to be found the members of the household, the womenfolk nearest to the door, while common visitors squat on the opposite side. The place facing the doorway is reserved for distinguished

\* An illustrated weekly periodical published at Lyons, France.

† *Missions Catholiques*, 29 September, 1893.

guests, and nobody will ever dream of installing himself there without a formal invitation”.

Thereupon the good bishop gives of the whole a little plan which I take the liberty of reproducing.



Plan of an Aino Hut.

Our informant ends by stating that “the structure of these habitations is always the same, their dimensions alone vary. Identical orientation, uniform furniture, nothing is left to individual initiative and that all over the Aino territory”.

Now, even the most careless observer ever so little familiar with the old dwellings of the Carriers and especially of their neighbors and congeners, the Babines, cannot fail to be struck with the many points of resemblance with those above described. The latter simply betray a higher degree of civilization, a step further away from savagery. The Babine or Carrier hut did not boast any sacred window or indeed any window at all; the alcove where the whole family, with the exception of the older children, retires at night was also wanting; but all the other particulars of the Aino home had their duplicates on the shores of our lakes.

Nay, even at the present day, the Babine houses have, as in Bishop Berlioz' plan, their vestibule or atrium where firewood is kept and the dogs await the good pleasure of their masters

indoors; the fireplace is in the middle of the building, the place of honor is opposite the door, near which women or people of little account huddle together, and, even to-day, travelers through the Déné territory who come upon any bear skull are most likely to find it planted on a forked stick.

The distinction relatively to the places in the house is so jealously observed, at least on ceremonial occasions, that I know of Babines who indignantly left the lodge where people had gathered because they thought they had been slighted in being placed too near the entrance.

Another point of similarity in the technique of the Aino and Carrier homes is the ladder which, in both cases, consists simply of a log notched at convenient intervals for the feet to step on.

Speaking of the dog and of its place in the domestic economy of the Carriers and Babines, a detail which has puzzled outsiders and given rise to groundless speculation presents itself for an explanation.

In a most valuable monograph on the status of the modern pagan Iroquois, Mr. David Boyle quotes the following from Harmon's *Journal of Voyages and Travels*:

"All the Indians are very fond of their hunting dogs. The people on the west side of the Rocky Mountains appear to have the same affection for them that they have for their children, and they will discourse with them as if they were rational beings. They frequently call them their sons or daughters, and when describing an Indian, they will speak of him as the father of a particular dog which belongs to him. When these dogs die, it is not unusual to see their masters or mistresses place them on a pile of wood and burn them in the same manner as they do the dead bodies of their relations, and they appear to lament their deaths by crying and howling, fully as much as if they were their kindred"\*.

Modern Carriers and Babines have not improved on—or degenerated from—their ancestors, for it is to the latter that the above passage refers. Nay more, they now treat their cats and

\* *Archæological Report, Ontario, 1898, p. 100.*

horses and cattle in exactly the same fashion, and the writer has more than once been called the father of his own horse by natives who saw nothing ludicrous or disrespectful in this mode of speaking.

To be sure, this must sound 'absurd' to others than Mr. Boyle; but 'psychologically the Indian differs from the white man immeasurably more than he does physically. His habits of thought are totally unlike ours'. This remark is not mine; it comes from the genial author of the above mentioned monograph himself, and it has seldom been my good fortune to find so much truth condensed in so few words.

It is because of this undeniable fact that, brought up as I now seem to have been among our Indians, and having unconsciously adopted many of their ways of thinking, I could never bring myself to accept the late Dr. Brinton's interpretations of aboriginal myths. To me his comments and explanations are simply the lucubrations of a highly cultivated Aryan intellect, something quite different from the gropings of the infantile Indian mind. I feel certain that our Dénés, at least, could never have woven the marvelous abstractions and devised the ingenious symbolisms which he lends the poor American aborigine.

But to return to our "Carrier dog". In the first place, we should not fail to note the persistence of philological forms over sociological particularities, and thereby establish once more the superiority of the former over the latter from an ethnographical standpoint. The Carriers have long ceased to burn their dogs as if they were human beings, but the practise connected with that custom, that of calling father or mother (or indeed grandfather or grandmother, as the case may be) those who to us are simply their masters, has survived and will probably last as long as the Carrier dialect lives.

This peculiar way of treating domestic animals has left its impress on the language to such an extent that words having a relation to their names are granted the plural proper to personal nouns. Thus, while a Carrier may say that he has killed, for instance, two bears, *nankhe sæs*, he will change the *nankhe* into *nane* when he states that he possesses, let us say, two dogs, *nane pikhe*. The same is true of the few genuine adjecti-

ves: another lynx, *øyu waci*; another cat, *øyun pus*. The verbs undergo analogous modifications when in connection with such nouns.

The reader has perhaps by this time guessed the reason of this. As "the habits of thought" of the Indian "are totally unlike ours", and as he does not possess to the same extent as the white races the idea of domination or such a keen sense of ownership and is otherwise more patriarchal in his surroundings, he considers in his dog and other domestic animals not so much the brutes he possesses and lords over as the companions he has reared and fed from the time of their birth alongside with the other members of his family and whose services he enjoys in no less a degree than those of his wife and of the womenfolk generally—we must not forget that, among the Carriers, the dog is a pack-animal as well as a hound.

The self-styled "noble" Aryan considers himself the master of his dog and the proprietor of his horse, while the humbler Indian is content with regarding himself as the father by adoption of those he has brought up and who owe to him the continuation of the life they originally received from their own kin.

Thus Mr. Boyle and others will see that in the cremation of the dog among the Carriers there was not the remotest idea of a sacrifice.

The above remarks should not appear in the light of a digression, for as long as we speak of the Carrier dog, we treat of the Carrier home.

As to the cat, it has, of course, its place by the fireside here as among the Ainos.

The other members of the family, the little children, are treated with the same fondness and exaggerated indulgence as their oriental brothers and sisters and, also as a matter of course, instead of carrying them in their arms as is usual with us, the Carrier mothers pack them on their back in their infancy no less than the aborigines of Japan.

Grown up to manhood—and sometimes before—the Carrier will, in too many instances, unhappily develop another trait of resemblance with the Aino and, indeed, with the vast majority



of primitive peoples, I mean that excessive fondness for alcoholic drinks which, when not curbed by religious motives or the fear of the secular arm, plays such havoc among those races and succeeds so well in thinning out their ranks. To the introduction of Christianity must, no doubt, be ascribed the fact that the Carrier women have practically remained irreproachable on that score, while it would seem as if their Aino sisters had, in that respect, as little control as their fellow men over their animal appetites.

Such are some of the similarities which exist between the oriental Ainos and our own American aborigines.

Were we in a position to push further our investigations, we would probably find some more traits of resemblance between the two races. On the other hand, limited as our knowledge of one of them is, a brief comparison of the two sociologies soon discloses a few points of contrast which, I am bound to say, are all in favor of the Ainos.

To begin with the material dissimilarities, we have already seen that the dwellings of the latter have windows, while the Carrier or Babine hut has none, the chinks in the walls serving the same purpose. Even alcoves are not unknown among the Japanese savages, which are an unheard of luxury with our Indians, unless we choose to consider as their equivalents the sudatory-like little huts within the family lodge wherein dwell the daughters of the so-called "noblemen", at the time of their menstrual course.

Mats, again, which are quite common among the Coast tribes of American aborigines, are never to be seen here, though they are a useful adjunct in the Aino home.

From a purely sociological standpoint, a few particularities will also strike us as proper to the oriental race. First of all, the attention paid to the place of guests and others in the house is constant among the Ainos, but observed only on festival occasions by the Carriers and the Babines. The former have a distinct worship with a window sacred thereto, while the latter originally knew of no other form of cult than the wildest shamanism or nature worship.

Lastly, not only have the Ainos a mode of saluting, but this varies according to the sex of the person. Men bow profoundly and, respectfully bringing up both hands to their face, drop them softly along their long beards, uttering at the same time a few words of greeting. Woman's salutation is different. She stretches out her left arm, along which she lets her right hand run, repeating afterwards the same ceremony across her face, above the moustache-like tattooing on her lip.

On the other hand, neither Carriers nor Babines have any form of salutation. Not only have they not any formula denotive of welcome or farewell, but their language does not even as much as possess a term whereby to express the very act of saluting.

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**British Columbia**  
**MAPS AND PLACE NAMES.**

(FROM THE ASHCROFT JOURNAL.)

The consensus of opinion among those who have visited the country of which Stuart's Lake, in Northern British Columbia, is the geographical center is that, to this day, no map has even approximately done justice to it. What has been known for nearly a century to the Hudson's Bay Company people and a few others remains incorrectly mapped, and such vast regions as, for instance, the basin of the upper Nechaco (more properly Nechakhoh) in the southwest, and that which extends above the 55th. degree of latitude, from Babine and Bear Lakes to the Finlay River in the northeast are, to-day, just as much *terra incognita* to the public at large as they were a hundred years ago.

This fact was implicitly recognized in a late number of the *Ashcroft Journal* and, during the influx of prospective Klondikers a few years ago, many were the individuals who, in the hearing of the present writer, spoke in terms not any too polite of the unreliability of the maps they had brought up with them.

These were many and, though issued by different publishers, they generally agreed in copying one another. A brief review of those only which carry with them any degree of authority, I mean such as emanate from the provincial or the federal governments, together with a few remarks on the nomenclature which their compilers have seen fit to adopt may not prove uninteresting.

The first map which I might quote is that published in 1871 under the direction of J. W. Trutch, then Commissioner of Lands and Works for British Columbia. It is carefully drawn and, as regards the south of the province, it is, I think, as accurate as the information available at the time of its compilation could make it. But, respecting the Stuart's Lake district, and especially that portion of it covered by a map on a large scale lately designed by the writer and which is now in the hands of the engraver, it can be described as that which the French call a *quantité négligeable*.

Truth to speak, it does not pretend to be much more, since it covers the land drained by the upper Nechaco with large lakes sketched in outlines very much at random and, as to place names, it contents itself with the vague mention: lake country.

Thereon, French Lake (or Lac Français) itself, a large body of water now well known, is noted in mere outlines; the course of the Nechaco is shortened by a good half; the river which connects French with Fraser Lake is supposed to be twice the length of the latter while it is but half as long; Hehn (or Thathøk) Lake, instead of being with Green Lake, the existence of which is not even dreamt of, the headwaters of Mud River, is made the source of the Black Water, etc.

Three years after the publication of that map (1874), Mr. M. Smith, a civil engineer in search of a route for the then projected Canadian Pacific Railway, went from Fort Fraser to St. Mary's (or T'sest'jato) Lake and, following the northern shore of the latter, reached in the south-south-west the Dean or Salmon River, at a point where I was to get myself ten years later.

But that gentleman had, almost in all cases, the bad luck of crossing in their width only the lake and river systems he met, so that he could not add much to the meager contingent of data already in the possession of geographers.

Such as it is, the result of this partial survey is consigned to the geological map of the late Dr. Dawson, published in 1875-76.

In the course of the autumn of the latter year, a Mr. Cambie working for the same interests as Mr. Smith traversed French Lake almost in its whole length, then discovered the important lake to which I have given his name (the would-be Ootsa of the maps), after which he ascended the valley of its principal tributary to a point whence he thought he could distinguish, through a gap in the far-away mountains, part of the green waters of a large lake which, on the occasion of its exploration and sketching, I have called Emerald Lake. Retracing his steps, he then descended in a raft Cambie Lake and its hydrographical system, as well as part of the Upper Nechaco which he soon left to cut across the country and reach Quesnel in the southeast.

Thenceforth the maps of this part of the province assume forms somewhat resembling the reality. The main lines of French and Cambie Lakes are reproduced on paper with some measure of faithfulness, and the upper course of the Nechaco itself is almost correctly delineated.

Yet in spite of the new explorations, the sources of the latter remain as much of a mystery to the cartographers and, even on J. W. Brownlee's map published in 1893, this is stated to be quite close to the Black Water River and considerably to the south of the lacustrine triangle whence the Nechaco really issues and which, to this day, no map has ever shown.

Every British Columbian must have heard of the late lamented Dr. G. M. Dawson. A geologist by profession, this true *savant* neglected no branch of science to which circumstances led him, and more than once he did sterling geographical work. His large map in three sheets shewing his track survey from the Pacific Ocean to Edmonton includes part of the country we are now concerned about. In spite of the many omissions and several inaccuracies inherent to a work of that kind, it has remained one of the best maps extant of the territory it embraces.

Yet we owe it to the truth to state that it leaves our particular district about as poorly provided with map representation as before. Most of what is not covered by the author's own survey is noted in outlines thereon or omitted altogether; very im-

portant lakes some of which are not more than six miles distant from the shores of Stuart's Lake either are not mapped, or are wrongly placed or sketched, etc.

We now come to the map issued in 1891 by Messrs. Poudrier and Gauvreau. It is the only one which confines itself within the limits of the Stuart's Lake district, and yet I have no hesitation in declaring that it is the least exact of all those which have come to my notice. It is roughly drawn, indifferently lithographed and it teems with errors.

Thereon the Chilcotin plateau is represented as lying almost 3 degrees of latitude too far north, or if the mention "Chilcotin plateau" is taken to mean that the region thus described has the same characteristics as the tablelands bordering on the Chilcotin River, this qualification is inexact; Connelly Lake is given two outlets, one of which would form, through the Driftwood River, the head of the basin of which Stuart's Lake is the center, while that stream has no connection whatever with Connelly Lake which, on the contrary, may be considered as one of the sources of the Skeena River; the chain of lakes which give birth to the Nation River is sketched at random and evidently after second hand information; Parsnip River is granted gigantic proportions and represented as the main stream, the continuation of which constitutes the Peace River, while the Finlay is at least twice as large; the five important bodies of water which, independently from Emerald Lake, form the northern source of the Nechaco are reduced to one, etc., etc.

Useless to speak of the chain of lakes which constitute the southern source of that large stream which nobody had ever visited before the writer's exploratory journeys, any more than of Emerald Lake and its outlet, or the hydrographical systems which separate in four distinct quarters the immense peninsula enclosed within the strings of large bodies of water of which Dawson and Morice Lakes are the respective heads. None of these data appear on Poudrier's map, nor on any map of even a later date, or they are hidden under such fantastic shapes as to be practically unrecognizable.

As to the orography of the country, with the exception of the Coast Range, our cartographers seem to know but one mount-

ain to the southwest of Fraser Lake, the one they call Quanchus (*lege* Klwæñchæs), to which they would assign an area which is in reality the seat of numerous lakes and rivers.

A last detail as to Mr. Poudrier's map. This gentleman did me the honor of giving my name to a stream which flows not very far from the western end of French Lake and which, as a matter of fact, is nothing else than the Buckley, while he took for the source of the latter a river of vastly different character, which is but a modest tributary thereof.

The last map published in 1895 under the auspices of the provincial government has copied many of those mistakes, to which it has added a few of its own.

It is, therefore, no matter for wonder that when, in the course of 1896, a member of the Turner ministry sent me copies of the same with a request that I correct what might be wrong in that part of it representing our district, I should have felt warranted in answering that such an attempt would prove fruitless, unless an entirely new map thereof was made to replace the former accumulations of errors, mostly based on hearsay, which were too numerous for proper corrections.

For the sake of completeness, we should perhaps mention in this connection H. Y. Russel's map of the Finlay which accompanies R. G. Mac-Connell's report on the basin of that stream. Though its main object is geological, it does not neglect the geographical features, and the course of that important river is, as far as I can judge from personal observation\*, remarkably well rendered by that work.

But why does it attribute to the Parsnip River such generous dimensions as compared with the Finlay, which carries to the Peace at least double the volume of water brought by the Parsnip? The latter, which flows through a comparatively level country, is rather broad at the time of the spring freshets and scatters its blue waves in a multitude of channels forming a corresponding number of islands; but in its normal state it is shallow and, far away from its source, even canoe navigation is rendered difficult in the fall by the lack of water in not a few bars.

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\* I have not been so far up that river as Mr. Mac-Connell.

I should perhaps add that the region between Forts Connelly and Grahame remains a blank on Russel's map, a lacuna which my own explorations will enable me partially to fill when my map of the whole district is published.

I think it but right to ignore, in my little review of the maps bearing more or less on our district, Drs. Tolmie and Dawson's ethnographical map, as well as the latter's several geological works, because none of them is intended to add to the sum of our knowledge of provincial geography.

This would be the place to say a word of my own map of the Upper Nechaco and its basin, which comprises also part of the Stuart's Lake valley, as well as of the numerous exploratory journeys which have preceded its compilation. But as it was prepared merely out of regard for geographical science, to expatiate on its possible merits or demerits might be construed as yielding to a wish for material advantages which have never entered into the author's calculations\*.

I prefer to draw the reader's attention to a single particular in connection therewith, viz. name nomenclature or the naming of places.

To my mind, all the published maps are uniformly deficient in that respect. For instance, I have taken the trouble to count the Salmon Rivers shown on the latest government map, and I have found as many as *seven* of them! Within less than one degree of latitude, the same work furnishes us with three Bear Lakes, two of which are tributaries to the same river!

What a confusion for the mind of the traveler and others arising from that homonymy, and how is it that nobody seems to have been tempted to propose a remedy therefor?

But methinks I hear some one whispering that a proper way to avoid such a crying abuse of a nomenclature based on local peculiarities would be to fall on the names given the same places by the natives themselves. This expedient has been tried rather extensively with regard to the Stuart's Lake district; but with what result? In the eyes of such as are familiar with the aboriginal tongues, those names have been abominably dis-

\* This map is not to be placed on the market, and if the state of my health allows of a few supplementary journeys, it will be followed by one of the whole district.



figured when their transcribers have not rendered themselves ridiculous by the misapprehensions due to their ignorance of the native languages.

Even through the medium of Chinook, explorers are bound to misunderstand and be misunderstood. A few instances, all relative to our district, will illustrate my meaning.

Immediately to the north-north-west of French Lake, is a mountain whose bare summit tops above the timber limit which is shown on Dr. Dawson's map. Now I fancy that I hear that gentleman asking his guide at the sight of it:

—*Ikta maika wawa okuk?* (How do you call this?)

To which the Indian will have made answer:

—*Tzæŋ* (A mountain.)

And our geographer gravely to note on his memorandum book the word which he takes for the proper name of the mountain: Mount Tzooeel, that is, Mt. Mountain!

This is, at any rate, what all his maps serve us in connection with that particular mountain.

Another example, if the kind reader will allow. Close to the same French Lake, is an important body of water called Huntca by the natives, in the vicinity of which is a timber-clad mountain (*cæes*, in compounds *yæes*, in Carrier) which the maps agree in calling Mt. Huncha-yuz\* or Mt. Mountain-Huncha!

The same tautology reappears with the names given by cartographers to our lakes and rivers.

The latest official map calls Cambie Lake "Ootsa-bunkut". The real Indian name of that piece of water is Yutsu disfigured in Ootsa by the ear of the English transcriber, and the final "bunkut" of his map is evidently nothing else than the word *pæn'kæt* which means lake in Carrier. We are therefore in presence of a similarly absurd redundancy: Lake Lake-Ootsa. I cannot help thinking that Cambie Lake sounds just as well, while that denomination has the further advantage of perpetuating what may now be considered an historical fact.

Since we are on the question of lake names, I must be allowed a remark which presents itself for consideration with re-

\* Evidently he was not well qualified to transcribe the delicate sounds of the Dene languages who could not even see any difference between an s and a z.

gard to L. Français or French Lake. It will show us one of the very few instances of the influence of a European over an American language.

Most of the maps call that sheet of water L. François, exhibiting through that now antiquated form of the word Français a conservatism probably based on ignorance. Brownlee's map calls it L. Francaic (*sic*), and Poudrier's L. des Français, all of which denominations are intended for the equivalent of the English "French Lake".

Now, it happens that the natives originally knew it under the name of *Nita-pæn* or Lip Lake, in consideration, probably, of its peculiar shape. Whence, then, comes its present name, and how is it that all the modern Indians call it *Neto-pæn*, French Lake? Simply from a misunderstanding, from the dullness of ear manifested by the early employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who, hearing that lake called *Nita-pæn* by the Indians and knowing already that *Neto* meant French, con-founded that term with *Nita*, and thus originated an error which has been perpetuated to this day even by people who have now forgotten the only name by which their ancestors designated that body of water.

Another misnomer of a somewhat different origin. All the maps of British Columbia give us two Tatla or Tacla Lakes, one of which lies just to the northwest of Stuart's Lake, while the other forms one of the sources of the Tsiikhoh, wrongly called Chilcotin River by the whites.

Now, it might be somewhat of a surprise to provincial geographers and travelers to learn that the Indians, who are supposed to have christened those lakes, know of no such names for them. I have forgotten the native name of the would-be Chilcotin Tatla Lake, but its northern homonym is Rhej-ræpæn or Burden Lake to the natives, while both Chilcotins and Carriers call That'ja (*th=t+h*, the apostrophe standing for the click; *tha*, water, *t'ja*, extremity) the upper end of a sheet of water, in the same way as they designate by Hwo'tat, "down below", or Thiztli, "it flows off" (or Thezlin, Theslin, according to the dialect) the lower end of any lake, that extremity thereof nearest to its outlet.

This brings me to the notice of the now well known lake of that name in the southern part of the Youkon.

I have never been even in its vicinity; but, from the beginning, my knowledge of the native dialects made me more than suspect another misnomer in connection with that sheet of water. To me, Teslin sounded too much like Theslin not to mean "the lower end" of the lake. I saw immediately how a white enquirer standing near the outlet must have mistaken the name given him as designating that particular spot for that of the whole lake, in the same way as another must have understood as applying to the whole body of water what in reality qualifies but the upper end of the same (That'ja).

Last winter, I had the good luck of meeting a member of the tribe which claims that lake as part of its patrimonial inheritance, and I realized that I had not been mistaken in my surmise. The Nahanaïs call the would-be Teslin Lake Mæn'tco, Big Lake.

The transcription of the native river names on English maps has occasioned the same tautological redundance as that which we have already noted relatively to mountain and lake names. (*Elkhoh*, *ækhah*, *'qækhwah* (contracted into *khoh*, *khah*, *khwah*, at the end of a proper noun) mean river in Carrier, Sékanaïs and Babine respectively. Therefore the Stela-ko of the maps (which should be Stella-khoh) is the equivalent of Cape-river, just as Omenica (a mistranscription for Omæne-khah) and Sæs-khwah (not Suskwa, as the maps have it) mean in themselves Lake- (or Sluggish)-river and Bear-river.

Hence the dullest mind will see that to say with the maps, for instance, Suskwa River, Omenica River, etc. is, barring the deplorable deformation of the Indian words, paramount to saying Bear-river River, etc.

I think therefore that the only legitimate corollary of the foregoing remarks is this: — In mapping out a new country like the north of British Columbia, it is advisable to use neither a nomenclature based on local particularities nor, as a rule, to attempt the transcription of the place names obtaining among the natives. The former occasions a confusing homonymy, and the latter is a source of endless errors generally as ridiculous as, gi-

ven the limited resources of our alphabet, they are unavoidable.

The translation of the native names is an expedient the use of which is likewise denied us, as the great majority of these have at present absolutely no meaning even in Indian, or that meaning is so involved and complex that it would necessitate the use of a long periphrasis in English.

An example among many to make clear the appositeness of this last assertion. The aboriginal name of that particular spot near the outlet of Stuart's Lake where Fort Saint-James is now situated is Na'kaztli. To anyone not familiar with a certain legend connected with that place, its name is perfectly incomprehensible, however much one may otherwise have mastered the language of those who first used it. The story has it that in a conflict with a tribe of dwarves (*Āt̄na*), the arrows (*'ka*) of the combatants flew so thick that the river near by emerged (*thiztli*) from the lake covered with them. Hence the ancients narrating the event to their children and grandchildren, would say, by way of resuming their account of it: (*Āt̄na 'ka p̄a| thiztli*, "it flowed off with the arrows of the dwarves", and their posterity, abbreviating still further that phrase, at length repeated but the essential parts of it and ended by saying simply: *Na-'ka-ztli*, a condensation which has become the name of the place where the battle is supposed to have occurred.

By what single English word could a geographer render all the ideas conveyed by the native term to the mind of those who know its derivation?

In the southern part of British Columbia we have, besides the Fraser, which is the great fluvial artery of the best half of our territory, the Thompson and the Bonaparte and the Harrison Rivers, all named after more or less known people, as well as the lakes Anderson, Seton, Harrison, Adams, Pitt, etc. the christening of which is opened to none of the above mentioned objections. Why not apply that system of nomenclature to the north of the province as well?

For my own part, I have thought I could do nothing better than to follow scrupulously that plan in the composition of my

little map. While I have made it a point never to change any of the English or French names already given to our lakes, rivers or mountains, I have bestowed upon those geographical elements which had remained unknown of the whites or called only by their supposed Indian designations, the names either of modern celebrities or of those persons to whom I owed a debt of gratitude or with whom I was bound by the ties of friendship. It was my right, as being the only explorer of many important points and the first cartographer of others.

The one exception to that rule has been in favor of the name of the Nechaco itself. This river is too important and now too well known for any one to attempt a change in its name. Prescription, in this particular case, must have force of law.

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**ABSTRACTION**  
**IN THE CARRIER LANGUAGE.**

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American aboriginal tongues are noted for many points of superiority over the Aryan languages. Their polysynthetism, their remarkable connotiveness and the wonderful richness of their forms render them more expressive from a certain point of view than any known idiom of old Europe. Concrete ideas are generally represented by a vocabulary the abundance of which is not far from bewildering to the scholar; but as to abstraction, it must be confessed that most, if not all, the American dialects are lamentably deficient and poorly equipped. The Aryan and Semitic are, indeed, the mind languages, the natural vehicle for abstract notions and fine psychological distinctions, while the native of America pays an almost exclusive attention to matter and the concrete.

Yet one should not go to the extreme of saying, with some critics, that such a mental process is hopelessly beyond his reach. Even in the Déné languages spoken by one of the lowest types of aborigines, abstraction, though rather ill at ease and eclipsed, as it were, by a cloud of innumerable concrete terms, nevertheless finds at times appropriate means of expression, though it must often have recourse to unwieldy periphrases.

It is my intention, in the present little article, to lift for the benefit of the patient reader a corner of the veil which conceals from the profane the linguistic treasures, limited as they may be, in the possession of that division of the northern Dénés, the Carriers of British Columbia. In other words, I wish to record a few lists of truly abstract terms taken from my great French-Carrier Dictionary still in course of preparation.

While those terms could be more numerous, it will be seen that some of them express ideas for which we have no exact English equivalents.

Abstraction might be considered as ideal or mental and grammatical or verbal. By the former I mean that intellectual process which, while it contemplates an object independently from one or more of its usual attributes, does not go to the trouble of creating a new word to express it. When we say, for instance, that man is liable to err, we mentally withdraw from the object of our concept, man, the qualities which may distinguish this or that individual and thus form an abstraction which has no influence on the vocabulary, inasmuch as the term by which it is rendered remains apparently concrete.

In that sense, many Carrier words might, of course, be adduced which are not of necessity abstract.

By abstraction here I refer more especially to those concepts which, being always the product of the mind's action in separating the attributes from the substance, are expressed by special words which cannot be made to represent anything else than abstract ideas.

These, in Carrier, belong to different classes, and the lists I am about to submit to the appreciation of the philologist will better illustrate my meaning than any possible definition.

First of all we have the words—all monosyllabic, as will be seen—denoting simply a state or an action independently from the subject which exists or operates. To that category belong the following\*.

*Tso*, weeping, howling.

*Tlo*, laughter, smile.

\* The phonetic value of the letters used in the following lists will be found at the end of the present article.

- Tli*, cold (as affecting the body).  
*Zas*, misery, bodily distress caused by poverty.  
*Zaz*, wearing out and, figuratively, wretchedness, especially with regard to the wearing apparel.  
*T'siz*, bloatedness.  
*Piz*, parchedness, excessive dryness of the skin.  
*Tliz*, ebullition, boiling.  
*'Tēs*, frying (and coals).  
*T'sæl*, singeing, roasting (as of dried salmon).  
*T'sûs*, kiss (childish).  
*Tluh*, the action of leading with a rope.  
*Kre*, leanness, the result of starvation.  
*'Kæn*, combustion.  
*Thih*, freezing, frost.  
*Kkwæs*, cough.  
*Zu'*, beauty, goodness, etc.  
*Tsi'*, ugliness, badness, etc.  
*Khæt*, the act of slipping.  
*Yal*, locomotion on foot by one.  
*'Tas*, do. do. by two.  
*Til*, do. do. by more than two.  
*Kwæł*, do. on all-fours, and of birds.  
*Kral*, do. by running.  
*Quh*, do. by galloping like a horse or jumping as a frog; gallop.  
*Kwæz*, do. by sleigh or waggon, driving.  
*Kkeh*, do. by canoe, navigation.  
*Pih*, do. by swimming, natation.  
*Zût, zœł*, do. by skating.  
*'To*, do. by paddling, or simply the act of paddling.  
*Llat*, do. by floating, or the state of floating.  
*Pas*, do. by wheeling.  
*'Tæ*, do. by flying.  
*Mæl*, do. by rolling (a long object).  
*Sun*, dull pain in the body.  
*'Torh*, the act of stinging.  
*Pærh*, war.  
*Rhél*, packing (and burden).



*Rhæ*, diurnal revolution of time; temporary obscurity.

*Kræs*, the act of drawing, dragging.

*Thæk*, breaking, fracture.

*Kwæt*, darting, harpooning.

'*Kaz*, filing.

*Ras*, the act of cutting lengthwise with a knife.

*Zih*, scraping.

'*Qéh*, witchcraft, as practised by ill-intentioned individuals.

*Tsæ*, bad personal exhalation, (an offensive term used only in the slang expressions: *ntsæ* *thaditni* and *ntsæ* *ntsi*', the equivalents of the vulgar "dry up" and "you, dirty (in Carrier stinking) fellow").

*Kræt*, sawing [little used].

'*Tkæt*, swelling.

*Lto*, cramp.

*Khu*, vomiting.

The above are all verbal roots or derivations thereof, and their use as independent parts of speech is limited to a few sentences wherein the noun is generally followed by the postpositions *pe*, *'qa*, etc. Ex.: *kheh pe ætqa*, he did it by navigation, *i.e.* he came by canoe; *kral pe ðnêh*, do it by running; *zas 'qa nein'ten*, work against misery; *kre nezitre*, leanness kills us, that is, we are pressed by famine.

Though all these roots are genuine words, none of them could be put to such an unrestricted use as their English equivalents.

This remark does not apply to the following which are more catholic in acception and can be described as serving absolutely the same purposes as their English synonyms. There is, in them not the least trace of a verbal complexion.

*Ni*, cares.

*Pæ*, sleep, dream.

*Sæl*, heat.

*Tsææl*, solar heat.

*Lla*, manual labor.

*Pæs*, subdued smile.

*Cæn*, witchcraft, (the mysterious power of the shamans).

*Tai*, famine.

*Qan*, old age.

- Cih*, sustenance, the source of life, and French *essoufflement*.  
*Mak*, deep obscurity, French *ténèbres*.  
*Ræn*, concupiscence (a word to avoid in Indian).  
*T'sôti*, mourning.  
*Tata*, sickness.  
*Mæssai*, nothing, nothingness, French *néant*, Latin *nihilum*.  
'*Kekhé*, gratitude.  
*Yuya*, shame.  
*Rhæntøræn*, violence as manifested by firearms or cutting tools.  
*Tzéntsaël*, kindness of heart, emotion.  
*Tzétzi'*, caress.  
*Hwoyé*, mirage.  
*Hoppa*, light, *pa* in compounds.  
*Nintsé*, bleeding of the nose.  
*Neyiz*, voice, and breath.  
*Nezil*, bad odor emanating from a body.  
*Hó'kós*, haziness of the atmosphere.  
*Nu'kós*, do. as causing ophthalmia.  
*Elata*, legend.  
*Æ'ten'koh*, business, work proper to a person.  
*Æpai*, albino in general.  
*Æzi*, blackness, or abnormally dark animals in general.  
*OEteo*, bigness, or those beings, in general, which among their kind are abnormally large, gigantic.  
*Uzi*, name.  
*Hwoezzi*, twilight.  
*OEza'*, nobility, the rank of a *toene-za'*.  
*OEzkhéh*, progeniture considered as an abstract concept.  
*OE'qoel*, raggedness.  
*Nûn'ka*, dowry.  
*Toenezu'*, *toenetsi'*, same as *zu'*, *tsi'*, but applied to persons only.  
*Hwol'é*, easiness.  
*Hwolna'*, difficulty.  
*Nini*, joy, pleasure.

While the last three words can be employed in their separate, independent form, they nevertheless more generally serve as

parts of compounds. Examples: *horwa-hwolna*, it is difficult, lit. "on account of it [there is]-difficulty"; *urwoe-nini*, his company is pleasant, lit. near him [there is] pleasure".

The following, though perhaps not so strictly abstract terms from a grammatical point of view, are subjoined to the foregoing, because they express the notion of immaterial beings.

*Yuttoere*, the Deity [lit. "that which is on high"], such as named by the prehistoric Carriers.

*Nezcel*, soul, as animating the body.

*Netsen*, second self.

*Nezul*, the immaterialized body after death.

*Neni*, human mind.

*Natniq*, ghost, and dead person.

*Rhoenni*, word.

*Nij'si*, wind.

To which we may add these words expressive of genuine abstraction:

*Sanoen, noen*, month.

*T'lo-nroen, pit-oenroen*, etc. hay-season, trout-season, etc.

*Yoes'koet*, winter, and by extension, year.

*Rhet*, winter.

*Olloel*, first spring, when the snow finally thaws off.

*Cin*, second spring, with bare ground and young leaves.

*Tasroen, tan*, summer (and *tan-niz*, mid-summer).

*Nastléh*, first autumn, when the salmon reappears.

*Ta'két*, second autumn, time of the fall of the leaves.

All the following words are derived from instrumental verbs, the desinential roots of which they contain, generally with the inflexion proper to frequentative verbs. Their first syllable, *thoe*, stamps them as denoting actions accompanied by a violent motion, and they all correspond in meaning to the English "blow, stroke", to which idea the native term adds that of the particular means that served to give the blow (French *coup de pied, de poing, de fouet*, etc.).

From an etymological standpoint, these words have a close affinity with some of those contained in the first list.

*Thoethoe*, kick.

*Thoetcoes*, fisticuff.

*Thoekhoek*, blow with the hand, a slap.

*Thoet'toerh*, blow with a stick, a knife used crosswise, etc.,

*Thoet'toes*, blow with the edge of a cutting tool, a slash.

*Thoetsoel*, blow with an axe.

*Thoetsoes*, lash.

*Thaethas*, shock caused by a blunt object.

*Thoetzæ*, the act of throwing a stone.

*Thæt'qæp*, do. with a sling.

*Thætzih*, scratching.

*Thaethâh*, pinch.

*Thayæ*, violent breathing considered as motor.

*Thæt'qæ*, the act of tearing.

*Thæt'tuk*, violent suction considered as the cause of a break.

The restrictions and limitations already noted in connection with the root words of the first category govern likewise the use of the foregoing.

We now come to a class of abstract terms the formation of which affords good material for a comparison with the derivation of such English words as meditation, concept, sewing, etc. which have become nouns only through the process whereby the verbs to meditate, to conceive or to sew were inflected or modified into their present nominal form.

The following are also more or less pronounced modifications in the structure of verbs already existing and, in their new garb, they are the expression of as purely abstract ideas as the English nouns above quoted. Their use, though perhaps not quite so general, is yet as permissible and grammatically correct.

The following are characterized by the introduction of a *t* immediately before their desinential root which is sometimes correspondingly altered.

*Næta*, the act of walking (from *næcya*, I walk).

*Horwæ-næta*, ceremonial banquetting.

*Noe'ta*, an Indian game, *lahal* in Chinook (from *noes'a*, I hold in my hands).

*Nahwæt'næk*, the act of narrating.

*'Kæn-nahwæt'næk*, do. about oneself.

*Rhæ-nahwoetnoek*, sacramental confession.

*Yathoek*, the act of speaking.

*Ere-yathoek*, French *médiance*.

*Soel-yathoek*, loud and confused noise of human voices.

*Tao-yathoek*, noisy lamentations.

*Noetgoet*, fear.

*Noetzoen*, thinking, opinion.

*Aja'-noetzoen*, faith; *aja'-hwothane]-noetzoen*, firm hope.

*'Kekhé-noetzoen*, thankfulness.

*Noeninoetzoet*, reflection.

*Øloedithi'*, pride.

*Noenoe'ti'*, stealth, concealing.

*Atlih*, originally an Indian game played with little sticks, a word now applied to the game of cards.

*Rhoetna*, life.

*Horwatna*, the act, in general, of occupying oneself with something mentally known (an abstract form of a concrete term).

*Hwoetnih*, cleverness, with an idea of impersonality.

*Suhutnih*, fasting and, in pre-Christian times, the observance of the penitential prescriptions relative to women and trappers.

*Utzi*, the act of naming, or the state of being named.

*Nella-cetnéh*, the act of helping.

*Horwoelli*, watching over, and impersonal verb "it [village, etc.] is watched over".

*Sû-oe'torh*, the state of being physically or morally well.

*HoSzu-oe'torh*, the state of being rich.

The infixed *t* spoken of is absent in the words that follow, and yet they belong to the same class as the above, inasmuch as they consist of verbs more or less altered in their component elements.

*Nôyé*, play.

*Noe'ti*, force, violence.

*Noe'tih*, theft.

*Noetai*, dance.

*Øll'soel*, physical pain.

*Teahwozun*, hunger (lit. "stomack-pain" or "prickling").

*Ø'a*, command.

*Øe'to*, beating of the drum, a pan, etc.

*Sœf'si*, bad temper, acrimony.

*Orwoes*, the state of one who is prone to be ticklish.

*OEkhaih*, sewing.

*OEyai*, the smell of burning clothes.

*OErô*, snoring.

*Yûyûz*, whistling.

*Unih*, envy.

*U'il*, the animal passion for the opposite sex.

*Yoekhaih*, daylight.

*Ho'kwoez*, cold as applied to the temperature.

*Nzuti'i*, dissipation, disposition to excessive joviality.

*OE'ta*, eating, (also that which is eaten).

*Tsa'khoes*, obscurity.

*Sudi'a*, comfort as regards earthly goods.

*El'sillah*, false shame or prudery relatively to one's sisters.

Lastly, we have in Carrier another class of abstract terms which are no others than verbs in the third person of the present doing the functions of genuine nouns. Examples: *thel'en yæzi're*, poverty kills him, *i.e.* he is extremely poor; *unqai 'tei-noeszoen*, he does not know reverence, that is, he is impudent; *thénadoetli f'soe nin'ti*, he leans towards prayer, etc.

*OE'ten*, work.

*OEnoet'en*, error, wrong doing.

*Hwo'f'sit*, lie.

*OEndænæ'ti*, the act or habit of stealing.

*OEninzæn*, sullenness.

*Thé'ninzæn*, mercy, pity.

*Thel'en*, poverty, pitiful state.

*Rhæskke*, anger, irascibility.

*Tsédatni*, laziness.

*Hvosni*, immorality, foolishness.

*Hwo'f'sodatni*, French *ennui*, and displeasure.

*Hwozæl*, heat (of the temperature).

*Hwænih*, intelligence, mental brightness.

*Huzæl*, the revolution of time.

*Thénadoetli*, prayer.

*Thétoetlih*, supplication.

*Utsas*, shooting pain.

*Hwetsaz*, apprehension, fear of not succeeding.

*Unqai*, reverence mixed with fear.

*Tâtqoerh*, impudence.

*Ælcoez*, moulting.

*Un'té*, boldness, arrogance.

*Nærhoeté*, the act of saying, diction.

*Nærhoetéh*, the act of declaring, declaration.

In the foregoing lists—which could have been swelled by the addition of such terms as *oekhuēs*, air, tune, *oeta*, words of a song, and others—the letters are given the continental sounds, with the exception of the following.

*Æ* (or *oe* when type for that letter is wanting) is the equivalent of *e* in the French words *je*, *te*, *le*; *e* and *u* as in Italian; *é* and *è* as *é* and *è* in French *éler* and *père*. *G* is always hard, *kh* and *rh* are very guttural and *r* is the result of uvular vibrations. *C* equals the English *sh*; *s* is intermediate between *e* and *s*; *ŋ* is at the same time nasal and accompanied by the sound of a sonant *n*; *q* is almost the equivalent of *ty*, and the inverted *l* is a particularly sibilant *l*.

As to the apostrophe ('), it denotes the click common to most American languages.

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## THE DÈNÈ SYLLABARY AND ITS ADVANTAGES.

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Picture-writing is the most ancient, if not the first parent or original root, of all the known graphic systems. American aborigines hardly ever went beyond this stage in the art of permanently expressing ideas; but the Semitic and prehistoric Turanian races began early to tire of this slow and indefinite process and, by shortening and conventionalizing the original pictographs, they introduced hieroglyphic systems each character of which expressed an idea or a word.

This was still very cumbersome, inasmuch as the number of symbols required was of necessity very great. Hurry in writing or engraving gradually caused rough derivations thereof to be taken as the expression, not of whole words or ideas, but of sounds, and this was the origin of the various syllabic systems whereby the number of necessary signs was greatly reduced.

A further disintegration of these and a demand for a still more limited number of graphic signs originated the first alphabet from which all those now used by the different nations of the old world were derived.

Such, in a few words, is the history of the graphic systems known in Europe and Asia. Now as to our own continent.



Barring the modes of writing in vogue among the Mayas and the ancient Mexicans which, to this day, have remained too little understood to permit of their being safely classed, pictography is the only system which could be put to the credit of the aborigines.

Later inventions, the Micmac hieroglyphs and the Cherokee syllabics, are due to a French priest and to a half-breed respectively, while the Cree syllabary is the work of an English missionary.

The first of these graphic systems dates from as far back as 1656. It was devised by the Rev. C. Le Clercq, a missionary belonging to the Recollet branch of the great Franciscan order. It is ideographical, each sign or cluster of signs representing an idea or a word, and it was not before more than two centuries had elapsed since its invention, that the Rev. C. Kauder, also a Catholic priest, caused books to be printed with those characters.

The Cherokee so-called Alphabet is a set of 85 syllabic signs *plus* a single consonant, 21 of which consist in mere Roman letters made to represent syllables, while a few others are only slight modifications of the same. It was invented in 1821 by a half-blood Cherokee named George Guess and, in my humble opinion, its ready adoption by his tribe despite its utter lack of method and the close resemblance of many of its characters, speaks more for the mental capacities of its members than for the ingenuity of the inventor himself.

As to the Cree Syllabary, it is due to the genius of a Protestant missionary, the Rev. James Evans, who composed it in 1841, while stationed at Norway House, in the Hudson Bay territory.<sup>1</sup> The distinctive and most meritorious feature of those syllabics is the principle according to which the value of a sign changes with the direction it is made to point to relatively to the line. This is an immense advantage which must be put entirely to the credit of Evans alone.

Though originally designed exclusively for the Cree language and, at most, its Algonquin congeners, the use of that syllabary has been extended to the dialects of the Eskimos and,

with additions and unimportant modifications, even to the Déné idioms.

I do not feel competent to criticize its adaptation to the Eskimo languages; but as to the Dénés, I can state without the least hesitation that, even in its amended shape such as used east of the Rockies, it is far from faultless and appropriate.

When, in the course of 1885, circumstances first brought me to Stuart's Lake Mission, in the very heart of the western Dénés' territory, I learned that a feeble attempt had been made by one of my predecessors to introduce that modified Cree Syllabary, but that this had resulted in such a failure that no Indian could then be found who remembered any two signs thereof.

Feeling keenly the necessity of an easy and accurate graphic system for the use of the natives to whose spiritual needs I had to attend, I devised, in my first year of residence here, the now well known "Déné Syllabary" which was at once granted the warmest reception. A short lesson on five or six days in the four most important villages was all the teaching imparted to the present generation of Carriers, most of whom mastered the whole syllabary and set upon reading and writing with ease and correction ere any Primer had been printed for their benefit. They now correspond by letters, keep private accounts of their debts and of their dues, learn in the absence of their priest any hymn, prayer or lesson of the catechism they may be directed to acquire, and post or scribe on the trees of the forest records of their deeds or wants to be read by incoming parties likely to succour them.

Not only the Carriers; but the Babines and even the Sékainais who speak different dialects and who—the latter, at least—are noted for their intellectual shortcomings, readily took in the new syllabics, which they learned without receiving a single lesson from its inventor.

These facts might suffice to demonstrate the suitability of that graphic system which, in all points but the convertibility of its signs' positions, differs from the Cree syllabary. Yet I must be allowed to enter into a few details and, after having reproduced our own syllabics, to serve the reader with an account of the reasons that militate in favor of their superiority over the

Cree system or, at any rate, over the attempted adaptation of that system to the needs of the eastern Dénés.

### Déné Syllabary.

	With A	Œ	E	I	O	U		With A	Œ	E	I	O	U
A Œ &c.	△	▽	▽	▽	△	▽	Alone Y	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
H	∧	∨	∨	∨	∧	∨	h Q	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Rh	∧	∨	∨	∨	∧	∨	h Q	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
R	△	▽	▽	▽	△	▽	h	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
W	∧	∨	∨	∨	∧	∨	L	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Hw	∧	∨	∨	∨	∧	∨	l	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
T, D*	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	T	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Th	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	T <sub>h</sub>	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
'T	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	T <sub>i</sub>	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
P, B*	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	Z	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
K, G*	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	Tz, Dz	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Kh	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	S	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
'K	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	Sh, C	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
N	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	Tsh, Te	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
M	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	Ts	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
	⊂	⊃	⊃	⊃	⊂	⊃	Ts	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙

*Hiatus \* Before proper names \**

#### Explanatory Notes.

\* These letters are not differentiated in Déné.

† ∨ is the nasal n.

‡ z is the equivalent of the French j.

§ s is phonetically intermediate between s and e.

A reproduction of the Cree Syllabary would greatly help towards an intelligent comparison between the two systems. Since, owing to the lack of the proper types, we are denied this satisfaction, we will try to make up for it by pointing out the many advantages of the new over the old syllabics, and thereby we will bring into relief the features which distinguish one from the other.

Lest any one be tempted to accuse me of unduly depreciating Evans' invention, let it be understood at the outset that when I refer to it in the course of the following remarks, I shall have in mind less the Cree Syllabary itself than the Cree Syllabary strained to meet the requirements of the Déné languages. My contention is simply this: let Evans' system, susceptible of improvement as it may be, remain the Crees' mode of writing, and let the Déné tribes benefit by the Déné Syllabary, the only one which can render, with ease and precision, the many delicate sounds of their dialects.

This being stated by way of introduction, we will proceed to note some of the

### **Advantages of the Déné Syllabary.**

I.—It must be admitted that, in a graphic system the phonetic value of whose characters depends on the turn or direction given them as component parts of a line, the first and most essential requisite is that said turn or direction be easily recognized.

Now, in the Déné Syllabary, the direction of the curve or angle of each sign infallibly determines the nature of the vowel added to the fundamental consonant of each syllable, and this direction is always perceived without the least effort of the mind. A glance at the preceding page will bear me out in this assertion.

On the other hand, in the Cree syllabics such as quoted in Petitot's *Précis de Grammaire comparée*\*, this direction on which depends the vowel of the syllable is either difficult to discern

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\* *Precis de Grammaire comparee*, p. L.

or governed by no fixed rules. Thus, in that system, C points to the right, B to the left, ʌ downwards, ʇ upwards, though the consonants expressed by these differently turned signs are *all* in connection with the *same* vowel *a*. Hence confusion, with corresponding difficulty, for the mind of the pupil.

II.—All the cognate sounds are rendered in the new syllabics by similarly formed characters, the general shape of which denotes the phonetic group to which they belong, while their intrinsic modifications determine the nature of the particular sound they represent. Thus the dentals are expressed by a single curve; the gutturals by a double curve; the soft sibilants by a curve with undulating extremities; the hard sibilants by a double curve with like extremities, etc.

Therefore our 30 sets of syllables are practically reduced to 9, viz. < C C E C @ C C E, the different positions of which are discernible at sight. So that the pupil who has become familiar with these 9 signs may almost be said to have mastered the whole alphabet and consequently to know how to read; for another good point in its favor is that

III.—The modifications of each fundamental character take place *internally* and in conformity with *logical* and therefore easily learnt rules.

To illustrate this remark, we will refer to the sign E. The student who already possesses the nine aforesaid principal signs will immediately recognize it—through its double undulating curve—as a hard sibilant which, being affected by no modification, must be given the primary hissing sound *sa*. Let us now insert therein the perpendicular line which, when used as an internal accretion, corresponds to the *h* of the Roman alphabet (as in < *rha*, < *hwa*, □ *tha*, E *kha*), and we obtain E *sha*. Should we cross the end of its middle line, we will thereby add a *τ* to that character which will then become E *tsha*.

In like manner, E may be changed into E *tsa* which, in its turn, is liable to be transformed into E *ʃsa*, through the infixing therein of the special sign < denotive of the all important click. By a like addition, C *ta*, E *ka*, etc. can also become C *ʃta*, E *ʃka*, etc.



as appears in the name itself of a Déné tribe, the Nah'ane, are rendered by the sign //.

VI.—Again, have the would-be adapters of Evans' syllabary never noticed that, in several of their additions to the original system, they have altogether lost sight of the fact that the latter is *syllabic* and not alphabetic? Have they never remarked that three of their sets of signs represent merely separate *letters*, just as in the European alphabets?

What do they give us for the syllables *ha, he, hi, ho*? Simply //◁, //▽, //△, //▷, which is the exact equivalent of the letters *h+a, h+e, etc.* The same is true of *Xa, Xe, Xi, etc.* which are rendered by *X+a, X+e, etc.* or ◁◁, ◁▽, etc.

The set of signs for *wa, we, wi, wo*, which is open to the same critique, is further notable for a curious anomaly according to which the consonant *w* is placed therein *after*, instead of before, each vowel. Thus for *wa* the Eastern Déné is made to read *aw* or ◁◁; for *we, ew* or ▽\*, etc.

So that we are gratified with a sort of a hybrid system, which is syllabic and yet non-syllabic, which at times furnishes the reader with whole syllables expressed by a single character, and at times forces him to spell out several letters to one syllabic sound as in English!

VII.—The Déné Syllabary is complete, while it is universally conceded that, even in its amended state, the Cree Alphabet lacks several sets of signs which are indispensable in such delicate languages as the Déné. Here is how Fr. Petitot himself appreciates it:

"This alphabet, which suffices perfectly to express the 20 letters of the Algonquin language, is far from answering to the exigencies of the Déné-Dindjié idiom, which counts, as we have already seen, 71 phonetic sounds. Therefore its adaptation to that language is not very appropriate, since it cannot render all its sounds"\*.

Those who know the numberless and most ridiculous *contresens* this poverty leads to, need no other reason to reject the whole system as practically worthless.

\* Ubi supra.

Moreover, in connection with none of its signs is there any provision for such all important vowel sounds as those of *æ* (*e* in French *je, te*) and *u* (English *oo, Fr. ou*). Yet in Carrier *rhæʃ* means darkness and *rheʃ*, load; *thœs* is a kind of blunt tipped arrow and *thes* is said of a bed; *tœʃ* corresponds to the English "with himself" and *teʃ* is synonymous of crane, etc. In some dialects, *æ* characterizes the present tense and *e* the past, while the distinction between *o* and *u* is almost as essential.

VIII.—Lastly, we claim for the Déné Syllabary a greater synthesis which renders writing shorter and, by avoiding the accumulation of non-syllabic signs, makes reading easier. For instance, the Chippewyan word *in'tax-tearhe*, leaf, which, with the syllabics used east of the Rockies, cannot be written without *three* consecutive small signs ( $\Delta \setminus \text{C} \setminus \text{E} \setminus \text{D}$ ), is with us simply  $\triangleright \setminus \text{C} \setminus \text{E} \triangleright$ .

In conclusion, I may be permitted to state as illustrative of the practical worth of our system that, through it, Indians of common intelligence have learned how to read in the space of two days.

And no wonder, since with us to call out the different signs is to read. The difficulties consequent on spelling are entirely done away with, and to possess nine or ten signs is almost paramount to knowing the whole syllabary.

The reader will perhaps be curious to see a specimen of our writing. Here is the Lord's Prayer in Carrier, with a transliteration in type of the same size as the Indian characters.

*The Lord's Prayer in Carrier.*

ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ, ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ. ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ  
 Nepa ya'kœz sînta œn, sûtco nyûzi tôlthî, n'kœnnhwo'ten hô-  
 ᑕᑕ, ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ.  
 lé, ya'kœz ho'kwoht'se yœn'kœt tca nyeni 'kœnnent'siyu'en.

ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ, ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ  
 Tzîn thotsœk nellæssœ'te antit tzîn neranîn'aih, in'kéz nt'sorh  
 ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ, ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ  
 thœ la ut'sœt'sœhwoʃ'aine pœpa 'œnt'sothœ[ti], hwœzœn'a nyœn



ᑭ ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᑲᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ, ᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲ  
tea net'sozl'ai nepa 'ænhwohtitil, inkéz nehultzih t'sæ neŋæ-  
ᑲᑲᑲᑲ, ᑲᑲᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲ ᑲ ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ. ᑲᑲᑲᑲᑲ.  
zanlel, ænt'si huntsi t'sæ nerhanainléh. Ndehônéh.

The first book printed with the new characters was a little 32 page Primer, a copy of which would now vainly be sought after. Then followed a rather large edition of the Little Catechism of the Christian doctrine, and was commenced the publication of a monthly of which only 24 numbers were printed.

In 1894, a Carrier Reading-Book with English head-lines and modest woodcuts appeared which was the last work yielded by our old hand-press. It is a 192 page booklet, and copies of it are already getting scarce.

Our last and most important work in Déné syllabics is a 328 page Prayer-Book with English and French headings, which was issued last year.

As a parting word, I think I can truthfully say that, after having, for the last sixteen years, been in the scale of public opinion, our graphic system has not been found wanting.

### Errata.

Page 22 line 15, instead of *father*, read *mother*.

“ 62 “ 36 “ *stomack* “ *stomach*.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

**The Western Dénés;** their Manners and Customs. *Proceedings Canadian Institute*, Vol. VII, pp. 65, figs. 16.

Reprinted in England. Also translated in French and published in Paris.

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Etc., etc.